The Bishops who Suffered MARTYRDOM, for the Protestant Faith, under the Persecution of Q: MARY. Ist

JOHN HOOPER,
Ld Bp. of Glocester,
Sufferd at Glocester,
Feb. 9. 1555.

NICHOLAS RIDLY,
Ld Bp. of London,
Sufferd at Oxford,
Oct 12. 1556.

THOMAS CRANMER,
L.d Arch Bishop of
CANTERBURY.
Sufferd at Oxford,
March 21, 1556.

ROBERT FARRAR,
Ld Bp. of St Davids,
Sufferd at Carmarthen,
Feb. 22, 1555.

HUGH LATIMER,
Ld Bp. of Worcester,
Sufferd at Oxford,
Oct. 16, 1555.

Revelations, Chap. VI. ver. 9. 10.

Ver. 10. And they cryed with a loud voice, saying, how long O Lord, Holy, and true, dost thou not Judge and Avenge our Blood on them that dwell on the Earth —

Terry Sculp.

Publishd as the Act directs, Oct.r 12.th 1776, for H. Trapp, Paternoster Row.

Paternoster Row.

Jane Summers
12th Sept 1814

The BOOK OF MARTYRS:

Containing an Account of the

SUFFERINGS & DEATH

of the

PROTESTANTS

in the Reign of

Queen MARY the Firſt.

Illuſtrated with COPPER-PLATES.

Originally written by Mr. JOHN FOX.

Now carefully reviſed & Corrected with a Recommendatory

PREFACE by the Revd. Mr. MADAN.

Publiſh'd as the Act directs. Octr. 12th. 1776. for H. Trapp, Pater-noſter Row.

Terry Sculpt.

Paternoſter Row.

BRITISH MUSEUM

PREFACE

TO THE

READER.

IT was a ſaying of the famous Dr. South, that "Popery is not only the worſt religion, but the greateſt Evil that can poſſibly come into any country." The contents of the following ſheets furniſh us with ample proof of this. They are part of a much larger work, namely, THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE CHRISTIAN MARTYRS, written by JOHN FOX, a man of rare and excellent endowments, both natural and acquired: as he lived at the time when the bloody ſcenes herein related were exhibited; and his integrity, learning and piety, equalled by few, by none exceeded; the credibility of his teſtimony can be called in queſtion only by thoſe, whoſe intereſt or principles lead them to eſpouſe and promote the cauſe of Popery.

Should any endeavour to perſuade thee, Reader, That Popery now is different from what it was in the reign of queen Mary, thou mayſt anſwer, Yes, there is the ſame difference as between a lion chained up, and a lion let looſe. Popery does not burn Proteſtants to death in Smithfield now, becauſe it hath not power; but it does burn them in Spain and Portugal, becauſe it hath. Be aſſured that Popery is always the ſame, and ſo will continue, until it ſhall ceaſe out of the earth.

This being the caſe, How expedient is it for us to be always on our guard, and to contribute all in our power to keep it from ever prevailing again in this happy, this free, this Proteſtant land! For this purpoſe were the following ſheets publiſhed again, and in ſuch a manner as to enable the poorer ſort of our fellow-ſubjects to purchaſe them, that they might be made thoroughly acquainted with the principles of popiſh government, and learn from what has happened, what muſt happen, if ever Popery ſhould get the aſcendant again amongſt us.

'Twas doubtleſs with this view that our wiſe forefathers ordered Mr. Fox's three books to be chained to a deſk in ſome conſpicuous part of the pariſh-churches in this land, that all the pariſhioners might have recourſe to them, and read therein: and I can't help thinking, that it would do honour to thoſe in power, if a law was made to re-publiſh the whole, at the public expence, and fix them as heretofore for public peruſal. However this may be, the reception which the publication of this part of the work has met with, has encouraged the publiſher to ſend forth the other two books, as time will permit, in the ſame manner he has done this; and 'tis to be hoped this further undertaking will be uſeful in its degree, tho' not ſo extenſively as could be wiſhed, for want of that general acceſs, which, in the caſe of a Parliamentary publication, would be afforded to all.

As for perſecution, I believe it to come from the *bottomleſs pit*, and that, in all its ſhapes; and I would no more harbour it in my breaſt againſt the perſons of the papiſts, than I would have them exerciſe it againſt the proteſtants; but ſtill be it our care, to ſecure, by all lawful and prudent means, our country, ourſelves, our families, from the contagion of Popery; not only as it regards our lives and properties, but above all as it regards our better part: GOD forbid that I ſhould ſay of the papiſts as they do of us, that they muſt be *damned*, becauſe they do not think as we do; but ſtill the hazard and danger of ſetting up a religion of man's invention, in ſo many inſtances contradictory to the religion of JESUS CHRIST, muſt be very great; how great, can only be

deter-

determined by the Judge of all, in that day, when he ſhall appear in the clouds of heaven, to put an everlaſting difference between thoſe who worſhip him "in ſpirit and in truth," and thoſe who, "through the traditions of men, make void the law of God*."

Bleſs God, O reader, for his loving kindneſs to this proteſtant nation, and "call upon all that is within thee to praiſe his holy name," for that bulwark of the proteſtant religion, the preſent Illuſtrious Royal Family; that He hath ſet upon the throne of theſe kingdoms a Prince, who has laid the ſtrong baſis of his government on the fear of God, and the love of his ſubjects, that hence it is, we view him ſeated on the throne of his anceſtors, and ruling in the united and affectionate hearts of a free and happy people.

When I conſider theſe things, I cannot help calling to mind, thoſe memorable words of the Lord, Iſa. v. 4. "What could I have done more for my vineyard that I have not done in it?" But, alas, what return do we make to God for all this? though we are delivered out of the darkneſs of Popery into the light of Proteſtantiſm, what is the return we make? what fruit doth this highly-favoured vineyard bring forth? have we not reaſon to fear, that the Lord may utter againſt us the words which follow the tender remonſtrance above-mentioned:—Wherefore, "when I looked that it ſhould bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes?"

As for enumerating the outward, flagrant wickedneſſes daily committed in the face of the ſun, were I to attempt it, I ſhould ſoon get beyond the compaſs of a preface, and perhaps exceed the bulk of the book itſelf. But the cauſe of it all is, the general contempt for inward, vital religion, ſpread over the land, owing partly to the love of pleaſure, luxury and eaſe, that reigns amongſt ſome, partly to the ſcandalous lives and converſations of others, who profeſs better things, and partly to the deriding thoſe who are examples of real godlineſs.

Another cauſe of irreligion amongſt us, is, the diviſion that reigns amongſt proteſtants of different perſuaſions; would to God they might once ſee themſelves, what I ſincerely wiſh them to be, ſo many different corps ſerving under one captain, making together one army, and fighting under the banner of Christ againſt the common enemies of his kingdom, ſin, the world, and the devil. Inſtead of this, we are doing the papiſts work, and too plainly ſhew, that bigotry, the child of pride and ſuperſtition, has too great a ſhare in the hearts of even thoſe who profeſs themſelves to be proteſtants; numbers there are, of every denomination, who are for meaſuring the privileges of God's children by the ſcanty limits of their own narrow hearts, and are for excluding all from ſalvation, who do not come within the pale of ſomething they call the Church.—Which ſaid *ſomething* is juſt what each party pleaſes to make it. But God's word clearly defines the church to be a company or congregation of holy regenerate ſouls, who are "the children of God by faith in Chriſt Jeſus, where there is no difference or reſpect of perſons, where circumciſion availeth nothing, nor uncircumciſion; where there is neither male nor female, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Chriſt— is all and in all," Matt. xix. 28. Tit. iii. 5. Gal. iii. 26. Col. iii. 11. It eaſily appears then, who are out of the pale of the church, namely, thoſe that are out of Christ, none elſe. Thoſe who are united to Christ by faith, are Christ's, "members of his body, of his fleſh, and of his bones," Epheſ. v. 30. But the ungodly, the hypocrite, the covetous, the lover of filthy lucre, the profane, the unbeliever, the wilful ſinner of every kind, ſtand excommunicate from Christ; and all the outward forms and ceremonies upon earth, however rigorouſly obſerved, or ſtrenuouſly defended, however neceſſary to the well-being and due government of religious ſociety, do but leave ſuch perſons what they found them, children of the devil: and ſo they will remain, until they receive the truth in the love of it, and are made partakers of the divine nature, by the power of God within their hearts. Think on this, my proteſtant brethren, and remember the words of your common Lord, "By this ſhall all men know that ye are my diſciples, if ye have love one to another."

Strive not for the maſtery over each other, but "ſtrive to enter" yourſelves, and to bring others "into the kingdom of God."—Let not your contention be for outward things, which the word of God hath left indifferent, but for "the faith once delivered to the ſaints."—Let your lives and converſations be examples of faith, humility, meekneſs and benevolence; ſuch as may win over others to your profeſſion.—Endeavour to ſtrengthen the hands of all who preach, and to comfort the hearts of all that love the Lord Jesus Christ in ſincerity. "Let all bitterneſs, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil-ſpeaking, be put away from you, with all malice," Epheſ. iv. 13. and beg of God to unite your hearts in love, "which is the very bond of perfectneſs, to him, and to each other; then your great, but holy ambition will be, who ſhall do moſt for God, who ſhall moſt adorn the goſpel, and who ſhall moſt excel in all the "mind that was in Chriſt Jeſus."—Thus ſhall ye ſtand as an impregnable fortreſs, againſt Rome, and every antichriſtian power; "be lovely in your lives, and in your deaths not divided," 2 Sam. i. 23.

Reader, May this be the happy ſituation of religion amongſt us; and mayſt thou, and may I, be conſtantly uſing all our endeavours to promote it, both in public and private, that we may ſhare in the peace of our Jerusalem on earth, and after death, through the alone righteouſneſs of JESUS the Lord, unite in the common praiſes of God and the Lamb for ever and ever! Amen, and Amen.

So prayeth thine hearty well-wiſher in the Lord,

Jan. 15. 1761.

M. MADAN.

* See an excellent ſermon on the Difference *between Popery, and the Religion of Jeſus Chriſt*, preached by the Rev. Mr. Venn, late curate of Clapham, on Nov. 5, 1758, and printed for E. Dilly in the Poultry.

PREFACE

PREFACE

TO A FORMER

EDITION.

THIS valuable Book of ENGLISH Martyrs being grown ſo very ſcarce, as to be rarely found but in the Cloſets of the Learned or Curious, it is hoped that the Method taken to reſtore it to the Public will meet with general Approbation and Encouragement; as it ſeems to be the moſt proper Way for promoting the univerſal Good intended: For the Purchaſe of ſo voluminous Work cannot be reached by every one's Purſe at once; and therefore this Expedient was reſolved on, of publiſhing a certain Number of Sheets weekly, by Subſcription, that the common People might be alſo enabled, by degrees, to procure it.

MAY God give a Bleſſing to the Undertaking; and grant that theſe dreadful Accounts of Popiſh Tyranny may not only prove a Means of preſerving our Church from ever falling into ſuch groſs Errors and Enormities; but alſo teach us, and all Chriſtians, to ſet a greater Value upon that Religion, which, by the Bleſſing of God, is eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom; whoſe Doctrine and Conſtitution is ſo exactly agreeable to that of the Primitive Chriſtians, and firſt Propagators of the Goſpel, and alſo incline us more ſtedfaſtly to adhere to the Faith and Profeſſion of it.

IT would be needleſs to tire the reader with an Account of the Particulars contained in the following Hiſtory, ſince every Matter therein is too fully expreſſed to need any Comment: and it was for this Reaſon that Mr. Fox's original Preface is omitted, it being thought too long, giving an Account only of the Riſe, Progreſs, Gatherings and Abſurdity of the Maſs, with the Canon and all its Appurtenance; which, he ſays, like Æſop's Crow plumed with the Feathers of various Birds, was longer in patching together, than the Tem-

ple of Solomon was building. Whence he proves, that none of the Apoſtles founded it; and yet this Popiſh Maſs was one of the principal Cauſes for which ſuch an Army of godly Men became Martyrs, ſuffering Death in ſo many cruel Shapes; ſome conſumed by Fire, ſome pined away with Hunger, ſome hanged, ſome ſlain, ſome wracked, ſome tormented one Way, ſome another, as will hereafter at large appear.

May the bleſſed Spirit of God bring into the Way of Truth all ſuch as have erred and are deceived: May it pleaſe him to ſtrengthen ſuch as do ſtand, to comfort and help the weak-hearted, to raiſe up them that fall, and finally to beat down Satan under our Feet.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SUFFERINGS AND DEATH OF THE PROTESTANTS IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY THE FIRST.

BOOK I.

Of Queen MARY's Accession to the Throne, and the ſeveral Troubles and Alterations that happened in her Reign both in Church and State.

DURING the time that king Edward VI. was afflicted by a long illneſs, there was a marriage provided, concluded, and ſolemnized, in the month of May, between the lord Guildford, ſon to the duke of Northumberland, and the lady Jane, the duke of Suffolk's daughter; whoſe mother, being then alive, was daughter to Mary, king Henry's ſecond ſiſter, who was firſt married to the French king, and afterwards to Charles duke of Suffolk. The marriage being conſummated, and the king every day growing worſe, and there being no hopes of his recovery, it was brought to paſs by the conſent both of the nobility and chief lawyers of the realm, that the king by his laſt will and teſtament did ſet aſide his two ſiſters Mary and Elizabeth, and left the crown to the aforeſaid lady Jane, the duke of Suffolk's daughter.

To this order ſubſcribed all the king's council, and chief of the nobility, the lord mayor and city of London, and almoſt all the judges and principal lawyers of the realm, except juſtice Hales of Kent, who was remarkable for his being as true a proteſtant, and as upright a judge as any in the realm, and who firſt giving his conſent to the lady Mary's being queen, would upon no account therefore ſubſcribe to the lady Jane. But of this man more hereafter. The objections againſt the lady Mary's reigning were, becauſe it was feared ſhe would marry with a ſtranger, and ſo entangle the crown, and likewiſe that ſhe would bring in the pope, and quite alter the religion uſed both in her father king Henry, and her brother king Edward's days, which by the ſequel of this ſtory you will find afterwards came to paſs.

What moſtly occaſioned this conjecture of theirs, was the great ſtubbornneſs ſhe ſhewed and declared in her brother's days, as appears from letters that paſſed between her and king Edward, and the council. The matter however being thus concluded and confirmed by the ſubſcribing of every man's hand, not long after, through the violence of his illneſs, that moſt hopeful

prince king Edward departed this life, when he was ſixteen years of age, and with whom decayed, in a great meaſure, the flouriſhing eſtate and honour of the Engliſh nation.

After king Edward was dead, the lady Jane was by the nobles conſent proclaimed queen in London and other populous cities, and as ſuch was there ſo taken and called. There was but little difference in age between this young lady and king Edward, but as to learning and knowledge of the languages ſhe was not only equal, but ſuperior to him, as having had the advantage of a man of moſt excellent learning for her tutor and inſtructor; and had her fortune been equal to her education and fineneſs of wit, no doubt but ſhe would have been comparable not only to the houſe of Veſpaſians, Sempronians, and mother of the Gracchi's, yea to any other woman beſides, but even to men of the univerſity that had taken ſeveral degrees there in the ſchools.

But while theſe things were working, and upon the anvil at London, the lady Mary, knowing her brother's death, wrote to the lords of the council in the following manner:

The Lady Mary's Letter to the Lords of the Council, claiming the Crown upon her Brother's Deceaſe.

"MY lords, we greet you well, and have received "ſure advertiſement, that our deareſt brother "the king, our late ſovereign lord, is departed to God's "mercy, which news how woful they be unto our "heart, he only knoweth, to whoſe will and pleaſure "we muſt and do humbly ſubmit us and our wills. But "in this ſo lamentable a caſe, that is to wit, now after "his majeſty's departure and death, concerning the "crown and governance of this realm of England, with "the title of France, and all things thereto belonging, "what hath been provided by act of parliament, and the "teſtament and laſt will of our deareſt father, beſides "other circumſtances advancing our right, you know, "the realm, and the whole world knoweth, the rolls "and records appear by the authority of the king our "ſaid father, and the king our ſaid brother, and the "ſubjects of this realm; ſo that we verily truſt, that "there is no good true ſubject that is, can, or would "pretend to be ignorant thereof: and of our part we "have of ourſelves cauſed, and, as God ſhall aid and "ſtrengthen us, ſhall cauſe our right and title in this "behalf to be publiſhed and proclaimed accordingly. "And albeit this ſo weighty a matter ſeemeth ſtrange, "that our ſaid brother dying upon Thurſday at night "laſt paſt, we hitherto had no knowledge from you "thereof, yet we conſider your wiſdoms and prudence "to be ſuch, that having eftſoons [quickly] amongſt "you debated, pondered, and well weighed this preſent "caſe with our eſtate, with your own eſtate, the com-"monwealth and all our honours, we ſhall and may "conceive great hope and truſt, with much aſſurance "in your loyalty and ſervice, and therefore for the time "interpret and take things not to the worſt; and that "ye will, like noblemen, work the beſt. Nevertheleſs, "we are not ignorant of your conſultations, to undo "the proviſions made for our preferment, nor of the "great bands and proviſions forcible, wherewith ye be "aſſembled and prepared, by whom, and to what end, "God and you know, and nature cannot but fear ſome "evil. But be it that ſome conſideration politic, or "whatſoever thing elſe hath moved you thereto, yet "doubt you not, my lords, but we can take all theſe "your doings in gracious part, being alſo right ready "to remit and fully pardon the ſame, and that freely to "eſchew bloodſhed and vengeance, againſt all thoſe that "can or will intend the ſame, truſting alſo aſſuredly you "will take and accept this grace and virtue in good part "as appertaineth, and that we ſhall not be inforced to "uſe the ſervice of other our true ſubjects and friends, "which in this our juſt and right cauſe, God, in whom "our whole affiance is, ſhall ſend us. Wherefore, my "lords, we require you, and charge you, and every of "you, that of your allegiance which you owe to God "and us, and to none other, for our honour and the "ſurety of our perſon only employ yourſelves, and "forthwith upon receipt hereof, cauſe our right and "title to the crown and government of this realm to be "proclaimed in our city of London and other places, "as to your wiſdom ſhall ſeem good, and as to this "caſe appertaineth, not failing hereof, as our very truſt "is in you. And this our letter, ſigned with our hand, "ſhall be your ſufficient warrant on this behalf.

"Given under our ſignet, at our manor "of Kening-hall, the ninth of July "1553."

To this letter of the lady Mary, the lords of the council returned the following anſwer:

The Lords Anſwer to the lady Mary's Letter.

"MADAM, we have received your letters, the "ninth of this inſtant, declaring your ſuppoſed "title, which you judge yourſelf to have to the imperial "crown of this realm, and all the dominions thereunto "belonging. For anſwer whereof, this is to advertiſe "you, that foraſmuch as our ſovereign lady queen Jane "is, after the death of our ſovereign lord king Edward "VI. a prince of moſt noble memory, inveſted and "poſſeſſed with the juſt and right title in the imperial "crown of this realm, not only by good order of antient "laws of this realm, but alſo by our late ſovereign lord's "letters patent ſigned with his own hand, and ſealed with "the great ſeal of England, in preſence of the moſt part "of the nobles, counſellors, judges, with divers other "grave and ſage perſonages, aſſenting and ſubſcribing to "the ſame: We muſt therefore, as of moſt bound duty "and allegiance, aſſent unto her ſaid grace, and to none "other, except we ſhould (which faithful ſubjects can-"not) fall into grievous and unſpeakable enormities. "Wherefore we can no leſs do, but for the quiet both of "the realm and you alſo, to advertiſe you, that foraſ-"much as the divorce made between the king of famous "memory, king Henry VIII. and the lady Katherine "your mother, was neceſſary to be had both by the "everlaſting laws of God, and alſo by the eccleſiaſtical "laws, and by the moſt part of the noble and learned "univerſities of Chriſtendom, and confirmed alſo by the "ſundry acts of parliaments remaining yet in their force, "and thereby you juſtly made illegitimate, and unherit-"able to the crown imperial of this realm, and the "rules, and dominions, and poſſeſſions of the ſame, you "will upon juſt conſideration hereof, and of divers "other cauſes lawful to be alledged for the ſame, and "for the juſt inheritance of the right line, and godly "order taken by the late king our ſovereign lord king "Edward VI. and agreed upon by the nobles and "great perſonages aforeſaid, ſurceaſe by any pretence to "vex and moleſt any of our ſovereign lady queen Jane "her ſubjects, from their true faith and allegiance due "unto her grace: Aſſuring you, that if you will for "reſpect ſhew yourſelf quiet and obedient (as you "ought) you ſhall find us all and ſeveral ready to do "you any ſervice that we with duty may, and glad with "your quietneſs to preſerve the common ſtate of this "realm, wherein you may be otherwiſe grievous unto "us, to yourſelf, and to them. And thus we bid you "moſt heartily well to fare.

"From the Tower of London, in this ninth of July 1553.

"Your ladyſhip's friends, ſhewing yourſelf "an obedient ſubject,

THOMAS

Thomas Canterbury.
The Marquis of Winchester.
John Bedford.
Will. Northampton.
Tho. Ely, Chancellor.
Northumberland.
Henry Suffolk.
Henry Arundel.
Shrewsbury.
Pembrook.
Cobham.
R. Rich.
Huntington.
Darcy.
Cheney.
R. Cotton.
John Gates.
W. Peter.
W. Cecill.
John Cheek.
John Mason.
Edward North.
R. Bowes."

All theſe perſons aforeſaid, except the duke of Northumberland and Sir John Gates, were afterwards by ſpecial favor, or ſpecial or general pardon, diſcharged.

Upon receiving this anſwer, and thereby perceiving the lords minds, the lady Mary makes haſte away privately far out of London, relying chiefly upon the good will of the commons, but yet not altogether deſtitute of the ſecret advertiſements of ſome of the nobles. When the council heard of her ſudden departure, and perceived her ſtoutneſs, and that things went not as they expected, they ſpeedily gathered a body of men together, and pitched on the duke of Suffolk for their leader or general. But afterwards changing their minds, they thought it beſt to let the duke of Suffolk keep the Tower where the lord Guildford and the lady Jane then lodged, and to ſend the duke of Northumberland, with ſeveral other lords and gentlemen. In which expedition, notwithſtanding the guards were very unwilling to march at firſt, yet through the perſuaſion and importunity of the lord treaſurer, maſter Chomley, and others, they were at length induced and prevailed on to aſſiſt the duke, and to ſet forward with him.

Theſe things thus agreed on, and the duke being now ſet forward out of London after the beſt manner, both with his times and journey preſcribed him by the council, that he might not do any thing but upon warrant; the lady Mary in the mean while fatigued with travelling up and down, and conſidering where to fix moſt for her advantage, withdrew herſelf at length into the quarters of Norfolk and Suffolk, where for ſubduing the rebels in her brother king Edward's days, ſhe underſtood the duke's name was very much hated, and procuring to her aid and aſſiſtance as many of the commons as ſhe could, ſhe kept herſelf cloſe at Fremingham caſtle. And here reſorted firſt to her the Suffolk men, who being always very forward in promoting the proceedings of the goſpel, promiſed her their aid and help, in caſe ſhe would not attempt the alteration of the religion which by laws and orders publicly enacted was before eſtabliſhed in her brother king Edward's days, and which was generally received by the conſent of the whole realm.

In ſhort, with this condition ſhe readily complied, promiſing them faithfully that no innovation ſhould be made in religion, ſo that no man at that time miſtruſted her. Which promiſe, if ſhe had as conſtantly kept, as they did willingly preſerve her with their bodies and weapons, ſhe had acted worthy her blood, and made her reign more ſtable to herſelf through future tranquillity; for let a man be never ſo powerful, yet breach of promiſe is an ill ſupporter of quietneſs, fear worſe, but cruelty worſt of all.

But however, the lady Mary being guarded and aſſiſted with the power of the Goſpellers, vanquiſhed the duke, and all thoſe who came along with him. In conſideration whereof upon the Suffolk men's afterwards ſupplicating her grace, and reminding her of performing her promiſe, methinks the following anſwer ſhe returned was very ſevere and ungrateful: "Foraſmuch (ſaith ſhe) as you "being but members deſire to rule your head, you ſhall "one day well perceive, that members muſt obey their "head, and not look to bear rule over the ſame." And not only ſo, but to ſtrike a greater terror into others, a certain gentleman near Windham ſide, namely, one Mr. Dobbe, for the ſame cauſe, that is, by advertiſing her by humble requeſt of her promiſe, was puniſhed with ſtanding three times in the pillory, to be a common gazing ſtock to all men. Divers others likewiſe delivered her books and ſupplications collected out of the ſcripture, to exhort her to continue in the true religion then eſtabliſhed, and for their good will were impriſoned. But ſuch is the ſtate and condition of human nature (as may here be plainly ſeen) that generally ſpeaking, we are always more ready to ſeek friendſhip when we ſtand in need of help, than to requite a benefit that is once paſt and received. However, this may be a matter of great comfort to all miſerable creatures, that equity and fidelity are ever perfect with the Lord above, though the ſame be ſhut out of doors in this world, and not to be found among men.

But my deſign being to write a ſtory, and not to treat of office, I ſhall chuſe to paſs by the Suffolk men for a while, and proceed to conſider the contrary ſide, the duke of Northumberland; who having his warrant under the broad ſeal, with all his furniture in readineſs, as he proceeded on his march, what ado there was, what ſtirring on every ſide, what ſending, riding, and poſting, what letters, meſſages, and inſtructions paſſed to and fro, what talking among the ſoldiers, and heart-burnings among the people, what fair pretences outwardly, and what privy practices inwardly, what diſpatching of ordnance from the Tower, and what coming down of ſoldiers from all quarters, a world it was to ſee, and a proceſs to declare, enough to make a whole Ilias. But what made moſt for the lady Mary, were the duke's ſhort journeys aſſigned him by commiſſion, which I took notice of before; for the longer the duke lingered in his journey, the lady Mary's increaſed, the hearts of the people being much inclined to her. Which when the council at London perceived, and underſtood how the common people began to withdraw from them to her, and likewiſe that certain noblemen began ſo to do, they forthwith changed their note, and proclaimed for queen the lady Mary, eldeſt daughter to king Henry VIII. and appointed by parliament to ſucceed king Edward, dying without iſſue.

And ſo the duke of Northumberland, ſent againſt her by advice of the council, was left deſtitute and forſaken at Cambridge, with only ſome of his ſons, and a few others, as the earl of Huntington for one, who were all arreſted and brought to the Tower of London, as traitors to the crown.

Thus have ye the lady Mary made queen, and the ſword of authority put into her hand, which how ſhe afterwards uſed may be plainly ſeen in the ſequel of this book. For when ſhe had been thus advanced by means of the Goſpellers, and by conquering her enemies, and ſending the duke captive to the Tower, July the twenty-fifth, ſaw all things quiet, ſhe followed not long after, being brought up to London the third of Auguſt, with the rejoicing of ſome, the fear of many, but probably with the flattery of a far greater number.

When ſhe came to London, ſhe firſt lodged at the Tower, where a little before her coming the lady Jane, and her huſband the lord Guildford were impriſoned, where they remained almoſt five months waiting her pleaſure. But the duke, within a month after his coming to the Tower, was adjudged to death, and brought to the ſcaffold, and beheaded, notwithſtanding the promiſe made him of his life (yea, though his head were upon the block), if he would but renounce his religion and hear maſs, which he accordingly did, and denied in words that true religion, which in the days of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. he had frequently declared himſelf willing both to favor and further; alſo exhorting the people to return to the catholic faith, as he termed it: Whoſe recantation the papiſts forthwith publiſhed

and ſpread abroad, rejoicing not a little at his converſion, or rather ſubverſion.

Thus the duke of Northumberland, with Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, being put to death, which laſt confeſſed his faith that he had learned in the goſpel, and lamented that he had not lived more conformably thereunto. In the mean time queen Mary beginning her reign with the blood of theſe men, and with hearing maſs herſelf in the Tower, but more eſpecially with releaſing from thence Stephen Gardiner, gave plain indication that (as the people in general ſurmiſed) ſhe would not perform what ſhe promiſed the Suffolk men, concerning the not ſubverting or altering the ſtate of religion.

Beſides the premiſes, there were other things that followed, which every day more and more diſcomforted the people, and which declared the queen to bear no good will to the preſent ſtate of religion; as not only the releaſing of Gardiner, and making him lord chancellor of England, and biſhop of Wincheſter, turning out Dr. Poynet; the making Bonner biſhop of London, and diſplacing Dr. Ridley; alſo the promoting Dr. Day to the biſhoprick of Chicheſter, putting out J. Scory; Dr. Tonſtal to the biſhoprick of Durham; Dr. Heath to the biſhoprick of Worceſter, and committing J. Hooper to the Fleet; Dr. Veſie made biſhop of Exeter, and Miles Coverdale put out. All which things being marked and perceived, there aroſe great heavineſs and diſcomfort to all good men, but, on the contrary, as great rejoicing to the wicked. In which diſcord of minds and diverſity of affections, there was now to be ſeen a miſerable ſtate of things throughout the whole realm: for they that could diſſemble cared not how matters went; but ſuch as were men of conſcience, and had any regard for the truth, perceived coals to be already kindled, and which ſhould afterwards be the deſtruction of many a true chriſtian, as indeed it came to paſs. In the mean while queen Mary, after theſe beginnings, removed to Hampton-court, and againſt the tenth of October next enſuing cauſed a parliament to be be ſummoned, of which more ſhall be ſpoken hereafter.

Thus have ye heard how divers biſhops were removed, and others placed in their room; amongſt whom was Dr. Ridley biſhop of London, a worthy man, pious and learned, who in the time of queen Jane, by order of the council, preached a ſermon at Paul's croſs, declaring therein his opinion concerning the lady Mary, and diſſuading them by alledging the inconveniencies that might ariſe by admitting her to the crown, propheſying, as it were, before, that which afterwards came to paſs, namely, that ſhe would bring in a foreign power to reign over them, and ſubvert the chriſtian religion then happily eſtabliſhed; ſhewing, moreover, that the lady Mary, being in his dioceſe, he, according to his duty, as being then her ordinary, had done his endeavour to reduce her to this religion, and notwithſtanding in all other points of civility ſhe ſhewed herſelf gentle and tractable, yet in matters that concerned true faith and doctrine, ſhe appeared perverſe and obſtinate; that he could conceive no other hopes of her, but that ſhe would diſturb and overturn all that had been planted and confirmed with ſo much induſtry in the reign of her brother king Edward. Soon after this ſermon was preached, the lady Mary was proclaimed queen, whereupon Dr. Ridley, forthwith repaired to ſalute her at Fremingham Caſtle, where he met with cold entertainment, and being deprived of all his dignity, was ſent back upon a lame halting horſe to the Tower.

The Sunday following Mr. Rogers preached, diſcourſing very learnedly on the goſpel for the day: Whereupon queen Mary perceiving things not to go forward according to her mind, ſhe forthwith deviſed and conſulted with her council how to bring about by other means what by open law ſhe could not well accompliſh; and accordingly directed forth an inhibition by proclamation, that no man ſhould preach or read openly the word of God in churches, and ſeveral other things inhibited in the ſame proclamation, the copy whereof here followeth.

An Inhibition of the Queen for preaching, printing, &c.

" THE Queen's Highneſs, well remembering what " great inconveniencies and dangers have grown " to this her Highneſs's realm in times paſt, through the " diverſity of opinions in queſtion of religion, and hearing alſo that now of late, ſince the beginning of her " moſt gracious reign, the ſame contentions be again " much revived, through certain falſe and untrue reports and rumours ſpread by ſome light and evil diſpoſed perſons; hath thought good to do to underſtand, " all her Highneſs's moſt loving ſubjects, her moſt " gracious pleaſure in manner following:

" Firſt, her Majeſty, being preſently by the only " goodneſs of God ſettled in her juſt poſſeſſion of the " imperial crown of this realm, and other dominions " thereunto belonging, cannot now hide that religion " which God and the world knoweth ſhe hath ever profeſſed from her infancy hitherto. Which as her " Majeſty is minded to obſerve and maintain for herſelf by God's grace, during her time, ſo doth her " Highneſs much deſire, and would be glad the ſame " were of all her ſubjects quietly and charitably embraced.

" And yet ſhe doth ſignify unto all her Majeſty's loving " ſubjects, that of her moſt gracious diſpoſition and " clemency, her Highneſs mindeth not to compel any " her ſaid ſubjects thereunto, until ſuch time as further " order by common aſſent may be taken therein: forbidding nevertheleſs all her ſubjects of all degrees, at " their perils, to move ſeditions, or ſtir unquietneſs in " her people, by interpreting the laws of this realm after their brains and fantaſies, but quietly to continue " for the time till (as before is ſaid) further order may " be taken, and therefore willeth and ſtraitly chargeth " and commandeth all her ſaid good loving ſubjects, to " live together in quiet ſort, and chriſtian charity, " leaving thoſe new found deviliſh terms of Papiſt or " Heretic, and ſuch like, and applying their whole " care, ſtudy, and travel, to live in the fear of God, " exerciſing their converſations in ſuch charitable and " godly doing, as their lives may indeed expreſs that " great hunger and thirſt of God's glory and holy " word, which by raſh talk and words many have pretended: and in ſo doing they ſhall beſt pleaſe God, " and live without danger of the laws, and maintain " the tranquillity of the realm. Whereof as her Highneſs ſhall be moſt glad, ſo if any man ſhall raſhly " preſume to make any aſſemblies of people, or at any " public aſſemblies, or otherwiſe, ſhall go about to ſtir " the people to diſorder or diſquiet, ſhe mindeth, according to her duty, to ſee the ſame moſt ſeverely reformed and puniſhed according to her Highneſs's laws.

" And furthermore, foraſmuch as it is alſo well " known, that ſedition and falſe rumours have been " nouriſhed and maintained in this realm, by the ſubtilty and malice of ſome evil diſpoſed perſons, which " take upon them without ſufficient authority to preach " and to interpret the word of God after their own " brain in churches, and other places both public and " private, and alſo by playing of interludes, and printing of falſe found books, ballads, rhimes, and other " lewd treatiſes in the Engliſh tongue, concerning doctrine, in matters now in queſtion and controverſy, " touching the high points and myſteries of the chriſtian religion; which books, ballads, rhimes, and " treatiſes, are chiefly by the Printers and Stationers " ſet out to ſale to her Grace's ſubjects, of an evil " zeal, for lucre and covetouſneſs of vile gain: Her " highneſs therefore ſtraitly chargeth and commandeth

" all

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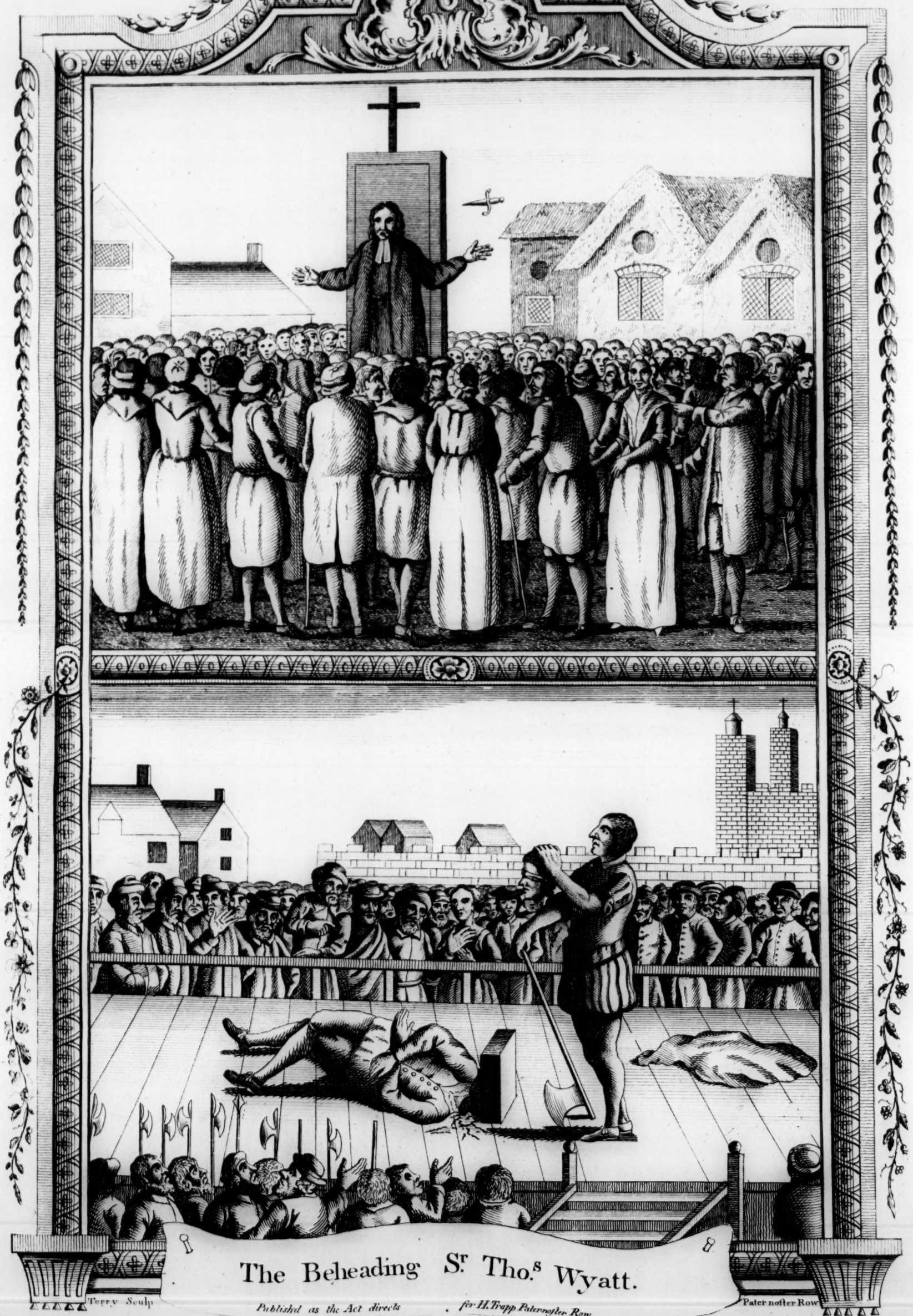
Engraved for FOX's BOOK *of Martyrs.*

A Dagger thrown at Mr Bourn while Preaching.



The Beheading Sr Thos Wyatt.

Terry Sculp

Published as the Act directs *for H. Trapp Paternoster Row.*

Pater noster Row

" all and every of her ſaid ſubjects, of whatſoever ſtate, con-
" dition, or degree they be, that none of them preſume
" from henceforth to preach, or by way of reading in
" churches, or other public or private places, except in
" ſchools of the univerſity, to interpret or teach any ſcrip-
" tures, or any manner of points of doctrine concerning
" religion, neither alſo to print any books, matter, ballad,
" rhime, interlude, proceſs or treatiſe, nor to play any
" interlude, except they have her Grace's ſpecial licence
" in writing for the ſame, upon pain to incur her High-
" neſs's indignation and diſpleaſure.

" And her Highneſs alſo further chargeth and com-
" mandeth all and every her ſaid ſubjects, that none of
" them of their own authority do preſume to puniſh,
" and to riſe againſt any offender in the cauſes above-
" ſaid, or any other offender, in words or deeds in the
" late rebellion committed or done by the duke of Nor-
" thumberland, or his complices, or to ſeize any of
" their goods, or violently to uſe any ſuch offender by
" ſtriking or impriſoning, or threatening the ſame, but
" wholly to refer the puniſhment of all ſuch offenders
" unto her Highneſs and Public Authority, whereof
" her Majeſty mindeth to ſee due puniſhment according
" to the order of her Highneſs's laws.

" Nevertheleſs, as her Highneſs mindeth not hereby
" to reſtrain and diſcourage any of her loving ſubjects,
" to give from time to time true information againſt any
" ſuch offenders in the cauſes aboveſaid, unto her Grace
" or Council, for the puniſhment of every ſuch offender,
" according to the effect of her Highneſs's laws pro-
" vided in that part: So her ſaid Highneſs exhorteth
" and ſtraitly chargeth her ſaid ſubjects to obſerve her
" commandment and pleaſure in every part aforeſaid, as
" they will avoid her Highneſs's ſaid indignation and moſt
" grievous diſpleaſure. The ſeverity and rigour whereof
" as her Highneſs ſhall be moſt ſorry to have cauſe to
" put in execution; ſo doth ſhe utterly determine not to
" permit ſuch unlawful and rebellious doings of her ſub-
" jects, whereof may enſue the danger of her royal eſtate,
" to remain unpuniſhed, but to ſee her ſaid laws touch-
" ing theſe points to be throughly executed: which ex-
" tremities ſhe truſteth all her ſaid ſubjects will foreſee,
" dread, and avoid accordingly: her ſaid Highneſs ſtraitly
" charging and commanding all mayors, ſheriffs, juſtices
" of peace, bailiffs, conſtables, and all other public
" officers and miniſters, diligently to ſee to the obſerving
" and executing of her ſaid commandments and pleaſure,
" and to apprehend all ſuch as ſhall wilfully offend in
" this part, committing the ſame to the next jail, there
" to remain without bail or mainprize, till upon certifi-
" cate made to her Highneſs, or her Privy Council, of
" their names and doings: and upon examination had of
" their offences, ſome further order ſhall be taken for
" their puniſhment to the example of others, according
" to the effect and tenor of the laws aforeſaid.

" Given at our manor of Richmond, the 18th day
" of Auguſt in the firſt year of our moſt proſperous
" reign."

About this time, or not long before, one Mr. Bourn, a canon of Paul's, who was afterwards made biſhop of Bath, was appointed by Bonner, then biſhop of London, to preach at Paul's Croſs; and he taking occaſion from the goſpel of the day, largely to juſtify Bonner then preſent; by ſaying, that day four years Bonner had preached upon the ſame text, and in the ſame place, and was thereupon moſt cruelly and unjuſtly caſt into the moſt vile dungeon of the Marſhalſea, and there kept during king Edward's reign; his words had ſuch an ill effect upon his auditors, that they could not keep ſilence, but began to murmur and ſtir in ſuch ſort, that the mayor and aldermen, with other eſtates then preſent, were much afraid of an uproar: Nay, one hurled a dagger at the preacher, but who it was could not be proved then, although it was afterwards known.

In ſhort, the ſtir was ſo great, that the preacher plucked in his head, and durſt no more appear in that place; for the matter of his ſermon tended much to the diſpraiſe of king Edward, which the people could in no wiſe endure. Then Mr. Bradford, at the requeſt of the preacher's brother, and others, then being in the pulpit, ſtood forth, and ſpoke ſo mildly, chriſtianly and effectually, that with a few words he pacified and appeaſed all. And afterwards he and Mr. Rogers conducted the preacher from the pulpit to the grammar-ſchool door, where they left him ſafe, as will further appear in the ſtory of Mr. Bradford. But not long after they were both rewarded with long impriſonment, and at laſt with fire in Smithfield.

By reaſon of this tumult at Paul's Croſs, there was an order forthwith diſpatched from the lords of the council to the mayor and aldermen of London, that they ſhould call a common council the next day, and thereby charge every houſholder, to cauſe their children, apprentices, and other ſervants, to keep their own pariſh churches upon holy-days, and not to ſuffer their attempting in the leaſt to violate or diſturb the common peace; willing them likewiſe to ſignify to the ſaid aſſembly the queen's determination uttered unto them Auguſt 12. by her Highneſs in the Tower; which was this, that notwithſtanding her majeſty's conſcience was ſatisfied as to matters of religion, yet ſhe graciouſly meant not to compel or force the conſciences of others, only hoping God, through opening his word to them by godly, virtuous, and learned preachers, would ſo guide and direct them, as to bring them to be of the like religion with herſelf.

Alſo it was then ordered, that every alderman in his ward would forthwith ſend for the curates of every pariſh within their liberties, and warn them not only to forbear preaching themſelves, but likewiſe not to ſuffer any other to preach, or make any open or ſolemn reading of ſcripture in their churches, unleſs the ſaid preachers were ſeverally licenſed by the queen.

Moreover after the ſermon at Paul's Croſs aforeſaid, the next day after it was ſo ordered, that the queen's guard came to the Croſs to attend the preacher. And when men withdrew themſelves from the ſermon, order was taken by the mayor, that the ancients of all companies ſhould be preſent, leſt the preacher ſhould be diſcouraged by his ſmall auditory.

August, 1553.

Auguſt 5. 1553. one William Rutler was committed to the Marſhalſea by the council, for ſpeaking certain words againſt Mr. Bourn, for his ſermon at Paul's Croſs the Sunday before.

Aug. 16. Humphry Paulden was committed to the Compter, for words againſt the ſaid Bourn's ſermon at Paul's Croſs.

A letter was ſent to the ſheriffs of Buckingham and Bedford, for apprehending one Fiſher, parſon of Amerſham.

Another letter to the biſhop of Norwich, not to ſuffer any preacher or other, to preach or expound the ſcripture publicly, without ſpecial licence from the queen.

The ſame day Mr. Bradford, Vernon, and Beacon, preachers, were committed to the charge of the lieutenant of the Tower.

The ſame day likewiſe Mr. John Rogers was commanded to keep himſelf priſoner in his own houſe, without converſing with any other but thoſe of his own houſhold.

Aug. 22. two letters were directed to Mr. Coverdale biſhop of Exeter, and Mr. Hooper biſhop of Glouceſter, for them to repair forthwith to the court, and there to attend the council's pleaſure.

The ſame day parſon Fiſher of Amerſham appeared before the council, according to their letter of Aug. 16. and was ordered to bring a copy of his ſermon the next day.

Aug. 24. one John Melvin a preacher, and a Scotchman, was ſent to Newgate in London by the council.

Aug. 28. there was a letter ſent to the mayor of Coventry and his brethren, for the apprehending of one Symonds, vicar of St. Michael's in Coventry, and for ſending him up to the council, with his examinations, and other matters they could charge him with, with a commiſſion likewiſe to puniſh all ſuch, as by means of his preaching had at any time talked againſt the queen's proceedings.

Aug. 29. Mr. Hooper biſhop of Glouceſter appeared before the council.

Aug. 31. Mr. Coverdale biſhop of Exeter appeared before the council, according to their letters of the 22d.

September, 1553.

Sept. 1. Mr. Hooper and Mr. Coverdale appeared again before the council, from whence Mr. Hooper was committed to the Fleet, and Mr. Coverdale ordered to attend the lords pleaſure.

Sept. 2. Mr. Hugh Symonds, vicar of St. Michael's in Coventry, was before the council for a ſermon, and commanded to appear again the Monday following.

Sept. 4. A letter was directed from the council to Mr. Hugh Latimer, for his appearing before them.

The ſame year, about the 5th day of September, Peter Martyr came to London from Oxford, where for a time he had been commanded to keep his houſe, and found there the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who offered to defend the Book of Common Prayer, both by the ſcriptures and the fathers, aſſiſted by Peter Martyr and others, as will hereafter appear. But whilſt they were in hopes of coming to a diſputation, the archbiſhop and the others were impriſoned, and Peter Martyr permitted to return whence he came,

The ſame day a letter was ſent to the mayor of Coventry, with orders to ſet Hugh Symonds at liberty, if he would recant his ſermon, otherwiſe to detain him, and give notice thereof to the council.

Sept. 13. Mr. Hugh Latimer appeared before the council, according to their letter of the 4th, and was committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower, attended by his ſervant Auſtin.

The ſame day the archbiſhop of Canterbury appeared before the council, and was ordered to attend them the next day in the afternoon in the Star-chamber.

Sept. 14. the archbiſhop of Canterbury accordingly made his appearance before the lords in the Star-chamber; where being charged with treaſon, and with diſtributing ſeditious bills to the diſturbance of the ſtate, he was immediately committed to the Tower of London, there to remain till further juſtice and order, at the queen's pleaſure.

Sept. 15. a letter was ſent to Mr. Horn dean of Durham, commanding him to appear before them; and October 7, another was ſent to haſten his appearance.

Sept. 16. letters were ſent to the mayors of Dover and Rie, to permit all French proteſtants to paſs out of this realm, except thoſe whoſe names ſhall be ſignified to them by the French ambaſſador.

October, 1553.

October 1. Queen Mary was crowned at Weſtminſter, and the 10th day of the ſame month the parliament began with a ſolemn maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, in the popiſh manner, celebrated with great pomp in the palace of Weſtminſter, where, according to cuſtom, the lords the biſhops, that remained yet undepoſed, were to be preſent, amongſt the other lords; which were the archbiſhop of York, Dr. Taylor biſhop of Lincoln, and John Harley biſhop of Hereford; but when the biſhops, Dr. Taylor and Mr. Harley, preſented themſelves according to their duty, and had taken their places amongſt the lords, upon ſeeing maſs begin they immediately withdrew from the company, as not enduring the ſight thereof: for which cauſe the biſhop of Lincoln being examined, and proteſting his faith, was commanded to attend; not long after which he died at Ankerwike; and Mr. Harley, for being married, was excluded both from the parliament and his biſhoprick.

Maſs being ended, the queen, accompanied with the eſtates of the realm, was brought into the parliament houſe, there, according to cuſtom, to enter upon, and begin a conſultation, at which conſultation all ſtatutes were repealed that were made in the reign of king Henry VIII. for reformation, and ſtatutes made in Edward VI. time for adminiſtering the Common Prayer and Sacrament in the Engliſh tongue: and further, the attainder of the duke of Northumberland was by this parliament confirmed.

In the mean while ſeveral were very forward in erecting altars and maſſes in churches; and ſuch as were for adhering to the laws made in the time of king Edward, till others ſhould be eſtabliſhed, were either marked, or preſently apprehended, among whom was Sir James Hales, knight, of Kent, and juſtice of the common pleas; one, that notwithſtanding he had ventured his life in queen Mary's cauſe, by not ſubſcribing to the diſinheriting her by the king's will, yet becauſe, at a quarter-ſeſſions, he gave a charge upon the ſtatutes made in the reigns of king Henry VIII. and Edward VI. for the ſupremacy and religion, he was therefore impriſoned in the Marſhalſea, Compter, and Fleet, and ſo cruelly handled and terrified by the talk that the warden of the Fleet uſed to have in his hearing, of the torments as were preparing for heretics (or for what other cauſe God only knows) that he intended to diſpatch himſelf with a knife; and afterwards was willing to ſay what they deſired him; whereupon he was diſcharged, but never afterwards reſted till he drowned himſelf in a river, about half a mile from his own houſe in Kent. Of whom more will be ſeen hereafter.

During the time of this parliament, the clergy likewiſe after their uſual manner had a convocation, with a diſputation alſo, appointed by the queen's command to be held at Paul's church in London, about the 18th of October. In this convocation Mr. John Harpsfield, bachelor of divinity, made a ſermon AD CLERUM. After ſermon, it was aſſigned by the biſhops, that they of the clergy-houſe, for avoiding confuſion of words, ſhould chuſe them a prolocutor. To which office Dr. Weſton, dean of Weſtminſter, was choſe by common aſſent, and preſented to the biſhops with an oration of Mr. Pie dean of Chicheſter, and alſo of Mr. Wimbiſley archdeacon of London. Dr. Weſton being choſe, and brought to the biſhops, made his gratulatory oration to the houſe, and was anſwered with another by biſhop Bonner.

They proceeded next to the diſputation, appointed as is aboveſaid by the queen's commandment, about the matter of the ſacrament; which diſputation continued ſix days, wherein Dr. Weſton was chief on the pope's part, who behaved himſelf outrageouſly in taunting and checking. In fine, ſuch as diſputed on the contrary part were driven, ſome to flee, ſome to deny, ſome to die, though to moſt men's judgments that heard the diſputation they had the upper hand, as may here appear by the report of the ſaid diſputation, the copy whereof we thought fit here to annex as followeth.

The true Report of the Diſputation had and begun in the Convocation Houſe at London, Octob. 18, 1553.

WHereas divers and uncertain rumours be ſpread abroad of the diſputation had in the convocation houſe; to the intent that all men may know the certainty of all things therein done and ſaid, as much as the memory of him that was preſent thereat can bear away, he hath thought good, at requeſt, thoroughly to deſcribe what was ſaid therein on both parties, of the matters argued and had in queſtion, and of the entrance thereof.

The

The First Day's Act.

Upon Wednesday October 18. in the afternoon, Dr. Weſton the prolocutor firſt certified the houſe, that it was the queen's pleaſure, that the company of the ſame houſe being learned men aſſembled ſhould debate matters of religion, and for that end conſtitute laws, which her Grace and the parliament would ratify. And becauſe (ſaid he) there was a book lately publiſhed called the Catechiſm, which he ſhewed forth, bearing the name of this honourable ſynod, and yet put forth without your conſents, as I have learned, being a book very peſtiferous, and full of hereſies; and likewiſe an abominable book of common prayer (as he pleaſed to call it) I thought it beſt therefore firſt to begin with the articles of the catechiſm, concerning the ſacrament of the altar, for confirming the natural preſence of Chriſt in the ſame, and alſo tranſubſtantiation. Wherefore (ſaid he) it ſhall be lawful on Friday next enſuing for all men freely to ſpeak their conſcience in theſe matters, that all doubts may be removed, and they fully ſatisfied therein.

The Second Day's Act.

The Friday coming, being October 20. when it was expected they ſhould have entered into diſputation of the queſtions propoſed, the prolocutor exhibiting two bills to the houſe, the one for the natural preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar, and the other concerning the catechiſm, that it was not publiſhed by the conſent of that houſe, and that they did not agree thereunto, requiring all them to ſubſcribe to the ſame as he himſelf had done. Whereunto the whole houſe accordingly aſſented, except ſix, viz. the dean of Rocheſter, the dean of Exeter, the archdeacon of Wincheſter, archdeacon of Hereford, archdeacon of Stow, and one more. And whilſt the reſt were about ſubſcribing to theſe two articles, John Philpot ſtood up and ſpoke firſt concerning the articles of the catechiſm, that he thought they were deceived in the title of the catechiſm, for that it bore the title of the ſynod before this, although as to publiſhing thereof ſeveral of them then preſent were not made privy thereunto; and that becauſe this houſe had granted authority to certain perſons appointed by the king's majeſty to make eccleſiaſtical laws; and whatſoever eccleſiaſtical laws were thereupon publiſhed by the authority of them or the major part of them, according to a ſtatute in that behalf made and provided, it might well be ſaid to be done by the conſent of the ſynod of London, notwithſtanding ſuch as were members of this houſe now had no notice thereof before the promulgation. And therefore in this point he thought the publiſher thereof had not in the leaſt ſlandered the houſe, as they by their ſubſcriptions were endeavouring to perſuade the world, ſince they had one ſynodal authority for impowering them to make ſuch ſpiritual law, as they thought convenient and neceſſary.

And moreover he ſaid, that as to the article of the natural preſence in the ſacrament, it was both contrary to reaſon and learning, and likewiſe very prejudicial to truth, for men to be moved to ſubſcribe before the matter was thoroughly examined and diſcuſſed. But when he ſaw his allegations were to no purpoſe, being like a man aſtoniſhed at ſo many ancient learned men being purpoſely aſſembled to maintain old traditions preferable to the truth of God's holy word, he made it his requeſt to the prolocutor, that whereas on that ſide there were preſent ſo many learned men, as the like were not to be found again in the whole realm, and that on the other ſide, of thoſe that had not ſubſcribed there were not above five or ſix, and they far inferior to them both in age and learning; in order therefore that there might be an equality of perſons concerned in this diſputation, he deſired that the prolocutor would intercede with the lords, that ſome of thoſe men that were learned, and occaſioned the publiſhing of the catechiſm aforeſaid, might be admitted into the houſe to ſhew their learning that moved them to ſet forth the ſame, and that Dr. Ridley and Mr. Rogers, with two or three more, might have the liberty of being preſent at this diſputation, and aſſociating with them.

This requeſt was thought reaſonable, and was therefore propoſed to the biſhops, who returned this anſwer; That it was out of their power to call ſuch perſons to the houſe, ſince ſome of them were priſoners; but they ſaid, they would petition the council in this behalf, and in caſe any of them were abſent that ought to be of the houſe, they were for their being admitted as they deſired. After this, they minding to have entered into diſputation, there came a gentleman with a meſſage from the lord great maſter, ſignifying unto the prolocutor, that the lord great maſter and the earl of Devonſhire would be preſent at the diſputations, and therefore he deferred the ſame till Monday, at one of the clock in the afternoon.

The Third Day's Act.

Upon Monday Octob. 23. at the time appointed, in preſence of many earls, lords, knights, gentlemen, and ſeveral others, both of the court and city, the prolocutor made a proteſtation, that the members of that houſe had appointed this diſputation, not to call in queſtion the truth, whereunto they had all ſubſcribed already except five or ſix, but that thoſe gainſayers might be reſolved of their arguments in which they ſtood, not doubting but they will alſo come over to us.

Then he demanded of Mr. Haddon, whether he would reaſon againſt the queſtions propoſed, or not; to whom he anſwered, that he had certified him before in writing that he would not, ſince they could not have ſuch men for their aſſiſtants as they deſired. Mr. Elmar likewiſe was aſked the ſame queſtion, who returned the ſame anſwer to the prolocutor; adding moreover, that they had done too much prejudice already to the truth, to ſubſcribe before the matter was diſcuſſed; and it would ſignify little or nothing to reaſon for the truth, ſince they were now determined to the contrary. After this he demanded of Mr. Cheyney, who, the prolocutor ſaid, allowed the preſence with them (but upon certain authorities whereon he ſtandeth, and in which he deſires to be reſolved, as you ſhall hear, denied tranſubſtantiation), whether he would propoſe his doubts concerning tranſubſtantiation. To which he replied, yea, I ſhould be glad my doubts were reſolved, that move me to diſbelieve tranſubſtantiation.

The firſt is out of St. Paul to the Corinthians, who ſpeaking of the ſacrament of Chriſt's body and blood, frequently calls it bread after conſecration.

The ſecond is out of Origen, who ſpeaking of this ſacrament, ſaith, that the material part thereof goeth down to the excrements.

The third is out of Theodoretus, who ſpeaking of the ſacramental bread and wine after conſecration, ſaith, that they go not out of their former ſubſtance, form and ſhape. Theſe, among ſeveral others, are the doubts I require to be anſwered.

Then the prolocutor aſſigned Dr. Moreman to anſwer him, who, to St. Paul, anſwered him thus; That the ſacrament is called by him bread indeed; but it is thus to be underſtood, that it is the ſacrament of bread, that is, the form of bread.

Then Mr. Cheyney inferred and alledged, that Heſychius called the ſacrament both bread and fleſh.

Yea, replied Moreman, Heſychius calleth it bread, becauſe it was bread, not becauſe it is ſo. And paſſing over Origen, he came to Theodoretus, and ſaid, that men miſtook his authority, by interpreting a general into a ſpecial, as Peter Martyr hath done in the place of Theodoret, taking the Greek word that ſignifies ſubſtance in its ſpecial ſignification, whereas in the general it may be applied to Accidents as well as Subſtance: and therefore I anſwer Theodoret thus, That the ſacramental bread and wine do not go out of their former ſubſtance, form and ſhape, that is, not out of their accidental ſubſtance and ſhape.

After this Mr. Cheyney ſat down, and Mr. Elmar (a man that could not endure to hear ſo weak and childiſh an anſwer to ſo grave an authority) ſtood up, and diſputed upon the authority before alledged by Mr. Cheyney, and declared, that Moreman's anſwer to Theodoret was no juſt or ſufficient anſwer, but an illuſion or ſubtle evaſion, contrary to Theodoret's meaning. For if the Greek word that ſignifies Subſtance, ſaid he, ſhould, in the place alledged, be taken for Accident, as it is anſwered by Moreman, then were it a word ſuperfluous in Theodoret there, where there are two other Greek words which ſufficiently expound the accidents of the bread, and in Engliſh ſignify Shape and Form; and ſo he proved out of the ſame author, by divers allegations, that the Greek word that ſignified Subſtance in Theodoret, could not be ſo generally taken in that place, as Moreman, for a ſhift, would have it. But Moreman, as a man having no other ſalve for that ſore, affirmeth ſtill, that the Greek word which ſignified Subſtance, muſt needs ſignify Accidental Subſtance properly. To whoſe importunity, ſince he could have no better anſwer, Elmar, wearied with his obſtinacy, gave place.

Then John Philpot ſtood up, and ſaid, that he could prove from the matter Theodoret handled in the place before alledged, and the ſimilitude which he makes uſe of for proving his purpoſe, Moreman's interpretation of the Greek word that there ſignified Subſtance, was by no means to be taken for an Accidental Subſtance, as for a ſhift he would interpret it to be. For the matter Theodoret diſcourſeth of in that place, is againſt the heretic Eutyches, who denied two natures of ſubſtance to remain in Chriſt, being but one perſon, and that his humanity after the accompliſhment of the myſtery of our ſalvation, aſcending into heaven, and being joined to the Divinity, was abſorpt or ſwallowed up of the ſame; ſo that, according to his opinion, Chriſt was no more but of one divine ſubſtance only: Againſt which opinion Theodoret writeth, and by the ſimilitude of the ſacrament proveth the contrary againſt this heretic: That like as in the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt after the conſecration, there is the ſubſtance of Chriſt's humanity, with the ſubſtance of bread remaining as it was before, not being abſorpt by the humanity of Chriſt, but by divine operation joined thereunto; even ſo in the perſon of Chriſt, being now in heaven, of whom this ſacrament is a repreſentation, there being two ſeveral ſubſtances, that is, his humanity and divinity united in one hypoſtaſy or perſon, which is Chriſt, the humanity not being abſorbed by the conjunction of the divinity, but remaining in its former ſubſtance.

And this ſimilitude, ſaith Philpot, brought by Theodoret to confound Eutyches, would prove nothing at all, if the very ſubſtance of the ſacramental bread remained not as it did before. But if Dr. Moreman's interpretation might take place for tranſubſtantiation, then by Theodoret's authority ſo taken, would the heretic have a ſtrong argument to maintain his hereſy, and to prove himſelf an orthodox chriſtian, and might well ſay to Theodoret thus: Like as thou, Theodoret, if thou wert of Dr. Moreman's mind, doſt ſay, that after the conſecration in the ſacrament, the ſubſtance of the bread is abſorpt or tranſubſtantiated into the human body of Chriſt coming thereunto, ſo that in the ſacrament there is but one ſubſtance of the humanity alone, and not the ſubſtance of bread as it was before; even ſo likewiſe may I affirm, and conclude by thine own ſimilitude, that the humanity aſcending up by the power of God into heaven, and adjoined unto the Deity, was by the might thereof abſorpt and turned into one ſubſtance with the Deity; ſo that now there remaineth but one divine ſubſtance in Chriſt, no more than in the ſacramental ſigns of the Lord's ſupper, after the conſecration, doth remain any more than one ſubſtance, according to your belief and conſtruction.

In anſwering to this Dr. Moreman ſtaggered, which Philpot well perceiving, ſpake on this wiſe; Well, maſter Moreman, if you have no anſwer at this preſent ready, I pray you conſider of one, if you can conveniently, againſt our next meeting here again.

With that his ſaying the prolocutor was grievouſly offended, telling him that he ſhould not brag there, but that he ſhould be fully anſwered. Then ſaid Philpot, It is the thing that I only deſire, to be anſwered directly in this behalf; and I deſire of you, and of all the houſe here preſent, that I may be ſufficiently anſwered, which I am ſure you are not able to do, taking Theodoret's authority and ſimilitude as he ought to be taken. Whereupon, without any further anſwer to Philpot's reaſoning, he was commanded to be ſilent.

Then the dean of Rocheſter ſtood up, offering himſelf to diſpute againſt the natural preſence, wiſhing that the ſcripture, and the ancient doctors, might be weighed, believed and followed in this point. And againſt this natural preſence, he thought that ſaying of Chriſt in St. Matthew was a ſufficient argument, if men would credit and follow ſcripture; where ſpeaking of himſelf, he ſays, That the poor we ſhould have always with us, but him we ſhould not have always: which, quoth he, was ſpoken concerning the natural preſence of Chriſt's body, and therefore we ought to believe as he hath taught us, That Chriſt is not naturally preſent on earth in the ſacrament of the altar.

To this he was anſwered by the prolocutor, That we ſhould not have Chriſt preſent always to exerciſe almsdeeds upon him, but upon the poor.

But the dean proſecuted his argument, and ſhewed it out of St. Auguſtin further, that the ſame interpretation of the ſcripture alledged was no ſufficient anſwer, who in the 50th treatiſe of St. John ſpeaketh thus on the ſame ſentence: "When as he ſaid (ſaith St. Auguſtin), Me ye "ſhall not have always with you, he ſpake of the pre- "ſence of his body. For by his majeſty, by his provi- "dence, by his unſpeakable and inviſible grace, that is "fulfilled which is ſaid of him, Behold I am with you "until the conſummation of the world. But in the fleſh "which the Word took upon him, in that which was "born of the virgin, in that which was apprehended by "the Jews, which was crucified on the croſs, which was "let down from the croſs, which was wrapped in clouts, "which was hid in the ſepulchre, which was manifeſted "in the reſurrection, you ſhall not have me always with "you. And why? For after a bodily preſence he was "converſant with his diſciples forty days, and they ac- "companying him, ſeeing and not following him, he "aſcended and is not here; for there he ſitteth at the "right hand of the Father; and yet here he is, becauſe "he is not departed in the preſence of his Majeſty. "After another manner we have Chriſt always by the "preſence of his Majeſty, but after the preſence of his "fleſh it is rightly ſaid, You ſhall not verily have me "always with you. For the church had him in the pre- "ſence of his fleſh a few days, and now by faith it ap- "prehendeth him, and ſeeth him not with eyes."

To this authority Dr. Watſon anſwered, and ſaid, he would anſwer St. Auguſtin by St. Auguſtin, and having a certain book in his hand of notes, he alledged out of the 70th treatiſe of St. John, that after that mortal condition and manner we have not now Chriſt on earth, as he was heretofore before his paſſion.

To this anſwer John Philpot replied, and ſaid, That Mr. Watſon had not fully anſwered St. Auguſtin by St. Auguſtin, as he promiſed to do, for that in the place abovementioned by the dean of Rocheſter, he doth not only teach the mortal ſtate of Chriſt's body before his paſſion, but alſo the immortal condition of the ſame after his reſurrection: in which mortal body St. Auguſtin ſeemeth plainly to affirm, That Chriſt is not preſent upon the earth, neither in form viſibly, neither in corporal ſubſtance inviſibly, as in a few lines after the place above alledged, St. Auguſtine doth more plainly declare by

theſe words, ſaying, "Now theſe two manners of Chriſt's "preſence declared, which is by his majeſty, providence "and grace now preſent in the world, which before his "aſcenſion was preſent in the fleſh; and which being "now placed at the right hand of the Father, is abſent "from the world, I think there remains no further diſ-"pute about the matter."

Now, ſaid Philpot, if St. Auguſtin allowed no other preſence of Chriſt here on earth but only his divine preſence, and touching his humanity to be in heaven, we ought to confeſs and believe the ſame. But if we put a third preſence of Chriſt, that is corporally to be preſent always in the ſacrament of the altar inviſibly according to your ſuppoſitions, whereof St. Auguſtin maketh no mention in all his works, you ſeem to judge that which St. Auguſtin did never comprehend.

Why, ſaid Watſon, does not St. Auguſtin, in the place I alledged, make mention how St. Stephen, being in this world, ſaw Chriſt after his aſcenſion.

It is true, ſaid Philpot, but he ſaw Chriſt, as the ſcripture ſaith, in the heavens, being open, ſtanding at the right hand of God the Father: at which Watſon was ſilent.

Then the prolocutor went about to anſwer St. Auguſtin, ſaying, Then he is not now in the world after the manner of bodily preſence, but yet preſent for all that in his body.

To whom Philpot anſwered, that the prolocutor dwelt much upon the word [Secundum] in St. Auguſtin, that ſignified after a manner, or in form, but that he made no anſwer to [Id quod] that which ſignified that thing or ſubſtance of Chriſt in which Chriſt ſuffered, aroſe, and aſcended into heaven, in which thing or ſubſtance he is in heaven, and not in earth, as St. Auguſtin in the place before ſpecified doth moſt clearly make appear.

Nothing further being anſwered to this, the dean of Rocheſter proceeded in the maintenance of his argument, and read out of a book of annotations ſundry authorities for the confirmation thereof. To which Moreman, who was appointed to anſwer him, made no direct anſwer, but bade him frame an argument, ſaying, that the dean had recited many doctors words, but had not made one argument.

Then ſaid the dean, the authorities of the doctors I have quoted, are arguments ſufficient to prove my intent, and to which I deſire you will anſwer. But Moreman ſtill cried, Make an argument; to ſhift off the authority which he could not anſwer to. Whereupon the dean made the following argument from the inſtitution of the ſacrament; Do this in remembrance of me; and thus ye ſhall ſhew forth the Lord's death until he come.

The ſacrament is the remembrance of Chriſt: therefore, the ſacrament is not very Chriſt; for as yet he is not come, For theſe words, Until he come, do plainly ſignify the abſence of Chriſt's body. Then the prolocutor went about to ſhew, that theſe words, Until he come, did not import any abſence of Chriſt on the earth, by other places of ſcripture, where the word, Until, was made uſe of: but directly to the purpoſe he anſwered nothing. In fine, the dean fell to aſking Moreman, whether Chriſt did eat the paſchal lamb with his diſciples, or not? He anſwered, Yea. He further demanded, whether upon inſtituting the ſacrament, he did likewiſe eat the ſacrament with them? Moreman anſwered, Yea. Then he aſked what he did eat, and whether he did eat his own natural body, as they imagined it to be, or not? Which when Moreman had affirmed, then ſaid the dean, It is a great abſurdity by you granted; and ſo he ſat down.

Againſt this abſurdity Philpot ſtood up and argued, ſaying, he could prove it by good reaſon deduced out of the ſcripture, that Chriſt eat not his own natural body at the inſtitution of the ſacrament; and gave the following reaſon:

No. I.

Receiving of Chriſt's body hath a promiſe of remiſſion of ſins with it annexed.

Chriſt eating the ſacrament, had no promiſe of remiſſion of ſin.

Therefore, Chriſt in the ſacrament did not eat his own body.

Moreman anſwered this reaſon by denying the former part of the argument, that the ſacrament had a promiſe of remiſſion of ſins annexed unto it.

Then Philpot ſhewed this to be the promiſe in the ſacrament; Which is given for you, which is ſhed for you, for the remiſſion of ſins. But Moreman would not allow that to be any promiſe, and ſo forced Philpot to the ſixth of St. John, to make good his ſaying with theſe words; The bread which I will give is my fleſh, which I will give for the life of the world.

Moreman anſwering nothing directly to this argument, Harpsfield ſtarted up to ſupply what was wanting in Moreman; and thinking to have anſwered Philpot, confirmed more ſtrongly his argument, by ſaying, Ye miſtake the promiſe which is annexed to the body of Chriſt in the ſacrament; for it pertained not to Chriſt, but to his diſciples, to whom Chriſt ſaid, This is my body which is given for you; and not for Chriſt himſelf.

You have well ſaid, quoth Philpot, for that is my argument; the promiſe of the body of Chriſt took no effect in Chriſt; therefore Chriſt ate not his own body.

Then the prolocutor, to ſhoulder out the matter, ſaid, the argument was naught. For by the like argument he might go about to prove, that Chriſt was not baptized, becauſe the remiſſion of ſin, which is annexed unto baptiſm, had no effect in Chriſt. To which Philpot replied, that like as Chriſt was baptized, ſo he ate the ſacrament; but he took on him baptiſm, not that he had any need thereof, or that it took any effect in him, but as our maſter, to give the church an example to follow him in the miniſtration of the ſacrament, and thereby to exhibit unto us himſelf, and not to give himſelf to himſelf.

No more was ſaid on this. But afterward the prolocutor demanded of Philpot, whether he would argue againſt the natural preſence, or not? to whom he anſwered, Yea, if he would hear his argument without interruption, and aſſign one to anſwer him, and not many, which is a confuſion to the opponent, and eſpecially for him that had but an ill memory. By this time the night was come on; wherefore the prolocutor brake up the diſputation for that time, and appointed Philpot to be the firſt that ſhould begin the diſputation the next day, concerning the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament.

The Fourth Day's Act.

On Wedneſday October 25. John Philpot, as it was before appointed, was ready to have entered the diſputation, minding firſt to have made an oration and declaration in Latin of the matter of Chriſt's preſence which was then in queſtion. Which the prolocutor perceiving, ſoon after forbad Philpot to make any declaration or oration of any matter, commanding him alſo that he ſhould make no argument in Latin, but to conclude his argument in Engliſh.

Then, ſaid Philpot, this is contrary to your order at the beginning of this diſputation; for then you appointed that all the arguments ſhould be made in Latin, and thereupon I have drawn and deviſed all mine arguments in Latin: and becauſe you, Mr. Prolocutor, have ſaid heretofore openly in this houſe that I had no learning, I intended to ſhew ſuch learning as I have, in a brief oration, and ſhort declaration of the queſtions now in controverſy, thinking it ſo moſt convenient alſo, that in caſe I ſhould ſpeak otherwiſe in my declaration than ſhould ſtand with learning, or than I were able to warrant, and juſtify by God's word, it might the better be reformed by ſuch as were learned of the houſe, ſo that the unlearned being preſent, might take the leſs offence

thereat. But this prevailed nothing with the prolocutor, who ſtill inſiſted upon his forming an argument in Engliſh, or elſe to hold his peace.

Then, ſaid Philpot, you have ſore diſappointed me, thus ſuddenly to go from your former order: but I will accompliſh your commandment, leaving mine oration apart, and I will come to my arguments, which, as well as ſo ſudden a warning will ſerve, I will make in Engliſh. But before I bring forth any argument, I will in one word declare what manner of preſence I diſallow in the ſacrament, to the intent the hearers may the better underſtand to what end and effect mine arguments ſhall tend; not to deny utterly the preſence of Chriſt in his ſacrament, truly miniſtered according to his inſtitution, but only to deny that groſs and carnal preſence, which you of this houſe have already ſubſcribed unto, to be in the ſacrament of the altar, contrary to the true and manifeſt meaning of the ſcriptures: that by tranſubſtantiation of the ſacramental bread and wine, Chriſt's natural body ſhould, by virtue of the words pronounced by the prieſt, be contained and included under the forms or accidents of bread and wine. This kind of preſence imagined by men, I do deny, quoth Philpot, and againſt this I will reaſon. But before he could make an end of what he was about, he was interrupted by the prolocutor, and commanded to deſcend to his argument: at whoſe unjuſt importunity Philpot being offended, and hoping to find remedy, fell down upon his knees before the earls and lords which were there preſent, being a great number, whereof ſome were of the queen's council, beſeeching them that he might have liberty to proſecute his arguments, without interruption, which was readily granted by the lords. But the prolocutor making uſe of a point of the practice of prelates, would not condeſcend to it, but ſtill cried, Hold your peace, or elſe make a ſhort argument. I am about it, ſaid Philpot, if you will let me alone: but firſt I muſt aſk a queſtion of my reſpondent (who was Dr. Chedſey) concerning a word or two of your ſuppoſition, that is, of the ſacrament of the altar, what he meaneth thereby, and whether he taketh it, as ſome of the ancient writers do, terming the Lord's ſupper the ſacrament of the altar; partly becauſe it is a ſacrament of that lively ſacrifice which Chriſt offered for our ſins upon the altar of the croſs, and partly becauſe that Chriſt's body, crucified for us, was that bloody ſacrifice, which the blood-ſhedding of all the beaſts offered upon the altar in the old law did prefigurate and ſignify unto us; in ſignification whereof the old writers ſometime do call the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, among other names which they aſcribe thereunto, the ſacrament of the altar: or whether you take it otherwiſe; as for the ſacrament of the altar, which is made of lime and ſtone, over which the ſacrament hangeth, and to be all one with the ſacrament of the maſs, as it is at preſent in many places. This done, I will direct my arguments according as your anſwer ſhall give me occaſion.

Then Dr. Chedſey made this anſwer, That in their ſuppoſition they took the ſacrament of the altar, and the ſacrament of the maſs, to be all one.

Then, ſaid Philpot, by Mr. Prolocutor's leave, I will ſpeak plain Engliſh, and make a ſhort reſolution thereof; that the ſacrament of the altar, which ye reckon to be all one with the maſs, once juſtly aboliſhed, and now put in full uſe again, is no ſacrament at all, neither is Chriſt in any wiſe preſent in it; and this he offered to prove before the whole houſe, if they required it: he would likewiſe vouch the ſame before the queen and her honourable council, before the face of ſix of the moſt learned men of the houſe of the contrary opinion, and refuſed none: And if I ſhall not be able by God's word to maintain what I have ſaid, and confound thoſe ſix which ſhall take upon them to withſtand me in this point, let me be burdened with as many faggots as can be found in London, before the court gates. This he ſpake with the utmoſt zeal and courage.

At this the prolocutor, with many others, were very much offended, demanding of him whether he knew what he ſaid: Yea, quoth Philpot, I know very well what I ſay, and I deſire that no man may be offended at it, for I ſpeak no more than by the word of God I am able to prove; and praiſed be God that the queen's grace hath granted to us of this houſe (as our prolocutor hath informed us) the free liberty of uttering our conſciences in theſe matters of controverſy in religion; and therefore I will here freely ſpeak my conſcience, grounded upon God's holy word, for the truth, although ſome of you here preſent do not like it.

Then the prolocutor, with ſeveral others of the houſe, taunted and reproved him for ſpeaking ſo indecently againſt the ſacrament of the maſs. The prolocutor told him he was mad, and threatened to ſend him to priſon, if he would not ceaſe ſpeaking.

Philpot ſeeing himſelf thus abuſed, and not permitted the free liberty of declaring his mind, fell into an exclamation, caſting his eyes towards heaven, and ſaid, O Lord, what a world is this, that the truth of thy holy word cannot be ſpoken and endured! and for great ſorrow and trouble the tears were ſeen to trickle down from his eyes.

The prolocutor being moved by ſome that were about him, conſented that he ſhould make an argument, provided it were a ſhort one. I will be as brief, ſaid Philpot, as I can conveniently in uttering all that I have to ſay. And firſt I will begin to ground my arguments upon the authority of ſcripture, whereon all the building of our faith ought to be grounded; and then I ſhall confirm the ſame by the ancient fathers of the church. I take the occaſion of the firſt argument out of the 28th chapter of St. Matthew's goſpel, of what was ſaid by the angel to the three Mary's, ſeeking Chriſt at the ſepulchre, ſaying, He is riſen, he is not here; and in St. Luke, chap. 23. the angel aſketh them, why they ſought him that liveth, among the dead. The ſcripture teſtifieth, that Chriſt is riſen, aſcended into heaven, and ſitteth on the right hand of the Father: all which is ſpoken of his natural body: Ergo, It is not on earth included in the ſacrament.

I will confirm this yet more effectually, by the ſaying of Chriſt in the 16th of St. John; I came (ſaith Chriſt) from my Father into the world, and now I leave the world and go away to my Father. Which coming and going he meant of his natural body: therefore we may conſequently affirm, that it is not found in the world.

But (ſaith he) I expect here to be anſwered with a blind diſtinction of viſibly and inviſibly, that he is viſibly departed in his humanity, but remaineth inviſibly in the ſacrament. But that I may with more expedition paſs on to the pith of my arguments (whereof I have a dozen to propoſe), I will prevent that anſwer; and that no ſuch diſtinction ought to take away the force of that argument, will prove from the anſwer which Chriſt's diſciples gave unto him, ſaying, Now thou ſpeakeſt plainly, and uttereth forth no proverb. Which words St. Cyril interpreting, ſaith, That Chriſt ſpake without any manner of ambiguity or obſcure ſpeech. And therefore I do from thence conclude, that if Chriſt ſpake plainly, and without parable, ſaying, I leave the world now and go away to my Father; then that obſcure, dark and imperceptible preſence of Chriſt's natural body remaining in the ſacrament inviſibly upon earth, contrary to the plain words of Chriſt, ought not to be allowed: for nothing can be more uncertain, parabolical, and abſurd, than ſo to ſay. I will now give attention to your anſwer, and then deſcend to confirm what I have ſaid by ancient writers.

Then Dr. Chedſey reciting his argument in ſuch ſort as it was made, took upon him to anſwer every part thereof ſeverally on this wiſe. Firſt, to the ſaying of the

the angel, That Chriſt is not here: and, Why ſeek ye the living among the dead? he anſwered, that theſe ſayings pertained nothing to the preſence of Chriſt's natural body in the ſacrament, but that they were ſpoke of Chriſt's body being in the ſepulchre, when the three Mary's thought him to have been in the grave ſtill. And therefore the angel ſaid, Why do ye ſeek him that liveth, among the dead? And to the authority of St. John, where Chriſt ſaith, Now I leave the world and go to my Father; he meant that of his aſcenſion. And ſo likewiſe did Cyril, interpreting the ſaying of the diſciples, that knew plainly that Chriſt would viſibly aſcend into heaven, but that doth not exclude the inviſible preſence of his natural body in the ſacrament. For St. Chryſoſtom writing to the people of Antioch, doth affirm the ſame, comparing Elias and Chriſt together, and Elias's cloak and Chriſt's fleſh. "When Elias (ſaith he) was taken up "in the fiery chariot, he left his cloak behind him unto "his diſciple Eliſæus. But Chriſt aſcending into heaven "took his fleſh with him, and left alſo his fleſh behind "him." From whence we may juſtly conclude, that Chriſt's fleſh is viſibly aſcended into heaven, and abideth ſtill inviſibly in the ſacrament of the altar.

To this Philpot replied, and ſaid, You have not directly anſwered to the ſaying of the angel, Chriſt is riſen, and is not here, becauſe you have omitted that which was the chief point of all. For, ſaid he, I proceed further, as thus, He is riſen, aſcended, and ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father: therefore, he is not remaining on the earth. Neither is your anſwer to Cyril, by me alledged, ſufficient. But I will preſently return to your interpretation of Cyril, and plainly declare it, after I have refelled the authority of Chryſoſtom, which is one of the chief principles that you alledged to make for your groſs carnal preſence in the ſacrament; which being well weighed and underſtood, pertaineth nothing thereunto.

At that the prolocutor ſtartled, that one of the chief pillars in this point ſhould be overthrown; and therefore he recited the ſaid authority firſt in Latin, and afterwards he turned it into Engliſh, and deſired all that were preſent to remark that ſaying of Chryſoſtom, which he thought invincible on their own ſide. But I will make it appear (ſaid Philpot) by and by, that it doth make little for your purpoſe. And as he was declaring his mind in that behalf, the prolocutor interrupted him, as he frequently did. With which Philpot being diſpleaſed, ſaid, Mr. Prolocutor thinketh that he is in a ſophiſtry-ſchool, where he well knoweth the manner is, that when the reſpondent perceiveth that he is like to be inforced with an argument which he is not able to anſwer, thus he doth what he can by cavillation and interruption to drive him from the ſame. This ſaying of Philpot was ill taken by the prolocutor and his adherents; and the prolocutor ſaid, that Philpot could bring nothing to avoid that authority but his own vain imagination. Hear, quoth Philpot, and afterwards judge; for I will do in this, as in all other authorities, wherewith you ſhall take upon you to refel any of my arguments that I have to proſecute, anſwering the ſame either by ſufficient authorities of ſcripture, or elſe by ſome other teſtimony of like authority with yours, and not of my own imagination; which if I do, I deſire it to be of no credit. And as to the ſaying of Chryſoſtom, I have two ways to beat him from your purpoſe, one out of ſcripture, and the other out of the very place of Chryſoſtom himſelf here by you alledged.

Firſt, where he ſeemeth to ſay, that Chriſt aſcending took his fleſh with him, and left alſo his fleſh behind him; it is truth: for we all do confeſs and believe, that Chriſt took on him our human nature in the virgin Mary's womb, and through his paſſion in the ſame hath united us to his fleſh, and thereby we are become one fleſh with him; ſo that Chryſoſtom might therefore well ſay, that Chriſt aſcending took his fleſh which he received of the virgin Mary away with him; and alſo left his fleſh behind him, which are we that be his elect in this world, which are the members of Chriſt, and fleſh of his fleſh; as St. Paul doth aptly teſtify, Epheſ. v. ſaying, We are fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bones. And if any man will reply, that he there treateth of the ſacrament, and that this interpretation cannot ſo aptly be applied unto him in that place, then will I yet interpret Chryſoſtom another way by himſelf. For in that place, a few lines before thoſe words which were here now read, are theſe words; That Chriſt, after he aſcended into heaven, left unto us, indued with his ſacraments, his fleſh in myſteries, that is, ſacramentally: and that myſtical fleſh Chriſt leaveth as well to his church in the ſacrament of baptiſm, as in the ſacramental bread and wine. And this St. Paul doth juſtly witneſs, ſaying, As many of us as are baptized in Chriſt, have put upon us Chriſt. And thus you may perceive that St. Chryſoſtom maketh nothing for your groſs and carnal preſence in the ſacrament, as you wrongly take him.

Now in the mean while the prolocutor was moved by Mr. Pie, whiſpering him in the ear, to put Philpot to ſilence, and to appoint ſome other, fearing if he held on long, he would at length ſhake their carnal preſence, ſeeing he had already given one of their chief foundations ſuch a pluck. Then the prolocutor ſaid to Philpot, that he had reaſoned enough, and that ſome other ſhould ſupply his room. At which Philpot was diſpleaſed, ſaying, Why, Sir, I have a dozen arguments to propoſe concerning this matter, and I have as yet ſcarce gone over the firſt; for being hitherto hindered through your frequent interrupting me, I have not for confirmation thereof quoted any antient writer, as I could a great many.

Well, ſaid the prolocutor, you ſhall ſpeak no more now, and I command you to hold your peace. You perceive, ſaid Philpot, that I have ſtuff enough for you, and am able to withſtand your falſe ſuppoſition, and therefore you command me to be ſilent. If you will not give place, ſaid the prolocutor, I will ſend you to priſon. This is not, ſaith Philpot, according to your promiſe made in this houſe, nor yet to your brags made at Paul's Croſs, that men ſhould be anſwered in this diſputation to whatſoever they can ſay, ſince of a dozen arguments you will not ſuffer me to proſecute one.

Then Mr. Pie took upon him to promiſe that he ſhould be anſwered another day. But Philpot ſeeing he could not proceed as he deſigned, was juſtly offended thereat, and made an end by ſaying thus: A ſort of you here, which hitherto have lurked in corners, and diſſembled with God and the world, are now gathered together to ſuppreſs the ſincere truth of God's holy word, and to ſet forth every falſe device, which by the catholic doctrine of the ſcripture ye are not able to maintain.

Then ſtepped forth Mr. Elmar, chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, whom Mr. Moreman took upon him to anſwer: againſt whom, for confirming the argument he took in hand the day before, Mr. Elmar objected ſeveral authorities to prove that the Greek word in Theodoret, which Mr. Cheyney ſaid ſignified Subſtance, muſt needs ſignify Subſtance, and not Accidents. But his reaſons and proofs being all grounded upon and deduced from the Greek, I ſhall paſs them over, as knowing they want their grace in Engliſh, and likewiſe their proper underſtanding. But his allegations ſo incumbered Moreman, that he deſired a day to overlook them, for at that inſtant he was without a convenient anſwer.

Then the prolocutor called Mr. Haddon dean of Exeter, and chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, who proſecuted Theodoret's authority in confirming Mr. Elmar's argument. Doctor Watſon took upon him to anſwer him, who, after long talk, was ſo confounded, that he was not able to anſwer to the word MYSTERIUM [Myſtery.] But foraſmuch as he ſeemed to doubt therein, Mr. Haddon took out of his boſom a Latin author to confirm his ſaying, and ſhewed the ſame to Dr. Watſon, aſking him whether he thought that tranſlation to be true, or that

the printer were in any fault? To which Watſon replied, There may be a fault in the printer, for I am not remembered of this word. Then Mr. Haddon took out of his boſom a Greek book, wherein he ſhewed with his finger the ſame word, which Mr. Watſon could not deny. What further arguments were made uſe of, I ſhall chuſe to omit declaring at large, becauſe they were moſtly in Greek.

Then Mr. Perne ſtood up, and argued againſt tranſubſtantiation, confirming the authorities alledged by Mr. Elmar and Mr Haddon. To whom the prolocutor ſaid, I wonder, Mr. Perne, at your ſpeaking thus, for no longer than laſt Friday you ſubſcribed to the contrary: Which ſaying Mr. Elmar diſapproved, and blamed the prolocutor, telling him, that he ought not to reprehend any man, becauſe, ſaid he, this houſe is a houſe of free liberty for every man to ſpeak his conſcience, and that yeſterday he promiſed, that any man, notwithſtanding he had ſubſcribed, ſhould have free liberty to ſpeak his mind And for that the night did approach, and the time being ſpent, the prolocutor praiſing them for their learning, did ſtill notwithſtanding conclude, that all reaſoning ſet apart, the order of the holy church muſt be received, and all things muſt be ordered thereby.

The Fifth Day's Act.

On Friday the 27th of October, the prolocutor firſt propounded the matter, ſhewing that the convocation had ſpent two days already in diſputing about one father, which was Theodoret, and about one Greek word, which was οὐσία; and now they were come the third day to anſwer all things that could be objected, ſo that they would ſhortly put their arguments. Mr. Haddon dean of Exeter deſired leave to oppoſe Mr. Watſon, which with two more, that is, Morgan and Harpsfield, were appointed to anſwer. Mr. Haddon demanded of him, whether any ſubſtance of bread or wine remained after conſecration; then Mr. Watſon aſked him, whether he thought there to be a real preſence of Chriſt's body, or not: Mr. Haddon ſaid it was not right according to order, that one who was appointed to be reſpondent ſhould be opponent: nor he whoſe buſineſs it was to object, to anſwer. Mr. Watſon a long time would not agree to anſwer, but that thing firſt being granted him, at laſt an order was ſet, and Mr. Haddon was permitted to go on with his argument.

Then he proved by the words of Theodoret, that the ſubſtance of bread and wine remained: For theſe are his words, "The ſame they were before the ſanctifica-"tion, which they are after." Mr. Watſon ſaid, that Theodoret meant not the ſame ſubſtance, but the ſame eſſence. Whereupon they were driven again to the diſcuſſing of the Greek word abovementioned: and Mr. Haddon proved it to mean a ſubſtance, both by the etymology of the word, and by the words of Theodoret. For ſaid he, οὐσία cometh to the particle ὤν, which deſcendeth to the verb εἰμὶ, and ſo cometh the noun οὐσία, which ſignifieth Subſtance.

Then ſaid Mr. Watſon, It hath not that ſignification only: But Mr Haddon proved that in that place it could not ſignify otherwiſe. Then he aſked Watſon, when the bread and wine became ſymbols? To whom Watſon anſwered, After conſecration, and not before. Then Mr. Haddon gathered the following reaſon out of his author.

> The ſame thing, ſaith Theodoret, that the bread and wine were before they were ſymbols, the ſame they remain ſtill in nature and ſubſtance, after they are ſymbols.
>
> Bread and wine they were before.
>
> Therefore bread and wine they are after.

Then Mr. Watſon denied the author, and ſaid he was a Neſtorian; deſiring to anſwer Mr. Cheyney, who ſtood by, that he was more fit to diſpute in the matter, becauſe he had granted and ſubſcribed to the real preſence. Mr. Cheyney deſired patience of the honourable men to hear him, hoping ſo to open the matter, that the truth ſhould appear; proteſting, that he was no obſtinate nor ſtubborn man, but would be conformable to all reaſon; and if they by their learning, which he acknowledged to be much more than his, could anſwer his reaſons, then he would be ruled by them, and ſay as they ſaid; for he would be no author of ſchiſm, nor hold any thing contrary to the holy mother the church, which is the ſpouſe of Chriſt. Dr. Weſton liked this very well, and commended him highly, telling him, that he was a very learned and ſober man, and well experienced in all good learning, and in the Doctors; and finally, a man, for his knowledge, fit to diſpute in that place; I pray you hear him, quoth he. Then Mr. Cheyney deſired thoſe that were preſent to pray to God with him in two words, and to ſay, Vincat Veritas, Let the truth take place, and have the victory; and all that were preſent, cried with a loud voice, Vincat Veritas, Vincat Veritas.

Dr. Weſton told him that it was hypocritical, and that they had better ſay Vicit Veritas, Truth hath gotten the victory. Mr. Cheyney ſaid again, If you will give me leave, I will bring it to that point, that you may truly ſay ſo.

He then began with Mr Watſon after this manner: You ſaid that Mr. Haddon was not fit to diſpute, becauſe he had not granted the natural and real preſence; but I ſay you are much leſs fit to anſwer, becauſe you take away the ſubſtance of the ſacrament.

Watſon told him, that he had ſubſcribed to the real preſence, and ſhould not go away from that: ſo ſaid the prolocutor and the other prieſts; ſo that for a long time he could not have leave to proceed, till the lords deſired that he ſhould be heard.

He then told them what he meant by ſubſcribing to the real preſence, far otherwiſe than they ſuppoſed. He then went on, and proſecuted Haddon's argument, proving that the Greek word before diſcuſſed was a ſubſtance, uſing the ſame reaſon that Haddon did; and when he had received the ſame anſwer that was made to Haddon, he told them it was but a lewd refuge, when they could not anſwer, to deny the author, and proved the author to be a catholic doctor; that being proved, he further confirmed what was ſaid of the nature and ſubſtance. The ſimilitude of Theodoret is this, ſaid he, As the tokens of Chriſt's body and blood, after the invocation of the prieſt, do change their names, and yet continue the ſame ſubſtance; ſo the body of Chriſt after his aſcenſion, changed his name, and was called immortal, yet it had his former faſhion, figure, and circumſcription, and to ſpeak in one word, the ſame ſubſtance of his body. Therefore, ſaid Cheyney, if in the former part of the ſimilitude you deny the ſame ſubſtance to continue, then in the latter part of the ſimilitude, which agreeth with it, I will deny the body of Chriſt, after his aſcenſion, to have the former nature and ſubſtance: But that were a great hereſy; therefore it is alſo a great hereſy to take away the ſubſtance of bread and wine after conſecration.

Watſon was then obliged to ſay, that the ſubſtance of the body, in the former part of the ſimilitude brought in by him, did ſignify quantity, and other accidents of the ſacramental tokens which be ſeen, and not the very ſubſtance of the ſame; and therefore Theodoret ſaith, Thoſe things which be ſeen. For according to philoſophy, the accidents of things be ſeen, and not the ſubſtances.

Cheyney then appealed to the nobility, and deſired that they would give no credit to them in ſo ſaying: For if they think as they teach, after your lordſhips have ridden forty miles on horſeback (as your buſineſs ſometimes may require) you ſhall not be able to ſay at night that you ſaw your horſes all the day, but only the colour of them: and by this reaſon Chriſt muſt go to ſchool, and learn of Ariſtotle how to ſpeak. For when he ſaw Nathaniel under the fig-tree, if Ariſtotle had ſtood by, he would have ſaid, No, Chriſt, thou didſt not ſee him, but the colour of him. Then ſaid Watſon, Suppoſe it were granted, that

that Theodoret was on the other ſide, whereas where there were one of that opinion, there were an hundred on the other.

Then the prolocutor called Morgan to help him out, who ſaid, that Theodoret did no more than what he might lawfully do. For firſt he granted the truth, and then, for fear of ſuch as were not fully inſtructed in the faith, he ſpake myſtically, and that was lawful for him to do: for firſt he granted the truth, and called them the body and blood of Chriſt. Then afterwards he ſeems to give ſomewhat to the ſenſes and to reaſon: but that Theodoret is of the ſame mind that they were of, the words following, quoth he, do declare. For that which followeth is a cauſe of that which went before; and therefore he ſaith, The immortality, &c. whereby it doth appear, that he meant the divine nature, and not the human. Morgan was then detected in miſalledging the text: for the book had not this word [for], for the Greek word did rather ſignify [truly] and not [for], ſo that it might manifeſtly appear that it was the beginning of a new matter, and not a ſentence rendering a cauſe of that he had ſaid before.

Watſon again ſaid, Suppoſe Theodoret be with you, which is one we never heard of printed, but two or three years ago; yet he is but one, and what is one againſt the conſent of the whole church? Cheyney then inferred, that not only Theodoret was of that mind, that the ſubſtance of bread and wine do remain, but many others alſo, eſpecially Irenæus, who making mention of this ſacrament, ſaith thus, "When the cup which is mingled "with wine, and the bread that is broken, do receive the "word of God, it is made the Euchariſt of the body and "blood of Chriſt, by the which the ſubſtance of our fleſh "is nouriſhed, and doth conſiſt." If the thankſgiving do nouriſh our body, then there is ſome ſubſtance beſides Chriſt's body.

Both Watſon and Morgan anſwered, that [By the which] in the ſentence of Irenæus, was referred to the next antecedent, that is, to the body and blood of Chriſt; and not to the wine which is in the cup, and the bread which is broken.

Mr. Cheyney replied, that it was not the body of Chriſt which nouriſhed our bodies. And let it be that Chriſt's fleſh nouriſheth to immortality, yet it doth not anſwer to that argument, although it be true; no more than that anſwer which was made to my allegation out of St. Paul, The bread which we break, &c. with divers others; whereunto you anſwered, that bread was not taken there in its proper ſignification, that is, not for that it was bread, but for that it had been ſo; any more than the rod of Aaron was taken for a ſerpent, becauſe it had been a ſerpent. After this Mr. Cheyney quoted Heſychius, and uſed the ſame reaſon that he did concerning the burning of ſymbols; and aſked them, what was burnt? Mr. Watſon ſaid, We muſt not inquire nor aſk; but if there was any fault, impute it to Chriſt. Then ſaid Mr. Cheyney, Whence came thoſe aſhes? not from ſubſtance; or can any ſubſtance ariſe from accidents.

Then was Mr. Harpsfield called in to ſee what he could ſay in the matter. Who told a fair tale about the omnipotency of God, and the in becillity and weakneſs of man's reaſon as to the attainment of godly things. And likewiſe ſaid, that whatſoever we ſaw, felt or taſted, it was not convenient for us to truſt our ſenſes. And he told alſo a tale out of St. Cyprian, how a woman ſaw the ſacrament burning in her coffer, and that which burned thus, ſaid Harpsfield, burneth here, and becometh aſhes, but what that was that burnt he could not tell. But Mr. Cheyney continued ſtill, and forced them with this queſtion, What was it that was burnt? it was either, ſaid he, the ſubſtance of bread, or elſe the ſubſtance of the body of Chriſt; which was too great an abſurdity to grant. And therefore at length they anſwered, it was a miracle; at which Mr. Cheyney ſmiled, and ſaid, that he could then ſay no more.

Then Dr. Weſton aſked the company, whether theſe men were ſufficiently anſwered, or not? At which certain prieſts ſaid, Yea; but for the great multitude that cried, No, no, they were not heard; the cry was ſo great, as it was heard and noiſed almoſt to the end of Paul's. Whereat Dr. Weſton being much moved, anſwered bitterly, that he aſked not the judgment of the rude multitude, and unlearned people, but of ſuch as were members of the houſe. Then he aſked Mr. Haddon and his fellows, whether they would anſwer them other three days? Mr. Haddon, Cheyney, and Elmar anſwered, No. But the archdeacon of Wincheſter ſtood up and ſaid, that they ſhould not ſay but they ſhould be anſwered; and though all others refuſed to anſwer, yet he would not, but offered to anſwer them all one after another: with whoſe offer the prolocutor being diſſatisfied, railed at him, and ſaid, that he ſhould go to Bedlam; to whom the archdeacon ſoberly returned this anſwer, That he was more worthy to be ſent thither, who behaved him ſo furiouſly in the diſputation, without any indifferent equality.

Then Dr. Weſton roſe up, and ſaid, All the company have ſubſcribed to our article, except only theſe men which you ſee. What their reaſons are, you have heard. We have anſwered them three days, upon promiſe (as it pleaſed him falſly to deſcant, for no ſuch promiſe was made) that they ſhould anſwer us again as long as the order of diſputation doth require, and if they be able to defend their doctrine, let them do ſo.

Then ſtood up Mr. Elmar, and proved how vain a man Weſton was: for he affirmed that they never promiſed to diſpute, but only to declare and teſtify to the world their conſciences. For when they were required to ſubſcribe, they refuſed, and ſaid, that they would ſhew good reaſons which moved them, that they could not with their conſciences ſubſcribe, as they had partly done already, and were able to do more ſufficiently: therefore, ſaid he, it hath been ill called a diſputation, and they are much to blame that called it ſo. For we meant not to diſpute, nor now intend to anſwer, before our arguments, ſaid he, which we have to propound, be ſolved, according as it was appointed. For by anſwering we ſhould but incumber ourſelves and profit nothing, ſince the matter is already decreed on and determined, whatſoever we ſhall prove or diſpute to the contrary.

The Sixth Day's Act.

On Monday following, October 30. the prolocutor demanded of John Philpot, archdeacon of Wincheſter, whether in the queſtions before propounded, he would anſwer their objections or not? To whom he made this anſwer, that he would willingly do ſo, if according to their former determination and promiſe, they would firſt anſwer ſufficiently ſome of his arguments, of which he had a dozen, not half of the firſt being decided. And if they would anſwer fully and ſufficiently but one of his arguments, he promiſed he would anſwer all the objections they ſhould bring.

Then the prolocutor bid him propound his argument, and it ſhould be reſolutely anſwered by one of them; whereunto Morgan was appointed. On Wedneſday laſt, ſaid Philpot, I was forced to ſilence before I had proſecuted half my argument, the ſum of which (as was gathered by the juſt context of the ſcripture) was this, that the human body of Chriſt was aſcended into heaven, and placed at the right hand of God the Father: wherefore, after the imagination of man, it could not be ſituate upon earth inviſibly in the ſacrament of the altar. The argument was denied by Morgan; but for proof hereof, Philpot ſaid, that this was what he had to confirm his firſt argument with, if they would have ſuffered him the other day, as he hoped they now would.

One ſelf and ſame nature, ſaid he, receiveth not in itſelf any thing that is contrary to itſelf.

But the body of Chriſt is an human nature, diſtinct from the Deity, and is a proper nature of itſelf.

Ergo, It cannot receive any thing that is contrary to that nature, and that varieth from itſelf.

But bodily to be preſent, and bodily to be abſent, to be on earth, and to be in heaven, and all at one preſent time, be things contrary to the nature of an human body. Ergo, It cannot be ſaid of the human body of Chriſt, that the ſelf ſame body is both in heaven, and alſo in earth at one inſtant, either viſibly or inviſibly.

Morgan denied the firſt part of the argument, which Philpot vouched out of an ancient writer, Vigilius. But Morgan cavilled thereat, and ſaid, that it was no ſcripture, and bade him prove the ſame from ſcripture.

Philpot replied, That he could likewiſe do, and very well deduce the ſame from St. Paul, who ſaith, that Chriſt is like unto us in all points, except ſin: and therefore, like as one of our bodies cannot receive in itſelf any thing contrary to the nature of a body, as to be in Paul's church and at Weſtminſter in one inſtant, or to be at London viſibly, and at Lincoln inviſibly at one time; for that is contrary to the nature of a body, and of all creatures (as Didymus and Baſilius affirm) that an inviſible creature, as an angel, cannot be at one time in different places. Wherefore he concluded, that the body of Chriſt could not be in more places than one, which is in heaven, and ſo conſequently was not included or contained in the ſacrament of the altar.

The prolocutor took upon him to anſwer to this, ſaying, that it was not true that Chriſt was like unto us in all points, except ſin. For that Chriſt was not conceived by the ſeed of man, as we be.

Whereunto Philpot again replied, that Chriſt's conception was propheſied before by the angel to be ſupernatural, but after he had received our nature by the operation of the Holy Ghoſt in the Virgin's womb, he became in all points like unto us, except ſin.

Then Morgan inferred that this ſaying of Paul did not plainly prove his purpoſe. Well, ſaid Philpot, I perceive that you anſwer but by cavilling, yet am I not deſtitute of other ſcriptures to confirm my firſt argument, though you refuſe the probation of ſo ancient and catholic a doctor as Vigilius is. For St Peter making mention of Chriſt in the ſermon that he made in the third of the Acts, ſaith thus, Whom heaven muſt receive, until the conſummation of all things, &c. which words are ſpoken of his humanity. And if heaven muſt hold Chriſt, then can he not be here on earth, in the ſacrament, as is pretended.

Morgan laughing at this, and giving no direct anſwer at all, Harpsfield ſtood up, being one of the biſhop of London's chaplains, and took upon him to anſwer to the ſaying of St. Peter, and demanded of Philpot, Whether he would of neceſſity force Chriſt to any place, or not?

Philpot ſaid, that he would no otherwiſe force Chriſt of neceſſity to any place, than he is taught by the words of the Holy Ghoſt, that ſound thus; That Chriſt's human body muſt abide in heaven until the day of judgment, as I rehearſed out of the chapter abovementioned,

Harpsfield replied, Do ye not know that God is a God omnipotent? Yes, ſaid Philpot, I know that right well, neither do I queſtion his omnipotency at all. But as to Chriſt's omnipotency, what he may do is not our queſtion, but rather what he doth. I know he may make a ſtone in the wall a man, if he pleaſe, and alſo that he may make more worlds, but doth he therefore ſo? It were no good conſequent ſo to conclude, he may do this or that, therefore he doth it.

Only ſo much is to be believed of God's omnipotency, as in the word expreſſed.

That Chriſt's body is both in heaven, and here alſo really in the ſacrament, is not expreſſed in the word.

Ergo, It is not to be believed, that the body of Chriſt, being in heaven, is here alſo really in the ſacrament.

Why, ſaid the prolocutor, then you will put Chriſt in priſon in heaven. To which Philpot anſwered, Do you reckon heaven to be a priſon? God grant us all to come to that priſon.

After this, Harpsfield inferred, that this word Oportet in St. Peter, which in Engliſh ſignifieth Muſt, did not import ſo much as I would infer, of neceſſity, as by other places of ſcripture it may appear, as in the firſt to Timothy, where St. Paul ſaith, A biſhop muſt be the huſband of one wife. Here, quoth he, the aforeſaid Latin word Oportet, that ſignifies Muſt, doth not import ſuch a neceſſity, but that he that never was married, may be a biſhop.

To which Philpot again replied, that the places which he went about to compare were not alike, and that in comparing the ſcriptures we muſt not conſider the bare words, but rather the meaning of the ſcriptures, and becauſe in the place by him alledged, St. Paul declares of what quality a biſhop ought to be: but as to the other place, St Peter teaches us the place where Chriſt muſt neceſſarily be until the end of the world: which we ought to believe to be true. And this compariſon of the Latin word Oportet, which in Engliſh ſignifies Muſt, is no more an anſwer to my argument, than if I was to ſay of you now being here, You muſt needs be here, which importeth ſuch a neceſſity for the time, that you can no otherwiſe be but here, and yet you would go about in words to avoid this neceſſity with another Oportet in another ſenſe; as for inſtance, You muſt be a good man, where Muſt doth not verily conclude any ſuch neceſſity, but that you may be an evil man. Thus you may ſee that your anſwer is not ſufficient, and, as it were, no anſwer to my argument.

Then the prolocutor, to help the matter out, if poſſible, brought in another Oportet, ſaying, What ſay you to this, Oportet hæreſes eſſe; muſt hereſies needs be therefore, becauſe of this word Oportet?

Yea, truly, quoth Philpot, it cannot otherwiſe be, if you will add that which followeth immediately upon theſe words of St. Paul, that is, Ut qui electi ſunt manifeſtentur; that is, That ſuch as be the elect of God may be manifeſted and known.

Why, quoth the Prolocutor, the time hath been that no hereſies were. I know no ſuch time, ſaid Philpot: for ſince the time of Abel and Cain hereſies have been, and then began they. Then ſaid the prolocutor, Will you now anſwer Morgan an argument or two? I will, ſaid Philpot, if I may have my arguments firſt anſwered any thing according to truth and learning. What, quoth the prolocutor, you will never be anſwered. How I am anſwered, ſaid Philpot, let all men here preſent judge, and eſpecially ſuch as are learned, and with what cavilling you have dallied with me.

Firſt, to the ancient authority of Vigilius you have anſwered nothing at all, but only denying what he ſaith to be ſcripture. Secondly, To the ſaying of St. Peter in the Acts, ye have anſwered thus, demanding of me, whether I would keep Chriſt in priſon or not? Let men now judge if this be a ſufficient anſwer, or not?

Then Morgan ſtood up again, and aſked Philpot, whether he would be ruled by the univerſal church, or not?

Yes, ſaid Philpot, if it be the true catholic church. And ſince you ſpeak ſo much of the church, I would fain have you declare what the church is.

The church, ſaid Morgan, is diffuſed and diſperſed throughout the whole world. That is a diffuſe definition, ſaid Philpot, for I am yet as uncertain as I was before, what you mean by the church: but I acknowledge no church but that which is grounded and founded on God's word, as St. Paul ſaith, upon the foundation of the apoſtles and prophets, and upon the ſcriptures of God.

What, quoth Moreman, was the ſcripture before the church? Yea, ſaid Philpot. But I will prove nay, ſaid Moreman, and I will begin at Chriſt's time. The church of Chriſt was before any ſcripture written. For Matthew was the firſt that wrote the goſpel, about a dozen years after Chriſt. Ergo, The church was before the ſcripture.

To whom Philpot anſwering, denied his argument. Which when Moreman could not prove, Philpot ſhewed his argument to be a fallacy, or a deceivable argument: for he took the ſcripture to be only that which was written by men in letters, whereas in truth, all prophecy uttered by the Spirit of God, was counted to be ſcripture before it was written in paper and ink, for that it was written in the hearts, and graven in the minds, yea, and inſpired in the mouths of good men, and of Chriſt's apoſtles, by the Spirit of Chriſt: as the ſalutation of the angel was the ſcripture of Chriſt, and the word of God, before it was written. At that Moreman cried, Fie, fie, wondering that the ſcripture of God ſhould be counted ſcripture before it was written, and affirmed, that he had no knowledge that ſaid ſo.

To whom Philpot replied, That as to knowledge in this matter, for the trial of the truth about the queſtions in controverſy, he would wiſh himſelf no worſe matched than with Moreman.

At which ſaying the prolocutor was grievouſly offended, ſaying, that it was arrogantly ſpoken of him, to compare himſelf with ſuch a worſhipful learned man as Moreman was, being himſelf a man unlearned, yea, a madman, fitter to be ſent to Bedlam, than to be among ſuch a ſort of learned and grave men as were there, and a man that never would be anſwered, and one that troubled the whole houſe, and therefore he commanded him to come no more into the houſe; and thereupon demanded of the houſe, whether they would agree thereunto, or not. To whom a great company anſwered, Yea. Upon which Philpot replied again, that he might think himſelf happy that was out of their company.

Then Morgan roſe up and whiſpered the prolocutor in the ear; and the prolocutor ſpoke to Philpot again, and ſaid, Leſt thou ſhouldſt ſlander the houſe, and ſay that we will not ſuffer you to declare your mind, we are content you ſhall come into the houſe as you have done before, ſo that you be apparelled with a long gown and a tippet, as we be, and that you ſhall not ſpeak but when I command you. Then, ſaid Philpot, I had rather be abſent altogether.

Thus they reaſoned to and fro, till at length about the 13th of December, queen Mary, to take up the matter, ſendeth to Bonner biſhop of London, commanding him to diſſolve and break up the convocation. The copy of which command here followeth.

The Queen's Precept to Bonner, Biſhop of London, for diſſolving the aforeſaid Convocation.

"MARY, &c. To the Reverend Father in God, "Edmund Lord Biſhop of London, ſendeth "greeting. Whereas there is now held at Paul's, London, the Convocation of the Clergy belonging to the "Province of Canterbury; We, by and with the Advice "and Conſent of Our Council, and for divers other "Cauſes and Conſiderations particularly moving Us "thereunto, have hereby thought fit the ſaid Convocation ſhould be diſſolved. And therefore We ſtrictly "charge and command you, forthwith to diſſolve or cauſe "to be diſſolved the ſaid Convocation, as ſhall ſeem to "you moſt fit and convenient: ſignifying withal on Our "part to all and ſeveral the Biſhops, Archdeacons, "Deans, and all other ſpiritual perſons, that they and "every of them do obey and comply with this Our "Command as becometh them ſo to do.

"Witneſs Ourſelf at Weſtminſter, the 13th Day of "December, in the Firſt Year of our Reign."

During the time of this diſputation, November 20, the mayor of Coventry ſent up unto the lords of the council Baldwin Clarke, J. Careleſs, Thomas Wilcocks, and Richard Eſtelin, for their behaviour upon Allhallows-day before. Whereupon Careleſs and Wilcocks were committed to the Gatehouſe, and the other two to the Marſhalſea.

The ſame day there was a letter directed to Sir Chriſtopher Heydon and Sir William Farmer, knights, for the apprehending of John Huntingdon, preacher, for making a rhime againſt Dr. Stokes and the ſacrament; who appearing before the council the third of December then following, was, upon his humble ſubmiſſion and promiſe to amend, as well in doctrine as in living, again ſuffered to depart.

In the days of king Henry, and king Edward his ſucceſſor, divers noblemen and others were committed to the Tower, ſome charged with treaſon, as lord Courtney, and the duke of Norfolk (whoſe ſon lord Henry, earl of Surry, a worthy and ingenious gentleman, had been at the ſame time beheaded, but for what cauſe, or by whom, I ſhall not ſtand here inquiring: this is certain, that not many years after, followed the beheading of both the lord Seymours, and likewiſe of the duke of Northumberland) ſome for the pope's ſupremacy, and ſuſpicious letters tending to ſedition, as Tonſtal biſhop of Durham, and others for other things, who were all continued priſoners there till queen Mary's coming in: unto whom the ſaid queen forthwith granted their pardon, and reſtored them to their former dignities. Amongſt whom was Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, who ſhe not only freed out of captivity, but alſo advanced to be high chancellor of England. Moreover, to the lord Courtney ſhe ſhewed ſuch favour, that ſhe made him earl of Devonſhire, inſomuch that there was a ſuſpicion among many that ſhe would marry him, but that proved otherwiſe.

At the ſame time likewiſe the queen releaſed Bonner from his confinement in the Marſhalſea, and reſtored him to the biſhoprick of London, diſplacing Dr. Ridley, with divers other good biſhops, as is mentioned before; as Cranmer from Canterbury, the archbiſhop of York likewiſe, Poynet from Wincheſter, John Hooper from Gloceſter, Barlow from Bath, Harley from Hereford, Taylor from Lincoln, Ferrar from St. David's, Coverdale from Exeter, Scory from Chicheſter, &c. with a great number of archdeacons, deans, and briefly all ſuch beneficed men, who were either married, or would conſtantly adhere to their profeſſion, were removed from their livings, and others of the contrary ſect put in the ſame, as cardinal Pool (who was then ſent for) Gardiner, Heath, White, Day, Troubleſield, &c.

And as touching Cranmer, of whom mention was made before, foraſmuch as a tthe ſame time there was a rumour ſpread abroad of him in London, that he had recanted, and cauſed maſs to be ſaid at Canterbury; in order therefore to clear himſelf, he publiſhed abroad a declaration of his truth and conſtancy in that behalf, proteſting that he neither had done ſo, nor minded ſo to do: adding moreover, that if the queen pleaſed, he, with Peter Martyr, and certain others whom he would chuſe, would in open diſputation vindicate the doctrine taught and ſet forth in the time of King Edward, againſt all perſons whomſoever. But while he was in expectation to have this diſputation obtained, he with other biſhops, were laid faſt in the Tower, but Peter Martyr was permitted to depart the realm, and ſo he went to Argentine.

In the month of November, archbiſhop Cranmer, notwithſtanding he had earneſtly refuſed to ſubſcribe to the king's will in diſinheriting his ſiſter Mary, alledging many grave and pithy reaſons for her legitimation, was in Guildhall of London arraigned and attainted of treaſon, with the lady Jane, and three of the duke of Northumberland's ſons, who were remanded back to the Tower, at the intreaty of certain perſons, and there kept for a time. But Cranmer being acquitted of treaſon, ſtood only in the action and caſe of doctrine which they called hereſy, of which he was very glad and joyful.

This being done in November, the people, and eſpecially the churchmen, perceiving the queen ſo eagerly ſet on

on her old religion, they likewiſe for their parts, to ſhew themſelves no leſs forward to comply with the queen's humour (as the cuſtom is of the multitude commonly to frame themſelves after the humour of the prince and time preſent), began in their quires to ſet up the pageant of St. Katherine, and of St. Nicholas, and of their proceſſions in Latin, after their old ſolemnity with their gay Gar-deviance, and gray amices or veſtments.

And when the month of December was come, the parliament broke up, repealing firſt all ſuch ſtatutes as were either made of premunire, or concerned any alteration of religion and adminiſtration of ſacraments in the days of king Edward. In which parliament alſo communication was moved of the queen's marriage with king Philip the emperor's ſon.

In the mean while cardinal Pool being ſent for by queen Mary, was by the emperor requeſted to ſtay with him, to the intent (as ſome think) that his preſence in England ſhould not be a let to the marriage between his ſon Philip and queen Mary. For the accompliſhing of which, he ſent a moſt ample embaſſy, with full power to make up the marriage between them; which had ſuch good ſucceſs, as that after a few days communing about matters, they knit up the knot.

January 13, 1554, Dr. Crome was committed to the Fleet, for preaching on Chriſtmas day without licenſe.

January 21, Thomas Wooton, Eſq; was committed cloſe priſoner to the Fleet for matters of religion.

The mention of this marriage was about the beginning of January, and was ill taken both of the common people, and ſeveral of the nobility, who for this, and for religion, conſpiring among themſelves, raiſed a rebellion, whereof Sir Thomas Wyat, knight, was one of the chief beginners; who being in Kent, ſaid (as ſeveral others well perceived), that the queen and council would by her marriage with a foreigner, bring upon this realm moſt miſerable ſervitude, and eſtabliſh the popiſh religion. About the 25th of January, news came to London of this ſtir in Kent, and ſhortly after of the duke of Suffolk, who was fled into Warwickſhire and Leiceſterſhire, there to gather to him a power. The queen therefore cauſed them both, with the Carews of Devonſhire, to be proclaimed traitors; and ſent into Kent againſt Wyat, Thomas duke of Norfolk, who being about Rocheſter bridge forſaken of them that went with him, returned ſafe to London without any further harm, and without bloodſhed on either party.

Furthermore, to apprehend the duke of Suffolk, being fled into Warwickſhire, the earl of Huntingdon was ſent poſt, who entering the city of Coventry before the duke, diſappointed him of his purpoſe. Wherefore the duke in great diſtreſs committed himſelf to the keeping of a ſervant of his, named Underwood, in Aſtley park, who like a falſe traitor betrayed him: and ſo he was brought up to the Tower of London.

In the mean while Sir Peter Carew hearing of what was done, fled into France, but the others were taken, and Wyat came towards London in the beginning of February. The queen hearing of Wyat's coming, came into the city to the Guildhall, where ſhe made a vehement oration againſt Wyat; the contents, or at leaſt the effect whereof here followeth, as near as out of her own mouth could be penned.

Queen Mary's Oration in Guildhall.

"I Am come unto you in mine own perſon, to tell you that which already you ſee and know, that is, how traiterouſly and rebelliouſly a number of Kentiſhmen have aſſembled themſelves againſt both us and you. Their pretence (as they ſaid at the firſt) was for a marriage determined for us: to which, and to all the articles thereof, ye have been made privy. But ſince we have cauſed certain of our privy council to go again unto them, and to demand the cauſe of this their rebellion, and it appeared then unto our ſaid council, that the matter of the marriage ſeemed to be but a Spaniſh cloak to cover their pretended purpoſe againſt our religion, for that they arrogantly and traiterouſly demanded to have the governance of our perſon, the keeping of the Tower, and the placing of our counſellors.

"Now, loving ſubjects, what I am ye right well know. I am your queen, to whom at my coronation, when I was wedded to the realm, and laws of the ſame (the ſpouſal ring whereof I have on my finger, which never hitherto was, nor hereafter ſhall be left off) you promiſed your allegiance and obedience unto me. And that I am the right and true inheritor of the crown of this realm of England, I take all Chriſtendom to witneſs. My father, as ye all know, poſſeſſed the ſame regal ſtate, which now rightly is deſcended unto me: and to him always ye ſhewed yourſelves moſt faithful and loving ſubjects, and therefore I doubt not but ye will ſhew yourſelves likewiſe to me, and that ye will not ſuffer a vile traitor to have the order and governance of our perſon, and to occupy our eſtate, eſpecially being ſo vile a traitor as Wyat is: who moſt certainly, as he hath abuſed mine ignorant ſubjects which be on his ſide, ſo doth he intend and purpoſe the deſtruction of you, and ſpoil of your goods. And I ſay to you in the word of a prince, I cannot tell how naturally the mother loveth the child, for I was never the mother of any, but certainly, if a prince and governor may as naturally and earneſtly love her ſubjects, as the mother doth love the child, then aſſure yourſelves, that I, being your lady and miſtreſs, do as earneſtly and tenderly love and favour you. And I thus loving you, cannot but think that ye as heartily and faithfully love me, and then I doubt not but we ſhall give theſe rebels a ſhort and ſpeedy overthrow.

"As concerning the marriage, ye ſhall underſtand, that I enterprized not the doing thereof without advice, and that by the advice of all our privy council, who ſo conſidered and weighed the great commodities that might enſue thereof, that they not only thought it very honourable, but alſo expedient, both for the wealth of the realm, and alſo of you our ſubjects. And as touching myſelf, I aſſure you, I am not ſo bent to my will, neither ſo preciſe nor affectionate, that either for mine own pleaſure I would chuſe where I luſt, or that I am ſo deſirous, as needs I would have one. For God, I thank him, to whom be the praiſe therefore, I have hitherto lived a virgin, and doubt nothing, but with God's grace, I am able ſo to live ſtill. But if, as my progenitors have done before, it may pleaſe God that I might leave ſome fruit of my body behind me, to be your governor, I truſt, you would not only rejoice thereat, but alſo, I know, it would be to your great comfort. And certainly, if I either did think or know that this marriage were to the hurt of any of you my commons, or to the impeachment of any part or parcel of the royal ſtate of this realm of England, I would never conſent thereunto, neither would I ever marry while I lived. And in the word of a queen, I promiſe you, that if it ſhall not probably appear to all the nobility and commons in the high court of parliament, that this marriage ſhall be for the high benefit and commodity of the whole realm, then will I abſtain from marriage while I live.

"And now, good ſubjects, pluck up your hearts, and, like true men, ſtand faſt againſt theſe rebels, both our enemies and yours, and fear them not; for I aſſure you, I fear them nothing at all. And I will leave with you my lord Howard, and my lord treaſurer, who ſhall be aſſiſtants with the mayor for your defence."

Here it is to be obſerved, that at the coming of queen Mary to Guildhall, it being before reported, that ſhe was coming with harneſſed men, ſo affrighted the Londoners, leſt they ſhould be there entrapped and put to death, that great numbers of them made out at the gate before ſhe entered in. It is likewiſe to be noted, that when ſhe had ended her oration (which ſhe ſeemed to have perfectly conned without book), Wincheſter ſtanding by her when the oration was done, with great admiration cried to the people, O how happy are we, to whom God hath given ſuch a wiſe and learned prince! &c.

Two days after, the third of February, the lord Cobham was committed to the Tower, and Mr. Wyat entered into Southwark: who, finding that he could not enter that way into London, returned with his army by Kingſton, and came up through the ſtreets to Ludgate, and returning thence, he was reſiſted at Temple-Bar, and there ſurrendered himſelf to Sir Clement Parſon, who brought him to the court; and with him the reſt of his army (for Sir George Harper and almoſt half of his men had run away from him at Kingſton bridge) were alſo taken, and about a hundred killed, and they that were taken were ſent to priſon, and a great many of them hanged, and he himſelf afterwards was executed on Tower-hill, and then quartered; whoſe head being ſet up upon Hay-Hill, was thence ſtolen away, and great ſearch made for the ſame: of which (God willing) you ſhall hear more hereafter.

The 12th day of February the lady Jane was beheaded; two days before her death Mr. Fecknam, alias Howman, was ſent to her from the queen to converſe with her, and endeavour to reduce her from the doctrine of Chriſt to queen Mary's religion. The effect of which communication here followeth.

Fecknam. Madam, I lament your heavy caſe, and yet I doubt not, but that you bear out this ſorrow of yours with a conſtant and patient mind.

Jane. You are welcome unto me, Sir, if your coming be to give Chriſtian exhortation. And as for my heavy caſe (I thank God); I do ſo little lament it, that rather I account the ſame for a more manifeſt declaration of God's favour towards me, than ever he ſhewed me at any time before. And therefore there is no cauſe why either you, or others which bear me good will, ſhould lament or be grieved with this my caſe, being a thing ſo profitable for my ſoul's health.

Feck. I am here come to you at this preſent, ſent from the queen and her council, to inſtruct you in the true doctrine of the right faith: although I have ſo great confidence in you, that I ſhall have, I truſt, little need to travail with you much therein.

Jane. Forſooth I heartily thank the queen's highneſs, which is not unmindful of her humble ſubject: and I hope likewiſe that you no leſs will do your duty therein both truly and faithfully, according to that you were ſent for.

Feck. What is then required of a chriſtian man?

Jane. That he ſhould believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, three perſons and one God.

Feck. What, is there nothing elſe to be required or looked for in a chriſtian, but to believe in him?

Jane. Yes, we muſt love him with all our heart, with all our ſoul, and with all our mind, and our neighbour as ourſelf.

Feck. Why, then faith juſtifieth not, nor ſaveth not.

Jane. Yes verily, faith (as Paul ſaith) only juſtifieth.

Feck. Why, St. Paul ſaith, If I have all faith without love, it is nothing.

Jane. True it is; for how can I love him whom I truſt not? Or how can I truſt him whom I love not? Faith and love go both together, and yet love is comprehended in faith.

Feck. How ſhall we love our neighbour?

Jane. To love our neighbour is to feed the hungry, to cloath the naked, and give drink to the thirſty, and to do to him as we would do to ourſelves.

Feck. Why, then it is neceſſary unto ſalvation to do good works alſo, and it is not ſufficient only to believe.

Jane. I deny that, and I affirm that faith only ſaveth: but it is meet for a chriſtian, in token that he followeth his maſter Chriſt, to do good works, yet may we not ſay that they profit to our ſalvation. For when we have done all, yet we be unprofitable ſervants, and faith only in Chriſt's blood ſaveth us.

Feck. How many ſacraments are there?

Jane. Two. The one the ſacrament of baptiſm, and the other the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper.

Feck. No, there are ſeven.

Jane. By what ſcripture find you that?

Feck. Well, we will talk of that hereafter. But what is ſignified by your two ſacraments?

Jane. By the ſacrament of baptiſm I am waſhed with water and regenerated by the Spirit, and that waſhing is a token to me that I am the child of God. The ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper offered unto me, is a ſure ſeal and teſtimony that I am, by the blood of Chriſt which he ſhed for me on the croſs, made partaker of the everlaſting kingdom.

Feck. Why, what do you receive in that ſacrament? Do you not receive the very body and blood of Chriſt?

Jane. No ſurely, I do not ſo believe. I think that at the ſupper I neither receive fleſh nor blood, but bread and wine: which bread when it is broken, and the wine when it is drunken, putteth me in remembrance how that for my ſins the body of Chriſt was broken, and his blood ſhed on the croſs, and with that bread and wine I receive the benefits that come by the breaking of his body, and ſhedding of his blood for our ſins on the croſs.

Feck. Why, doth not Chriſt ſpeak theſe words, Take, eat, this is my body? Require you any plainer words? Doth he not ſay it is his body?

Jane. I grant he ſaith ſo; and ſo he ſaith, I am the vine, I am the door, but he is never the more the door nor the vine. Doth not St. Paul ſay, He calleth things that are not as though they were? God forbid that I ſhould ſay, that I eat the very natural body and blood of Chriſt: for then either I ſhould pluck away my redemption, or elſe there were two bodies, or two Chriſts. One body was tormented on the croſs; and if they did eat another body, then had he two bodies: or if his body were eaten, then was it not broken upon the croſs; or if it were broken upon the croſs, it was not eaten of his diſciples.

Feck. Why? Is it not as poſſible that Chriſt by his power could make his body both to be eaten and broken, as to be born of a woman without ſeed of man, and to walk upon the ſea, having a body, and other ſuch like miracles as he wrought by his power only?

Jane. Yes verily, if God would have done at his ſupper any miracle, he might have done ſo: but I ſay, that then he minded no work nor miracle, but only to break his body, and ſhed his blood on the croſs for our ſins. But I pray you to anſwer me to this one queſtion: Where was Chriſt, when he ſaid, Take, eat, this is my body? Was he not at the table when he ſaid ſo? He was at that time alive, and ſuffered not till the next day. What took he, but bread? what brake he, but bread? and what gave he, but bread? Look, what he took, he brake: and look, what he brake, he gave: and look, what he gave, they did eat: and yet all this while he himſelf was alive, and at ſupper before his diſciples, or elſe they were deceived.

Feck. You ground your faith upon ſuch authors as ſay and unſay both in a breath, and not upon the church, to whom ye ought to give credit.

Jane. No, I ground my faith on God's word, and not upon the church; for if the church be a good church, the faith of the church muſt be tried by God's word, and

not God's word by the church, nor yet my faith. Shall I believe the church becauſe of antiquity? or ſhall I give credit to the church that taketh away from me the half part of the Lord's ſupper, and will not let any man receive it in both kinds? which things if they deny to us, then deny they to us part of our ſalvation. And I ſay, that it is an evil church, and not the ſpouſe of Chriſt, but the ſpouſe of the devil, that altereth the Lord's ſupper, and both taketh from it, and addeth to it. To that church (ſay I) God will add plagues, and from that church will he take their part out of the book of life: Do they learn that of St. Paul when he miniſtered to the Corinthians in both kinds? Shall I believe this church? God forbid.

Feck. That was done for a good intent of the church, to avoid an hereſy that ſprang on it.

Jane. Why? ſhall the church alter God's will and ordinance for good intent? how did king Saul? The Lord God defend.

With theſe and ſuch like perſuaſions he endeavoured, but to no purpoſe, to turn her to the popiſh religion. They reaſoned about many other things, but theſe were the chief.

Then Fecknam took his leave, ſaying, that he was ſorry for her: for I am ſure, quoth he, that we two ſhall never meet.

Jane. True it is, ſaid ſhe, that we ſhall never meet, except God turn your heart. For I am aſſured, unleſs you repent and turn to God, you are in an evil caſe: and I pray God, in the bowels of his mercy, to ſend you his Holy Spirit: For he hath given you his great gift of utterance, if it pleaſed him alſo to open the eyes of your heart.

The Lady Jane's Letter to her Father.

FATHER, although it hath pleaſed God to haſten my death by you, by whom my life ſhould rather have been lengthened: yet can I ſo patiently take it, as I yield God more hearty thanks for ſhortening my woful days, than if all the world had been given unto my poſſeſſions with life lengthened at my own will. And albeit I am well aſſured of your impatient dolors, redoubled manifold ways, both in bewailing your own woe, and eſpecially (as I hear) my unfortunate ſtate, yet my dear father (if I may without offence rejoice in my own miſhaps) meſeems in this I may account myſelf bleſſed, that waſhing my hands with the innocency of my fact, my guiltleſs blood may cry before the Lord, Mercy to the innocent. And yet, though I muſt needs acknowledge, that being conſtrained, and as you wot well enough, continually aſſayed, in taking upon me I ſeemed to conſent, and therein grievouſly offended the queen and her laws: yet do I aſſuredly truſt, that this my offence toward God is ſo much the leſs, in that being in ſo royal eſtate as I was, mine inforced honour blended never with mine innocent heart: and thus, good father, I have opened unto you the ſtate wherein I at preſent ſtand. Whoſe death at hand, although to you perhaps it may ſeem right woful, to me there is nothing that can be more welcome, than from this vale of miſery to aſpire to that heavenly throne of all joy and pleaſure with Chriſt our Saviour. In whoſe ſtedfaſt faith (if it may be lawful for the daughter ſo to write to the father) the Lord that hitherto hath ſtrengthened you, ſo continue you, that at the laſt we may meet in heaven with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.

When her father, in king Edward's time, flouriſhed in freedom and proſperity, he had belonging to him a certain learned man, a ſtudent and graduate of the univerſity of Oxford, who then being his chaplain, and appearing to be a ſincere preacher of the goſpel, according to the doctrine of that time ſet forth and received, but ſhortly after, when the ſtate of religion began to be altered by queen Mary, he altered his profeſſion according to the time, and of a proteſtant, became a friend and defender of the pope's proceedings. This pious and chriſtian lady ſeeing ſuch a change in a perſon whom ſhe thought ſo ſincere, was much grieved, and moſt of all lamented the dangerous ſtate of his ſoul, in ſo cowardly ſliding away from the truth, and writeth her mind to him in a ſharp and vehement letter: which (as it appeared to proceed from an earneſt and zealous heart, ſo) ſhe prayed that God might make it effectual in reducing him to repentance, and engage him to take better hold of that whereon depended the eternal welfare of his own ſoul. The copy of the letter is as follows.

Another Letter of the Lady Jane, to Mr. Harding, late Chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, her Father, and then fallen from the Truth of God's Holy Word.

SO oft as I call to mind the dreadful and fearful ſaying of God, "That he which layeth hold upon the "plough and looketh back, is not meet for the kingdom "of heaven:" And, on the other ſide, the comfortable words of our Saviour Chriſt to all thoſe that forſaking themſelves, do follow him: I cannot but marvel at thee, and lament thy caſe, which ſeemed ſometime to be the lively member of Chriſt, but now the deformed imp of the devil; ſometime the beautiful temple of God, but now the ſtinking and filthy kennel of Satan: ſometime the unſpotted ſpouſe of Chriſt, but now the unſhamefaced paramour of Antichriſt; ſometime my faithful brother, but now a ſtranger and apoſtate; ſometime a ſtout chriſtian ſoldier, but now a cowardly run-away. Yea when I conſider theſe things, I cannot but ſpeak to thee, and cry out upon thee, Thou ſeed of Satan, and not of Judah, whom the devil hath deceived, the world hath beguiled, and the deſire of life ſubverted, and made thee of a chriſtian an infidel. Wherefore haſt thou taken the teſtament of the Lord in thy mouth? Wherefore haſt thou preached the law and the will of God to others? Wherefore haſt thou inſtructed others to be ſtrong in Chriſt, when thou thyſelf doeſt now ſo ſhamefully ſhrink, and ſo horribly abuſe the teſtament and law of the Lord? When thou thyſelf preacheſt not to ſteal, yet moſt abominably ſtealeſt, not from men, but from God, and committing moſt heinous ſacrilege, robbeſt Chriſt thy Lord of his right members, thy body and ſoul, and chuſeſt rather to live miſerably with ſhame in the world, than to die, and glorioufly with honour reign with Chriſt, in whom even in death is life? Why doſt thou now ſhew thyſelf moſt weak, when indeed thou oughteſt to be moſt ſtrong? The ſtrength of a fort is unknown before the aſſault, but thou yieldeſt thy hold before any battery be made. O wretched and unhappy man, what art thou but duſt and aſhes? And wilt thou reſiſt thy Maker that faſhioned thee and framed thee? Wilt thou now forſake him that called thee from the cuſtom gathering among the Romiſh antichriſtians, to be an ambaſſador and meſſenger of his eternal Word? He that firſt framed thee, and ſince thy firſt creation and birth preſerved thee, nouriſhed and kept thee, yea, and inſpired thee with the ſpirit of knowledge (I cannot ſay of grace) ſhall he not now poſſeſs thee? Dareſt thou deliver up thyſelf to another, being not thine own, but his? How canſt thou, having knowledge, or how dareſt thou neglect the law of the Lord, and follow the vain traditions of men: and whereas thou haſt been a public profeſſor of his name, become now a defacer of his glory? Wilt thou refuſe the true God, and worſhip the invention of man, the golden calf, the whore of Babylon, the Romiſh religion, the abominable idol, the moſt wicked maſs? Wilt thou torment again, rent, and tear the moſt precious body of our Saviour Chriſt, with thy bodily and fleſhly teeth? Wilt thou take upon thee to offer up any ſacrifice unto God for our ſins, conſidering that Chriſt offered up himſelf (as Paul ſaith) upon the croſs a lively ſacrifice once for all? Can neither the puniſh-

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ment of the Iſraelites, (which for their idolatry they ſo oft received) nor the terrible threatenings of the prophets, nor the curſes of God's own mouth, fear thee to honour any other God than him? Doſt thou ſo regard him that ſpared not his dear and only Son for thee, ſo diminiſhing, yea, utterly extinguiſhing his glory, that thou wilt attribute the praiſe and honour due unto him to the idols, which have mouths and ſpeak not, eyes and ſee not, ears and hear not; which ſhall periſh with them that made them?

What ſaith the prophet Baruch, where he recited the epiſtle of Jeremy written to the captive Jews? Did he not forewarn them, that in Babylon they ſhould ſee gods of gold, ſilver, wood and ſtone, borne upon mens ſhoulders, to caſt a fear before the heathen? "But be ye not afraid "of them (ſaith Jeremy) nor do as others do. But "when you ſee others worſhip them, ſay you in your "hearts, It is thou, O Lord, that oughteſt only to be "worſhipped: for as for thoſe gods, the carpenter "framed them and poliſhed them, yea, gilded be they, "and laid over with ſilver and vain things, and cannot "ſpeak." He ſheweth moreover the abuſe of their dealings, how the prieſts took off their ornaments, and apparelled their women withal: how one holdeth a ſceptre, another a ſword in his hand, and yet can they judge in no matter, nor defend themſelves, much leſs any other, from either battle or murder, nor yet from gnawing of worms, nor any other evil thing, Theſe and ſuch like words ſpeaketh Jeremy unto them, whereby he proveth them to be but vain things, and no gods. And at laſt he concludeth thus, "Confounded be all they that worſhip "them." They were warned by Jeremy, and thou as Jeremy haſt warned other, and art warned thyſelf by many ſcriptures in many places. God ſaith, he is a jealous God, which will have all honour, glory and worſhip given to him only. And Chriſt ſaith in the fourth of Matthew, to Satan which tempted him, even to the ſame Belzebub, the ſame devil which hath prevailed againſt thee: "It is written (ſaith he) thou ſhalt honour the Lord thy "God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve."

Theſe and ſuch like do prohibit thee and all chriſtians to worſhip any other God than which was before all worlds, and laid the foundations both of heaven and earth: and wilt thou honour a deteſtable idol, invented by Romiſh popes, and the abominable college of crafty cardinals? Chriſt offered himſelf up once for all, and wilt thou offer him up again daily at thy pleaſure? But thou wilt ſay, thou doeſt it for a good intent. Oh ſink of ſin! Oh child of perdition! Doſt thou dream therein of a good intent, where thy conſcience beareth thee witneſs of God's threatened wrath againſt thee? How did Saul? who for that he diſobeyed the word of the Lord for a good intent, was thrown from his worldly and temporal kingdom. Shalt thou then that doſt deface God's honour, and rob him of his right, inherit the eternal and heavenly kingdom? Wilt thou for a good intent diſhonour God, offend thy brother, and danger thy ſoul, wherefore Chriſt hath ſhed his moſt precious blood? Wilt thou for a good intent pluck Chriſt out of heaven, and make his death void, and deface the triumph of his croſs by offering him up daily? Wilt thou either for fear of death or hope of life, deny and refuſe thy God, who enriched thy poverty, healed thy infirmity, and yielded to thee his victory, if thou couldeſt have kept it? Doſt thou not conſider that the thread of thy life hangeth upon him that made thee, who can (as his will is) either twine it harder to laſt the longer, or untwine it again to break the ſooner? Doſt thou not then remember the ſaying of David, a notable king, to teach thee a miſerable wretch, in his 104th Pſalm, where he ſaith thus: "When thou takeſt away thy ſpirit (O Lord) "from men, they die and are turned again to their duſt: "but when thou letteſt thy breath go forth, they ſhall be "made, and thou ſhalt renew the face of the earth." Remember the ſaying of Chriſt in his goſpel: "Whoſo-"ever ſeeketh to ſave his life, ſhall loſe it: but whoſoever "will loſe his life for my ſake, ſhall find it." And in the ſame place, "Whoſoever loveth father or mother above "me, is not meet for me. He that will follow me, let "him forſake himſelf, and take up his croſs, and follow "me." What croſs? the croſs of infamy and ſhame, of miſery and poverty, of affliction and perſecution for his name's ſake. Let the oft falling of thoſe heavenly ſhowers pierce thy ſtony heart. Let the two edged-ſword of God's holy word ſheer aſunder the ſinews of worldly reſpects, even to the very marrow of thy carnal heart, that thou mayeſt once again forſake thyſelf and embrace Chriſt. And like as good ſubjects will not refuſe to hazard all in the defence of their earthly and temporal governor, ſo fly not like a white-livered milkſop from the ſtanding wherein thy chief captain Chriſt hath ſet thee in array of this life. Fight manfully, come life, come death: thy quarrel is God's, and undoubtedly the victory is ours.

But thou wilt ſay; I will not break unity. What, not the unity of Satan and his members? Not the unity of darkneſs, the agreement of Antichriſt and his adherents? Nay, thou deceiveſt thyſelf with a fond imagination of ſuch an unity as is among the enemies of Chriſt. Were not the falſe prophets in an unity? Were not Joſeph's brethren and Jacob's ſons in an unity? Were not the heathen, as the Amalekites, the Perizzites and Jebuſites in an unity? Were not the ſcribes and phariſees in an unity? Doth not king David teſtify, "They have caſt their heads "together, and are confederate againſt the Lord?" Yea, thieves, murderers, conſpirators have their unity. But what unity? Tully ſaith of amity, There is no amity but with the good. But mark, my friend, yea, friend, if thou be not God's enemy: there is no unity but where Chriſt knitteth the knot among ſuch as be his. Yea, be well aſſured, that where his truth is not reſident, there it is verified that he himſelf ſaith: "I came not to ſend "peace on earth, but a ſword," &c. but to ſet one againſt another, the ſon againſt the father, and the daughter againſt the mother-in-law. Deceive not thyſelf therefore with the glittering and glorious name of unity; for Antichriſt hath his unity, yet not in deed but in name. The agreement of ill men is not an unity, but a conſpiracy. Thou haſt heard ſome threatenings, ſome curſings, and ſome admonitions out of the ſcripture to thoſe that love themſelves above Chriſt. Thou haſt heard alſo the ſharp and biting words to thoſe that deny him for love of life: Saith he not, "He that denieth me before men, I will "deny him before my Father in heaven?" And to the ſame effect writeth Paul, "It is impoſſible (ſaith he) that "they which were once lightened, and have taſted of the "heavenly gift, and were partakers of the Holy Ghoſt, "and have taſted of the good word of God, if they fall "and ſlide away, crucifying to themſelves the ſon of God "afreſh, and making of him a mocking ſtock, ſhould "be renewed again by repentance." And again, ſaith he, "If we ſhall willingly ſin after we have received the "knowledge of his truth, there is no oblation left for "ſin, but the terrible expectation of judgment, and fire "which ſhall devour the adverſaries." Thus St. Paul writeth, and this thou readeſt, and doſt thou not quake and tremble?

Well, if theſe terrible and thundering threatenings cannot ſtir thee to cleave unto Chriſt, and forſake the world, yet let the ſweet conſolations and promiſes of the ſcriptures, let the example of Chriſt and his apoſtles, holy martyrs and confeſſors, encourage thee to take faſter hold of Chriſt. Hearken what he ſaith; "Bleſſed are you when "men revile you, and perſecute you for my ſake: rejoice "and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven; for ſo "perſecuted they the prophets that were before you." Hear what the prophet Iſaiah ſaith: "Fear not the curſe "of men, be not afraid of their blaſphemies, for worms "and moths ſhall eat them up like cloth and wool, but "my righteouſneſs ſhall endure for ever, and my ſaving "health from generation to generation. What art thou "then (ſaid he) that feareſt a mortal man, the child of

"man,

" man, which fadeth away like the flower, and forget-
" teſt the Lord that made thee, that ſpread out the hea-
" vens, and laid the foundation of the earth? I am the
" Lord thy God, that makes the ſea to rage and be ſtill,
" whoſe name is the Lord of hoſts: I ſhall put my word
" in thy mouth, and defend thee with the turning of an
" hand." And our Saviour Chriſt ſaith to his diſciples:
" They ſhall accuſe you, and bring you before princes
" and rulers for my name's ſake, and ſome of you they
" ſhall perſecute and kill; but fear you not (ſaith he) nor
" care you what you ſhall ſay: for it is the Spirit of your
" Father that ſpeaketh within you, Even the very hairs
" of your head are all numbered. Lay up treaſure for
" yourſelves (ſaith he) where no thief cometh, nor moth
" corrupteth. Fear not them that kill the body, but
" are not able to kill the ſoul; but fear him that hath
" power to deſtroy both ſoul and body. If ye were of the
" world, the world would love his own: but becauſe ye
" are not of the world, but I have choſen you out of the
" world, therefore the world hateth you."

Let theſe and ſuch like conſolations, taken out of the ſcriptures, ſtrengthen you to Godward; let not the examples of holy men and women go out of your mind, as Daniel and the reſt of the prophets, of the three children, of Eleazarus that conſtant father, of the ſeven of the Maccabees children, of Peter, Paul, Stephen, and other apoſtles and holy martyrs in the beginning of the church. As of good Simeon archbiſhop of Soloma, and Zetrophone, with infinite other under Sapores the king of the Perſians and Indians, who contemned all torments deviſed by the tyrants for their Saviour's ſake. Return, return again unto Chriſt's war, and, as becometh a faithful warrior, put on that armour that St. Paul teacheth to be moſt neceſſary for a chriſtian man. And above all things take to you the ſhield of faith, and be you provoked by Chriſt's own example to withſtand the devil, to forſake the world, and to become a true and faithful member of his myſtical body, who ſpared not his own body for our ſins.

Throw down yourſelf with the fear of his threatened vengeance for this ſo great and heinous an offence of apoſtacy: and comfort yourſelf on the other part with the mercy, blood, and promiſe of him that is ready to turn unto you whenſoever you turn unto him. Diſdain not to to come again with the loſt ſon, ſeeing you have ſo wandered with him. Be not aſhamed to turn again with him from the ſwill of ſtrangers, to the delicates of your moſt benign and loving Father, acknowledging that you have ſinned againſt heaven and earth: againſt heaven, by ſtaining the glorious name of God, and cauſing his moſt ſincere and pure word to be evil ſpoken of through you. Againſt earth, by offending ſo many of your weak brethren, to whom you have been a ſtumbling-block through your ſudden ſliding. Be not abaſhed to come home again with Mary, and weep bitterly with Peter, not only with ſhedding the tears of your bodily eyes, but alſo pouring out the ſtreams of your heart, to waſh away out of the ſight of God the filth and mire of your offenſive fall. Be not abaſhed to ſay with the publican, Lord, be merciful unto me a ſinner! Remember the horrible hiſtory of Julian of old, and the lamentable caſe of Spira of late, whoſe caſe (methinks) ſhould be yet ſo green in your remembrance, that being a thing of our time, you ſhould fear the like inconvenience, ſeeing you are fallen into the like offence.

Laſt of all, let the lively remembrance of the laſt day be always before your eyes, remembering the terror that ſuch ſhall be in at that time, with the runagates and fugitives from Chriſt, which ſetting more by the world than by heaven more by their life than by him that gave them life, did ſhrink, yea, did clean fall away from him that forſook not them: and contrariwiſe, the ineſtimable joys prepared for them that, fearing no peril, nor dreading death, have manfully fought, and victoriouſly triumphed over all power of darkneſs, over hell, death, and damnation, through their moſt redoubted captain Chriſt, who now ſtretcheth out his arms to receive you, ready to fall upon your neck and kiſs you, and laſt of all to feaſt you with the dainties and delicacies of his precious blood: which undoubtedly, if it might ſtand with his determinate purpoſe, he would not let to ſhed again, rather than you ſhould be loſt. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour, praiſe, and glory everlaſting. Amen.

Be conſtant, be conſtant, fear not for any pain,
Chriſt hath redeemed thee, and heaven is thy gain.

A Letter written by the Lady Jane at the end of the New Teſtament in Greek, which ſhe ſent to her ſiſter the Lady Katherine, the night before ſhe ſuffered.

I Have here ſent you (good ſiſter Katherine) a book, which although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardly it is more worth than precious ſtones. It is the book (dear ſiſter) of the law of the Lord. It is his teſtament and laſt will which he bequeathed unto us wretches: which ſhall lead you to the path of eternal joy, and if you with a good mind read it, and with an earneſt mind do purpoſe to follow it, it ſhall bring you to an immortal and everlaſting life. It ſhall teach you to live, and learn to die. It ſhall win you more than you ſhould have gained by the poſſeſſion of your woful father's lands. For as, if God had proſpered him, you ſhould have inherited his lands; ſo if you apply diligently this book, ſeeking to direct your life after it, you ſhall be an inheritor of ſuch riches, as neither the covetous ſhall withdraw from you, neither thief ſhall ſteal, neither yet the moths corrupt. Deſire with David, good ſiſter, to underſtand the law of the Lord God.

Live ſtill to die, that you by death may purchaſe eternal life. And truſt not that the tenderneſs of your age ſhall lengthen your life; for as ſoon (if God call) goeth the young as the old, and labour always to learn to die. Defy the world, deny the devil, and deſpiſe the fleſh, and delight yourſelf only in the Lord. Be penitent for your ſins, and yet deſpair not: be ſtrong in faith, and yet preſume not: and deſire with St. Paul to be diſſolved and to be with Chriſt, with whom even death there is life. Be like the good ſervant, and even at midnight be waking, leſt when death cometh and ſtealeth upon you as a thief in the night, you be, with the evil ſervant found ſleeping; and leſt for lack of oil, you be found like the five fooliſh women, and like him that had not on the wedding garment, and then ye be caſt out from the marriage. Rejoice in Chriſt as I do. Follow the ſteps of your Maſter Chriſt, and take up your croſs: lay your ſins on his back, and always embrace him. And as touching my death, rejoice as I do (good ſiſter), that I ſhall be delivered of this corruption, and put on incorruption. For I am aſſured, that I ſhall for loſing of a mortal life, win an immortal life, the which I pray God grant you, and ſend you of his grace to live in his fear, and to die in the true chriſtian faith, from the which (in God's name) I exhort you, that you never ſwerve, neither for hope of life, nor for fear of death. For if you will deny his truth for to lengthen out your life, God will deny you, and yet ſhorten your days. And if you will cleave unto him, he will prolong your days to your comfort and his glory: to which glory God bring me now, and you hereafter, when it pleaſeth him to call you. Fare you well, good ſiſter, and put your only truſt in God, who only muſt help you.

A Prayer made by the Lady Jane in the Time of her Trouble.

O Lord, thou God and Father of my life, hear me poor and deſolate woman, which flieth unto thee only in all troubles and miſeries. Thou, O Lord, art the

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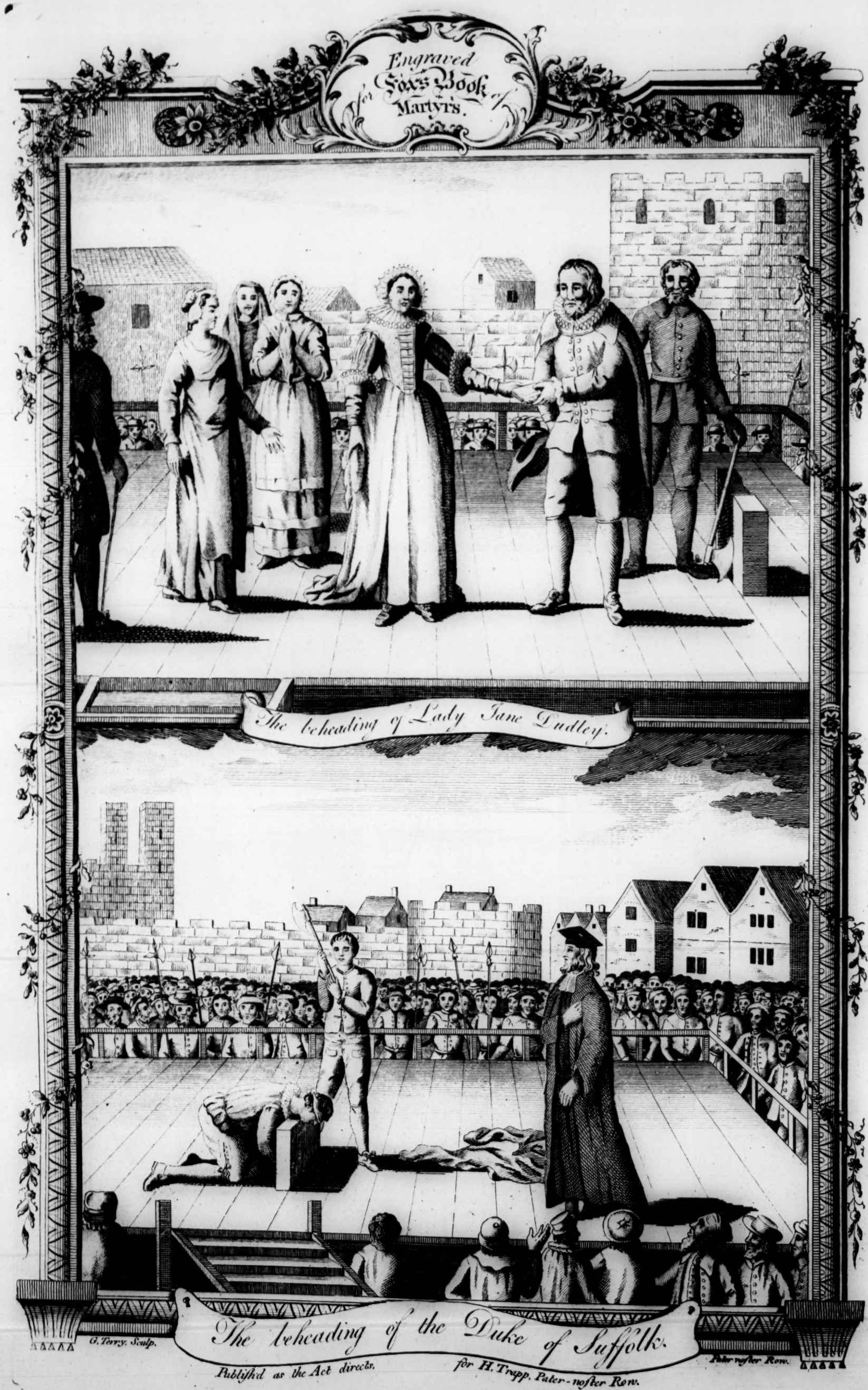

The beheading of Lady Jane Dudley.

The beheading of the Duke of Suffolk.

G. Terry. Sculp.

Publish'd as the Act directs. for H. Trapp. Pater-noster Row. Pater-noster Row.

the only defender and deliverer of thoſe that put their truſt in thee; and therefore I being defiled with ſin, incumbered with affliction, unquieted with troubles, wrapped in cares, overwhelmed with miſeries, vexed with temptations, and grievouſly tormented with the long impriſonment of this vile maſs of clay my ſinful body, do come unto thee, O merciful Saviour, craving thy mercy and help, without the which ſo little help of deliverance is left, that I may utterly deſpair of any liberty. Albeit it is expedient, that ſeeing our life ſtandeth upon trying, we ſhould be viſited ſometime with ſome adverſity, whereby we might both be tried whether we be of thy flock or no, and alſo know thee and ourſelves the better: yet thou that ſaidſt thou wouldſt not ſuffer us to be tempted above our power, be merciful unto me now a miſerable wretch, I beſeech thee: which, with Solomon, do cry unto thee, humbly deſiring thee, that I may neither be too much puffed up with proſperity, neither too much preſſed down with adverſity, leſt I being too full, ſhould deny thee, my God, or being too low brought, ſhould deſpair and blaſpheme thee, my Lord and Saviour. O merciful God, conſider my miſery, beſt known unto thee; and be thou now unto me a ſtrong tower of defence, I humbly require thee. Suffer me not to be tempted above my power, but either be thou a deliverer unto me out of this great miſery, or elſe give me grace patiently to bear thy heavy hand and ſharp correction. It was thy right hand that delivered the people of Iſrael out of the hands of Pharaoh, which for the ſpace of four hundred years did oppreſs, and keep them in bondage. Let it therefore likewiſe ſeem good to thy fatherly goodneſs, to deliver me ſorrowful wretch (for whom thy ſon Chriſt ſhed his precious blood on the croſs) out of this miſerable captivity and bondage wherein I am now. How long wilt thou be abſent, for ever? O Lord, haſt thou forgotten to be gracious, and haſt thou ſhut up thy loving kindneſs in diſpleaſure? Wilt thou be no more intreated? Is thy mercy clean gone for ever, and thy promiſe come utterly to an end for evermore? Why doſt thou make ſo long tarrying? Shall I deſpair of thy mercy, O God? far be that from me. I am thy workmanſhip created in Chriſt Jeſus; give me grace therefore to tarry thy leiſure, and patiently to bear thy works, aſſuredly knowing, that as thou canſt, ſo thou wilt deliver me, when it ſhall pleaſe thee, nothing doubting or miſtruſting thy goodneſs towards me; for thou knoweſt better what is good for me than I do; therefore do with me in all things what thou wilt, and plague me what way thou wilt: only in the mean time arm me, I beſeech thee, with thy armour, that I may ſtand faſt, my loins being girded about with verity, having on the breaſt-plate of righteouſneſs, and ſhod with the ſhoes prepared by the goſpel of peace; above all things taking to me the ſhield of faith, wherewith I may be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked, and taking the helmet of ſalvation, and the ſword of the Spirit, which is thy moſt holy word, praying always with all manner of prayer and ſupplication, that I may refer myſelf wholly to thy will, abiding thy pleaſure, and comforting myſelf in thoſe troubles that it ſhall pleaſe thee to ſend me: ſeeing ſuch troubles be profitable for me, and ſeeing I am aſſuredly perſuaded that it cannot be but well all that thou doeſt. Hear me, O merciful Father, for his ſake, whom thou wouldeſt ſhould be a ſacrifice for my ſins: To whom with Thee and the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour and glory. Amen.

The Words and Behaviour of the Lady Jane upon the Scaffold.

WHEN ſhe firſt mounted the ſcaffold, ſhe ſpake to the ſpectators in this manner: Good people, I am come hither to die, and by a law I am condemned to the ſame. The fact againſt the queen's highneſs was unlawful, and the conſenting thereunto by me: but touching the procurement and deſire thereof by me or on my behalf, I do waſh my hands thereof in innocency before God, and the face of you, good chriſtian people, this day: and therewith ſhe wrung her hands wherein ſhe had her book. Then, ſaid ſhe, I pray you all good chriſtian people to bear me witneſs that I die a true chriſtian woman, and that I do look to be ſaved by no other mean, but only by the mercy of God in the blood of his only Son Jeſus Chriſt: and I confeſs, that when I did know the word of God I neglected the ſame, loved myſelf and the world, and therefore this plague and puniſhment is happily and worthily happened unto me for my ſins: and yet I thank God that of his goodneſs he hath thus given me a time and a reſpite to repent: and now, good people, while I am alive, I pray you aſſiſt me with your prayers. And then kneeling down, ſhe turned to Fecknam, ſaying, Shall I ſay this Pſalm? and he ſaid, Yea. Then ſhe ſaid the Pſalm of Miſerere mei Deus, in Engliſh, in a moſt devout manner throughout to the end; and then ſhe ſtood up, and gave her maid, Mrs. Ellen, her gloves and handkerchief, and her book to Mr. Bruges; and then ſhe untied her gown, and the executioner preſſed upon her to help her off with it, but ſhe deſiring him to let her alone, turned towards her two gentlewomen, who helped her off therewith, and alſo with her frowes, paaft, and neckerchief, giving to her a fair handkerchief to put about her eyes.

Then the executioner kneeled down and aſked her forgiveneſs, whom ſhe forgave moſt willingly. Then he deſired her to ſtand upon the ſtraw; which doing, ſhe ſaw the block. Then ſhe ſaid, I pray you diſpatch me quickly. Then ſhe kneeled down, ſaying, Will you take it off before I lay me down? And the executioner ſaid, No, Madam. Then ſhe tied the handkerchief about her eyes, and feeling for the block, ſhe ſaid: What ſhall I do? Where is it? Where is it? One of the ſtanders by guiding her thereunto, ſhe laid her head down upon the block, and then ſtretched forth her body, and ſaid, Lord, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit; and ſo finiſhed her life, in the year of our Lord 1554, the 12th day of February, about the 17th year of her age.

Thus died the lady Jane, and on the ſame day the lord Guildford her huſband, one of the duke of Northumberland's ſons, was likewiſe beheaded, two innocents in compariſon of them that ſat upon them. For they were both very young, and ignorantly accepted that which others had contrived, and by open proclamation conſented to take from others, and give to them.

Touching the condemnation of this pious lady, it is to be noted, that judge Morgan, who gave ſentence againſt her, ſoon after he had condemned her, fell mad, and in his raving cried out continually to have the lady Jane taken away from him, and ſo he ended his life.

On the 21ſt day of the ſame month, Henry duke of Suffolk was beheaded on Tower-hill, the fourth day after his condemnation: about which time many gentlemen and yeomen were condemned, whereof ſome were executed at London, and ſome in the country. In the number of whom was the lord Thomas Gray, brother to the ſaid duke, being apprehended not long after in North Wales, and executed for the ſame. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton very narrowly eſcaped, as ye ſhall hear (God willing) in another place.

On the 24th day of February, in the ſame year, Bonner biſhop of London ſent a commiſſion, directed to all the paſtors and curates of his dioceſe, for the taking of the names of all ſuch as ſhould refuſe to come to auricular confeſſion the Lent following, and to the receiving at Eaſter. The copy of which here followeth.

The Monition of Bonner Biſhop of London, ſent to all and ſingular Curates of his Dioceſe.

EDMUND, by the permiſſion of God, biſhop of London, to all parſons, vicars, curates, and miniſters of the church within the city and dioceſe of London,

don, ſendeth grace, peace, and mercy in our Lord everlaſting. Foraſmuch as by the order of the eccleſiaſtical laws and conſtitutions of this realm, and the laudable uſage and cuſtom of the whole catholic church, by many hundred years agone, duly and devoutly obſerved and kept, all faithful people being of lawful age and diſcretion, are bound once in the year at leaſt (except reaſonable cauſe excuſe them) to be confeſſed to their own proper curate, and to receive the ſacrament of the altar, with due preparation and devotion: and foraſmuch alſo as we be credibly informed, that ſundry evil-diſpoſed and undevout perſons, given to ſenſual pleaſures, and carnal appetites, following the luſts of their body, and neglecting utterly the health of their ſouls, do forbear to come to confeſſion according to the ſaid uſage, and to receive the ſacrament of the altar accordingly, giving thereby pernicious and evil example to the younger ſort, to neglect and contemn the ſame: We minding the reformation thereof for our own diſcharge, and deſirous of good order to be kept, and good example to be given; do will and command you by virtue hereof, that immediately upon the receipt of this our commandment, ye and every each of you within your cure and charge, do uſe all your diligence and dexterity to declare the ſame, ſtraitly charging and commanding all your pariſhioners, being of lawful age and diſcretion, to come before Eaſter next coming, to confeſſion, according to the ſaid ordinance and uſage, with due preparation and devotion to receive the ſaid ſacrament of the altar, and that ye do note the names of all ſuch as be not confeſſed unto you, and do not receive of you the ſaid ſacrament, certifying us, or our chancellor or commiſſary thereof, before the ſixth day of April next enſuing the date hereof; that ſo we, knowing thereby who did not come to confeſſion, and receiving the ſacrament accordingly, may proceed againſt them, as being perſons culpable, and tranſgreſſors of the ſaid eccleſiaſtical law and uſage. Further alſo certifying us, our ſaid chancellor or commiſſary, before the day aforeſaid, whether you have your altars ſet up, chalice-book, veſtments, and all things neceſſary for maſs, and the adminiſtration of ſacraments and ſacramentals, with proceſſion, and all other divine ſervice prepared and in readineſs, according to the order of the catholic church, and the virtuous and godly example of the queen's majeſty. And if ye ſo have not, ye then with the churchwardens cauſe the ſame to be provided for, ſignifying by whoſe fault and negligence the ſame want or fault hath proceeded, and generally of the not coming of your pariſhioners to church, undue walking, talking, or uſing of themſelves there unreverently in the time of divine ſervice, and of all other open faults and miſdemeanors, not omitting thus to do, and certify as before, as you will anſwer upon your peril for the contrary.

Given at London the 23d day of February, in the year of our Lord, 1554.

On the fourth of March following the queen ſent a letter to Bonner biſhop of London, with certain articles annexed thereunto, to be put in ſpeedy execution, containing as follows:

Queen Mary's Letter to Bonner Biſhop of London.

"RIGHT reverend father in God, right truſty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas heretofore in the time of the late reign of our moſt deareſt brother king Edward the ſixth, whoſe ſoul God pardon, divers notable crimes, exceſſes and faults, with ſundry kinds of hereſies, ſimony, adultery, and other enormities have been committed within this our realm, and other our dominions, the ſame continuing yet hitherto in like diſorder ſince the beginning of our reign, without any correction or reformation at all, and the people both of the laity and alſo of the clergy, and chiefly of the clergy, have been given to much inſolency and ungodly rule, greatly to the diſpleaſure of Almighty God, and very much to our regret and evil contentation, and to no little ſlander of other chriſtian realms, and in a manner to the ſubverſion and clean defacing of this our realm; and remembering our duty to almighty God, to be to foreſee (as much as in us may be) that all virtue and godly living ſhall be embraced, flouriſh and increaſe; and therewith alſo that all vice and ungodly behaviour ſhould be baniſhed and put away, or at the leaſtwiſe (ſo nigh as might be) ſo bridled and kept under, that godlineſs and honeſty might have the upper hand; underſtanding by very credible report and public fame, to our no ſmall heavineſs and diſcomfort, that within your dioceſe, as well in not exempted as exempted places, the like diſorder and evil behaviour hath been done and uſed, like alſo to continue and increaſe, unleſs due proviſion be had and made to reform the ſame; which earneſtly in very deed we do mind and intend to the uttermoſt all the ways we can poſſible, truſting of God's furtherance and help in that behalf. For theſe cauſes and other moſt juſt conſiderations us moving, we ſend unto you certain articles of ſuch ſpecial matters, as among other things be moſt neceſſary now to be put in execution by you and your officers, extending to the end by us deſired, and the reformation aforeſaid: wherein ye ſhall be charged with our ſpecial commandment, by theſe our letters, to the intent you and your officers may the more earneſtly and boldly proceed thereunto, without fear of any preſumption to be noted in your part, or danger to be incurred of any ſuch our laws, as by our doing of that is in the ſaid articles contained, might any wiſe grieve you, whatſoever be threatened in any ſuch caſe. And therefore we ſtraitly charge and command you, and your ſaid officers, to proceed to the execution of the ſaid articles, without all tract and delay, as ye will anſwer to the contrary.

"Given under our ſignet, at our palace of Weſtminſter, the third day of March, the firſt year of our reign."

Articles ſent from the Queen unto the Ordinary, commanding both him and his Officers to ſee them put in Execution throughout the whole Dioceſe.

FIRST, That every biſhop and his officers, with all other having eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, ſhall with all ſpeed and diligence, and all manner of ways to them poſſible, put in execution all ſuch canons and eccleſiaſtical laws, heretofore in the time of king Henry the eighth uſed within this realm of England, and the dominions of the ſame, not being directly and expreſly contrary to the laws and ſtatutes of this realm.

Item, That no biſhop, or any of his officers, or other perſon aforeſaid, hereafter in any eccleſiaſtical writing, in proceſs or other extrajudicial acts, do uſe to put in this clauſe or ſentence, [Supported by royal authority.]

Item, That no biſhop, or any of his officers, or other perſon aforeſaid, do hereafter exact or demand in the admiſſion of any perſon to any eccleſiaſtical promotion, order, or office, any oath touching the primacy or ſucceſſion, as of late in few years paſſed hath been accuſtomed and uſed.

Item, That every biſhop and his officers, with all other perſons aforeſaid, have a vigilant eye, and uſe ſpecial diligence and foreſight, that no perſon be admitted or received to any eccleſiaſtical function, benefice, or office, being a ſacramentary, infected or defamed with any notable kind of hereſy, or other great crime; and that the ſaid biſhop do ſtay, and cauſe to be ſtayed, as much as lieth in him, that benefices and eccleſiaſtical promotions do not notably decay, or take hindrance by paſſing or confirming of unreaſonable leaſes.

Item,

Item, That every biſhop, and all other perſons aforeſaid, do diligently travail for the repreſſing of hereſies, and notable crimes, eſpecially in the clergy, duly correcting and puniſhing the ſame.

Item, That every biſhop, and all other perſons aforeſaid, do likewiſe travail for the condemning and repreſſing of corrupt and naughty opinions, unlawful books, ballads, and other pernicious and hurtful devices, engendering hatred amongſt the people, and diſcord among the ſame. And that ſchoolmaſters, preachers and teachers do exerciſe and uſe their offices and duties without teaching, preaching, and ſetting forth any evil and corrupt doctrine, and that doing the contrary, they may be by the biſhop and his ſaid officers puniſhed and removed.

Item, That every biſhop, and all other perſons aforeſaid, proceeding ſummarily, and with all celerity and ſpeed, may and ſhall deprive or declare deprived, and amove, according to their learning and diſcretion, all ſuch perſons from their benefices and eccleſiaſtical promotions, who contrary to the ſtate of their order, and the laudable cuſtom of the church, have married and uſed women as their wives, or otherwiſe notably and ſlanderouſly diſordered or abuſed themſelves: ſequeſtering alſo, during the ſaid proceſs, the fruits and profits of the ſaid benefices and eccleſiaſtical promotions.

Item, That the ſaid biſhop, and all other perſons aforeſaid, do uſe more lenity and clemency with ſuch as have married, whoſe wives be dead, than with other whoſe women do yet remain alive. And likewiſe ſuch prieſts, as with the conſent of their wives or women openly in the preſence of the biſhop do profeſs to abſtain, to be uſed more favourably. In which caſe, after the penance effectually done, the biſhop, according to his diſcretion and wiſdom, may upon juſt conſideration receive and admit them again to their former adminiſtration, ſo it be not in the ſame place, appointing them ſuch a portion to live upon, to be paid out of their benefice whereof they be deprived, by diſcretion of the ſaid biſhop or his officer, as he ſhall think may be ſpared of the ſaid benefice.

Item, That every biſhop, and all other perſons aforeſaid, do foreſee that they ſuffer not any religious man, having ſolemnly profeſſed chaſtity, to continue with his woman or wife; but that all ſuch perſons after deprivation of their benefice or eccleſiaſtical promotion, be alſo divorced every one from his ſaid woman, and due puniſhment otherwiſe taken for the offence therein.

Item, That every biſhop, and all other perſons aforeſaid, do take order and direction with the pariſhioners of every benefice, where prieſts are wanting, to repair to the next pariſh for divine ſervice, or to appoint for a convenient time, till other better proviſion may be made, one curate to ſerve in their ſtead, in divers pariſhes, and to allot to the curate for his labour ſome portion of the benefice that he ſo ſerveth.

Item, That all and all manner of proceſſions of the church be uſed and frequented, and continued after the old order of the church in the Latin tongue.

Item, That all ſuch holy days and faſting days be obſerved and kept, as were obſerved and kept in the latter time of king Henry the eighth.

Item, That the laudable and honeſt ceremonies which were wont to be uſed, frequented, and obſerved in the church, be alſo hereafter frequented, uſed, and obſerved.

Item, That children be chriſtened by the prieſt, and confirmed by the biſhop, as heretofore hath been accuſtomed and uſed.

Item, Touching ſuch perſons as were heretofore promoted to any orders, after the new ſort and faſhion of orders: conſidering they were not ordered in very deed, the biſhop of the dioceſe finding otherwiſe ſufficiency and ability in thoſe men, may ſupply that thing which wanted in them before, and then according to his diſcretion admit them to miniſter.

Item, That by the biſhop of the dioceſe an uniform doctrine be ſet forth by homilies, or otherwiſe, for the good inſtruction and teaching of all people: and that the ſaid biſhop and other perſons aforeſaid, do compel the pariſhioners to come to their ſeveral churches, and there devoutly to hear divine ſervice, as of reaſon they ought.

Item, That they examine all ſchoolmaſters and teachers of children, and finding them ſuſpect in any wiſe to remove them, and place catholic men in their rooms, with a ſpecial commandment to inſtruct their children, ſo as they may be able to anſwer the prieſt at the maſs, as hath been accuſtomed.

Item, That the ſaid biſhop, and all other the perſons aforeſaid, have ſuch regard, reſpect and conſideration of the ſetting forth of the premiſſes, with all kind of virtue, godly living, and good example, with repreſſing alſo and keeping under vice and unthriftineſs, as they and every of them may be ſeen to favour the reſtitution of true religion; and alſo to make an honeſt account and reckoning of their office and cure, to the honour of God, our good contentation, and profit of this our realm, and the dominions of the ſame.

A like preſcript alſo with articles, was ſent from the Queen to the Lord Mayor of London, the fourth day of March in the ſame year, who upon receiving the ſame, directed his commandment to the aldermen, every one ſeverally in his ward, as followeth:

By the Lord Mayor.

ON the queen our moſt gracious and moſt benign ſovereign lady's behalf, we moſt ſtraitly charge and command you, that ye the ſaid aldermen fail not perſonally to call before your own perſon, in ſuch place within your ſaid ward as to you ſhall ſeem moſt convenient and meet, upon Wedneſday next coming, which ſhall be the ſeventh day of this preſent month, at ſeven of the clock in the morning of the ſame day, all and every the houſholders both poor and rich of your ſaid ward, and then and there openly and plainly for your own diſcharge, and for the eſchewing the perils that to you might otherwiſe be juſtly imputed and laid, do not only ſtraitly admoniſh, charge, and command, in the queen our ſaid ſovereign lady's name and behalf, all and every the ſaid houſholders, that both in their own perſons, and alſo their wives, children and ſervants, being of the age of twelve years and upwards, and every of them, do at all and every time and times from henceforth, and namely at the holy time of Eaſter now approaching, honeſtly, quietly, obediently, and catholicly, uſe and behave themſelves like good and faithful chriſtian people, in all and every thing and things touching and concerning the true faith, profeſſion, and religion of his catholic church, both according to the laws and precepts of Almighty God, and alſo their bounden duty of obedience towards our ſovereign lady the queen, her laws and ſtatutes, and her highneſs' moſt good example and gracious proceeding according to the ſame, and according alſo to the right, wholſome, charitable and godly admonition, charge and exhortation, late ſet forth and given by the reverend father in God, the biſhop of London, our dioceſan and ordinary, to all the parſons, vicars, and curates, within his dioceſe: but alſo that they and every of them do truly, without delay, advertiſe you of the names and ſurnames of all and every perſon and perſons, that they or any of them can or may at any time hereafter know, perceive or underſtand to tranſgreſs or offend in any point or article concerning the premiſſes, at their utmoſt perils. That ye immediately after ſuch notice thereof to you given, do forthwith advertiſe us thereof. Fail ye not thus to do with all circumſpection and diligence, as ye will anſwer to our ſaid moſt dread ſovereign lady the queen for the contrary at your like peril. Given at the Guildhall of the city of London,

London, the fifth day of March, in the firſt year of the reign of our ſaid ſovereign lady and queen.

Blackwell.

And likewiſe do you give to every of the ſaid houſholders ſtraitly in commandment, that they or their wives depart not out of their ſaid city until this holy time of Eaſter be paſt.

About the ſame year and time that doctor Bonner publiſhed his preſcript or monitory, there came from the Queen another proclamation commanding all foreigners and ſtrangers to deſert this realm. The copy of which proclamation, becauſe it related chiefly to religion and doctrine, and the true profeſſors thereof, I have thought fit here to annex as followeth.

A Copy of the Queen's Proclamation for driving all Foreigners and Strangers out of the Realm.

"THE Queen our ſovereign lady, underſtanding "that a multitude of evil diſpoſed perſons, being "born out of her highneſs's dominions in other ſundry "nations, flying from the obeyſance of the princes and "rulers under whom they be born (ſome for hereſy, "ſome for murder, treaſon, robbery, and ſome for other "horrible crimes), be reſorted into this her majeſty's "realm, and here have made their demurrer, and yet be "commorant and lingering, partly to eſchew ſuch con"dign puniſhment as their ſaid horrible crimes de"ſerve, and partly to dilate, plant, and ſow the ſeeds of "their malicious doctrine and lewd converſation among "the good ſubjects of this her ſaid realm, on purpoſe to "infect her good ſubjects with the like, inſomuch as be"ſides innumerable hereſies, which divers of the ſame "being heretics, have preached and taught within her "highneſs's ſaid realm, it is aſſuredly known unto her "majeſty, that not only their ſecret practices have not "failed to ſtir, comfort and aid divers her highneſs's ſub"jects to this moſt unnatural rebellion againſt God and "her grace, but alſo ſome other of them deſiſt not ſtill "to practice with her people forthwith to rebel: her "majeſty therefore having (as afore is ſaid) knowledge "and intelligence hereof, hath for remedy herein deter"mined, and moſt ſtraitly chargeth and commandeth, "that all and every ſuch perſon and perſons born out of "her highneſs's dominions, now commorant or reſident "within this realm, of whatſoever nation or country, "being either preacher, printer, bookſeller, or other "artificer, or of whatſoever calling elſe, not being deni"zen or merchant known uſing the trade of merchan"dize, or ſervant to ſuch embaſſadors as be liegers here "from the princes and ſtates joined in league with her "grace, ſhall within twenty-four days of this procla"mation, avoid the realm upon pain of moſt grievous "puniſhment by impriſonment, and forfeiture and con"fiſcation of all their goods and moveables, and alſo "to be delivered unto their natural princes or rulers, "againſt whoſe perſons, or laws they have offended. "Giving to all mayors, ſheriffs, bayliffs, conſtables, "and all other her miniſters, officers, and good ſubjects "ſtraitly alſo in charge, if they know any ſuch perſon, "not born in the queen's highneſs's dominions (except "before excepted) that ſhall, after the time and day li"mited in the proclamation, tarry within this realm, "that they ſhall apprehend the ſame perſon or perſons, "and commit him or them to ward, there to remain with"out bail or main-prize, till her grace's pleaſure or her "council's be ſignified unto them for the further order"ing of the ſaid perſon or perſons. And that if any of "her ſaid officers, after the ſaid twenty-four days, ap"prehend, take, or know of any ſuch, they ſhall with "all diligence immediately certify her ſaid council there"of, to the intent order may be forthwith given for their "puniſhment accordingly."

In the mean while, upon the proclamation abovementioned, not only the ſtrangers received into the realm for religion in king Edward's time, among whom was Peter Martyr, and John Alaſco the king of Poland's uncle, but many Engliſhmen fled, ſome to Friezland, ſome to Cleveland, ſome to High Germany, where they were diverſly ſcattered into different companies and congregations, at Weſel, Frankfort, Baſil, Zurich, Geneva, and other places; where by the providence of God near 800 perſons, reckoning ſtudents and others, were all ſuſtained, and entertained with much greater kindneſs among ſtrangers abroad, than they could be in their own country at home.

In the ſaid month of March likewiſe the lord Courtney earl of Devonſhire, whom the queen at her firſt entrance releaſed out of the Tower, and the lady Elizabeth the queen's ſiſter, were both ſuſpected to have been conſenting to Wyat's conſpiracy, and therefore this very March were apprehended for the ſame, and committed to the Tower.

But as to the impriſonment of the lady Elizabeth and the lord Courtney, I could wiſh thee for thy learning, good reader, to take notice of a politic point of practice in Stephen Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, not unworthy to be conſidered. For this Gardiner being always a capital enemy to the lady Elizabeth, and thinking from Mr. Wyat's rebellion to gather ſomething whereby to accuſe the lord Courtney, and ſo in the end to entangle the lady Elizabeth, deviſed for their conveyance thither a moſt peſtilent practice, as from the following ſtory may plainly appear.

The ſtory is this: The ſame day Sir Thomas Wyat was executed, he deſired the lieutenant to bring him to the preſence of the lord Courtney; where, before the lieutenant and the ſheriffs, kneeling down upon his knees he beſought the lord Courtney to forgive him, for that he had falſly accuſed both him and the lady Elizabeth: and when brought from thence to the ſcaffold, publickly to ſuffer in the face of all the people, he cleared the lady Elizabeth and the lord Courtney, ſo as to be entirely innocent and free from all ſuſpicion of that commotion. At which confeſſion, Dr. Weſton, ſtanding by, cried to the people, ſaying, Believe him not, good people, for he confeſſed otherwiſe before the council.

After the execution of Sir Thomas Wyat, which was April 11, word was immediately brought to the lord mayor, Sir Thomas White, a little before dinner, how Maſter Wyat had cleared the lady Elizabeth and the lord Courtney, and what Dr. Weſton likewiſe ſaid to the people; whereunto the lord mayor anſwering, ſaid, Is this true? Said Weſton ſo? In ſooth, I never took him otherwiſe but for a knave. But upon the lord mayor's ſitting down to dinner that day at the Bridge-houſe, there cometh in Sir Martin Bowes with the recorder, newly come from the parliament-houſe, and hearing from the mayor and ſheriffs this report of Wyat's confeſſion, both upon the ſcaffold and alſo in the Tower, marvelled thereat, declaring how there was a contrary tale told the ſame day in the parliament-houſe, which was, that Sir Thomas Wyat ſhould deſire the Lord Courtney to confeſs the truth ſo as he had done before.

It was not long after this, that a certain apprentice living in St. Laurence-lane, named Cut, as he was drinking with one Denham a plaiſterer, being one of queen Mary's ſervants, happened amongſt other things to mention how Sir Thomas Wyat had cleared the lady Elizabeth and the lord Courtney, to be no conſenters to his riſing. Which words being brought to Gardiner (by what means I know not) Sir Andrew Judd was immediately ſent by the ſaid biſhop unto the lord mayor, commanding him to bring the ſaid apprentice to the ſtar-chamber, who was accuſed for ſaying, That Wyat was conſtrained by the council to accuſe the lady Elizabeth and the lord Courtney. And when this fellow was come to the ſtar-chamber, the aforeſaid Gardiner, letting paſs all other matters that were

were in hand, began to declare to the whole multitude, how miraculouſly Almighty God had brought the queen's majeſty to the crown, the whole realm being in a manner againſt her, and that he had brought this to paſs for this ſingular intent and purpoſe, that this realm being overſpread with hereſies, ſhe might reduce the ſame again to the true catholic faith: and how ſhe took the lady Elizabeth into favour, and loved her tenderly, and alſo the lord Courtney, who had been long detained in priſon, and by her was ſet at liberty, and received great benefits at her hands, and notwithſtanding all this they had both moſt unnaturally and traiterouſly conſpired againſt her, with that heinous traitor Wyat, as by the confeſſion of Wyat (ſaid he) and the letters ſent to and fro may plainly appear: yet there were ſome in the city of London who reported that Wyat was conſtrained by the council to accuſe the lady Elizabeth and the lord Courtney; and yet you, my lord mayor, quoth he, have not ſeen the ſame puniſhed.

The party is here, ſaid the lord mayor. Take him with you, ſaid Gardiner, and puniſh him according to his deſert; and ſaid further, My lord, take heed to your charge, the city of London is a whirlpool and ſink of all evil rumours, where they be bred, and from thence ſpread into all parts of the realm.

There ſtood by at the ſame time the lord Shandois, then lieutenant of the Tower, and hearing the biſhop thus ſpeak, to flatter him in his tale, came in with theſe words as follows: My lords (ſaid he) this is a truth that I ſhall tell you, being lieutenant of the Tower when Wyat ſuffered, he deſired me to bring him to the lord Courtney; which when I had done, he fell down on his knees before him in my preſence, and deſired him to confeſs the truth of himſelf, as he had done before, and ſubmit himſelf unto the queen's majeſty's mercy.

And thus much I thought fit to declare of this matter, to the intent that the reader perceiving the biſhop's proceedings in the premiſſes, and comparing the ſame with the teſtimony of Wyat himſelf, and with the teſtimony of the ſheriffs that were then preſent, when Sir Thomas Wyat aſked the lord Courtney forgiveneſs, may the better judge of the whole caſe and matter for which the lady Elizabeth and the lord Courtney were ſo long in trouble. Of which her grace's trouble (God willing) more ſhall be ſaid hereafter in the ſtory of her life. In the mean while to let this matter ſtay, let us now proceed in our hiſtory.

Not long after this queen Mary, partly fearing the Londoners by occaſion of Wyat's conſpiracy, and partly perceiving moſt of the city for religion ſake not greatly to favour her proceedings, to their diſpleaſure and hindrance ſummoned a parliament to be held at Oxford, as it were to gratify that city, where both the univerſity, town and country had ſhewed themſelves very obedient and forward, eſpecially in reſtoring the popiſh religion. For this purpoſe great proviſion was made, as well by the queen's officers, as by the townſmen and inhabitants of Oxford, and the country round about.

But the queen's mind ſoon changed, and the April following the ſame parliament was held at Weſtminſter; where the queen, among other things, propoſed her marriage with king Philip, which was agreed upon; and reſtoring of the pope's ſupremacy, which could not then be obtained.

At the ſame time when this parliament was ſummoned, the queen ſummoned likewiſe a convocation of biſhops, and of the clergy, writing unto Bonner (whom ſhe had made vicegerent in the room of Cranmer, being then in the Tower) in a ſtyle different from the old ſtyle of king Henry and king Edward, as followeth.

Queen Mary writing to Biſhop Bonner for ſummoning a Convocation, altereth her Style or Title.

"MARY, by the grace of God, of England, France "and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith: to the "Reverend Father in God Edmund Lord Biſhop of "London, ſendeth greeting, &c."

Here the reader is deſired to take notice, that the queen's title is altered, and the latter part left out; to wit, "Of the churches of England and Ireland, ſu-"preme," becauſe in this parliament the ſupremacy was taken from the crown of England, and given to the pope: and biſhop Bonner, giving his certificate upon the ſame, leaves out Autoritate, &c. "By the authority of our "moſt illuſtrious queen impowered;" which part of the biſhop's title in the ſame parliament was likewiſe repealed and taken away.

The Dignity of Prieſts extolled by Biſhop Bonner.

In this aforeſaid convocation, Bonner biſhop of London being vicegerent and preſident, as is ſaid, made a certain exhortation or oration to the clergy (which was in this convocation, or much about the ſaid time), wherein he ſeemeth to ſhew a great piece of profound and deep learning, in ſetting forth the moſt incomparable and ſuper-angelical order of prieſthood, as may appear by this parcel or fragment of his aforeſaid oration, being collected and gathered by ſome that ſtood by: which as it came to our hands, ſo I thought to impart it to the reader, both for that the author of ſo worthy a book ſhould not paſs unknown, and partly alſo, for that the eſtimation of this bleſſed order ſhould loſe nothing of its preheminence, but might be known in moſt ample perfection, ſo as it ſtandeth above angels and kings, if it be true what biſhop Bonner ſaith.

Biſhop Bonner's Oration in Praiſe of Prieſthood.

WHEREFORE it is to be known, that prieſts and elders be worthy of all men to be worſhipped for the dignity ſake which they have of God, as in Matthew xvi. "Whatſoever ye ſhall looſe upon earth, "&c. And Whatſoever ye ſhall bind, &c." For a prieſt by ſome means is like Mary the virgin, and is ſhewed by three points: As the bleſſed virgin by five words did conceive Chriſt, as it is ſaid: Luke 1. "Be it unto me ac-"cording to thy word:" ſo the prieſt by five words doth make the very body of Chriſt. Even as immediately after the conſent of Mary, Chriſt was all whole in her womb; ſo immediately after the ſpeaking of the words of conſecration, the bread is ſubſtantiated into the very body of Chriſt. Secondly, As the virgin carried Chriſt in her arms, and laid him in an ox-ſtall after his birth; even ſo the prieſt, after the conſecration, doth lift up the body of Chriſt, and placeth it, and carrieth it, and handleth it with his hands. Thirdly, As the bleſſed virgin was ſanctified before ſhe had conceived, ſo the prieſt being ordained and anointed before he doth conſecrate, becauſe without orders he could conſecrate nothing; therefore the lay-man cannot do that thing, although he be never ſo holy, and do ſpeak the ſelf-ſame words of conſecration. Therefore here is to be known, that the dignity of prieſts by ſome means paſſeth the dignity of angels, becauſe there is no power given to any of the angels to make the body of Chriſt. Whereby the leaſt prieſt may do in earth, that which the greateſt and higheſt angel in heaven cannot do, as St. Bernard ſaith, O worſhipful dignity of prieſts, in whoſe hands the Son of God is, as in the womb of the virgin he was incarnate. St. Auguſtin ſaith, That angels in the conſecration of the ſacred hoſt do ſerve him, and the Lord of heaven deſcendeth to him. Whereupon St. Ambroſe upon St. Luke ſays, Doubt thou not the angels to be where Chriſt is preſent upon the altar. Wherefore prieſts are to be honoured before all kings of the earth, princes, and nobles. For a prieſt is higher than a king, happier than an angel, maker of his Creator. Wherefore, &c.

It was declared a little before, how Dr. Ridley was had from Fremingham to the Tower; where being in cuſtody, and invited to the lieutenant's table, he had certain talk or conference with ſecretary Bourne, maſter Fecknam, and others, concerning the controverſies in religion: the ſum whereof, as it was penned with his own hand, hereafter enſueth:

Communication between Dr. Ridley and Secretary Bourne.

MASTER Thomas Bridges ſaid at his brother maſter lieutenant's board, I pray you maſter doctors, for my learning, tell me what an heretic is. Maſter ſecretary Bourne ſaid, I will tell you who is an heretic; whoſo ſtubbornly and ſtiffly maintaineth an untruth, he is an heretic. You mean, Sir, ſaid I, an untruth in matters of religion, and concerning our faith. Yea, that is true, ſaid he; and in this we are ſoon agreed. Then ſaid Maſter Fecknam, whom they called maſter dean of Paul's, ſitting at the upper end of the table, I will tell you by St. Auguſtine who is an heretic; "He "that either for the ſake of princes, or for the ſake of "filthy lucre, ſets on foot or propagates wrong notions, "he is an heretic." Sir, ſaid I, I ween St. Auguſtine addeth the third number, which is, "Or for the ſake of "vain glory." You ſay even true, maſter Doctor, ſaid he, and thus far we did agree all three.

Maſter Fecknam began again to ſay, Whoſo doth not believe what the ſcripture affirmeth, but will obſtinately maintain the contrary, he is an heretic: as in the ſacrament of the altar, Matthew doth affirm there to be Chriſt's body, Mark doth affirm it, Luke affirmeth it, Paul affirmeth it, and none denieth it: therefore to hold the contrary is hereſy. It is the ſame body and fleſh that was born of the virgin; and this is confirmed by unity, antiquity, and univerſality. For none before Berengarius did ever doubt of this, and he was an heretic, as maſter doctor there knoweth full well; I do take to witneſs his own conſcience, ſaid he.

Marry, Sir, ſaid maſter ſecretary, maſter Fecknam hath ſpoken well. Theſe be great matters, unity, antiquity, and univerſality. Do you not think ſo, maſter doctor? ſaid he to me.

Here, while I ſtrained courteſy, and pretended no willingneſs to talk, ſaid one of the commiſſioners, Peradventure maſter Ridley doth agree with maſter Fecknam, and then there needs not much debating of the matter.

Sir, ſaid I, in ſome things I do, and ſhall agree with him, and in ſome things which he has ſpoken, to be plain, I no not agree with him at all. Maſters, ſaid I, ye be (as I underſtand) the queen's commiſſioners here, and if ye have commiſſion to examine me in theſe matters, I ſhall declare unto you plainly my faith; if ye have not, then I ſhall pray you either to give me leave to ſpeak my mind freely, or elſe to hold my peace.

There is none here, ſaid maſter ſecretary, that doth not favour you: and then every man ſhewed what favour they bare towards me, and how glad they would be of an agreement.

But as I ſtrained to have licence of them in plain words to ſpeak my mind, ſome thought they granted me it for Vix or Ægre. Well, at the laſt I was content to take it for licenſed, and ſo began to talk.

To maſter Fecknam's arguments of the manifold affirmation where no denial was, I anſwered; Where is a multitude of affirmations in ſcripture, and where is one affirmation, all is one concerning the truth of the matter; for that which any one of the evangeliſts ſpake, inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, was as true as that which is ſpoken of them all. It is as true that John ſaith of Chriſt, "I am the door of the ſheep," as if all had ſaid it. For it is not in ſcripture as in witneſs of men, where the number is credited more than one, becauſe it is uncertain with what ſpirit he doth ſpeak. And where maſter Fecknam ſpake of ſo many, affirming, without any negation, &c. Sir, ſaid I, all they do affirm the thing which they meant. Now if ye take their words, to leave their meaning, then do they affirm what ye take, but not what they meant. Sir, ſaid I, if in talk with you, I ſhould ſo utter my mind in words, that ye by the ſame do and may plainly perceive my meaning, and could, if you would be captious, cavil at my words, and writhe them to another ſenſe, I would think ye were no gentle companions to talk with, except ye would take my words as ye did perceive I did mean.

Marry, quoth maſter ſecretary, we ſhould elſe do you plain injury and wrong.

Maſter Fecknam perceiving whereunto my talk went, Why, quoth he, what circumſtances can ye ſhew me that ſhall move to think of any other ſenſe than as the words plainly ſay, "This is my body which ſhall be "betrayed for you?"

Sir, ſaid I, even the next ſentence that followeth, viz. "Do this in my remembrance." And alſo by what reaſon ye ſay the bread is turned into Chriſt's carnal body, by the ſame I may ſay, that it is turned into his myſtical body. For as that ſaith of it, "This is my body which ſhall be betrayed for you;" ſo Paul, which ſpake by Chriſt's Spirit, ſaith, "We being many, are all "but one bread and one body, inaſmuch as we are par-"takers of one bread."

Here he calleth one bread, one loaf, ſaid maſter ſecretary.

Yea, ſaid I, one loaf, one bread, all is one with me.

But what ſay ye, quoth maſter ſecretary, of the univerſality, antiquity and unity, that Maſter Fecknam did ſpeak of?

I enſure you, ſaid I, I think them matters weighty, and to be conſidered well. As for unity, the truth is before God, I do believe it, and embrace it, ſo it be with verity, and joined to our head Chriſt, and ſuch an one as Paul ſpeaketh of, ſaying; "One faith, one God, one "baptiſm." And for antiquity, I am alſo perſuaded that to be true which Irenæus ſaith, That which is firſt is true. In our religion, Chriſt's faith was firſt truly taught by Chriſt himſelf, by his apoſtles, and by many good men, that from the beginning did ſucceed next unto them; and for this controverſy of the ſacrament, I am perſuaded that thoſe old writers, which wrote before the controverſy and the uſurping of the ſee of Rome, do all agree, if they be well underſtood in this truth.

I am glad to hear, ſaid Mr. Secretary, that you do ſo well eſteem the doctors of the church.

Now as for univerſality, it may have two meanings; one to underſtand that to be univerſal, which from the beginning in all ages hath been allowed; another to underſtand univerſality for the multitude of our age, or of any other ſingular age.

No, no, ſaith Mr. Secretary, theſe three do always agree, and where there is one, there is all the reſt. And here he and I changed many words. And finally, to be ſhort in this matter, we did not agree.

There was none, quoth Mr. Fecknam, before Berengarius, Wickliffe and Hus, and now in our days Carolo-ſtadius and Oecolampadius. Caroloſtadius ſaith, Chriſt pointed to his own body, and not to the ſacrament, and ſaid, This is my body. And Melancthon writeth to one Miconius (Miconius, ſaid I) theſe or the like words; I can find no grounded reaſon to cauſe me to diſſent from the belief of our fore-elders.

Thus when he had ſpoken, at length, with many other words more; Sir, ſaid I, it is certain that other before theſe have written of this matter: not by the way only, and Obiter, as do for the moſt all the old writers, but even Ex profeſſo; and their whole books intreat of it alone, as Bertram.

Bertram, ſaid the ſecretary, what man was he? and who was he? and how do ye know, &c. with many queſtions.

Sir, quoth I, I have read his book; he propoundeth the ſame which is now in controverſy, and anſwereth ſo directly, that no man may doubt but that he affirmeth, that the ſubſtance of bread remaineth ſtill in the ſacrament; and he wrote unto Carolus Magnus.

Marry, quoth he, mark, for there is a matter. He wrote, quoth he, ad Henricum, and not ad Carolum; for no author maketh any ſuch mention of Bertram.

Yes, quoth I, Trithemius in Catalogo illuſtrium ſcriptorum, ſpeaketh of him. Trithemius was but of late time; but he ſpeaketh, quoth I, of them that were of antiquity. Here after much talk of Bertram, What authors have ye, quoth Mr. Secretary, to make of the ſacrament a figure?

Sir, quoth I, ye know (I think) that Tertullian in plain words ſpeaketh thus; This is my body, that is to ſay, a figure of my body. And Gelaſius ſaith plainly, That the ſubſtance of bread remaineth. And Origen ſaith likewiſe, That which is ſanctified, as touching the matter or ſubſtance, paſſeth away into the draught. Upon this maſter Secretary ſaid to me, You know very well as any man, &c. And here, if I would I might have been ſet in a fooliſh paradiſe of his commendation of my learning, and a man of much reading. But this I would not take at his hand. He ſet me not up ſo high, but I brought myſelf as low again; and here was much ado.

As for Melancthon (quoth I) whom Mr. Fecknam ſpake of, I marvel that ye will alledge him, for we are more nigh an agreement here in England, than the opinion of Melancthon is to you: for in this point we all agree here, that there is in the ſacrament but one material ſubſtance; and Melancthon, as I ween, ſaith, there are two.

Ye ſay truth, quoth Mr. Secretary; Melancthon's opinion is ſo. But I pray you, ye have heard that the ſacrament was in old time ſo reverenced, that many were then forbidden to be preſent at the miniſtration thereof; Catechumeni, quoth he, and many more.

Truth, Sir, quoth I, there were ſome called Audientes, ſome Pœnitentes, ſome Catechumeni, and ſome Energumeni, which were commanded to depart.

Now, quoth he, then; and how can ye then make but a figure or a ſign of the ſacrament, as that book doth which is ſet forth in my lord of Canterbury's name? I wiſs, ye can tell who made it, did not ye make it? And here was much murmuring of the reſt, as tho' they would have given me the glory of the writing of that book; which yet was ſaid of ſome there to contain the moſt heinous hereſy that ever was.

Maſter Secretary, quoth I, that book was made of a great learned man, and him which is able to do the like again: as for me, I enſure you (be not deceived in me) I was never able to do or write any ſuch like thing; he paſſeth me no leſs than the learned maſter his young ſcholar.

Now, here every man would have his ſaying, which I paſs over, not much material for to tell. But, Sir, quoth I, methinks it is not charitably done, to bear the people in hand that any man doth ſo lightly eſteem the ſacrament, as to make of it a figure. For that [but] maketh it a bare figure without any more profit, which that book doth often deny, as appeareth to the reader moſt plainly.

Yes, quoth he, that they do.

Sir, no, quoth I, of a truth; and as for me, I enſure you I make no leſs of the ſacrament than thus: I ſay, whoſoever receiveth the ſacrament, he receiveth therewith either life or death.

No, quoth Mr. Secretary, ſcripture ſaith not ſo.

Sir, quoth I, although not in the ſame ſound of words, yet it doth in the ſame ſenſe, and St. Auguſtine ſaith in the ſound of words alſo: For Paul ſaith, "The bread "which we break, is it not the partaking or fellowſhip "of the body of Chriſt?" And St Auguſtine, Eat life, drink life.

Then ſaid Mr Pope, what can ye make of it when ye ſay, There is not the real body of Chriſt, which I do believe, &c. and I pray God I may never believe other. How can it bring (as ye ſay) either life or death, when Chriſt's body is not there?

Sir, quoth I, when you hear God's word truly preached, if you do believe it, and abide in it, ye ſhall and do receive life withal; and if ye do not believe it, it doth bring unto you death: and yet Chriſt's body is ſtill in heaven, and not carnal in every preacher's mouth.

I pray you tell me, quoth he, how can you anſwer to this, Which ſhall be given for you? Was the figure of Chriſt's body given for us?

No Sir, quoth I, but the very body itſelf, whereof the ſacrament is a ſacramental figure.

How ſay you then, quoth he, to, Which ſhall be given for you?

Forſooth quoth I, Tertullian's expoſition maketh it plain, for he ſaith, The body is a figure of the body. Now put to, Which ſhall be given for you, and it agreeth exceeding well.

In faith, quoth he, I would give forty pounds that ye were of a good opinion. For I enſure you, I have heard you, and had an affection to you.

I thank you, Mr. Pope, for your heart and mind, and ye know, quoth I, I were a very fool if I would in this matter diſſent from you, if that in my conſcience the truth did not inforce me ſo to do. For I wiſs (as ye do perceive I trow) it is ſomewhat out of my way, if I would eſteem worldly gain.

What ſay ye, quoth he, to Cyprian? Doth he not ſay plainly, "The bread which the Lord did deliver being "changed, not according to the form, but according to "the nature thereof, by the omnipotent word is made "fleſh."

True, Sir, ſo he doth ſay, and I anſwer even the ſame which once by chance I preached at Paul's Croſs in a ſermon, for the which I have been as unjuſtly and as untruly reported of, as any poor man hath been. For there I ſpeaking of the ſacrament, and inveighing againſt them that eſteemed it no better than a piece of bread: told even the ſame thing of Pœnitentes, Audientes, Catechumeni, Energumeni, that I ſpake of before: and I bad them depart as unworthy to hear the myſtery; and then I ſaid to thoſe that be worthy, Cyprian the martyr ſhall tell you how it is that Chriſt calleth it, ſaying, Bread is the body, meat, drink, fleſh, becauſe that unto this material ſubſtance is given the property of the thing whereof it beareth the name: and this place then took I to utter as the time would then ſuffer, that the material ſubſtance of bread doth remain. Mr. Fecknam (which, as is reported to me, did bely me openly in the ſame matter at Paul's Croſs) heard all this my talk, as red as ſcarlet in his face, and herein anſwered me not a word.

You do well know, quoth Mr. Secretary, that Origen and Tertullian were not catholic, but erred.

Sir quoth I, there is none of all the doctors that are holden in all points, but are thought to have erred in ſome things. But yet I never heard that it was either laid to Origen's charge or to Tertullian, that ever they were thought to have erred in this matter of the ſacrament.

What, quoth Mr. Cholmley late chief juſtice, doth not Chriſt plainly ſay, that it is his very fleſh, and his very blood, and we muſt needs eat him, or elſe we can have no life? Sir, quoth I, if you will hear how St. Auguſtine expounded that place, you ſhall perceive that you are in a wrong box. And then I began to tell St. Auguſtine's mind in his book of the doctrine of chriſtianity. Yea, yea, quoth Mr. Secretary, that is true, St. Auguſtine doth it figuratively indeed.

Forty years ago, quoth Mr. Fecknam, all were of one opinion in this matter.

Forty

Forty years ago, quoth I, all held that the biſhop of Rome was ſupreme head of the univerſal church.

What then? ſaid Mr. Fecknam, who was beginning to ſpeak; but Mr Secretary took the tale, and ſaid that was but a poſitive law.

A poſitive law! quoth I; no Sir, he would not have it ſo: for it is in his decrees, that he challenged it by Chriſt's own word. For his decree ſaith: The church of Rome was advanced above all other churches in the world, not by any ſynodical conſtitutions, nor any councils, but by the lively voice of the Lord, according as the Lord ſaid to Peter, Thou art Peter, &c. And in another place he intreateth, Thou art Cephas, that is to ſay, the head.

Tuſh, it was not counted an article (quoth Mr. Secretary) of our faith.

Yes, ſaid I, if ye call that an article of our faith, which is believed under pain of damnation. For he ſaith, We do abſolutely determine, declare, and pronounce, that every creature is ſubject to the obedience of the ſaid biſhop of Rome upon neceſſity of ſalvation.

And here, when we ſpake of laws and decrees, Mr. Roger Cholmley thought himſelf much wronged, that he could not be ſuffered to ſpeak, the reſt were ſo ready to interrupt him; and then he up and told a long tale, what laws were of kings in England made againſt the biſhop of Rome, and was vehement to tell how they alway of the clergy did fly to him. And here, becauſe he ſeemed to ſpeak of many things beſide our purpoſe, whereof we ſpake before, he was anſwered of his own fellows, and I let them talk.

Finally, we departed in peace, and Mr. Secretary promiſed in the end, that of their talk there ſhould come to me no harm. And after I had made my moan for lack of my books, he ſaid, they were all once given him: but ſith I know (ſaid he) who hath them now, write me the names of ſuch as you would have, and I will ſpeak for you the beſt I can.

Upon the articles above mentioned, and inquiſition made upon the ſame, divers miniſters were divorced from their wives. Amongſt whom was one John Draper, and Joan Gold his wife, in the dioceſe of London, troubled and vexed for the ſame by Bonner biſhop of London, who ſent for a commiſſion with a proceſs to ſequeſter and ſeparate them, enjoining alſo penance to the poor woman.

Many others were alſo divorced the ſame time againſt their wills; and ſome were contented of their own unconſtant accord, to be ſeparated from their wives: as of Chicheſter one, (who becauſe he ſoon recovered again, ſhall be here nameleſs) another named Edmund Alſtone, another Alexander Bull, amongſt whom alſo was Dr. Standiſh, with many others; whoſe names together in the end of this ſtory of queen Mary, we may peradventure by God's grace in a general catalogue together comprehend.

March 1554.

March 10. A letter was ſent to the lieutenant of the Tower to deliver the bodies of Dr. Cranmer the archbiſhop of Canterbury, Dr. Ridley, and Mr. Latimer, to Sir John Williams, to be conveyed by him to Oxford.

March 26. There was a letter directed to Sir Henry Doel, and one Foſter, to attach the bodies of Dr. Taylor parſon of Hadley, and of Henry Aſkew, and to ſend them up to the council,

How Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop, Biſhop Ridley, and Maſter Latimer were ſent down to Oxford to diſpute, with the Order and Manner, and all other Circumſtances unto the ſaid Diſputation, and alſo to their Condemnation appertaining.

ABOUT the tenth of April, Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury, Ridley biſhop of London, and Hugh Latimer, ſome time biſhop of Worceſter, were conveyed as priſoners from the Tower to Windſor; and from thence to the univerſity of Oxford, there to diſpute with the divines and learned men of both the univerſities, Oxford and Cambridge, about the preſence, ſubſtance, and ſacrifice of the ſacrament. The names of the univerſity doctors and graduates appointed to diſpute againſt them were theſe; of Oxford, Dr. Weſton prolocutor, Dr. Treſham, Dr. Cole, Dr. Oglethorpe, Dr. Pie, Maſter Harpsfield, Maſter Fecknam. Of Cambridge, Dr. Young vice-chancellor, Dr. Glin, Dr. Seaton, Dr. Watſon, Dr. Sedgewick, Dr. Atkinſon, &c. The articles or queſtions whereupon they ſhould diſpute were theſe:

1. Whether the natural body of Chriſt be really in the ſacrament, after the words ſpoken by the prieſt, or no?
2. Whether in the ſacrament, after the words of conſecration, any other ſubſtance do remain, than the ſubſtance of the body and blood of Chriſt?
3. Whether in the maſs be a ſacrifice propitiatory for the ſins of the quick and the dead?

Touching the order and manner of all which things there done, with the notes, arguments, and all circumſtances thereunto pertaining, to deduce the matter from the beginning, leaving out nothing (as near as we may) that ſhall ſeem neceſſary to be added: Firſt, Here is to be underſtood that upon Saturday the 7th day of April, the heads of the colleges in Cambridge being aſſembled together, letters coming down from Stephen Gardiner, lord chancellor, were read with articles therewith annexed, that ſhould be diſputed upon at Oxford: the contents of which three articles are ſufficiently expreſſed before. Whereupon in the ſaid congregation of the aforeſaid univerſity of Cambridge, there was granted firſt a grace in this form, propoſed by the ſenior proctor; "May it "pleaſe you to have an inſtrument made, that the doctrine "of theſe foreſaid articles is ſound and catholic, and "conſonant with the verity of the right meaning faith, "and that the ſame may be approved by your conſent "and voices?" Secondly, in the ſaid congregation, another grace was given and granted, that Dr. Young being vice-chancellor, Dr. Glin, Dr. Atkinſon, Dr. Scot, and Maſter Sedgewick, ſhould go to Oxford to defend the ſaid articles againſt Canterbury, London and Latimer: alſo to have letters to the Oxford men, ſealed with their common ſeal. Item, Another grace granted to Maſter Sedgewick to be actual doctor, being thereupon immediately admitted. The foreſaid letters being then drawn out, the third day after (which was the 11th day of April) were read in the foreſaid congregation-houſe, and there ſealed.

Whereupon the next day after (the 12th of the ſaid month) the foreſaid doctors, with the full grace of that univerſity, ſet forward to Oxford: and coming thither the next day after (being Friday the 13th of April) were lodged all at the Croſs-inn, with one Wakecline, being ſome time ſervant to biſhop Bonner.

Soon after their coming, Dr. Crooke preſented them with wine for their welcome; and ſhortly after two of their beadles came from the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and preſented the vice-chancellor of Cambridge with a diſh of apples and a gallon of wine: after whom Mr. Pie and Fecknam came next to welcome them. Then after conſultation concerning the delivery of their letters, and inſtrument of grace (which was in Dr. Seaton and Dr. Watſon's keeping) they all went to Lincoln College to Dr. Weſton the prolocutor, and to Dr. Treſham the vice-chancellor; and there they delivered their letters, and declared what they had done touching the articles, letters, and graces. Half an hour after eight they returned to their inn again; but firſt they concluded of a proceſſion, ſermon, and convocation to be had the morrow following, and that the doctors of Cambridge ſhould be incorporate in the univerſity of Oxford, and likewiſe that the doctors of Oxford ſhould be incorporate in the univerſity

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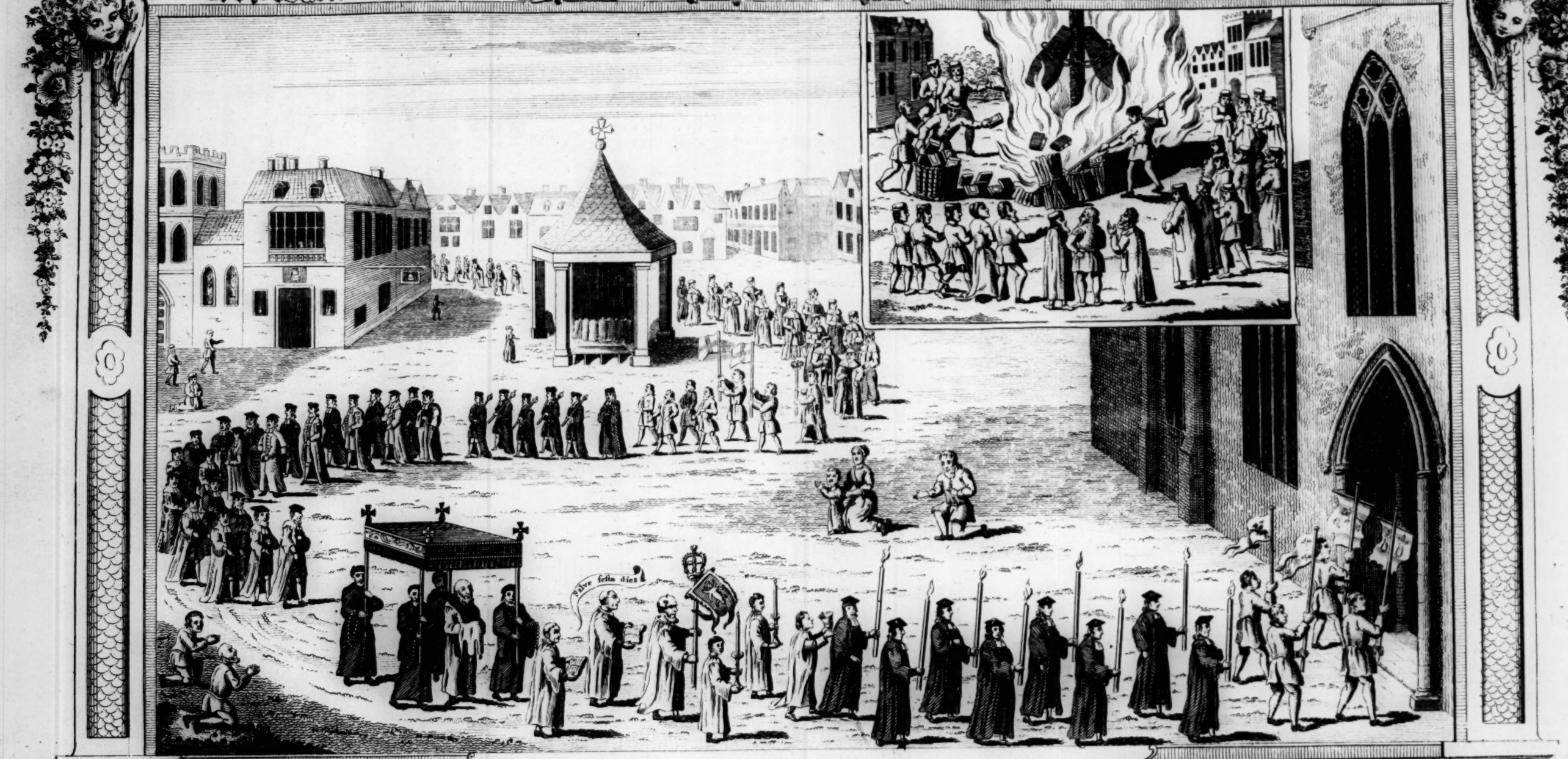
Engraved for Fox's Book of Martyrs.



The Procesſion to S.t Mary's Church Cambridge.

Terry Sculp. Nº62.

Publish'd as the Act directs for H. Trapp, Paternoſter Row

Paternoſter Row.

verſity of Cambridge. The ſame day the fore-named priſoners were diſſevered; Dr. Ridley to the houſe of alderman Iriſh, Mr. Latimer to another, and Dr. Cranmer remained ſtill in Bocardo [The name of a priſon in Oxford.]

On Saturday April 14, at eight of the clock, the aforeſaid vice-chancellor of Cambridge, with the other doctors of the ſame univerſity, repaired to Lincoln college again, and found the prolocutor above in a chapel, with a company of the houſe, ſinging maſs for the dead, and tarried there until the end. Then conſulting all together in the maſter's lodging, about nine of the clock they all came to the univerſity church called St. Mary's: and there, after a ſhort conſultation in a chapel, the vice-chancellor, the prolocutor, &c. of Oxford, cauſed the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, and the reſt of the doctors of that univerſity, to ſend for their ſcarlet robes brought from Cambridge, ſave that Dr. Seaton and Watſon borrowed of the Oxford men. And in this time the regents in the congregation houſe had granted all the Cambridge doctors their graces, to be incorporate there; and ſo they went up and were immediately admitted, Dr. Oglethorpe preſenting them, and the proctor reading the ſtatute, and giving them their oaths.

That done, they all came into the quire, and there held the convocation of the univerſity: they had the maſs of the Holy Ghoſt ſolemnly ſung in prick-ſong by the quiremen of Chriſt's Church; but firſt the cauſe of the convocation was opened in Engliſh, partly by the vice-chancellor, and partly by the prolocutor, declaring that they were ſent by the queen, and wherefore they were ſent, and cauſed Mr. Say the regiſter openly to read the commiſſion. That done, the vice-chancellor read the Cambridge letters openly, and then concluded, that three notaries, Mr. Say for the convocation, a beadle of Cambridge for that univerſity, and one Mr. White for Oxford, ſhould teſtify of their doing, and then ordered the ſaid notaries to provide parchment, that the whole aſſembly might ſubſcribe to the articles, except thoſe that had ſubſcribed before in the convocation houſe at London and Cambridge; and ſo the vice-chancellor began firſt, the reſt of the Oxford men after him, as many as could in the maſs time.

The maſs being done, they went in proceſſion: firſt, the quire in their ſurplices followed the croſs; then the firſt-year regents and proctors; then the doctors of law, and their beadles before them; then the doctors of divinity of both univerſities intermingled, the divinity and arts-beadles going before them; the vice-chancellor and prolocutor going together. After them bachelors of divinity, Regentes & non Regentes, in their array; and laſt of all, the bachelors of law and art; after whom followed a great company of ſcholars and ſtudents not graduate: and thus they proceeded through the ſtreet to Chriſt's Church, and there the quire ſung a pſalm, and after that a collect was read. This done, the commiſſioners, doctors, and many others, went to Lincoln college, where they dined with the mayor of the town, one alderman, four beadles, Mr. Say, and the Cambridge notary. After dinner they all went again to St. Mary's church; and there, after a ſhort conſultation in a chapel, all the commiſſioners came into the quire, and ſat all on ſeats before the altar, to the number of thirty-three perſons: and firſt they ſent to the mayor, that he ſhould bring in Dr. Cranmer, who within a while was brought to them with a number of ruſty bill-men.

Thus the reverend archbiſhop, when he was brought before the commiſſioners, reverenced them with much humility, and ſtood with his ſtaff in his hand, who notwithſtanding, having a ſtool offered him, refuſed to ſit. Then the prolocutor, ſitting in the midſt in a ſcarlet gown, began with a ſhort preface or oration in praiſe of unity, and eſpecially in the church of Chriſt; declaring withal, his bringing up, and taking degrees in Cambridge, and alſo how he was promoted by king Henry, and had been his counſellor and a catholic man, one of the ſame univerſity, and a member thereof in times paſt, but of late years did ſeparate and cut off himſelf from it, by teaching and ſetting forth of erroneous doctrine, making every year a new faith; and therefore it pleaſed the queen's grace to ſend them of the convocation and other learned men, to bring him to this unity again, if it might be. Then he ſhewed him how they of the convocation houſe had agreed upon certain articles, whereunto they deſired him to ſubſcribe.

The archbiſhop anſwered to the preface very wittily, modeſtly, and learnedly, ſhewing that he was very glad of an unity, foraſmuch as it was the preſerver of all commonwealths, as well of the heathen, as of the chriſtians; and ſo he dilated the matter with one or two ſtories of the Roman commonwealth. Which thing when he had done, he ſaid, That he was very glad to come to an unity, ſo that it were in Chriſt, and agreeable to his holy word.

When he had thus ſpoken his full mind, the prolocutor cauſed the articles to be read to him, and aſked if he would grant and ſubſcribe to them. Then the archbiſhop of Canterbury read them over three or four times, and touching the firſt article, he aſked what they meant by theſe terms, True and Natural? Do you not mean, ſaith he, A ſenſible body? Some anſwered, The ſame that was born of the virgin; and ſo confuſedly, ſome ſaid one thing, ſome another. Then the archbiſhop of Canterbury denied it utterly, and when he had looked upon the other two, he ſaid they were all falſe, and againſt God's holy word: and therefore he would not agree, he ſaid, in that unity with them. Which done, the prolocutor firſt willing him to write his mind of them that night, ſaid moreover that he ſhould diſpute in them, and cauſed a copy of the articles to be delivered him, aſſigning him to anſwer thereunto on Monday next, and ſo charged the mayor with him again, to be had to Bocardo, where he was kept before; offering moreover unto him, to name what books he would occupy, and ſhould have them brought unto him. The archbiſhop was greatly commended of every body for his modeſty; inſomuch that ſome maſters of arts were ſeen to weep for him, which in judgment were contrary to him.

Then was Dr. Ridley brought in, who hearing the articles read to him, anſwered without any delay, ſaying, They were all falſe; and ſaid further, That they ſprang out of a bitter and ſour root. His anſwers were ſharp, witty, and very earneſt. Then they laid to his charge a ſermon that he made when he was biſhop of Rocheſter, wherein (they ſaid) he ſpake for tranſubſtantiation. He denied it utterly, and aſked whether they could bring out any that heard him, which would ſay and affirm with them the ſame. They could bring no proof of it at all. After that, he was aſked of one whether he deſired not my lord chancellor that now is, to ſtick to the maſs, and other things? He ſaid, That my lord would ſay no ſuch things or words of him; for if he did, he reported not the truth of him.

Then he was aſked whether he would diſpute or no? He anſwered, That as long as God gave him life, he ſhould not only have his heart, but alſo his mouth and pen to defend his truth; but he required time and books. They ſaid, he could not; and that he ſhould diſpute on Thurſday, and till that time he ſhould have books. He ſaid, it was not reaſon that he might not have his own books, and time alſo to look for his diſputation. Then they gave him the articles, and bade him write his mind of them that night, and ſo they commanded the mayor to take him whence he came.

Laſt of all came in Mr. Latimer in like ſort, with a kerchief, and two or three caps on his head, his ſpectacles hanging by a ſtring at his breaſt, and a ſtaff in his hand, and was ſet in a chair; for ſo was he ſuffered by the prolocutor. And after his denial of the articles, when he had Wedneſday appointed for diſputation, he alledged age, ſickneſs, diſuſe, and lack of books, ſaying, That he was

almoſt as meet to diſpute, as to be a captain of Calais: but he would, he ſaid, declare his mind either by writing or word, and would ſtand to all they could lay upon his back; complaining moreover, That he was permitted to have neither pen nor ink, nor yet any book but only the New Teſtament there in his hand, which he ſaid he had read over ſeven times deliberately, and yet could not find the maſs in it, neither the marrow-bones nor ſinews of the ſame. At which words the commiſſioners were not a little offended; and Dr. Weſton ſaid, That he would make him grant that it had both marrow-bones and ſinews in the New Teſtament. To whom Mr. Latimer ſaid again, That you will never do, Mr. Doctor; and ſo forthwith they put him to ſilence: ſo that where he was deſirous to tell what he meant by thoſe terms, he could not be ſuffered: there was a very great preſs and throng of people, and one of the beadles ſwooned by reaſon thereof, and was carried into the veſtry. After this bringing home the prolocutor firſt, the Cambridge men, viz. Dr. Young vice-chancellor, Seaton, Glin, Atkinſon, Scot, Watſon, and Sedgewick, went to the Croſs-inn to ſupper. And this was on Saturday being the fourteenth day of April.

On Sunday after Mr. Harpsfield preached at St. Mary's the univerſity church, at nine of the clock, where were divers of the doctors of the univerſity in their robes, and placed accordingly. After the ſermon they went all to dinner to Magdalen college, and there had a great dinner. They ſupped at Lincoln college with the prolocutor, whither Dr. Cranmer ſent anſwer of his mind upon the articles in writing.

On Monday, being the 16th of April, Mr. Say, and Mr. White, notaries, went about in the morning to the colleges, to get ſubſcriptions to the articles. And about eight of the clock the prolocutor, with all the doctors and the vice-chancellor, met together at Exeter college, and ſo they went into the ſchools, and when the vice-chancellor, the prolocutor and doctors were placed, and four appointed to be Exceptores Argumentorum, ſet at a table in the midſt, and four notaries ſitting with them, Dr. Cranmer came to the anſwerer's place, the mayor and aldermen ſitting by him, and ſo the diſputation began to be ſet on work by the prolocutor with a ſhort Præludium. Dr. Chedſey began to argue firſt, and ere he left, the prolocutor divers times, Dr. Treſham, Oglethorpe, Marſhal, the vice-chancellor, Pye, Cole, and Harpsfield, did interrupt and preſs him with their arguments, ſo that every man ſaid ſomewhat, as the prolocutor would ſuffer, diſorderly, ſometime in Latin, ſometime in Engliſh, ſo that three hours of the time was ſpent ere the vice-chancellor of Cambridge began; who alſo was interrupted as before. He began with three or four queſtions ſubtilly. Here the beadles had provided drink, and offered the anſwerer; but he refuſed with thanks. The prolocutor offered him, if he would make water, or otherwiſe eaſe himſelf, he ſhould. Thus the diſputation continued until almoſt two of the clock, with this applauſion Audientium, Vicit veritas. Then were all the arguments written by the four appointed, delivered into the hand of Mr. Say, regiſter; and as for the priſoner he was had away by the mayor; and the doctors dined together at the univerſity college.

And thus much concerning the general order and manner of theſe diſputations, with ſuch circumſtances as there happened, and things there done, as well before the diſputation, and in the preparation thereof, as alſo in the time of their diſputing. Now followeth to infer and declare the orations, arguments, and anſwers, uſed and brought forth in the ſaid diſputations on both parts.

The Arguments, Reaſons, and Allegations uſed in this Diſputation.

ON Monday, Dr. Weſton, with all the reſidue of the viſitors, cenſors, and opponents, repairing to the divinity ſchool, each one inſtalled themſelves in their places. Dr. Cranmer, with a rout of ruſty bills, was brought thither, and ſet in the anſwerer's place, with the mayor and aldermen ſitting by him; where Dr. Weſton, prolocutor, apparelled in a ſcarlet gown, after the cuſtom of the univerſity, began the diſputation with this oration:

"Ye are aſſembled hither, brethren, this day, to con-
"found the deteſtable hereſy of the verity of the bo-
"dy of Chriſt in the ſacrament, &c." At which words thus pronounced unawares by the prolocutor, ſeveral of the learned men there preſent, conſidering and well weighing the words by him uttered, burſt out into a great laughter, as though, even in the entrance of the diſputations, he had betrayed himſelf and his religion, that termed the opinion of the verity of Chriſt's body in the ſacrament a deteſtable hereſy. The reſt of his oration tended all to this effect, That it was not lawful by God's word to call theſe queſtions into controverſy; for ſuch as doubted of the words of Chriſt, might well be thought to doubt both of the truth and power of God. Whereunto Dr. Cranmer deſiring licenſe, anſwered in this wiſe:

"We are aſſembled (ſaid he) to diſcuſs theſe doubtful
"controverſies, and to lay them open before the eyes of
"the world; whereof ye think it unlawful to diſpute.
"It is indeed no reaſon (ſaid he) that we ſhould diſpute
"of that which is determined upon before the truth be
"tried. But if theſe queſtions be not called into con-
"troverſy, ſurely mine anſwer then is looked for in vain."
This was the ſum and effect of his anſwer; and this done he prepared himſelf for diſputation.

Then Chedſey the firſt opponent began in this wiſe to diſpute.

Reverend Mr. Doctor, theſe three concluſions are put forth unto us at preſent to diſpute upon:

1. In the ſacrament of the altar is the natural body of Chriſt, conceived of the virgin Mary, and alſo his blood preſent really under the forms of bread and wine, by virtue of God's word pronounced by the prieſt.
2. There remaineth no ſubſtance of bread and wine after the conſecration, nor any other ſubſtance, but the ſubſtance of God and man.
3. The lively ſacrifice of the church is in the maſs propitiatory, as well for the quick as the dead.

Theſe be the concluſions propounded, whereupon this our preſent controverſy doth reſt. Now to the end we might not doubt how you take the ſame, you have already given up unto us your opinion thereof. I term it your opinion, in that it diſagreeth from the catholic. Wherefore thus I argue.

Ched. Your opinion differeth from ſcripture.

Ergo, you are deceived.

Cran. I deny the antecedent.

Ched. Chriſt, when he inſtituted his laſt ſupper, ſpake to his diſciples, Take, eat, this is my body which ſhall be given for you.

But this true body was given for us:

Ergo, His true body is in the ſacrament.

The right form of this argument is thus to be framed.

The ſame which was given for us is in the ſacrament.

But his true body was given for us:

Ergo, His true body is in the ſacrament.

Cran. His true body is truly preſent to them that truly receive him; but ſpiritually. And ſo it is taken after a ſpiritual ſort. For when he ſaid, This is my body, it is all one as if he had ſaid, This is the breaking of my body, This is the ſhedding of my blood. As oft as you ſhall do this, it ſhall put you in remembrance of the breaking of my body, and the ſhedding of my blood; that as truly as you receive this ſacrament, ſo truly ſhall you receive the benefit promiſed by receiving the ſame worthily.

Ched. Your opinion differeth from the church, which ſaith that the true body is in the ſacrament.

Ergo, Your opinion therein is falſe.

Cran.

Cran. I ſay and agree with the church, that the body of Chriſt is in the ſacrament effectually, becauſe the paſſion of Chriſt is effectual.

Ched. Chriſt when he ſpake theſe words, This is my body, ſpake of the ſubſtance, but not of the effect.

Cran. I grant he ſpake of the ſubſtance, and not of the effect after a ſort: and yet it is moſt true that the body of Chriſt is effectually in the ſacrament. But I deny that he is there truly preſent in bread, or that under the bread is his organical body. And becauſe it ſhould be too tedious (he ſaid) to make diſcourſe of the whole, he delivered up there his opinion thereof to Dr. Weſton written at large, with anſwers to every one of their three propoſitions; which he deſired Dr. Weſton, ſitting there on high, to read openly to the people; which he promiſed to do. But it was not the firſt promiſe that ſuch papiſts have broken.

The copy of this writing, although it were not there read, yet the contents thereof we have drawn out as followeth.

An Explication of Cranmer upon the aforeſaid Concluſions.

CRANMER. In the aſſertions of the church and of religion, trifling and new-fangled novelties of words, ſo much as may be, are to be eſchewed, whereof ariſeth nothing but contention and brawling about words, and we muſt follow, ſo much as we may, the manner of ſpeaking of the ſcripture.

In the firſt concluſion, if ye underſtand by this word [really] Re ipſa, that is, in very deed and effectually; ſo Chriſt, by the grace and efficacy of his paſſion, is indeed and truly preſent to all true and holy members.

But if ye underſtand by this word [really] Corporaliter, that is, corporally; ſo that by the body of Chriſt is underſtood a natural and organical; ſo the firſt propoſition doth vary, not only from the uſual ſpeech and phraſe of ſcripture, but alſo is clean contrary to the holy word of God, and chriſtian profeſſion: when as both the ſcripture doth teſtify by theſe words, and alſo the catholic church hath profeſſed from the beginning, Chriſt to have left the world, and to ſit at the right hand of the Father till he come to judgment.

And likewiſe I anſwer to the ſecond queſtion; that is, That it ſwerveth from the accuſtomed manner and ſpeech of ſcripture.

The third concluſion, as it is intricate and wrapped in all doubtful and ambiguous words, and differing alſo much from the true ſpeech of the ſcripture, ſo as the words thereof ſeem to import no open ſenſe, is moſt contumelious againſt our only Lord and Saviour Chriſt Jeſus, and a violating of his precious blood, which upon the altar of the croſs, is the only ſacrifice and oblation for the ſins of all mankind.

Ched. By this your interpretation which you have made upon the firſt concluſion, this I underſtand, the body of Chriſt to be in the ſacrament only by the way of participation: inſomuch as we communicating thereof, do participate the grace of Chriſt, ſo that you mean hereby only the effect thereof. But our concluſion ſtandeth upon the ſubſtance, and not the efficacy only, which ſhall appear by the teſtimony both of ſcriptures, and of all the fathers a thouſand years after Chriſt.

And firſt, to begin with the ſcripture, let us conſider what is written in Matt. 26. Mark 14. Luke 22. and 1 Cor. 11. Matthew ſaith, As they ſate at ſupper, Jeſus took bread, &c. In Mark there is the ſame ſenſe, although not the ſame words, who alſo for one part of the ſacrament ſpeaketh more plainly, Jeſus taking bread, &c. After the ſame ſenſe alſo writteth Luke 22. And when Jeſus had taken bread, &c. In the mouth of two or three witneſſes, ſaith the ſcripture, ſtandeth all truth. Here we have three witneſſes together, that Chriſt ſaid that to be his body which was given for many, and that to be his blood which ſhould be ſhed for many; whereby is declared the ſubſtance, and not only the efficacy alone thereof. Ergo, It is not true that you ſay, there to be not the ſubſtance of his body, but the efficacy alone thereof.

Cran. Thus you gather upon mine anſwer, as though I did mean of the efficacy, and not of the ſubſtance of the body; but I mean of them both, as well of the efficacy as of the ſubſtance. And forſomuch as all things come not readily to memory, to a man that ſhall ſpeak extempore, therefore for the more ample and fuller anſwer in this matter, this writing here I do exhibit.

Archbiſhop Cranmer's Explication.

OUR Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, at the time of his Maundy, preparing himſelf to die for our cauſe, that he might redeem us from eternal death, to forgive us all our ſins, and to cancel out the hand-writing that was againſt us; that we through ungrateful oblivion ſhould not forget his death, therefore at the time of his holy ſupper did inſtitute a perpetual memory of this his death, to be celebrated among chriſtians in bread and wine, according as it is ſaid: "Do this in remembrance of me. "And ſo often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, "you ſhall ſhew forth the Lord's death till he come." And this remembrance or ſacrament of his holy paſſion, that is, of his body ſlain, and blood ſhed, he would all chriſtians to frequent and celebrate in bread and wine, according as he ſaid, "Take, eat, and drink ye all of this." Therefore whoſoever for man's tradition denieth the cup of Chriſt's blood to lay-men, they manifeſtly repugn againſt Chriſt, forbidding that which Chriſt commandeth to be done, and be like to thoſe Scribes and Phariſees of whom the Lord ſpake; "Ye hypocrites, ye have re- "jected the commandments of God for your traditions. "Well did Iſaiah propheſy of you, ſaying, This people "honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far "from me. Without cauſe do they worſhip me, teach- "ing the doctrines and precepts of men." The ſacrament and myſtical bread being broken and diſtributed after the inſtitution of Chriſt, and the myſtical wine being likewiſe taken and received, be not only ſacraments of the fleſh of Chriſt wounded for us, and of his blood-ſhedding, but alſo be moſt certain ſacraments for us, and (as a man would ſay) ſeals of God's promiſes and gifts, and alſo of that holy fellowſhip which we have with Chriſt and all his members. Moreover they be to us memorials of that heavenly food and nouriſhment, wherewith we are nouriſhed unto eternal life, and the thirſt of our boiling conſcience quenched, and finally, whereby the hearts of the faithful be repleniſhed with unſpeakable joy, and be corroborated and ſtrengthened unto all works of godlineſs. "We are many (ſaith St. Paul) one bread, and one "body, all we which do participate of one bread, and "one cup." And Chriſt ſaith: "Eat ye, this is my bo- "dy." And, "Drink ye, this is my blood." And, "I am the living bread which came down from heaven. "He that eateth me, ſhall alſo live for ever. Not as "your fathers did eat Manna in the deſart, and are dead: "He that eateth me, ſhall alſo live for ever."

Thus therefore true bread and true wine remain ſtill in the euchariſt, until they be conſumed of the faithful, to be ſigns, and as ſeals unto us annexed unto God's promiſes, making us certain of God's gifts towards us. Alſo Chriſt remaineth in them, and they in Chriſt, which eat his fleſh, and drink his blood, as Chriſt himſelf hath promiſed: "They that eat my fleſh, and drink my blood, "abide in me, and I in them." Moreover he abideth alſo in them which worthily receive the outward ſacrament, neither doth he depart ſo ſoon as the ſacrament is conſumed, but continually abideth, feeding and nouriſhing us ſo long as we remain bodies of that head, and members of the ſame. I acknowledge not here the natural

body of Chriſt, which is only ſpiritual, unintelligible, and inſenſible, having no diſtinction of members and parts in it: But that body only I acknowledge and worſhip, which was born of the virgin, which ſuffered for us, which is viſible, palpable, and hath all the form, and ſhape, and parts of the true natural body of man. Chriſt ſpake not theſe words of any uncertain ſubſtance, but of the certain ſubſtance of bread, which he then held in his hands, and ſhewed his diſciples when he ſaid, Eat ye, this is my body: And likewiſe of the cup, when he ſaid, Drink ye, this is my blood: meaning verily of that bread which by nature is uſual and common with us, which is taken out of the fruit of the ground, compacted by the uniting of many grains together made by man, and by man's hand brought to that viſible ſhape, being of round compaſs, and without all ſenſe or life, which nouriſheth the body, and ſtrengtheneth the heart of man: Of this ſame bread (I ſay) and not of any uncertain and wandering ſubſtance, the old fathers ſay that Chriſt ſpake theſe words, Eat ye, this is my body. And likewiſe alſo of the wine, which is the creature and fruit of the vine preſſed out of many cluſters of grapes, and maketh man's heart merry, of the very ſame wine (I ſay) Chriſt ſpake, Drink ye, this is my blood. And ſo the old doctors do call this, ſpeaking of Chriſt, tropical, figurative, anagogical, allegorical, which they do interpret after this ſort, that although the ſubſtance of bread and wine do remain, and be received of the faithful, yet notwithſtanding Chriſt changed the appellation thereof, and called the bread by the name of his fleſh, and the wine by the name of his blood, not that it is ſo in very deed, but ſignified in a myſtery. So that we ſhould conſider, not what they be in their own nature, but what they import to us and ſignify, and ſhould underſtand the ſacrament not carnally, but ſpiritually, and ſhould attend not to the viſible nature of the ſacraments, neither have reſpect only to the outward bread and cup, thinking to ſee there with our eyes no other things but only bread and wine, but that lifting up our minds we ſhould look up to the blood of Chriſt with our faith, ſhould touch him with our mind, and receive him with our inward man; and that being like eagles in this life, we ſhould fly up into heaven in our hearts, where that Lamb is reſident at the right hand of his Father, which taketh away the ſins of the world, by whoſe ſtripes we are made whole; by whoſe paſſion we are filled at his table, and whoſe blood we receiving out of his holy ſide, do live for ever, being made the gueſts of Chriſt, having him dwelling in us thro' the grace of his true nature, and thro' the virtue and efficacy of whole paſſion, being no leſs aſſured and certified, that we are fed ſpiritually unto eternal life by Chriſt's fleſh crucified, and by his bloodſhed, the true food of our minds, than that our bodies may be fed with meat and drink in this life: and hereof this ſaid myſtical wine, being adminiſtered and received after the inſtitution of Chriſt, be to us a memorial, a pledge, a token, a ſacrament, and a ſeal.

And thereof it is that Chriſt ſaith not thus; This is my body, eat ye: but after he had bidden them eat, then he ſaid, This is my body, which ſhall be given for you. Which is to mean, as though he ſhould ſay, In eating of this bread, conſider you that this bread is no common thing, but a myſtical matter; neither do you attend that which is ſet before your bodily eyes, but what feedeth you within: conſider and behold my body crucified for you, that eat and digeſt in your minds, chew you upon my paſſion, be fed with my death; this is the true meat, this is the drink that moiſteneth, wherewith you being truly fed, and inebriate, ſhall live for ever. The bread and wine which be ſet before your eyes are only declarations of me, but I myſelf am the eternal food. Wherefore whenſoever at this my table you ſhall behold the ſacraments, have not regard ſo much to them, as conſider ye what I promiſe to you by them, which is myſelf to be meat for you of eternal life.

The only oblation of Chriſt (wherewith he offered himſelf to God the Father once to death upon the altar of the croſs for our redemption) was of ſuch efficacy, that there is no more need of any ſacrifice for the redemption of the whole world, but all the ſacrifices of the old law he took away, performing that in very deed, which they did ſignify and promiſe. Whoſoever therefore ſhall fix the hope of his ſalvation in any other ſacrifice, he falleth from the grace of Chriſt, and is contumelious againſt the blood of Chriſt. For "He was wounded for our tranſ-" greſſions, and was broken for our iniquities. All we " like ſheep have wandered aſtray. Every man hath " turned after his own way, and the Lord hath laid all " our iniquities upon him. For he hath entered once " for all into the holy place by the blood, not of goats " or calves, but by his own blood, finding eternal re-" demption: And hath entered into heaven, to appear " now in the ſight of God for us, not to offer himſelf " often-times (for ſo ſhould he have ſuffered many times) " but now hath he appeared once to put away ſin, through " his own oblation. And as it is appointed to all men " once to die, ſo alſo Chriſt once was offered: who " offering up one oblation for ſins, ſitteth now for ever " on the right hand of God. For by one oblation " hath he made perfect for ever thoſe that be ſanctified. " For where is remiſſion of ſins, there is now no obla-" tion for ſin," but this only ſacrifice of Chriſt; whoſoever ſhall ſeek any other ſacrifice propitiatory for ſin, maketh the ſacrifice of Chriſt of no validity, force, or efficacy. For if it be ſufficient to remit ſins, what need is there of any other? For the neceſſity of another argueth and declareth this to be inſufficient. Almighty God grant that we may truly lean to one ſacrifice of Chriſt, and that we to him again may repay our ſacrifices of thankſgiving, of praiſe, of confeſſing his name, of true amendment, of repentance, of mercifulneſs towards our neighbours, and of all other good works of charity. For by ſuch ſacrifices we ſhall declare ourſelves neither ingrateful to God, nor altogether unworthy of this holy ſacrifice of Chriſt. And thus you have out of the teſtimonies of holy ſcripture, and of the ancient doctors of the church, the true and ſincere uſe of the Lord's holy ſupper, and the fruit of the true ſacrifice of Chriſt. Which whoſoever through captious or wreſted interpretations, or by men's traditions, ſhall go about, otherwiſe than Chriſt ordained them, to alter or tranſubſtantiate, he ſhall anſwer to Chriſt in the latter day, when he ſhall underſtand (but then too late) that he hath no participation with the body and blood of Chriſt, but that out of the ſupper of eternal life he hath eaten and drunken eternal damnation to himſelf.

Weſt. Becauſe we will not conſume and ſpend the time in waſte, this your writing, which you exhibit, hereafter ſhall be read in this place. In the mean ſeaſon let us now fall to the arguments.

Ched. The ſcriptures in many places do affirm, that Chriſt gave his natural body, Matt. 26. Mark 14. Luke 22.

Ergo, I do conclude that the natural body is in the ſacrament.

Cran. To your argument I anſwer: If you underſtand by the body natural [Organicum] that is, having ſuch proportion and members as he had living here, then I anſwer negatively.

Furthermore, concerning the evangeliſts, thus I ſay and grant, that Chriſt took bread, and called it his body.

Ched. The text of the ſcripture maketh againſt you, for the circumſtance thereto annexed doth teach us, not only there to be the body, but alſo teacheth us what manner of body it is, and ſaith, The ſame body which ſhall be given.

That thing is here contained, that is given for us.
But the ſubſtance of bread is not given for us.
Ergo, ſubſtance of bread is not here contained.

Cran.

Cran. I underſtand not yet what you mean by this word [Contained]: If ye mean Really, then I deny your Major.

Ched. The Major is the text of ſcripture. He that denieth the Major, denieth the ſcripture. For the ſcripture ſaith, This is my body which is given for you.

Cran. I grant he ſaid it was his body which ſhould be given, but he ſaid it was not his body which is here contained; but the body (ſaith he) that ſhall be given for you. As though he ſhould ſay, This bread is the breaking of my body, and this cup is the ſhedding of my blood. What will ye ſay then? Is the bread the breaking of his body, and the cup the ſhedding of his blood really? If you ſay ſo, I deny it.

Ched. If you aſk what is the thing therein contained; becauſe his apoſtles ſhould not doubt what body it was that ſhould be given, he ſaith, This is my body which ſhall be given for you, and my blood which ſhall be ſhed for many. Ergo, Here is the ſame ſubſtance of the body, which the day after was given, and the ſame blood which was ſhed. And here I urge the ſcripture, which teacheth that it was no phantaſtical, no feigned, no ſpiritual body, nor body in faith, but the ſubſtance of the body.

Cran. You muſt prove that it is contained, but Chriſt ſaid not which is contained. He gave bread, and called that his body. I ſtick not in the words of the ſcripture, but in your word, which is feigned and imagined of yourſelf.

Ched. When Chriſt took bread and brake it, what gave he?

Cran. He gave bread. The bread ſacramentally, and his body ſpiritually, and the bread there he called his body.

Ched. This anſwer is againſt the ſcripture, which ſaith, that he gave his body.

Cran. It did ſignify that which he did eat.

Ched. They did not eat the body as the Capernaites did underſtand it, but the ſelf ſame body which was given for the ſins of the world. Ergo, It was his body which ſhould be given, and his blood which ſhould be ſhed.

In ſome other copies I find this argument to be made by Chedſey.

The ſame body is in the ſacrament, which was given for us on the croſs.

But bread was not given on the croſs for us:

Ergo, Bread is not given in the ſacrament.

Cran. I deny the Major, which is, that the ſame natural body is given in the ſacrament, which was given on the croſs, except you underſtand it ſpiritually. And after he denied alſo the argument as utterly naught, as he might well do, the Major in the ſecond figure being not univerſal.

When Mr. Chedſey had put forth his argument, and proſecuted the ſame, and Dr. Cranmer anſwered as before is ſhewed, Dr. Oglethorpe, one of thoſe doctors which the prolocutor called Cenſores (belike to be arbiters to order the diſputations) ſaid on this wiſe.

Oglethorpe. You come in ſtill with one evaſion or ſtarting hole to flee to. He urgeth the ſcriptures, ſaying that Chriſt gave his very body. You ſay, that he gave his body in bread. Quomodo prædicatur corpus? Qualis eſt corpus? Qualis eſt prædicatio? Panis eſt corpus.

Cran. You ſhould ſay, Quale corpus. I anſwer to the queſtion: It is the ſame body which was born of the virgin, was crucified, aſcended; but tropically, and by a figure. And ſo I ſay, Panis eſt corpus, is a figurative ſpeech, ſpeaking ſacramentally, for it is a ſacrament of his body.

Ogle. This word [body, being Prædicatum] doth ſignify ſubſtance.

But Subſtantia is not predicated denominatively.

Ergo, It is an eſſential predication, and ſo it is his true body, and not the figure of his body.

Cran. Subſtantia may be predicated denominatively in an allegory, or in a metaphor, or in a figurative locution.

Ogle. It is not a likely thing that Chriſt hath leſs care for his ſpouſe the church, than a wiſe houſholder hath for his family in making his will or teſtament.

Cran. Your reaſon is drawn out of the affairs of men, and not taken out of the holy ſcriptures.

Ogle. But no houſholder maketh his teſtament after that ſort.

Cran. Yes, there are many that ſo do. For what matter is it, ſo it be underſtood and perceived? I ſay Chriſt did uſe figurative ſpeech in no place more than in his ſacraments, and ſpecially in this of his ſupper.

Ogle. No man of purpoſe doth uſe tropes in his teſtament, for if he do, he deceiveth them that he comprehendeth in his teſtament: therefore Chriſt uſeth none here.

Cran. Yes he may uſe them well enough. You know not what tropes are.

Ogle. The good man of the houſe hath reſpect that his heirs, after his departure, may live in quiet and without brabling.

But they cannot be in quiet if he do uſe tropes.

Therefore (I ſay) he uſeth no tropes.

Cran. I deny your Minor.

Weſt. Auguſtine, in his book intitled, De Unitate Eccleſiæ, Chap. 10. hath theſe words following:

"What a thing is this I pray you, when the laſt words "of one lying upon his death-bed are heard which is "ready to go to his grave, no man ſaith that he hath "made a lye, and he is not accounted his heir which re"gardeth not thoſe words. How ſhall we then eſcape "God's wrath, if either not believing, or not regarding, "we ſhall reject the laſt words both of the only Son of "God, and alſo of our Lord and Saviour, both aſcending "into heaven, and beholding from thence, who deſpiſeth, "who obſerveth them not, and ſo ſhall come from thence "to judge all men?"

The argument is thus formed:

Whoſoever ſaith that the teſtator lyeth, is a wicked heir.

But whoſoever ſaith that Chriſt ſpake by figures, ſaith that he did lye.

Ergo, Whoſoever ſaith that Chriſt here ſpake by figures, is a wicked heir.

Cran. I deny the Minor. As who ſay it is neceſſary, that he which uſeth to ſpeak by tropes and figures ſhould lye in ſo doing.

Ogle. Your judgment is diſagreeing with all churches.

Cran. Nay, I diſagree with the Papiſtical church.

Ogle. This you do through the ignorance of logic.

Cran. Nay, this you ſay through the ignorance of the doctors.

Weſton. I will go plainly to work by ſcriptures. What took he?

Cran. Bread.

Weſt. What gave he?

Cran. Bread.

Weſt. What brake he?

Cran. Bread.

Weſt. What did he eat?

Cran. Bread.

Weſt. He gave bread, therefore he gave not his body.

He gave not his body, therefore it is not his body verily, and in deed and in truth.

Cran. I deny the argument.

Cole. This argument holdeth, à diſparatis: It is bread. Ergo, It is not the body; and it is ſuch an argument or reaſon, as cannot be diſſolved.

Cran. The like argument may be made. He is a rock: Ergo, He is not Chriſt.

Cole. It is not alike.

Weſt. He gave not his body in deed: Ergo, It was not his body in deed.

Cran. He gave his death, his paſſion, and the ſacrament of his paſſion. And in very deed, ſetting the figure aſide, formally it is not his body.

Weſt. Why, then the ſcripture is falſe.

Cran. Nay, the ſcripture is moſt true.

Weſt. This ſaith Chryſoſtom, Homil. 61. ad pop. Antioch, "Needful it is, dear friends, to tell you what "the miracle of the myſteries is, and wherefore it is "given, and what profit there is of the thing. We are "one body, and members of his fleſh and of his bones. "We that be in the myſtery, let us follow the thing "which was ſpoken. Wherefore that we may become "this thing, not only by love, but alſo that we may "become one with that fleſh in deed, that is brought to "paſs by this food, which he gave unto us, minding to "ſhew his great good will, that he hath towards us: and "therefore he mixed himſelf with us, and united his own "body with us, that we ſhould be made all as one thing "together, as a body joined and annexed to the head, "for this is a token of moſt ardent and perfect love. "And the ſame thing Job alſo inſinuating, ſaid of his "ſervants, of whom he was deſired above meaſure, inſo- "much that they, ſhewing their great deſire toward "him, ſaid, Who ſhall give unto us to be filled with his "fleſh? Therefore alſo Chriſt did the ſame, who, to in- "duce us into a great love toward him, and to declare "his deſire towards us, did not only give himſelf to be "ſeen of them that would, but alſo to be handled and "eaten, and ſuffered us to faſten our teeth in his fleſh, "and to be united together, and ſo to fill all our deſire. "Like lions therefore, as breathing fire, let us go from "that table, being made terrible to the devil, remem- "bering our head in our mind, and his charity which "he ſhewed unto us. For parents many times give their "children to other to be fed, but I do not ſo, ſaith he, "but feed you with mine own fleſh, and ſet myſelf before "you, deſiring to make you all jolly people, and pretend- "ing to you great hope and expectation to look for "things to come, who here give myſelf to you, but much "more in the world to come. I am become your bro- "ther, I took fleſh and blood for you. Again, my fleſh "and blood, by the which I am made your kinſman, I "deliver unto you."

Thus much out of Chryſoſtom; out of which words I make this argument.

The ſame fleſh whereby Chriſt is made our brother and kinſman, is given of Chriſt to us to be eaten.

Chriſt is made our brother and kinſman, by his true, natural, and organical fleſh.

Ergo, His true, natural, and organical fleſh, is given to us to be eaten.

Cran. I grant the conſequence and the conſequent.

Weſt. Therefore we eat it with our mouth.

Cran. I deny it. We eat it through faith.

Weſt. He gave us the ſame fleſh to eat, whereby he became our brother and kinſman.

But he became our brother and kinſman by his true, natural, and organical fleſh.

Therefore he gave his true, natural, and organical fleſh to be eaten.

Cran. I grant he took and gave the ſame true, natural, and organical fleſh wherein he ſuffered, and yet he feedeth us ſpiritually, and that fleſh is received ſpiritually.

Weſt. He gave us the ſame fleſh which he took of the virgin.

But he took not the true fleſh of the virgin ſpiritually, or in a figure.

Ergo, He gave his true natural fleſh, not ſpiritually.

Cran. Chriſt gave to us his own natural fleſh, the ſame wherein he ſuffered, but feedeth us ſpiritually.

Weſt. Chryſoſtom is againſt you, who ſaith: "Let "it come into thy remembrance with what honour thou "art honoured, and what table thou ſitteſt at: for with "the ſame thing we are nouriſhed, which the angels do "behold and tremble at: neither are they able to behold "it without great fear, for the brightneſs which cometh "thereof; and we be brought and compact into one "heap or maſs with him, being together one body of "Chriſt, and one fleſh with him. Who ſhall ſpeak the "powers of the Lord, and ſhall declare forth all his "praiſes? What paſtor hath ever nouriſhed his ſheep "with his own members? Many mothers have put forth "their infants after their birth to other nurſes: which he "would not do, but feedeth us with his own body, and "conjoineth and uniteth us to himſelf."

Whereupon I gather this argument:

Like as mothers nurſe their children with milk, ſo Chriſt nouriſheth us with his body.

But mothers do not nouriſh their infants ſpiritually with their milk:

Therefore, Chriſt doth not nouriſh thoſe that be his ſpiritually with his blood.

Cran. He gave us the wine for his blood.

Weſt. If he gave the wine for his blood, as you ſay, then he gave leſs than mothers do give.

But Chryſoſtom affirmeth, that he gave more than mothers give.

Therefore he gave not the wine for his blood.

Cran. You pervert mine anſwer. He gave wine, yet the blood is conſidered therein. As for example: When he giveth baptiſm, we conſider not the water, but the Holy Ghoſt, and remiſſion of ſins. We receive with the mouth the ſacrament; but the thing and the matter of the ſacrament we receive by faith.

Weſt. When Chriſt ſaid, Eat ye, whether he meant by the mouth or by faith?

Cran. He meant that we ſhould receive the body by faith, the bread by the mouth.

Weſt. Nay, the body by the mouth.

Cran. That I deny.

Weſt. I prove it out of Chryſoſtom, writing upon the 50th Pſalm.

"She that is a mother, ſhameth ſometime to play the "nurſe. But Chriſt our nurſe doth not ſo play with us. "Therefore inſtead of meat he feedeth us with his own "fleſh, and inſtead of drink he feedeth us with his own "blood." Likewiſe upon the 26th chapter of Matthew, the 83 Homily, he ſaith: "For it ſhall not be enough "for him to become man, and in the mean while to be "whipped; but he doth bring us into one maſs or lump "with himſelf (as I may ſo call it) and maketh us his "body, not by faith alone, but alſo in very deed."

Cran. I grant, we make one nature with Chriſt. But that to be done with mouth I deny.

Weſt. Chryſoſtom, 2 Cor. chap. 13. Hom. 29. hath theſe words, "No little honour is given to our mouth, "receiving the body of the Lord."

Cran. This I ſay, that Chriſt entereth into us both by our ears, and by our eyes. With our mouth we receive the body of Chriſt, and tear it with our teeth, that is to ſay, the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt. Wherefore I ſay and affirm, that the virtue of the ſacrament is much: and therefore Chryſoſtom many times ſpeaketh of ſacraments no otherwiſe, than of Chriſt himſelf, as I could prove if I might have liberty to ſpeak, by many places of Chryſoſtom, where he ſpeaketh of the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt.

With which word of the ſacrament of the body, &c. Dr. Cole being highly offended, denied it to be the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt, ſave only of the myſtical body which is the church.

Cran. And why ſhould we doubt to call it the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt, offered upon the croſs, ſeeing both Chriſt and the ancient fathers do ſo call it?

Cole. How gather you that of Chryſoſtom?

Cran. Chryſoſtom declareth himſelf, "O miracle, O "the good will of God towards us, which ſitteth above

"at

" at the right hand of the Father, and is holden in men's " hands at the ſacrifices time, and is given to feed upon, " to them that are deſirous of him! And that is brought " to paſs by no ſubtilty or craft, but with the open and " beholding eyes of all the ſtanders-by."

Thus you hear Chriſt is ſeen here in earth every day, is touched, is torn with the teeth, that our tongue is red with his blood; which no man having any judgment will ſay or think to be ſpoken without trope or figure.

Weſt. What miracle is it if it be not his body, and if he ſpake only of the ſacrament, as though it were his body?

But hearken what Chryſoſtom ſaith, " I ſhew forth " that thing on the earth unto thee, which is worthy the " greateſt honour. For like as in the palace of kings, " neither the walls, nor the ſumptuous bed, but the body " of kings ſitting under the cloth of eſtate, and royal ſeat " of majeſty, is of all things elſe the moſt excellent: ſo " is in like manner the king's body in heaven, which is " now ſet before us on earth. I ſhew thee neither angels " nor archangels, nor the heaven of heavens, but the " very lord and maſter of all theſe things. Thou per- " ceiveſt after what ſort thou doeſt not only behold, but " toucheſt, and not only toucheſt, but eateſt that which " on the earth is the greateſt and chiefeſt thing of all " other, and when thou haſt received the ſame, thou " goeſt home; wherefore cleanſe thy ſoul from all un- " cleanneſs."

Upon this I conclude, that the body of Chriſt is ſhewed us upon the earth.

Cran. What? upon the earth? no man ſeeth Chriſt upon the earth: He is ſeen with the eyes of our mind, with faith and ſpirit.

Weſt. I pray you, what is it that ſeemeth worthy higheſt honour on the earth? Is it the ſacrament, or elſe the body of Chriſt?

Cran. Chryſoſtom ſpeaketh of the ſacrament, and the body of Chriſt is ſhewed forth in the ſacrament.

Weſt. Ergo, Then the ſacrament is worthy greateſt honour.

Cran. I deny the argument.

Weſt. That thing is ſhewed forth, and is now in the earth [oſtenditur] & [eſt] which is worthy higheſt honour.

But only the body of Chriſt is worthy higheſt honour.

Ergo, The body of Chriſt is now on the earth.

Cran. I anſwer, the body of Chriſt to be on the earth, but ſo as in the ſacrament, as the holy Ghoſt is in the water of baptiſm.

Weſt. Chryſoſtom ſaith, [oſtendo] I ſhew forth, which noteth a ſubſtance to be preſent.

Cran. That is to be underſtood ſacramentally.

Weſt. He ſaith [oſtendo in terra] I ſhew forth on earth, declaring alſo the place where.

Cran. That is to be underſtood figuratively.

Weſt. He is ſhewed forth, and is now on the earth, &c. as before.

Cran. Your Major and concluſion are all one.

Weſt. But the Major is true: Ergo, the concluſion alſo is true.

That thing is on the earth, which is worthy of moſt high honour.

But no figure is worthy of higheſt honour.

Ergo, That which is on the earth is no figure.

Cran. I anſwer, that is true ſacramentally.

Here Weſton crieth to him, that he ſhould anſwer to one part, bidding him repeat his words. Which when he went about to do, ſuch was the noiſe and crying out in the ſchool, that his mild voice could not be heard. For when he went about to declare to the people how the prolocutor did not well engliſh the words of Chryſoſtom, uſing for [oſtenditur in terra,] He is ſhewed forth on the earth, [eſt in terra,] He is on the earth, whereas Chryſoſtom hath not [Eſt] nor any ſuch word of being on the earth, but only of ſhewing, as the grace of the Holy Ghoſt, [in baptiſmo oſtenditur,] Is ſhewed forth in baptiſm: and oftentimes he did inculcate this word [oſtenditur.] Then the prolocutor ſtretching forth his hand, ſet on the rude people to cry out at him, filling all the ſchool with hiſſing, clapping of hands, and noiſe, calling him unlearned, unſkilful, impudent. Which impudent and reproachful words this reverend man moſt patiently and meekly did abide, as one that had been inured with the ſuffering of ſuch like reproaches. And when the prolocutor, not yet ſatisfied with rude and unſeemly demeanour, did urge and call upon him to anſwer the argument; then he bad the notary repeat his words again.

Notary. That which is worthy moſt high honour, here I ſhew forth to thee on earth.

The body of Chriſt is worthy higheſt honour.

Ergo, He ſhewed forth the body of Chriſt here in earth.

Cran. That is ſhewed forth here on the earth which may be ſeen, which may be touched, and which may be eaten, but theſe things be not true of the body.

Cole. Why ſhould not theſe things be true of the body of Chriſt?

Cran. The Major out of Chryſoſtom is true, meaning of the ſacraments. For in the ſacrament, the true body of Chriſt, and not the figurative body, is ſet forth.

Weſt. Shew me ſomewhat in earth worthy greateſt honour.

Cran. I cannot, but in the ſacrament only.

Weſt. Ergo, The ſacrament is worthy greateſt honour.

Cran. So it is.

Judges. Let it be written.

Cran. I pray you let my anſwer be written likewiſe: I affirm, that the body of Chriſt is ſhewed forth unto us. It is our faith that ſeeth Chriſt.

Weſt. Oſtendo tibi, I ſhew it to thee, ſaith Chryſoſtom, not to thy faith.

Cran. He ſpeaketh ſacramentally.

Weſt. Ergo, Chryſoſtom lyeth. For he, ſpeaking of ſhewing, ſaith: Ego Chryſoſtomus oſtendo: I Chryſoſtom do ſhew. But he can ſhew nothing ſacramentally.

Ched. By force of argument we are brought to this point, That the body of Chriſt is proved to be on earth, not only ſacramentally, but in very deed alſo, by this reaſon, that it is worthy higheſt honour. The reaſon is indiſſoluble.

Cran. I never heard a more vain argument, and it is moſt vain; alſo it hath mine anſwer unto it.

Ched. Will you affirm, that it is abſurd which Chryſoſtom ſaith, that the body of Chriſt is touched?

I touch the body of Chriſt in the ſacrament, as Thomas touched Chriſt.

Thomas touched Chriſt, and ſaid, Dominus meus, Deus meus: My Lord, My God.

Ergo, That which he touched was the Lord, the God.

This argument, as I received it out of the notary's book, is not formal; but rather he ſhould conclude in the third figure thus:

As Thomas touched the body of Chriſt, ſo we touch it in the ſacrament.

Thomas touched the body of Chriſt corporally.

Ergo, We touch the body of Chriſt corporally in the ſacrament.

Cran. I deny your argument. He touched not God, but him which was God. Neither is it ſound doctrine to affirm, that God is touched.

Ched. This is becauſe of the union; ſo that God is ſaid to be touched, when Chriſt, which is both God and man, is touched.

Tertullian ſaith, " Let us conſider as concerning the " proper form of the chriſtian man, what great preroga- " tive this vain and foul ſubſtance of ours hath with God. " Although it were ſufficient to it, that no ſoul could " ever get ſalvation, unleſs it believe while it is in the " fleſh:

" fleſh: ſo much the fleſh availeth to ſalvation; by the " which fleſh it cometh, that whereas the ſoul ſo is linked " unto God, it is the ſaid fleſh that cauſeth the ſoul to be " linked: Yet the fleſh moreover is waſhed, that the ſoul " may be cleanſed; the fleſh is anointed that the ſoul " may be conſecrated; the fleſh is ſigned, that the ſoul " may be defended; the fleſh is ſhadowed by the impo- " ſition of hands, that the ſoul may be illuminated with " the Spirit; the fleſh doth eat the body and blood of " Chriſt, that the ſoul may be fed of God." Whereupon I gather this argument.

The fleſh eateth the body of Chriſt.

Ergo, The body of Chriſt is eaten with the mouth.

Item. Phoceus 1 ad Cor. cap. 11. Whereas he ſaith, " Is guilty of the body and blood," this he declareth, " that like as Judas betrayed him, and the Jews were " fierce and ſpiteful againſt him; ſo do they diſhonour " him, which receive his holy body with their impure " hands, and as the Jews did hold him then, do now " receive him with impure mouths. And whereas he " often maketh mention of the body and blood of the " Lord, he declareth, that it is not ſimply man, that is " ſacrificed, but even the Lord himſelf, being the maker " of all things, hereby (as it were) making them afraid."

Ergo, (as it is hereby gathered) the body of Chriſt is touched with the hands.

Cran. You vouch two authors againſt me upon ſundry things. Firſt, I muſt anſwer Tertullian, and then the other.

Ched. They tend both to one meaning.

Cran. Unto Tertullian I anſwer (becauſe our diſputation is wandering and uncertain) that he calleth that the fleſh which is the ſacrament. For although God work all things in us inviſibly beyond men's reach, yet they are ſo manifeſt, that they may be ſeen, and perceived of every ſenſe. Therefore he ſetteth forth baptiſm, unction, and laſt of all the ſupper of the Lord unto us, which he gave to ſignify his operation in us. The fleſh liveth by the bread, but the ſoul is inwardly fed by Chriſt.

Weſt. Stick to thoſe words of Tertullian, The body eateth, that the ſoul may be fed.

Ched. The fleſh eateth the body of Chriſt, that the ſoul may be fed therewith.

Weſt. Here you ſee two kinds of food, of the ſoul and of the body.

Ched. He ſaith, that not only the ſoul, but the fleſh is alſo fed.

Cran. The ſoul is fed with the body of Chriſt, the body with the ſacrament.

Ched. Is the ſoul fed with the body of Chriſt, and not with the ſacrament?

Cran. Read that which followeth, and you ſhall perceive that by things external, an operation internal is underſtood. Inwardly we eat Chriſt's body, and outwardly we eat the ſacrament. So one thing is done outwardly, another inwardly. Like as in baptiſm the external element whereby the body is waſhed, is one; the internal thing, whereby the ſoul is cleanſed, is another.

Ched. The ſoul is fed by that which the body eateth.

But the ſoul is fed by the fleſh of Chriſt.

Ergo, The body eateth the fleſh of Chriſt.

Cran. We eat not one thing outwardly and inwardly. Inwardly we eat Chriſt's body: Outwardly we eat the ſacrament.

Ched. I will repeat the argument.

The fleſh eateth Chriſt's body, that the ſoul may be fed therewith.

The ſoul is not fed with the ſacrament, but with Chriſt's body.

Ergo, The fleſh eateth the body of Chriſt.

Cran. The ſacrament is one thing, the matter of the ſacrament is another. Outwardly we receive the ſacrament; inwardly we eat the body of Chriſt.

Ched. I prove, that we receive that outwardly wherewith the ſoul is fed.

The ſoul is fed with the body of Chriſt.

Ergo, We eat the body of Chriſt outwardly.

The fleſh eateth Chriſt his body.

Ergo, the ſoul is fed therewith.

Cran. The fleſh (I ſay) eateth the ſacrament: it eateth not Chriſt's body. For Tertullian ſpeaketh of the ſacrament; and the place hath not [inde] thereof, but [de Deo] of God.

Ched. What ſay you to Phoceus ſaying; " They " which receive the body with impure hands, are guilty " of the Lord's blood, as Judas was?"

Weſt. That which followeth in Tertullian doth take away your ſhift, whereas he ſaith: " They cannot be " ſeparated in reward, whom one work joineth together."

But Manducation, i. e. the work, or labour; Ergo, &c.

The form of this argument may be thus collected.

One work or labour joineth body and ſoul together.

Manducation is a work or labour.

Ergo, One Manducation joineth together both body and ſoul.

To the Major of which argument, thus it may be anſwered, expounding the ſaying of Tertullian, Una opera conjungit, ſed non idem operandi modus. Again, Opera, here in Tertullian, may be taken for temptations and afflictions.

Cran. Your authority (I ſuppoſe) is taken out of the book, De Reſurrectione Carnis: Of the Reſurrection of the fleſh: And the meaning thereof is this: Tertullian goeth about there to prove, that the fleſh ſhall riſe again, becauſe it is joined together in one work with the ſoul. Through baptiſm in this world the body is waſhed, and the ſoul is waſhed: the body outwardly, the ſoul inwardly, the work is one. In this work they are joined. And he ſpeaketh of ſigns.

Weſt. He ſpeaketh of eating in a ſign.

Ergo, The reward is in a ſign.

Cran. They are coupled in one work, namely, in the ſacrament.

Weſt. There are two works

Ergo, There are two rewards.

If the work be in a figure.

Ergo, The reward is in a figure.

Cran. He ſpeaketh not of two works. Two works are but one work. And yet he ſaith not [Quos una opera conjungit,] Whom one work joineth together, but [Opera] A work: as in baptiſm the ſoul and body are joined in underſtanding.

Weſt. The fleſh and ſoul ſhall have one and the ſelf-ſame reward, becauſe they have one work.

Cran. Becauſe they be joined together in one work.

Treſh. Foraſmuch as the reverend doctors here have impugned and overthrown your aſſertion and your anſwers ſufficiently; I will fall to another matter, not altogether impertinent to the purpoſe, and that in few words, againſt a certain ſequel of your opinion. The ſequel is this: That between us and Chriſt there is no further conjunction, whilſt we receive the Euchariſt, than a conjunction of the mind, or a ſpiritual conjunction, whereby we are united and knit unto Chriſt through faith and love. As for the preſence of Chriſt concerning the ſubſtance, that you utterly deny. Whereupon in very deed you leave but a ſpiritual union and joining together of mind. Howbeit you would ſeem to think otherwiſe by your ſubtle anſwers. But I will declare by manifeſt teſtimonies of the fathers, that this your ſequel, which you account ſo ſure, is far wide from the truth. And I will begin with St. Hilary, who is both an ancient and learned author. For diſputing againſt the Arians, Octavo de Trinitate, he ſaith, that this was their opinion: That the Father and the Son are joined only through unity of will. Whereupon Arius himſelf, when ſcripture was alledged againſt him, did (as you do now) elude the right meaning of it by his falſe interpretations. But the catholic church hath always believed and ever maintained,

That

That Chriſt is one with the Father in nature, and not by conſent of will only. The proof whereof, when the catholics vouched this teſtimony of John, Pater & Ego unum ſumus, The Father and I are one: the Arians anſwered, that [unum ſumus] was to be underſtood by the aſſent of their wills, and agreement of their minds, not by unity of their natures. Thus it happeneth now-a-days, where men do doubt of the ſacrament. But Hilary going on, and proving the natural conjunction between the Father and the Son [à fortiori,] queſtioneth with his adverſaries after this manner: "I demand of "them now which will needs have the unity of will only "between the Father and the Son, whether Chriſt be "now in us truly by nature, or only by the agreement "of wills. If (ſaith he) the Word be incarnate in very "deed, and we receive at the Lord's table the Word "made fleſh, how then is he to be thought not to dwell "in us naturally, who being born man, hath both ta-"ken the nature of our fleſh upon him that is now in-"ſeparable, and hath alſo mingled that nature of his "own fleſh, unto the nature of eternity under the ſacra-"ment of his fleſh, to be communicated unto us?" Thus much hath Hilary. Whereupon I aſk of you this queſtion, How Chriſt dwelleth now in us? according to faith, or according to nature?

Cran. I ſay that Chriſt dwelleth verily in us carnally and naturally, for that he hath taken of the virgin our fleſh upon him, and becauſe he hath communicated his nature unto us.

Treſh. Bucer contra Abrincenſem, referreth theſe words only to the Euchariſt, ſaying, "Chriſt doth exhibit all "this unto us in his holy ſupper, and according to the "holy fathers (ſaith he) Chriſt liveth thereby in us, not "only by faith and love, as abſent, but naturally, cor-"porally, and carnally. Wherefore he is not abſent, "neither are we joined to Chriſt only by a ſpiritual union "(as you ſuppoſe) but alſo by a corporal and carnal "union."

Cran. I know that Mr. Bucer was a learned man. But your faith is in good caſe which leaneth upon Bucer.

Treſh. I do not bring Bucer as a patron of our faith, but becauſe he is a man of your ſort, and yet bringeth this place of Hilary for that union which we have by the ſacrament, and confeſſeth, that by it we are carnally united to Chriſt, whereas you think we are joined by it only through faith and love.

Cran. I ſay that Chriſt was communicated unto us, not only by faith, but in very deed alſo when he was born of the virgin. We have fellowſhip with Chriſt, when we are united in the unity of the church, when we are made fleſh of his fleſh, and bones of his bones, and ſo we are united in the communion, in baptiſm, and in faith.

Treſh. I pray you what fellowſhip have we with Chriſt, in that he is made man? Are not the Turks and Jews therein joined with him? For they are men as we are, and are joined with him in man's nature, in that he was born of a woman. I ſpeak now of a more near unity. We are made one with Chriſt by the communion in a perfect unity.

Cran. We are made ſo, I grant: but we are made ſo alſo by baptiſm; and the unity in baptiſm is perfect.

Treſh. We are not made one by baptiſm in a perfect unity, as Hilary there ſpeaketh, but by the communion, by which we are carnally made one, but not likewiſe by baptiſm: wherefore you underſtand not Hilary. You ſhall hear his words, which are theſe: "He had now "declared afore the ſacrament of his perfect union, ſay-"ing, As the living Father ſent me, ſo do I alſo live "by the Father. And he that eateth my fleſh, ſhall alſo "live through me," And a little after that he writeth thus: "This truly is the cauſe of our life, that we have "Chriſt dwelling by his fleſh in us that are fleſhly, which "alſo by him ſhall live in ſuch ſort as he liveth by his "Father." Wherefore of theſe words it is manifeſt, that we obtain this perfect unity by means of the ſacrament, and that Chriſt by it is carnally united unto us.

Cran. Nay, Hilary in that ſame place doth teach, that it is done by baptiſm: and that doctrine is not to be ſuffered in the church, which teacheth, that we are not joined to Chriſt by baptiſm.

Weſt. Repeat the argument.

Cran. You muſt firſt make an argument.

Treſh. It is made already, but it ſhall be made again in this form:

As Chriſt liveth by his Father, ſo they that eat Chriſt's fleſh live by the ſame fleſh.

But Chriſt liveth by the Father, not only by faith and love, but naturally.

Ergo, We live not through the eating of Chriſt's fleſh, by faith and love only, but naturally.

Cran. We live by Chriſt, not only by faith and love, but eternally indeed.

Treſh. Nay, naturally; I prove it thus:

As Chriſt liveth by the Father, ſo live we by his fleſh eaten of us.

But Chriſt liveth not by his Father, only by faith and love, but naturally.

Therefore we do not live by eating of Chriſt's fleſh only by faith and love (as you ſuppoſe) but naturally.

Cran. The minor is not true.

Treſh. This is the opinion of Arius, That Chriſt is united to his Father by conjunction of mind, and not naturally.

Cran, I ſay not ſo yet, neither do I think ſo. But I will tell you what I like not in your minor. You ſay, That Chriſt doth not live by his Father only by faith and love; but I ſay, That Chriſt liveth not at all by his faith.

Weſt. Mark and conſider well this word (by Faith) leſt any occaſion of cavilling be given.

Treſh. Let that word (by Faith) be omitted. Neither did I mean, that Chriſt liveth by his Father through faith. Yet the ſtrength of the argument remaineth in force; for elſe Hilary doth not confute the Arians, except there be a greater conjunction between us and Chriſt, when he is eaten of us, than only a ſpiritual conjunction. You do only grant an union. As for a carnal or natural union of the ſubſtance of the fleſh, by which we are joined more than ſpiritually, you do not grant. But our Lord Jeſus give you a better mind, and ſhew you the light of his truth, that you may return into the way of righteouſneſs.

Weſt. We came hither to diſpute, and not to pray.

Treſh. Is it not lawful to pray for them that err?

Weſt. It is not lawful yet. But proceed.

Treſh. Again, I reaſon thus; As Chriſt liveth by his Father, after the ſame manner do we live by the eating of his fleſh.

But Chriſt liveth not by his Father, only in unity of will, but naturally.

Ergo, We do not live when we eat the fleſh of Chriſt, only by faith and unity of will, but naturally.

Cran. This is my faith, and it agreeth with the ſcripture, Chriſt liveth by his Father naturally, and maketh us to live by himſelf indeed naturally, and that not only in the ſacrament of the euchariſt, but alſo in baptiſm, For infants, when they are baptized, do eat the fleſh of Chriſt.

Weſt. Anſwer either to the whole argument, or to the parts thereof. For this argument is ſtrong, and cannot be diſſolved.

Cran. This is the argument.

As Chriſt liveth by his Father, after the ſame manner do we live by his fleſh, being eaten of us.

But Chriſt liveth not by his Father only in unity of will, but naturally.

Ergo,

Ergo, We eating his fleſh do not live only by faith and love, but naturally.

But the major is falſe; namely, That by the ſame manner we live by Chriſt, as he liveth by his Father.

Weſt. Hilary ſaith, After the ſame manner, upon theſe words, He that eateth my fleſh ſhall live by me. Ergo, Chriſt liveth by his Father, after the ſame manner we ſhall live by his fleſh. Here you ſee, that Hilary ſaith, After the ſame manner.

Cran. After the ſame manner, doth not ſignify alike in all things, but in deed and eternally: for ſo do we live by Chriſt, and Chriſt liveth by his Father. For in other reſpects Chriſt liveth otherwiſe by his Father, than we live by Chriſt.

Weſt. He liveth by his Father naturally and eternally.

Ergo, We live by Chriſt naturally and eternally.

Cran. We do not live naturally, but by grace, if you take naturally for the manner of nature; as Chriſt hath eternal life of his Father, ſo have we of him.

Weſt. I ſtick to this word, Naturally.

Cran. I mean it touching the truth of nature. For Chriſt liveth otherwiſe by his Father, than we live by Chriſt.

Weſt. Hilary, in his eighth book De Trinitate, denieth it, when he ſaith, He liveth therefore by his Father; and as he liveth by his Father, after the ſame manner we ſhall live by his fleſh.

Cran. We ſhall live after the ſame manner, as concerning the nature of the fleſh of Chriſt: For as he hath of his Father the nature of eternity, ſo ſhall we have of him.

Weſt. Anſwer unto the parts of the argument.

As Chriſt liveth by his Father, after the ſame manner ſhall we live by his fleſh.

But Chriſt doth not live by his Father only in unity of will, but naturally.

Ergo, We eating of his fleſh, do not live only by faith and love, but naturally.

Cran. I grant (as I ſaid) we live by Chriſt naturally: but I never heard that Chriſt liveth with his Father in unity of will only.

Weſt. Becauſe it ſeemeth a marvel unto you; hear what Hilary ſaith: "Theſe things are recited of us to "this end, becauſe the heretics, feigning an unity of "will only between the Father and the Son, did uſe "the example of our unity with God, as though we "being united to the Son, and by the Son to the Father "only by obedience and will of religion, had no pro-"priety of the natural communion by the ſacrament of "the body and blood."

But anſwer to the argument. Chriſt liveth by his Father naturally and eternally: therefore do we live by Chriſt naturally and eternally.

Cran. Cyril and Hilary do ſay, that Chriſt is united to us not only by will, but alſo by nature: he doth communicate to us his own nature, and ſo is Chriſt made one with us carnally and corporally, becauſe he took our nature of the virgin Mary. And Hilary doth not ſay only that Chriſt is naturally in us, but that we alſo are naturally in him, and in the Father; that is, that we are partakers of their nature, which is eternity, or everlaſtingneſs. For as the Word, receiving our nature, did join it in unity of perſon, and did communicate unto that our nature, the nature of his eternity; that like as he, being the everlaſting Word of the Father, had everlaſting life of the Father, even ſo he gave the ſame nature to his fleſh. Likewiſe alſo did he communicate with us the ſame nature of eternity, which he and the Father have, and that we ſhould be one with them, not only in will and love, but that we ſhould be alſo partakers of the nature of everlaſting life.

Weſt. Hilary, where he ſaith, Chriſt communicated to us his nature, meaneth that not by his nativity, but by the ſacrament.

Cran. He hath communicated to us his fleſh by his nativity.

Weſt. We have communicated to him our fleſh when he was born.

Cran. Nay, he communicated to us his fleſh, when he was born, and that I will ſhew you out of Cyril upon this place, Et homo factus eſt.

Weſt. Ergo, Chriſt being born, gave us his fleſh.

Cran. In his nativity he made us partakers of his fleſh.

Weſt. Right, Sirs.

Cran. Yea, right.

Ched. This place of Hilary is ſo dark, that you were compelled to falſify it in your book, becauſe you could not draw it to confirm your purpoſe.

"If Chriſt have taken verily the fleſh of our body, "and the man that was verily born of the virgin Mary "is Chriſt, and alſo we receive under the true myſtery "the fleſh of his body, by means whereof we ſhall be "one (for the Father is in Chriſt, and Chriſt in us) how "ſhall that be called the unity of will, when the natural "property, brought to paſs by the ſacrament, is the ſa-"crament of unity? We muſt not ſpeak in the ſenſe of "man, or of the world, in matters concerning God: "neither muſt we perverſely wreſt any ſtrange or wicked "ſenſe out of the wholeſome meaning of the holy ſcrip-"ture, thro' impudent and vile contention. Let us read "thoſe things that are written, and let us underſtand "thoſe things that we read, and then we ſhall perform "the duty of perfect faith. For as touching that natural "and true being of Chriſt in us, except we learn of him, "we ſpeak fooliſhly and ungodly that thing that we do "ſpeak. For he ſaith, My fleſh is meat indeed, and "my blood is drink indeed: He that eateth my fleſh, "and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him. "As touching the verity of his fleſh and blood, there is "left no place of doubt: for now, both by the teſti-"mony of the Lord, and alſo by our faith, it is verily "fleſh, and verily blood."

Here you have falſified Hilary, for you have ſet [vero ſub myſterio,] for [vere ſub myſterio,] we receive truly under a myſtery. Hilary thrice reporteth [vere ſub myſterio,] and you interpret it twice [vere ſub myſterio,] but the third time you have [vero] for [vere].

Cran. Aſſuredly, I am not guilty of any deceit herein. It may be that the copy which I followed had [ſub vero myſterio,] that is, under a true myſtery; although touching the ſenſe it differeth little. God I call to witneſs, I have always hated falſifying, and if you had leiſure and luſt to hear falſe citations, I could recite unto you ſix hundred.

Weſt. Here ſhall be ſhewed you two copies of Hilary, the one printed at Baſil, the other at Paris.

Cran. I ſuppoſe that Dr. Smith's book hath [vero.]

Weſt. Here is Dr. Smith; let him anſwer for himſelf.

Mr. Smith, Mr. Doctor, what ſay you for yourſelf? ſpeak, if you know it.

Here Dr. Smith, either for the truth in his book alledged, or elſe aſtoniſhed with Dr. Weſton's haſty calling, ſtaid to anſwer: for he only put off his cap, and kept ſilence.

Weſt. But your own book, printed by Wolf your own printer, hath [vero.]

Cran. That book is taken from me, which eaſily might have ended this controverſy. I am ſure, the book of decrees hath [vero.]

Cole. Now you admit the book of decrees, when it maketh for you.

Cran. Touching the ſenſe of the matter there is little difference. The change of one letter for another, is but a ſmall matter.

Weſt. No? Yes; Paſtor (as you know) ſignifieth a biſhop, and piſtor ſignifieth a baker. But Paſtor ſhall be Piſtor, a biſhop ſhall be a baker, by this your change of one letter, if Vere and Vero do nothing change the ſenſe.

Cran.

Cran. Let it be ſo, that in Piſtor and Paſtor one letter maketh ſome difference: Yet let Piſtor be either a maker or baker of bread, ye ſee here the change of a letter, and yet no great difference to be in the ſenſe.

Yong. This diſputation is taken in hand, that the truth might appear. I perceive that I muſt go another way to work than I had thought. It is a common ſaying, Againſt them that deny principles, we muſt not diſpute. Therefore that we may agree of the principles, I demand, Whether there be any other body of Chriſt than his inſtrumental body?

Cran. There is no natural body of Chriſt, but his organical body.

Yong. Again, I demand whether ſenſe and reaſon ought to give place to faith?

Cran. They ought.

Yong. Thirdly, Whether Chriſt be true in all his words?

Cran. Yea, he is moſt true, and truth itſelf.

Yong. Fourthly, Whether Chriſt at his ſupper minded to do that which he ſpake, or no?

Cran. In ſaying he ſpake, but in ſaying he made not, but made the ſacrament to his diſciples.

Yong. Anſwer according to the truth, Whether did Chriſt that as God and man which he ſpake, when he ſaid, This is my body?

Cran. This is a ſophiſtical cavillation; go plainly to work. There is ſome deceit in theſe queſtions. You ſeek ſubtilneſs, leave your crafty fetches.

Yong. I demand, Whether Chriſt by theſe words wrought any thing or no?

Cran. He did inſtitute the ſacrament.

Yong. But anſwer, whether he did work any thing?

Cran. He did work in inſtituting the ſacrament.

Yong. Now I have you; for before you ſaid, it was a figurative ſpeech.

But a figure worketh nothing.

Ergo, It is not a figurative ſpeech. A lyar ought to have a good memory.

Cran. I underſtood your ſophiſtry before. You by working underſtand converting into the body of Chriſt: but Chriſt wrought the ſacrament: not in converting, but in inſtituting.

Yong. Wo be to them that make Chriſt a deceiver. Did he work any other thing than he ſpake, or the ſelf-ſame thing?

Cran. He wrought the ſacrament, and by theſe words he ſignified the effect.

Yong. A figurative ſpeech is no working thing.

But the ſpeech of Chriſt is working.

Ergo, It is not figurative.

Cran. It worketh by inſtituting, not by converting.

Yong. The thing ſignified in the ſacrament, is it not that ſacrament?

Cran. It is. For the thing is miniſtered in a ſign. He followeth the letter that taketh the thing for a ſign. Auguſtine ſeparateth the ſacrament from the thing. The ſacrament (ſaith he) is one, and the thing of the ſacrament another.

Weſt. Stick to this argument.

It is a figurative ſpeech.

Ergo, It worketh nothing.

Yong. But the ſpeech of Chriſt is a working thing.

Ergo, It is not figurative.

Cran. Oh how many crafts are in this argument? they are [illegible] neer fallacies; I ſaid not, That the words of Chriſt do work, but Chriſt himſelf; and he worketh by a figurative ſpeech.

Weſt. If a figure work, it maketh of bread the body of Chriſt.

Cran. A figurative ſpeech worketh not.

Weſt. A figurative ſpeech, by your own confeſſion, worketh nothing.

But the ſpeech of Chriſt in the ſupper (as you grant) wrought ſomewhat.

Ergo, the ſpeech of Chriſt in the ſupper was not figurative.

Cran. I anſwer, Theſe are mere ſophiſms: The ſpeech doth not work, but Chriſt by the ſpeech doth work the ſacrament.

I look for ſcriptures at your hands, for they are the foundation of diſputations.

Yong. Are not theſe words of ſcripture, This is my body? The word of Chriſt is of ſtrength; and by the Lord's words the heavens were made. He ſaid, This is my body: Ergo, he made it.

Cran. He made the ſacrament, and I deny your argument.

Yong. If he wrought nothing, nothing is left there. He ſaid, This is my body. You ſay, contrary to the ſcriptures, it is not the body of Chriſt, and fall from the faith.

Cran. You interpret the ſcriptures contrary to all the old writers, and feign a ſtrange ſenſe.

" Yong. Ambroſe ſaith: " Thou haſt read of the " works of all the world; That he ſpake the word, and " they were made; he commanded, and they were created. Cannot the word of Chriſt, which made of nothing that which was not, change thoſe things that " are, into that they were not? For it is no leſs matter " to give new things, than to change natures. But what " uſe we arguments? let us uſe his own examples, and " let us confirm the variety of the myſtery by example " of his incarnation. Did the uſe of nature go before, " when the Lord Jeſus was born of Mary? If you ſeek " the order of nature, conception is wont to be made " by a woman joined to a man. It is manifeſt therefore, " that contrary to the order of nature, a virgin did conceive: and this body that we make, is of the virgin. " What ſeekeſt thou here the order of nature in the " body of Chriſt, when againſt the order of nature the " Lord Jeſus was conceived of a virgin? It was the true " fleſh of Chriſt which was crucified, and which was " buried; therefore it was truly the ſacrament of him. " The Lord Jeſus himſelf crieth, This is my body. " Before the bleſſing of the heavenly words, it is named " another kind: but after the conſecration the body of " Chriſt is ſignified. He calleth it his blood. Before " conſecration it is called another thing: after conſecration it is called blood; and thou ſayeſt, Amen; that " is, It is true. That the mouth ſpeaketh, let the inward mind confeſs: that the word ſoundeth, let the " heart perceive."

The ſame Ambroſe, in his fourth book of ſacraments, the fourth chapter, ſaith thus: " This bread is bread " before the words of the ſacraments; when the conſecration cometh to it, of bread it is made the fleſh of " Chriſt. Let us confirm this therefore; How can that " which is bread, by conſecration be the body of Chriſt? " By what words then is the conſecration made, and by " whoſe words? By the words of our Lord Jeſus. For " touching all other things that are ſaid, Praiſe is given " to God, prayer is made for the people, for kings, and " for the reſt: when it cometh that the reverend ſacrament muſt be made, then the prieſt uſeth not his own " words, but the words of Chriſt: Therefore the word " of Chriſt maketh this ſacrament. What word? That " word, by which all things were made: The Lord commanded, and heaven was made; the Lord commanded, " and the earth was made; the Lord commanded, and " the ſeas were made; the Lord commanded, and all " creatures were made. Doſt thou not ſee then how " ſtrong in working the word of Chriſt is? If therefore " ſo great ſtrength be in the Lord's word, that thoſe " things ſhould begin to be which were not before, how " much the rather it is of ſtrength to work, that theſe " things which were, ſhould be changed into another " thing?" Ambroſe ſaith, that the words are of ſtrength to work.

Weſton.

Weſton. You omit thoſe words which follow, which maketh the ſenſe of Ambroſe plain: Read them.

Yong. "Heaven was not, the ſea was not, the earth "was not, but hear him that ſaid; He ſpake the word, "and they were made; he commanded, and they were "created. Therefore to anſwer thee, it was not the "body of Chriſt before conſecration, but after the con-"ſecration, I ſay to thee, that now it is the body of "Chriſt."

Cran. All theſe things are common. I ſay, that God doth chiefly work in the ſacraments.

Yong. How doth he work?

Cran. By his power, as he doth in baptiſm.

Yong. Nay, by the word he changeth the bread into his body. This is the truth, acknowledge the truth, give place to the truth.

Cran. O glorious words! You are too full of words.

Yong. Nay, O glorious truth! You make no change at all.

Cran. Not ſo, but I make a great change; as in them that are baptized, is there not a great change, when the child of a bondſlave of the devil, is made the ſon of God? ſo it is alſo in the ſacrament of the ſupper, when he receiveth us into his protection and favour.

Yong. If he work in the ſacraments, he worketh in this ſacrament.

Cran. God worketh in his faithful, not in the ſacraments.

Weſt. In the ſupper the words are directed to the bread; in baptiſm to the Spirit. He ſaid not, the water is the Spirit; but of the bread he ſaid, This is my body.

Cran. He calleth the Spirit a Dove, when the Spirit deſcended in likeneſs of a Dove.

Weſt. He doth not call the Spirit a Dove; but he ſaith, that he deſcended as a Dove. He was ſeen in the likeneſs of a Dove. As in baptiſm the words are directed to him that is baptiſed, ſo in the ſupper the words are directed unto the bread.

Cran. Nay, it is written, "Upon whomſoever thou "ſhalt ſee the Spirit deſcending." He calleth that which deſcended the Holy Spirit. And Auguſtine calleth the Dove, the Spirit. Hear what Auguſtine ſaith in 1 Joh. "What meant he by the Dove, that is, by the Holy "Ghoſt? Forſooth to teach, who ſent him."

Yong. He underſtandeth of the Spirit deſcending as a Dove: The Spirit is inviſible. If you mind to have the truth heard, let us proceed. Hear what Ambroſe ſaith: "You ſee what a working power the word of Chriſt "hath. Therefore if there be ſo great power in the "Lord's word, that thoſe things which were not, begin "to be; how much more of ſtrength is it, to work, that "thoſe things that were, ſhould be changed into another "thing?"

And in the fifth chapter he ſaith: "Before it is conſe-"crated, it is bread: but when the words of Chriſt come "to it, it is the body of Chriſt."

But hear what he ſaith more; "Take ye, eat ye, this "is my body. Before the words of Chriſt, the cup is "full of wine and water; when the words of Chriſt have "wrought, there is made the blood of Chriſt which re-"deemed the people." What can be more plain?

Cran. Nay, what can be leſs to the purpoſe? The words are of ſtrength to work in this ſacrament, as they are in baptiſm.

Pye. The words of Chriſt (as Ambroſe ſaith) are of ſtrength to work. What do they work? Ambroſe ſaith, they make the blood which redeemed the people.

Ergo, The natural blood is made.

Cran. The ſacrament of his blood is made. The words make the blood to them that receive it: Not that the blood is in the cup, but in the receiver.

Pye. There is made the blood which redeemed the people.

Cran. The blood is made, that is, the ſacrament of the blood, by which he redeemed the people. [Fit] It is made, that is to ſay [Oſtenditur], It is ſhewed forth there, And Ambroſe ſaith, we receive in a ſimilitude. "As "thou haſt received the ſimilitude of his death, ſo alſo "thou drinkeſt the ſimilitude of his precious blood."

Weſt. He ſaith, in a ſimilitude, becauſe it is miniſtered under another likeneſs. And this is the argument:

There is made the blood which redeemed the people.

But the natural blood redeemed the people.

Ergo, There is the natural blood of Chriſt.

You anſwer, that words make it blood to them that receive it; not that blood is in the cup, but becauſe it is made blood to them that receive it. That all men may ſee how falſely you would avoid the fathers, hear what Ambroſe ſaith, in the ſixth book and firſt chapter.

"Peradventure thou wilt ſay, how be they true? I "which ſee the ſimilitude, do not ſee the truth of the "blood. Firſt of all I told thee of the word of Chriſt, "which ſo worketh, that it can change and turn kinds "ordained by nature. Afterward, when the diſciples "could not abide the words of Chriſt, but hearing that "he gave his fleſh to eat, and his blood to drink, they "departed. Only Peter ſaid, Thou haſt the words of "eternal life, whither ſhould I go from thee? Leſt there-"fore more ſhould ſay this thing, as though there ſhould "be a certain horror of blood, and yet the grace of re-"demption ſhould remain: therefore in a ſimilitude thou "receiveſt the ſacrament, but indeed thou obtaineſt the "grace and power of his nature."

Cran. Theſe words of themſelves are plain enough. And he read this place again, Thou receiveſt the ſacrament for a ſimilitude. But what is that he ſaith, Thou receiveſt for a ſimilitude? I think he underſtandeth the ſacrament to be the ſimilitude of his blood.

Ched. That you may underſtand that truth diſſenteth not from truth, to overthrow that which you ſay of that ſimilitude; hear what Ambroſe ſaith:

"If the heavenly Word did work in other things, doth "it not work in the heavenly ſacraments? Therefore thou "haſt learned, that of bread is made the body of Chriſt, "and that wine and water is put into that cup, but by "conſecration of the heavenly Word it is made blood. "But thou wilt ſay peradventure, that the likeneſs of "blood is not ſeen. But it hath a ſimilitude. For as "thou haſt received the ſimilitude of his death, ſo alſo "thou drinkeſt the ſimilitude of his precious blood, ſo "that there is no horror of blood, and yet it worketh "the price of redemption. Therefore thou haſt learned, "that that which thou receiveſt is the body of Chriſt."

Cran. He ſpeaketh of ſacraments ſacramentally. He calleth the ſacraments by the names of the things; for he uſeth the ſigns for the things ſignified: and therefore the bread is not called bread, but his body, for the excellency and dignity of the things ſignified by it. So doth Ambroſe interpret himſelf, when he ſaith, "For a type "or figure whereof we receive the myſtical cup of his "blood, for the ſafeguard of our bodies and ſouls."

Ched, A type! He calleth not the blood of Chriſt a type or ſign: but the blood of bulls and goats in that reſpect was a type or ſign.

Cran. This is new learning; you ſhall never read this among the fathers.

Ched. But Ambroſe ſaith ſo.

Cran. He calleth the bread and the cup a type or ſign of the blood of Chriſt, and of his benefit.

Weſt. Ambroſe underſtandeth it for a type of his benefit, that is, of redemption, not of the blood of Chriſt, but of his paſſion. The cup is the type or ſign of his death, ſeeing it is his blood.

Cran. He ſaith moſt plainly, that the cup is a type of Chriſt's blood.

Ched. As Chriſt is really and truly incarnate, ſo is he truly and really in the ſacrament.

But Chriſt is really and truly incarnate.

Ergo, The body of Chriſt is truly and really in the ſacrament.

Cran. I deny the Major.

Ched. I prove the Major out of Juſtin, in his ſecond apology, Ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγε Θεῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰεσῦς Χριςὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὸ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, ἕτω καὶ τὴν δι' ἐυχῆς λόγε τῦ παρ' αὐτε ἐυχαριςηθείσαν τροφὴν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνε τῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰεσῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι.

Cran. This place hath been falſified by Marcus Conſtantius. Juſtin meant nothing elſe but that the bread, which nouriſheth us, is called the body of Chriſt.

Ched. To the argument. As Chriſt is truly and naturally incarnate, &c. as above.

Cran. I deny the Major.

Ched. The words of Juſtin are thus to be interpreted word for word.

"As by the Word of God, Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour, "being made fleſh, had both fleſh and blood for our ſal- "vation: ſo we are taught, that the meat conſecrated by "the word of prayer, inſtituted of him, whereby our "blood and fleſh are nouriſhed by communion, is the "fleſh and blood of the ſame Jeſus which was made "fleſh."

Cran. You have tranſlated it well; but I deny your Major. This is the ſenſe of Juſtin; that the bread is called the body of Chriſt, and yet of that ſanctified meat our bodies are nouriſhed.

Ched. Nay, he ſaith, of that ſanctified meat both our bodies and ſouls are nouriſhed.

Cran. He ſaith not ſo; but he ſaith that it nouriſheth our fleſh and blood: and how can that nouriſh the ſoul, that nouriſheth the fleſh and blood?

Cole. It feedeth the body by the ſoul.

Cran. Speak uprightly. Can that which is received by the ſoul and ſpirit be called the meat of the body?

Weſt. Hear then what Irenæus ſaith, "This the ſame "cup which is a creature, he confirmed to be his body, "by which he increaſeth our bodies. When both the "cup mixed and the bread broken, hath joined to it the "Word of God, it is made the ſacrament of the body "and blood of Chriſt, of which the ſubſtance of our fleſh "is increaſed and conſiſteth.

The ſubſtance of our fleſh is increaſed by the body and blood of Chriſt.

Ergo, Our body is nouriſhed by the body and blood of Chriſt.

Cran. I deny your argument. He calleth it the fleſh and blood, for the ſacrament of the body and blood, as Tertullian alſo ſaith, "Our fleſh is nouriſhed with ſym- "bolical or ſacramental bread, but our ſoul is nouriſhed "with the body of Chriſt."

Weſt. Look what he ſaith more. "How do they ſay, "that the fleſh cannot receive the gift of God, that is "eternal life, which is nouriſhed with the blood and body "of Chriſt?"

Cran. The body is nouriſhed both with the ſacrament, and with the body of Chriſt: With the ſacrament to a temporal life; with the body of Chriſt to eternal life.

Ched. I cannot but be ſorry when I ſee ſuch a manifeſt lye in your writings. For where you tranſlate Juſtin on this faſhion; that the bread, water, and wine are not ſo to be taken in this ſacrament, as common meats and drinks are wont to be taken of us, but are meats choſen out particularly for this, namely, for the giving of thanks, and therefore be called of the Greeks Euchariſtia, that is, thankſgiving; they are called moreover the blood and body of Chriſt (ſo have you tranſlated it): the words of Juſtin are thus; "We are taught that the meat conſe- "crated by the word of prayer, by the which our fleſh "and blood is nouriſhed by communion, is the body and "blood of the ſame Jeſus which was made fleſh."

Cran. I did not tranſlate it word for word, but only I gave the meaning: And I go nothing from this meaning.

Harpſ. You remember touching Juſtin, to whom this apology was written, namely, to an heathen man. The heathen thought that the chriſtians came to the church to worſhip bread; Juſtin anſwereth, that we come not to common bread, but as to, &c. as is ſaid afore. Weigh the place well, it is right worthy to be noted; our fleſh is nouriſhed according to mutation.

Cran. We ought not to conſider the bare bread, but whoſoever cometh to the ſacrament eateth the true body of Chriſt.

Weſt. You have corrupted Emiſſenus; for inſtead of ſet Cibis ſatiendus, that is, To be filled with meat, you have ſet Cibis ſatiendus ſpiritualibus, that is, To be filled with ſpiritual meats.

Cran. I have not corrupted it; for it is ſo in the decrees.

Weſt. You have corrupted another place of Emiſſenus; for you have omitted theſe words: "Marvel thou when "thou comeſt up to the reverend altar to be filled with "ſpiritual meats: Look in faith to the holy body and "blood of thy God, marvel at his honour, worthily touch "him."

Cran. This book hath not that.

Weſt. Alſo you have falſified this place by evil tranſlating [Honora corpus Dei tui] Honour the body of thy God; you have tranſlated it, [Honora eum qui eſt Deus tuus] Honour him which is thy God: Whereas Emiſſenus hath not, Honour him; but, Houour the body of thy God.

Cran. I have ſo tranſlated him, and yet no leſs truly, than not without a weighty cauſe; elſe it ſhould not have been without danger, if I had tranſlated it thus; Honour the body of thy God; becauſe of certain, that, according to the error of the Anthropomorphites, dreamed that God had a body.

Weſt. Nay, you moſt of all have brought the people into that error, which ſo long have taught that he ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father; and counted me for an heretic, becauſe I preached that God had no right hand. Then I will oppoſe you in the very articles of your faith.

Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father.

But God the Father had no right hand.

Ergo, Where is Chriſt now?

Cran. I am not ſo ignorant a novice in the articles of my faith, but that I underſtand, that to ſit at the right hand of God, doth ſignify to be equal in the glory of the Father.

Weſt. Now then take this argument.

Whereſoever God's authority is, there is Chriſt's body.

But God's authority is in every place.

Ergo, What letteth the body of Chriſt to be in every place?

Moreover you have alſo corrupted Duns.

Cran. This is a great offence, I promiſe you.

Weſt. For you have omitted Secundum apparentiam, that is, As it appeareth. Where his words are theſe, "Et ſi quæras quare voluit eccleſia eligere iſtum intel- "lectum ita difficilem hujus articuli, cum verba ſcripturæ "poſſint ſalvari ſecundum intellectum facilem & verio- "rem, ſecundum apparentiam, de hoc articulo, &c. That "is, If you demand why the church did chuſe this ſo "hard an undertaking of this article, whereas the words "of ſcripture may be ſalved after an eaſy and true under- "ſtanding [As appeareth] of this article, &c.

Cran. It is not ſo.

Weſt. Alſo you have ſet forth a catechiſm in the name of the ſynod of London, and yet there be fifty, which witneſſing that they were of the number of the convocation, never heard one word of this catechiſm.

Cran. I was ignorant of the ſetting to of that title; and as ſoon as I had knowledge thereof, I did not like it: Therefore when I complained thereof to the council, it was anſwered me by them, that the book was ſo intituled, becauſe it was ſet forth in the time of the convocation.

Weſt. Moreover you have in Duns tranſlated In Romana eccleſia, pro eccleſia catholica. In the church of Rome, for, The catholic church.

Cran. Yea, but he meant the Romiſh church.

Weſt. Moreover you have depraved S. Thomas, namely, where he hath theſe words: "In quantum vero eſt "ſacrificium, habet vim ſatisfactivam: Sed in ſatisfac-"tione attenditur magis affectio offerentis, quam quan-"titas oblationis. Unde Dominus dicit apud Lucam de "vidua quæ obtulit duo æra, quod plus omnibus miſit. "Quamvis ergo hæc oblatio ex ſui quantitate ſufficiet "ad ſatisfaciendum pro omni pœna: tamen fit ſatisfac-"toria illis pro quibus offertur, vel etiam offerentibus, "ſecundum quantitatem ſuæ devotionis, & non pro tota "pœna. That is, Inaſmuch as it is a ſacrifice, it hath "the power of ſatisfaction: But in ſatisfaction the af-"fection of the offerer is more to be weighed than the "quantity of the oblation. Wherefore the Lord ſaid "in Luke's goſpel, of the widow which offered two "mites, that ſhe caſt in more than they all. Therefore "although this oblation of the quantity of itſelf will ſuf-"fice to ſatisfy for all pain, yet it is made ſatisfactory to "them, for whom it is offered, or to the offerers, accord-"ing to the quantity of their devotion, and not for all "the pain."

You have thus turned it, "Quod ſacrificium ſacerdo-"tis habet vim ſatisfactivam, &c. That is, That the ſa-"crifice of the prieſt hath power of ſatisfaction, &c." And therefore in this place you have chopped in this word [Sacerdotis] of the prieſt, whereas in the tranſlation of all the New Teſtament you have not ſet it, but where Chriſt was put to death. And again, where S. Thomas hath [pro omni pœna] for all pain, your book omitteth many things there.

Thus you ſee, brethren, the truth ſtedfaſt and invincible: you ſee alſo the craft and deceit of heretics; the truth may be preſſed, but it cannot be oppreſſed; therefore cry altogether, Vincit Veritas, The truth overcometh.

This diſordered diſputation, ſometime in Latin, ſome time in Engliſh, continued almoſt till two of the clock. Which being finiſhed, and the arguments written and delivered to the hands of Mr. Say, the priſoner was had away by the Mayor, and the doctors dined together at the Univerſity college.

A Diſputation at Oxford between Dr. Smith, and others, with Biſhop Ridley.

THE next day, which was the twelfth of April, Dr. Ridley was brought forth to diſpute, againſt whom Dr. Smith was ſet to be principal opponent. Concerning which Dr. Smith, foraſmuch as his name is here mentioned, the reader is firſt to be advertiſed what is to be attributed to his judgement in religion, which ſo oftentimes before had turned and returned to and fro, grounded (as it ſeemeth) upon no firm conſcience of doctrine, as both by his articles by him recanted may appear, and alſo by his own letter ſent a little before in king Edward's days to the archbiſhop of Canterbury from Scotland. Which letter I thought here to exhibit as a preface before his own arguments, or rather as a teſtimony againſt himſelf, whereby the reader may underſtand how devoutly he magnified them and their doctrine a little before, againſt whom he now diſputeth ſo buſily. Read his epiſtle, I beſeech thee, and judge.

The true Copy of Doctor Richard Smith's Letter, declaring his Affection to the ſetting forth of God's ſincere Word.

"MOST honourable, I commend me unto your "lordſhip, doing the ſame to underſtand that I "wrote letters to your grace in January laſt, and the "tenth day of February, declaring the cauſes of my "ſudden and unadviſed departing from your grace over "the ſea; and deſiring your lordſhip of your charity to-"ward them that repent of their ill acts, to forgive me "yourſelf all the wrong I did towards your grace, and to "obtain in writing the king's majeſty's pardon for me in "all points concerning his laws: upon the receipt where-"of I would return again home, and within half a year "(at the uttermoſt) afterward write De Sacerdotum con-"nubiis, &c. a latin book that ſhould be a juſt ſatiſ-"faction for any thing that I have written againſt the "ſame. Reliquaq; omnia dogmata veſtra tum demum "libenter amplexurum, ubi Deus mentem meam, ut ea "citra conſcientia læſionem agnoſcam, doceamque. I "wrote not this that I want any good living here, but "becauſe mine abſence out of the realm is diſhonour to "the king's highneſs and realm, and becauſe I muſt "needs (if I tarry here a quarter of a year longer) write "an anſwer to your grace's book of the ſacrament, and "alſo a book of common places againſt all the doctrine "ſet forth by the king's majeſty, which I cannot do with "a good conſcience. Wherefore I beſeech your grace "help me home, as ſoon as you may conveniently, for "God's ſake, and ye ſhall never, I truſt in God, repent "that fact."

Ex urbe divi Andreæ. 14 Feb.
Rich. Smitheus.

And thus much concerning Dr. Richard Smith, being ſet here (as is ſaid) to diſpute againſt biſhop Ridley, who was brought the next day after the archbiſhop, to anſwer in the divinity ſchool. Againſt whom alſo, beſides Dr. Smith, diſputed Dr. Weſton, Dr. Treſham, Dr. Oglethorp, Dr. Glin, Dr. Seaton, and Dr. Cole, Mr. Ward, Mr. Harpsfield, Dr. Watſon, Mr. Pye, Mr. Harding, Mr. Curton, Mr. Fecknam: to all of them he anſwered very learnedly. He made a preface to theſe queſtions, but they would not let him go forward, but cauſed him to make an end of the ſame, and ſaid it was blaſphemy; and ſome ſaid he drave off the time in ambiguous things, nothing to the purpoſe, not ſuffering him to ſpeak his mind. Dr. Smith could get nothing at his hand; inſomuch that others took his arguments and proſecuted them. He ſhewed himſelf to be learned, and a great clerk. They could bring nothing, but he knew it as well as they.

The Diſputation beginneth.

Dr. Weſton, Prolocutor. Good chriſtian people and brethren, we have begun this day our ſchool, by God's good ſpeed I truſt, and are entering into a controverſy, whereof no queſtion ought to be moved concerning the verity of the body of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt in the euchariſt. Chriſt is true, which ſaid the words. The words are true which he ſpake, yea, Truth itſelf that cannot fail. Let us therefore pray unto God to ſend down unto us his Holy Spirit, which is the true interpreter of his word; which may purge away errors, and give light, that verity may appear. Let us alſo aſk leave and liberty of the church to permit the truth received to be called this day in queſtion, without any prejudice to the ſame. Your parts thereof ſhall be to implore the aſſiſtance of Almighty God, to pray for the proſperity of the queen's majeſty, and to give us quiet and attentive ears. Now go to your queſtion.

Dr. Smith. This day (right learned Mr. Doctor) three queſtions are propounded, whereof no controverſy among chriſtians ought to be moved, to wit:

1. Whether the natural body of Chriſt our Saviour, conceived of the virgin Mary, and offered for man's redemption upon the croſs, is verily and really in the ſacrament by virtue of God's word ſpoken by the prieſts, &c.
2. Whether in the ſacrament, after the words of conſecration, be any other ſubſtance, &c.
3. Whether in the maſs be a ſacrifice propitiatory, &c.

Touching

Touching which queſtions, although you have publicly and partly profeſſed your judgment and opinion on Saturday laſt, yet being not ſatisfied with that your anſwer, I will aſſay again to demand your ſentence in the firſt queſtion; Whether the true body of Chriſt, after the words pronounced, be really in the Euchariſt, or elſe only the figure. In which matter I ſtand here now to hear your anſwer.

Dr. Ridley's Preface or Proteſtation, before his Diſputation.

I Received of you the other day, right worſhipful Mr. Prolocutor, and ye my reverend maſters, commiſſioners from the queen's majeſty and her honourable council, three propoſitions; whereunto ye commanded me to prepare againſt this day, what I thought good to anſwer concerning the ſame.

Now whilſt I weighed with myſelf how great a charge of the Lord's flock was of late committed unto me, for which I am certain I muſt once render an account to my Lord God (and that how ſoon he knoweth), and that moreover, by the commandment of the apoſtle Peter, I ought to be ready always to give a reaſon of the hope that is in me with meekneſs and reverence, unto every one that will demand the ſame: beſides this, conſidering my duty to the church of Chriſt, and to your worſhips, being commiſſioners by public authority: I determined with myſelf to obey your commandment, and ſo openly to declare unto you my mind touching the aforeſaid propoſitions. And albeit, plainly to confeſs unto you the truth in theſe things which ye now demand of me, I have thought otherwiſe in times paſt than now I do, yet (God I call to record unto my ſoul, I lye not) I have not altered my judgment, as now it is, either by conſtraint of any man, or laws, either for the dread of any dangers of this world, either for any hope of commodity, but only for the love of the truth revealed unto me by the grace of God (as I am undoubtedly perſuaded) in his holy word, and in the reading of ancient fathers.

Theſe things I do rather recite at this preſent, becauſe it may happen to ſome of you hereafter, as in times paſt it hath done to me: I mean, if ye think otherwiſe of the matters propounded in theſe propoſitions than I now do, God may open them unto you in time to come.

But howſoever it ſhall be, I will in few words do that which I think ye all look I ſhould do; that is, as plainly as I can, I will declare my judgment herein. Howbeit, of this, I would ye were not ignorant, that I will not indeed wittingly and willingly ſpeak in any point againſt God's word, or diſſent in any one jot from the ſame, or from the rules of faith, or chriſtian religion: which rules that ſame moſt ſacred word of God preſcribeth to the church of Chriſt, whereunto I now and for ever ſubmit myſelf and all my doings. And becauſe the matter I have now taken in hand is weighty, and ye all well know how unready I am to handle it accordingly, as well for lack of time, as alſo lack of books: therefore here I proteſt, that I will publicly this day require of you, that it may be lawful for me concerning all mine anſwers, explications, and confirmations, to add or diminiſh whatſoever ſhall ſeem hereafter more convenient and meet for the purpoſe, through more ſound judgment, better deliberation, and more exact trial of every particular thing. Having now, by the way of preface and proteſtation, ſpoken theſe few words, I will come to the anſwer of the propoſitions propounded unto me, and ſo to the moſt brief explication and confirmation of mine anſwers.

Weſton. Reverend Mr. Doctor, concerning the lack of books, there is no cauſe why you ſhould complain. What books ſoever you will name, you ſhall have them: and as concerning the judgment of your anſwers to be had of yourſelf with farther deliberation; it ſhall (I ſay) be lawful for you until Sunday next to add unto them what you ſhall think good yourſelf. My mind is, that we ſhould uſe ſhort arguments, leſt we ſhould make an infinite proceſs of the thing.

Rid. There is another thing beſides, which I would gladly obtain at your hands. I perceive that you have writers and notaries here preſent. By all likelihood our diſputations ſhall be publiſhed, I beſeech you for God's ſake let me have liberty to ſpeak my mind freely, and without interruption, not becauſe I have determined to protract the time with a ſolemn preface, but leſt it may appear that ſome be not ſatisfied. God wot I am no orator, nor have I learned rhetoric to ſet colours on the matter.

Weſt. Among this whole company it ſhall be permitted you to take two for your part.

Rid. I will chuſe two, if there were any here with whom I were acquainted.

Weſt. Here are two which Mr. Cranmer had yeſterday. Take them, if it pleaſe you.

Rid. I am content with them; I truſt they are honeſt men.

The firſt Propoſition.

In the ſacrament of the altar, by the virtue of God's word ſpoken of the prieſt, the natural body of Chriſt born of the virgin Mary, and his natural blood, is really preſent under the forms of bread and wine.

The Anſwer of N. Ridley.

In matters appertaining to God we may not ſpeak according to the ſenſe of man, nor of the world: therefore this propoſition or concluſion is framed after another manner of phraſe or kind of ſpeech than the ſcripture uſeth. Again, it is very obſcure and dark, by means of ſundry words of doubtful ſignification. And being taken in the ſenſe which ſchoolmen teach, and at this time the church of Rome doth defend, it is falſe and erroneous, and plain contrary to the doctrine which is according to godlineſs.

The Explication.

How far the diverſity and newneſs of the phraſe in all this firſt propoſition is from the phraſe of the holy ſcripture, and that in every part almoſt, it is ſo plain and evident to any that is but meanly exerciſed in holy writ, that I need not now (eſpecially in this company of learned men) to ſpend any time therein, except the ſame ſhall be required of me hereafter.

Firſt, there is a double ſenſe in theſe words [by virtue of God's word], for it is doubtful what word of God this is; whether it be that which is read in the evangeliſts, or in Paul, or any other. And if it be that which is in the evangeliſts, or in St. Paul, what that is. If it be in none of them, then how it may be known to be God's word, and of ſuch virtue that it ſhould be able to work ſo great a matter.

Again, there is a doubt of theſe words [of the prieſt] whether no man may be called a prieſt, but he which hath authority to make a propitiatory ſacrifice for the quick and the dead; and how it may be proved that this authority was committed of God to any man, but to Chriſt alone.

It is likewiſe doubted, after what order the ſacrificing prieſt ſhall be, whether after the order of Aaron, or elſe after the order of Melchiſedech. For as far as I know, the holy ſcripture doth allow no more.

Weſt. Let this be ſufficient.

Rid. If we lack time at this preſent, there is time enough hereafter.

Weſt. Theſe are but evaſions or ſtarting holes; you conſume the time in vain.

Rid. I cannot ſtart from you, I am captive and bound.

Weſt. Fall to it, my maſters.

Smith. That which you have ſpoken may ſuffice at this preſent.

Rid. Let me alone, I pray you, for I have not much to ſay behind.

Weſt. Go forward.

Rid. Moreover, there is ambiguity in this word [really], whether it be taken as the logicians term it, [tranſcendenter]; i. e. Moſt generally: and ſo it may ſignify any manner of thing which belongeth to the body of Chriſt, by any means: after which ſort we alſo grant Chriſt's body to be really in the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper (as in diſputation, if occaſion be given, ſhall be declared), or whether it be taken to ſignify the very ſame thing, having body, life, and ſoul, which was aſſumed and taken of the word of God, into the unity of perſon. In which ſenſe, ſith the body of Chriſt is really in heaven, becauſe of the true manner of his body, it may not be ſaid to be here in the earth. There is yet a further doubtfulneſs in theſe words [under the forms of bread and wine], whether the forms be there taken to ſignify the only accidental and outward ſhews of bread and wine; or therewithal the ſubſtantial natures thereof, which are to be ſeen by their qualities, and perceived by exterior ſenſes.

Now the error and falſeneſs of the propoſition after the ſenſe of the Roman church and ſchoolmen, may hereby appear, in that they affirm the bread to be tranſubſtantiated and changed to the fleſh aſſumed of the Word of God, and that (as they ſay) by virtue of the word, which they have deviſed by a certain number of words, and cannot be found in any of the evangeliſts, or in Paul, and ſo they gather that Chriſt's body is really contained in the ſacrament of the altar. Which poſition is grounded upon the foundation of the tranſubſtantiation; which foundation is monſtrous, againſt reaſon, and deſtroyeth the analogy or proportion of the ſacraments: and therefore this propoſition alſo, which is builded upon this rotten foundation, is falſe, erroneous, and to be counted as a deteſtable hereſy of the ſacramentaries.

Weſt. We loſe time.

Rid. You ſhall have time enough.

Weſt. Fall to reaſoning. You ſhall have ſome other day for this matter.

Rid. I have no more to ſay concerning my explication. If you will give me leave and let me alone, I will but ſpeak a word or two for my confirmation.

Weſt. Go to; ſay on.

The Confirmation of the aforeſaid Anſwer.

There ought no doctrine to be eſtabliſhed in the church of God, which diſſenteth from the word of God, from the rule of faith, and draweth with it many abſurdities that cannot be avoided.

But this doctrine of the firſt propoſition is ſuch.

Ergo, It ought not to be eſtabliſhed and maintained in the church of God.

The Major or firſt part of my argument is plain, and the Minor or ſecond part is proved thus.

The doctrine maintaineth a real, corporal, and carnal preſence of Chriſt's fleſh, aſſumed and taken of the Word, to be in the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, and that not by virtue and grace only, but alſo by the whole eſſence and ſubſtance of the body and fleſh of Chriſt.

But ſuch a preſence diſagreeth from God's word, from the rule of faith, and cannot but draw with it many abſurdities.

Ergo, The ſecond part is true.

The firſt part of this argument is manifeſt, and the ſecond may yet farther be confirmed thus.

Weſt. Thus you conſume time, which might be better beſtowed on other matters. Maſter Opponent, I pray you to your arguments.

Smith. I will here reaſon with you upon tranſubſtantiation, which you ſay is contrary to the rule and analogy of faith. The contrary whereof I prove by the ſcriptures and the doctors. But before I enter argumentation with you, I demand firſt, whether in the ſixth chapter of John, there be any mention made of the ſacrament, or of the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament?

Rid. It is againſt reaſon that I ſhould be impeached to proſecute that which I have to ſpeak in this aſſembly, being not ſo long, but that it may be comprehended in few words.

Weſt. Let him read on.

Rid. Firſt of all, this preſence is contrary to many places of the holy ſcripture.

Secondly, It varieth from the articles of the faith.

Thirdly, It deſtroyeth and taketh away the inſtitution of the Lord's ſupper.

Fourthly, It maketh precious things common to profane and ungodly perſons; for it caſteth that which is holy unto dogs, and pearls unto ſwine.

Fifthly, It forceth men to maintain many monſtrous miracles, without neceſſity and authority of God's word.

Sixthly, It giveth occaſion to the heretics which erred concerning the two natures in Chriſt, to defend their hereſies thereby.

Seventhly, It falſifieth the ſayings of the godly fathers; it falſifieth alſo the catholic faith of the church, which the apoſtles taught, the martyrs confirmed, and the faithful (as one of the fathers ſaith) do retain and keep until this day. Wherefore the ſecond part of mine argument is true.

The probation of the antecedent or former part of this argument by the parts thereof.

This carnal preſence is contrary to the word of God, as appeareth, John 16. "I tell you the truth. It is "profitable to you that I go away, for if I go not away, "the Comforter ſhall not come unto you." Acts 3. "Whom the heavens muſt receive until the time of re-"ſtoring all things which God hath ſpoken." Matt. 9. "The children of the bridegroom ſhall not mourn ſo "long as the bridegroom is with them: but now is the "time of mourning." John 16. But I will ſee you again, "and your hearts ſhall rejoice." John 14. I will come "again and take you to myſelf." Matt. 24. If they ſhall "ſay unto you, Behold here is Chriſt, or there is Chriſt, "believe them not: for whereſoever the dead carcaſe is, "thither the eagles will reſort."

It varieth from the articles of the faith; he aſcended into heaven, and ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father, from whence (and not from any other place, ſaith Auguſtine) he ſhall come to judge both the quick and the dead.

It deſtroyeth and taketh away the inſtitution of the Lord's ſupper, which was commanded only to be uſed and continued until the Lord himſelf ſhould come. If therefore he be really preſent in the body of his fleſh, then muſt the ſupper ceaſe: for a remembrance is not of a thing preſent, but of a thing paſt and abſent. And there is a difference between remembrance and preſence, and (as one of the fathers ſaith) a figure is in vain where the thing figured is preſent.

It maketh precious things common to profane and ungodly perſons, and conſtraineth men to confeſs many abſurdities. For it affirmeth, that whoremongers and murderers, yea, and (as ſome of them hold opinion) the wicked and faithleſs mice, rats, and dogs, alſo may receive the very real and corporal body of the Lord, wherein the fulneſs of the Spirit of light and grace dwelleth; contrary to the manifeſt words of Chriſt in ſix places and ſentences of the ſixth chapter of St. John.

It confirmeth alſo and maintaineth that beaſtly kind of cruelty of the Anthropophagi, that is, the devourers of man's fleſh: for it is a more cruel thing to devour a quick man, than to ſlay him.

Pye. He requireth time to ſpeak blaſphemies. Leave your blaſphemies.

Rid. I little thought to have had ſuch reproachful words at your hands.

Weſt. All is quiet. Go to your arguments, Mr. Doctor.

Rid. I have not many things more to ſay.

Weſt. You utter blaſphemies with a moſt impudent face: leave off, I ſay, and get you to the argument.

Rid. It forceth men to maintain many monſtrous miracles, without any neceſſity and authority of God's word. For at the coming of this preſence of the body and fleſh of Chriſt, they thruſt away the ſubſtance of bread, and affirm that the accidents remain without any ſubject, and inſtead thereof they place Chriſt's body without his qualities and the true manner of a body. And if the ſacrament be reſerved ſo long until it mould, and worms breed, ſome ſay that the ſubſtance of bread miraculouſly returneth again, and ſome deny it. Other ſome affirm, the real body of Chriſt goeth down into the ſtomach of the receivers, and doth there abide ſo long only as they ſhall continue to be good: but another ſort hold, that the body of Chriſt is carried into heaven, ſo ſoon as the forms of bread be bruiſed with the teeth. O works of miracles!

Truly, and moſt truly I ſee that fulfilled in theſe men, whereof St. Paul propheſied, 2 Theſſ. 2. "Becauſe they "have not received the love of the truth, that they might "be ſaved, God ſhall ſend them ſtrong deluſions, that "they ſhould believe lyes, and be all damned which have "not believed the truth." This groſs preſence hath brought forth that fond phantaſy of concomitance, whereby is broken at this day and abrogated the commandment of the Lord for diſtributing the Lord's cup to the laity.

It giveth occaſion to heretics to maintain and defend their errors; as to Marcion, which ſaid that Chriſt had but a fantaſtical body; and to Eutyches, which wickedly confounded the two natures in Chriſt.

Finally, It falſifieth the ſayings of the godly fathers, and the catholic faith of the church, which, Vigilius a martyr and grave writer ſaith, was taught of the apoſtles, confirmed with the blood of martyrs, and was continually maintained by the faithful, until his time. By the ſayings of the fathers, I mean of Juſtin, Irene, Tertullian, Origen, Euſebius, Emiſene, Athanaſius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Jerom, Chryſoſtom, Auguſtine, Vigilius, Fulgentius, Bertram, and other moſt ancient fathers. All thoſe places, as I am ſure, I have read making for my purpoſe, ſo am I well aſſured that I could ſhew the ſame, if I might have the uſe of mine own books, which I will take to me to do, even upon the peril of my life, and loſs of all that I may loſe in this world.

But now (my brethren) think not becauſe I diſallow that preſence which the firſt propoſition maintaineth (as a preſence which I take to be forged, fantaſtical, and beſides the authority of God's word, perniciouſly brought into the church by the Romaniſts) that I therefore go about to take away the true preſence of Chriſt's body in his ſupper rightly and duly miniſtered, which is grounded upon the word of God, and made more plain by the commentaries of the faithful fathers. They that think ſo of me, the Lord knoweth how far they are deceived. And to make the ſame evident unto you, I will in few words declare what true preſence of Chriſt's body in the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper I hold and affirm, with the word of God and the ancient fathers.

I ſay and confeſs with the evangeliſt Luke, and with the apoſtle Paul, that the bread on the which thanks are given, is the body of Chriſt in the remembrance of him and his death, to be ſet forth perpetually of the faithful until his coming.

I ſay and confeſs the bread which he brake to be the communion and partaking of Chriſt's body, with the ancient and the faithful fathers.

I ſay and believe that there is not only a ſignification of Chriſt's body ſet forth by the ſacrament, but alſo that therewith is given to the godly and faithful the grace of Chriſt's body, that is, the food of life and immortality. And this I hold with Cyprian.

I ſay alſo with St. Auguſtine, that we eat life, and we drink life; with Emiſene, that we feel the Lord to be preſent in grace; with Athanaſius, that we receive celeſtial food which cometh from above; the propriety of natural communion, with Hilary; the nature of fleſh and benediction which giveth life in bread and wine, with Cyril; and with the ſame Cyril, the virtue of the very fleſh of Chriſt, life and grace of his body, the property of the only begotten, that is to ſay, life, as he himſelf in plain words expoundeth it.

I confeſs alſo with Baſil, that we receive the myſtical advent and coming of Chriſt, grace and virtue of his very nature; the ſacrament of his very fleſh, with Ambroſe; the body by grace, with Epiphanius; ſpiritual fleſh, but not that which was crucified, with Jerom; grace flowing into a ſacrifice, and the grace of the Spirit, with Chryſoſtom; grace and inviſible verity, grace and ſociety of the members of Chriſt's body, with St. Auguſtine.

Finally, with Bertram (which was the laſt of all theſe) I confeſs that Chriſt's body is in the ſacrament in this reſpect: namely (as he writeth) becauſe there is in it the Spirit of Chriſt, that is, the power of the word of God, which not only feedeth the ſoul, but alſo cleanſeth it. But of theſe I ſuppoſe it may clearly appear unto all men, how far we are from that opinion, whereof ſome go about falſly to ſlander us to the world, ſaying, we teach that the godly and faithful ſhould receive nothing elſe at the Lord's table, but a figure of the body of Chriſt.

The ſecond Propoſition.

After the conſecration there remaineth no ſubſtance of bread and wine, neither any other ſubſtance than the ſubſtance of God and Man.

The Anſwer.

The ſecond concluſion is manifeſtly falſe, directly againſt the word of God, the nature of the ſacrament, and the moſt evident teſtimonies of the godly fathers; and it is the rotten foundation of the other two concluſions propounded by you, both of the firſt, and alſo of the third. I will not therefore now tarry upon any further explication of this anſwer, being contented with that which is already added afore to the anſwer of the firſt propoſition.

The firſt argument for the confirmation of this anſwer.

It is very plain by the word of God, that Chriſt did give bread unto his diſciples, and called it his body.
But the ſubſtance of bread is another manner of ſubſtance, than is the ſubſtance of Chriſt's body, God and Man.
Therefore the concluſion is falſe.

The ſecond part of mine argument is plain, and the firſt is proved thus:

The ſecond argument.

That which Chriſt did take, on the which he gave thanks, and the which he brake, he gave to his diſciples, and called it his body.
But he took bread, gave thanks on bread, and brake bread.
Ergo, The firſt part is true. And it is confirmed with the authorities of the fathers, Irene, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Jerom, Auguſtine, Theodoret, Cyril, Rabanus, and Bede. Whoſe places I

will take upon me to ſhew moſt manifeſt in this behalf, if I may be ſuffered to have my books, as my requeſt is.

Bread is the body of Chriſt.

Ergo, It is bread.

A tertio adjacente ad ſecundum adjacens cum verbi ſubſtantivi pura copula.

The third argument.

As the bread of the Lord's table is Chriſt's natural body, ſo is his myſtical body.

But it is not Chriſt's myſtical body by tranſubſtantiation.

Ergo, It is not his natural body by tranſubſtantiation.

The ſecond part of my argument is plain, and the firſt is proved thus: As Chriſt who is the verity, ſpake of the bread, This is my body which ſhall be betrayed for you, ſpeaking there of his natural body: even ſo Paul, moved with the ſame Spirit of truth, ſaid, We though we be many, yet are we all one bread, and one body, which be partakers of one bread.

The fourth argument.

We may no more believe bread to be tranſubſtantiate into the body of Chriſt, than the wine into his blood.

But the wine is not tranſubſtantiate into his blood.

Ergo, Neither is that bread therefore tranſubſtantiate into his body.

The firſt part of this argument is manifeſt, and the ſecond part is proved out of the authority of God's word in Matthew and Mark, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, &c. Now the fruit of the vine was wine, which Chriſt drank, and gave to his diſciples to drink. With this ſentence agreeth plainly the place of Chryſoſtom on the 20th chapter of Matthew. As Cyprian doth alſo, affirming that there is no blood, if wine be not in the cup.

The fifth argument.

The words of Chriſt, ſpoken upon the cup and upon the bread, have like effect and working.

But the words ſpoken upon the cup have not virtue to tranſubſtantiate:

Ergo, It followeth, that the words ſpoken upon the bread have no ſuch virtue.

The ſecond part of the argument is proved, becauſe they would then tranſubſtantiate the cup, or that which is in the cup in the New Teſtament. But neither of theſe things can be done, and very abſurd it is to confeſs the ſame.

The ſixth argument.

The circumſtances of the ſcripture, the analogy and proportion of the ſacraments, and the teſtimony of the faithful fathers, ought to rule us in taking the meaning of the holy ſcripture touching the ſacrament.

But the words of the Lord's ſupper, the circumſtances of the ſcripture, the analogy of the ſacraments, and the ſayings of the fathers, do moſt effectually and plainly prove a figurative ſpeech in the words of the Lord's ſupper.

Ergo, A figurative ſenſe and meaning is ſpecially to be received in theſe words, This is my body.

The circumſtances of the ſcripture, "Do this in remembrance of me. As oft as ye ſhall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye ſhall ſhew forth the Lord's death. Let a man prove himſelf, and ſo eat of this bread, and drink of this cup. They came together to break bread; and they continued in breaking of bread. The bread which we break, &c. For we being many, are all one bread and one body, &c."

The analogy of the ſacraments is neceſſary: for if the ſacraments had not ſome ſimilitude or likeneſs of the things whereof they be ſacraments, they could in no wiſe be ſacraments. And this ſimilitude in the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper is taken three manner of ways.

1. The firſt conſiſteth in nouriſhing, as ye ſhall read in Rabana, Cyprian, Auguſtine, Irene, and moſt plainly in Iſidore out of Bertram.

2. The ſecond in the uniting and joining of many into one, as Cyprian teacheth.

3. The third is a ſimilitude of unlike things: where like as the bread is turned into one body, ſo we, by the right uſe of this ſacrament, are turned through faith into the body of Chriſt.

The ſayings of the fathers declare it to be a figurative ſpeech, as it appeareth in Origen, Tertullian, Chryſoſtom in opere imperfecto, Auguſtine, Ambroſe, Baſil, Gregory Nazianzen, Hilary, and moſt plainly of all in Bertram. Moreover, the ſayings and places of all the fathers, whoſe names I have before recited againſt the aſſertion of the firſt propoſition, do quite overthrow tranſubſtantiation. But of all moſt evidently and plainly, Irene, Origen, Cyprian, Chryſoſtom to Ceſarius the monk, Auguſtine againſt Adamantus, Gelaſius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Chryſoſtom again on the 20th of Matthew, Rabana, Damaſcene and Bertram.

Here, right worſhipful Mr. Prolocutor, and ye the reſt of the commiſſioners, it may pleaſe you to underſtand, that I do not lean to theſe things only, which I have written in my former anſwers and confirmations, but that I have alſo for the proof of that I have ſpoken, whatſoever Bertram, a man learned, of ſound and upright judgment, and ever counted a catholic for theſe ſeven hundred years until this our age, hath written. His treatiſe, whoſoever ſhall read and weigh, conſidering the time of the writer, his learning, godlineſs of life, the allegations of the ancient fathers, and his manifold and moſt grounded arguments, I cannot, (doubtleſs) but much marvel, if he have any fear of God at all, how he can with good conſcience ſpeak againſt him in this matter of the ſacrament. This Bertram was the firſt that pulled me by the ear, and that firſt brought me from the common error of the Romiſh church, and cauſed me to ſearch more diligently and exactly both the ſcriptures and the writings of the old eccleſiaſtical fathers in this matter. And this I proteſt before the face of God, who knoweth I lye not in the things I now ſpeak.

The third Propoſition.

In the maſs is the lively ſacrifice of the church, propitiable and available for the ſins as well of quick as of the dead.

The anſwer to this propoſition.

I anſwer to this third propoſition as I did to the firſt. And moreover I ſay, that being taken in ſuch ſenſe as the words ſeem to import, it is not only erroneous, but withal ſo much to the derogation and defacing of the death and paſſion of Chriſt, that I judge it may and ought moſt worthily to be counted wicked and blaſphemous againſt the moſt precious blood of our Saviour Chriſt.

The Explication.

Concerning the Romiſh maſs which is uſed at this day, or the lively ſacrifice thereof, propitiatory and available for the ſins of the quick and the dead, the holy ſcripture hath not ſo much as one ſyllable.

There is ambiguity alſo in the name of maſs: what it ſignifieth and whether at this day there be any ſuch indeed as the ancient fathers uſed: ſeeing that now there be neither Catechiſts nor Pœnitentes to be ſent away.

Again, touching theſe words [The lively ſacrifice of the church] there is no doubt whether they are to be underſtood figuratively and ſacramentally, for the ſacrament of the lively ſacrifice (after which ſort we deny it not to be in the Lord's ſupper), or properly and without any figure: of the which manner there was but one only ſacrifice, and that once offered, namely upon the altar of the croſs.

Moreover, in theſe words [As well as] it may be doubted whether they be ſpoken in mockage, as men are wont to ſay in ſport, of a fooliſh and ignorant perſon, that he is apt as well in conditions as in knowledge; being apt indeed in neither of them both.

There is alſo a doubt in the word [Propitiable] whether it ſignify here that which taketh away ſin, or that which may be made available for the taking away of ſin; that is to ſay, whether it is to be taken in the active or in the paſſive ſignification.

Now the falſeneſs of the propoſition, after the meaning of the ſchoolmen and the Romiſh church, and impiety in that ſenſe which the words ſeem to import, is this: that they leaning to the foundation of their fond tranſubſtantiation would make the quick and lively body of Chriſt's fleſh (united and knit to the divinity) to lie hid under the accidents, and outward ſhews of bread and wine. Which is very falſe, as I have ſaid afore: and they, building upon this foundation, do hold that the ſame body is offered unto God by the prieſt in his daily maſſings to put away the ſins of the quick and the dead; whereas by the apoſtle to the Hebrews it is evident, that there is but one oblation, and one true and lively ſacrifice of the church offered upon the altar of the croſs, which was, is, and ſhall be for ever the propitiation for the ſins of the whole world: and where there is remiſſion of the ſame, there is (ſaith the apoſtle) no more offering for ſin.

Arguments confirming his anſwer.

No ſacrifice ought to be done, but where the prieſt is meet to offer the ſame.
All other prieſts be unmeet to offer ſacrifice propitiatory for ſin, ſave only Chriſt.
Ergo, No other prieſts ought to ſacrifice for ſin, but Chriſt alone.
The ſecond part of my argument is thus proved.
No honour in God's church ought to be taken where a man is not called, as Aaron.
It is a great honour in God's church to ſacrifice for ſin:
Ergo, No man ought to ſacrifice for ſin, but only they which are called.
But only Chriſt is called to that honour.
Ergo, No other prieſt but Chriſt ought to ſacrifice for ſin.

That no man is called to this degree of honour but Chriſt alone, it is evident. For there are but two only orders of prieſthood allowed in the word of God: namely, the order of Aaron, and the order of Melchiſedech. But now the order of Aaron is come to an end, by reaſon that it was unprofitable, and weak; and of the order of Melchiſedech there is but one prieſt alone, even Chriſt the Lord, which hath a prieſthood that cannot paſs to any other.

An Argument.

That thing is in vain, and to no effect, where no neceſſity is wherefore it is done.
To offer up any more ſacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead there is no neceſſity, for Chriſt our Saviour did that fully and perfectly once for all.
Ergo, To do the ſame in the maſs, it is in vain.

Another Argument.

After that eternal redemption is found and obtained, there needeth no more daily offering for the ſame.
But Chriſt coming an high biſhop, &c. found and obtained for us eternal redemption.
Ergo, There needeth now no more daily oblation for the ſins of the quick and the dead.

Another Argument.

All remiſſion of ſins cometh only by ſhedding of blood.
In the maſs there is no ſhedding of blood.
Ergo, In the maſs there is no remiſſion of ſins: and ſo it followeth alſo that there is no propitiatory ſacrifice.

Another Argument.

In the maſs the paſſion of Chriſt is not in verity, but in a myſtery repreſenting the ſame: yea, even there where the Lord's ſupper is duly miniſtered.

But where Chriſt ſuffereth not, there is he not offered in verity: For the apoſtle ſaith, "Not that he might "offer up himſelf oftentimes (for then muſt he have ſuf-"fered oftentimes ſince the beginning of the world,") now where Chriſt is not offered, there is no propitiatory ſacrifice:

Ergo, In the maſs there is no propitiatory ſacrifice: "For Chriſt appeared once in the latter end of the world, "to put ſin to flight by the offering up of himſelf. And "as it is appointed to all men that they ſhall once die, "and then cometh the judgment: even ſo Chriſt was "once offered to take away the ſins of many. And unto "them that look for him ſhall he appear again without "ſin unto ſalvation."

Another Argument.

Where there is any ſacrifice that can make the comers thereunto perfect, there ought men to ceaſe from offering any more expiatory and propitiatory ſacrifices.
But in the New Teſtament there is one only ſacrifice now already long ſince offered, which is able to make the comers thereto perfect for ever.
Ergo, In the New Teſtament they ought to ceaſe from offering any more propitiatory ſacrifices.

Sentences of the ſcripture tending to the ſame end and purpoſe, out of which alſo may be gathered other manifeſt arguments for more confirmation thereof.

"By the which will (ſaith the apoſtle) we are ſanc-"tified, by the offering up of the body of Jeſus Chriſt "once for all." And in the ſame place, "But this "man, after that he had offered one ſacrifice for ſin, "ſitteth for ever at the right hand of God, &c. For "with one offering hath he made perfect for ever them "that are ſanctified, and by himſelf hath he purged our "ſins." I beſeech you to mark theſe words [by himſelf] the which well weighed, will without doubt ceaſe all controverſy.

The apoſtle plainly denieth any other ſacrifice to remain for him that treadeth under his feet the blood of the Teſtament, by the which he was made holy. Chriſt will not be crucified again, he will not his death to be had in deriſion.

"He hath reconciled us in the body of his fleſh." Mark, I beſeech you, he ſaith not, in the myſtery of his body; but in the body of his fleſh.

"If any man ſin, we have an advocate with the Fa-"ther, Jeſus Chriſt the righteous, and he is the propitia-"tion for our ſins, not for ours only, but for the ſins of "the whole world."

I know that all theſe places of the ſcripture are avoided by two manner of ſubtil ſhifts: the one is by the diſtinction of the bloody and unbloody ſacrifice, as though our unbloody ſacrifice of the church were any other than the ſacrifice of praiſe and thankſgiving, than a commemoration,

ration, a ſhewing forth, and a ſacramental repreſentation of that one only bloody ſacrifice, offered up once for all.

The other is by depraving and wreſting the ſayings of the ancient fathers unto ſuch a ſtrange kind of ſenſe, as the fathers themſelves indeed never meant. For what the meaning of the fathers was, is evident by that which St. Auguſtine writeth in his epiſtle to Boniface, and in the 83d chapter of his ninth book againſt Fauſtus the Manichee, beſides many other places; likewiſe by Euſebius, Emiſene, Cyprian, Chryſoſtom, Fulgentius, Bertram, and others, which do wholly concord and agree together in this unity in the Lord, that the redemption, once made in verity for the ſalvation of man, continueth in full effect for ever, and worketh without ceaſing, unto the end of the world, that the ſacrifice once offered cannot be conſumed; that the Lord's death and paſſion is as effectual, the virtue of that blood once ſhed as freſh at this day, for the waſhing away of ſins, as it was even the ſame day that it flowed out of the bleſſed ſide of our Saviour: And finally, That the whole ſubſtance of our ſacrifice, which is frequented of the church in the Lord's ſupper, conſiſteth in prayers, praiſe, and giving of thanks, and in remembering and ſhewing forth of that ſacrifice once offered upon the altar of the croſs: that the ſame might continually be had in reverence by myſtery, which once only, and no more, was offered for the price of our redemption.

Theſe are the things (right worſhipful Mr. Prolocutor, and ye the reſt of the commiſſioners) which I could preſently prepare to the anſwering of your three foreſaid propoſitions, being deſtitute of all help in this ſhortneſs of time, ſudden warning, and want of books. Wherefore I appeal to my firſt proteſtation, moſt humbly deſiring the help of the ſame (as much as may be) to be granted unto me. And becauſe ye have lately given moſt unjuſt and cruel ſentence againſt me, I do here appeal (ſo far forth as I may) to a more indifferent and juſt cenſure and judgment of ſome other ſuperior, competent, and lawful judge, and that according to the approved ſtate of the church of England. Howbeit, I confeſs, that I am ignorant what that is at this preſent, through the trouble and alteration of the ſtate of the realm. But if this appeal may not be granted to me upon earth, then do I fly (even as to my only refuge and alone haven of health) to the ſentence of the eternal judge, that is, of the Almighty God, to whoſe moſt merciful juſtice towards us, and moſt juſt mercifulneſs, I do wholly commit myſelf and all my cauſe, nothing at all deſpairing of the defence of mine advocate and alone Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to whom, with the everlaſting Father, and the Holy Spirit, the Sanctifier of us all, be now and for ever all honour and glory. Amen.

Albeit this learned biſhop was not ſuffered to read all that is above prefixed before the diſputations, yet becauſe he had it then ready, and offered it up to the prolocutor after the diſputations and ſentence pronounced; I thought here the place not unmeet to annex the ſame, together with the reſt. Now let us hear the arguments and anſwers between Dr. Smith and him.

Dr. Smith beginneth to oppoſe.

Smith. You have occaſioned me to go otherwiſe to work with you, than I had thought to have done. Meſeemed you did in your ſuppoſition abuſe the teſtimonies of ſcripture concerning the aſcenſion of Chriſt, to take away his preſence in the ſacrament, as though this were a ſtrong argument to enforce your matter withal.

Chriſt did aſcend into heaven:

Ergo, He is not in the ſacrament.

Now therefore I will go about to diſprove this reaſon of yours.

Chriſt's aſcenſion is no lett to his real preſence in the ſacrament.

Ergo, You are deceived, whereas you do ground yourſelf upon thoſe places.

Rid. You import as though I had made a ſtrange argument by Chriſt's going up into heaven. But howſoever mine argument is made, you collect it not rightly. For it doth not only ſtay upon his aſcenſion, but upon his aſcenſion and his abiding there alſo.

Smith. Chriſt's going up to heaven, and his abiding there, hinder not his real preſence in the ſacrament.

Ergo, You are deceived.

Rid. Of Chriſt's real preſence there may be a double underſtanding: if you take the real preſence of Chriſt according to the real and corporal ſubſtance, which he took of the virgin, that preſence being in heaven, cannot be on the earth alſo. But if you mean a real preſence, according to ſome thing that appertaineth to Chriſt's body, certes [certainly] the aſcenſion and abiding in heaven are no lett at all to that preſence. Wherefore Chriſt's body after that ſort is here preſent to us in the Lord's ſupper; by grace I ſay, as Epiphanius ſpeaketh it.

Weſt. I will cut off from henceforth all equivocation and doubt. For whenſoever we ſpeak of Chriſt's body, we mean that which he took of the virgin.

Rid. Chriſt's aſcenſion and abiding in heaven cannot ſtand with his preſence.

Smith. Chriſt appeared corporally and really on the earth, for all his aſcenſion and continual abode in heaven unto the day of doom.

Ergo, His aſcenſion and abiding in heaven is no lett to his real preſence in the ſacrament.

Rid. Mr. Doctor, this argument is nothing worth. I do not ſtraightly tie Chriſt up in heaven, that he may not to come into the earth at his pleaſure. For when he will, he may come down from heaven, and be on the earth, as it liketh himſelf. Howbeit, I do affirm, That it is not poſſible for him to be both in heaven and earth at one time.

Smith. Mark, I pray you, my maſters that be here, diligently, what he anſwereth. Firſt he ſaith, That the ſitting of Chriſt at the right hand of his Father, is a lett to the real preſence of his body in the ſacrament, and then afterward he flieth from it again.

Rid. I would not have you think that I do imagine or dream upon any ſuch manner of ſitting, as theſe men here ſit in the ſchool.

Smith. Ergo, It is lawful for Chriſt then to be here preſent on the earth, when he will himſelf.

Rid. Yea, when he will, it is lawful indeed.

Smith. Ergo, He aſcending into heaven, doth not reſtrain his real preſence in the ſacrament.

Rid. I do not gainſay, but that it is lawful for him to appear on the earth when he will; but prove you that he will.

Smith. Then your anſwer dependeth upon the will of Chriſt, I perceive: therefore I will join again with you in that ſhort argument.

Chriſt, albeit he doth alway abide in heaven after his aſcenſion, was ſeen really and corporally on earth.

Ergo, Notwithſtanding his aſcenſion and continual ſitting at the right hand of his Father, he may be really and corporally in the ſacrament.

Rid. If the notaries ſhould ſo record your argument, as you have framed it, you peradventure would be aſhamed of it hereafter.

Smith. Chriſt, after his aſcenſion, was ſeen really and corporally upon the earth.

Ergo, Notwithſtanding his aſcenſion and abiding with his Father, he may be corporally in the ſacrament.

Rid. I grant the antecedent, but I deny the conſequence.

Smith. Do you grant the antecedent?

Rid. Yea, I grant the antecedent. I am content to let you have ſo much. Becauſe I know that there be certain ancient fathers of that opinion. I am well con-

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tent to let you uſe that propoſition as true. And I will frame the argument for you.

He was ſeen on earth after his aſcenſion: Ergo, &c.

Smith. Nay, nay, I will frame it myſelf.

Chriſt after his aſcenſion was ſeen really and corporally on earth, albeit he do abide in heaven continually.

Ergo, Notwithſtanding his aſcenſion and continual abiding at the right hand of the Father, he may be really and corporally on the earth.

Rid. Let us firſt agree about the continual ſitting at the right hand of the Father.

Smith. Doth he ſo ſit at the right hand of his Father, that he doth never forſake the ſame?

Rid. Nay, I do not bind Chriſt in heaven ſo ſtraightly. I ſee you go about to beguile me with your equivocations. Such equivocations are to be diſtinguiſhed. If you mean by his ſitting in heaven, to reign with his Father, he may be both in heaven and alſo in earth. But if ye underſtand his ſitting to be after a corporal manner of ſitting, ſo is he always permanent in heaven. For Chriſt to be corporal here on earth, when corporally he is reſident in heaven, is clean contrary to the holy ſcriptures, as Auſtin ſaith, "The body of Chriſt is in heaven, but his truth is "diſperſed in every place."

Now if continually he abide in heaven after the manner of his corporal preſence, then his perpetual abiding there ſtoppeth or letteth that the ſame corporal preſence of him cannot be in the ſacrament.

Smith. Acts 3. we read that Chriſt ſhall ſit perpetually at the right hand of God, unto the conſumption of the world.

Weſt. I perceive you are come here to this iſſue, whether the body of Chriſt may be together both in earth and in heaven. I will tell you, that Chriſt in very deed is both in earth and in heaven together, and at one time, both one and the ſame natural Chriſt, after the verity and ſubſtance of his very body: Ergo, &c.

Rid. I deny the antecedent.

Weſt. I prove it by two witneſſes. Firſt by Chryſoſtom: "Do we not offer every day? we do ſo indeed, "but doing it for the remembrance of his death. And "this offering is one, and not many. And how is it one, "and not many, which was offered in the holy place: "This ſacrifice is a pattern of that: the ſelf-ſame we al-"ways offer; not now as offering one lamb to-day, and "another to-morrow, but always one and the ſame lamb. "Wherefore here is but one ſacrifice; for elſe by this "means, ſeeing there be many ſacrifices in many places, "be there many Chriſts? Not ſo, but one Chriſt in all "places, both perfect here and perfect there, one only "body." Now thus I argue.

We offer one thing at all times.

There is one Chriſt in all places, both here compleat and there compleat.

Ergo, By Chryſoſtom there is one body both in heaven and earth.

Rid. I remember the place well. Theſe things make nothing againſt me.

Weſt. One Chriſt is in all places, here full and there full.

Rid. One Chriſt is in all places; but not one body in all places.

Weſt. One body, ſaith Chryſoſtom.

Rid. But not after the manner of bodily ſubſtance he is in all places, nor by circumſcription of place. For [hic and illic] here and there, in Chryſoſtom, do aſſign no place, as Auguſtine ſaith; "The Lord is above, but the "truth of the Lord is in all places."

Weſt. You cannot ſo eſcape. He ſaith not the verity of Chriſt is one; but one Chriſt is in all places, both here and there.

Rid. One ſacrifice is in all places, becauſe of the unity of him whom the ſacrifice doth ſignify: not that the ſacrifices be all one and the ſame.

Weſt. Ergo, By your ſaying, it is not Chriſt, but the ſacrifice of Chriſt.

But Chryſoſtom ſaith, One body and one Chriſt is there, and not one ſacrifice.

Rid. I ſay, that both Chriſt and the ſacrifice of Chriſt is there: Chriſt by ſpirit, grace, and verity; the ſacrifice by ſignification.

Thus I grant with Chryſoſtom, that there is one hoſt or ſacrifice, and not many: and this our hoſt is called one, by reaſon of the unity of that one, which one only all our hoſts do repreſent. The only hoſt was never other, but that which was once offered on the altar of the croſs, of which hoſt all our hoſts are but ſacramental examples.

And where you alledge out of Chryſoſtom, that Chriſt is offered in many places at once, both here full Chriſt, and there full Chriſt: I grant it to be true, that is, that Chriſt is offered in many places at once, in a myſtery and ſacramentally, and that he is full Chriſt in all thoſe places, but not after the corporal ſubſtance of our fleſh which he took, but after the benediction which giveth life; and he is given to the godly receivers in bread and wine, as Cyril ſpeaketh; concerning the oblation of Chriſt, whereof Chryſoſtom here ſpeaketh, he himſelf doth clearly ſhew what he meaneth thereby, in ſaying by the way of correction, "We always do the ſelf-ſame, howbeit by the re-"cordation or remembrance of his ſacrifice."

Weſt. The ſecond witneſs is Bernard in a ſermon that he made of the ſupper of the Lord, who ſaith, "How "cometh this to us, moſt gentle Jeſus, that we ſilly "worms creeping on the face of the earth, that we, I "ſay, which are but duſt and aſhes, may deſerve to have "thee preſent in our hands, and before our eyes, who "both together, full and whole, doſt ſit at the right hand "of the Father, and who alſo in the moment of one "hour, from the riſing of the ſun to the going down of "the ſame, art preſent one and the ſelf-ſame in many "and divers places?"

Rid. Theſe words of Bernard make for you nothing at all. But I know that Bernard was in ſuch a time, that in this matter he may worthily be ſuſpected. He hath many good and fruitful ſayings; as alſo in the ſame foreſaid place by you alledged. But yet he followed in ſuch an age, when as the doctrine of the holy ſupper was ſore perverted. Notwithſtanding, yet I will ſo expound him, rather than reject him, that he ſhall make nothing for you at all. He ſaith, That we have Chriſt in a myſtery, in a ſacrament, under a veil or cover, but hereafter ſhall have him without veil or cover. In the mean time, here now he ſaith, That the verity of Chriſt is every where. The verity of Chriſt is both here and there, and in all places.

Weſt. What do you call verity? He ſaith not the verity of Chriſt, but the verity of the body of Chriſt.

Rid. The verity of the body of Chriſt is the true faith of the body of Chriſt: after that verity he is with them which truly believe upon him.

Weſt. Chriſt is one and the ſame in divers places. I urge theſe words [in divers places,] and yet I am not ſatisfied.

Smith. Chriſt was ſeen really and corporally on the earth after his aſcenſion, and continually ſitting at the right hand of the Father.

Ergo, The aſcenſion and perpetual ſitting in heaven hinder nothing, but that he may be really and corporally in the ſacrament.

Rid. If by perpetual ſitting you mean the reſidence of his body in heaven, your reaſon containeth manifeſt contradiction.

Smith. Theſe two have no contradiction in them at all, both to ſit continually at his Father's right hand, and alſo to be ſeen here really on earth after his aſcenſion. Firſt, You will give me that Chriſt ſitteth in heaven at the right hand of his Father. For ſo it is written, Acts 5.

" Heaven muſt needs receive him unto the time of re-
" ſtoring of all, &c." Secondly, he was alſo ſeen of Paul here corporally on earth.

Wherefore theſe two do import, as ye ſee, no contradiction.

Rid. What letteth, but that Chriſt, if it pleaſe him, and when it pleaſeth him, may be in heaven and in earth, and appear to whom he will? And yet notwithſtanding you have not yet proved that he will ſo do. And though Chriſt continually ſhall be reſident in heaven unto the judgment, yet there may be ſome intermiſſion, that notwithſtanding. But this controverſy, as I ſaid, is amongſt all the ancient doctors and writers. And that Chriſt hath been here ſeen, that they grant all: but whether then he being in earth or in heaven, that is doubtful.

Smith. I will prove that he would appear in earth.

He ſo would, and alſo did appear here in earth after his aſcenſion: Ergo, &c.

Rid. He appeared, I grant; but how he appeared, whether then being in heaven or in earth, that is uncertain. So he appeared to Stephen, being then corporally ſitting in heaven. For, ſpeaking after the true manner of man's body, when he is in heaven, he is not the ſame time in earth; and when he is in earth, he is not the ſame time corporally in heaven.

Smith. Chriſt hath been both in heaven and in earth all at one time.

Ergo, You are deceived in denying that.

Rid. I do not utterly deny Chriſt here to have been ſeen on earth. Of uncertain things I ſpeak uncertainly.

Smith. He was ſeen of Paul, as being born before his time, after his aſcending up to heaven, 1 Cor. 15.

But his viſion was a corporal viſion:

Ergo, He was ſeen corporally upon the earth after his aſcending into heaven.

Rid. He was ſeen really and corporally indeed: but whether being in heaven or earth, is a doubt. And of doubtful things we muſt judge doubtfully. Howbeit you muſt prove that he was in heaven at the ſame time, when he was corporally on earth.

Smith. I would know of you, whether this viſion may inforce the reſurrection of Chriſt?

Rid. I account this a ſound and firm argument to prove the reſurrection. But whether they ſaw him in heaven or in earth, I am in doubt: and to ſay the truth, it maketh no great matter. Both ways the argument is of like ſtrength. For whether he were ſeen in heaven, or whether he were ſeen on earth, either of both maketh ſufficiently for the matter. Certain it is, he roſe again: for he could not have been ſeen, unleſs he had riſen again.

Smith. Paul ſaw him as he was here converſant on earth, and not out of heaven, as you affirm.

Rid. You run to the beginning again: that you take for granted, which you ſhould have proved.

Smith. You make delays for the nonce.

Rid. Say not ſo, I pray you. Thoſe that hear us be learned: they can tell both what you oppoſe, and what I anſwer well enough, I warrant you.

Treſh. He was ſeen after ſuch ſort, as that he might be heard.

Ergo, He was corporally on the earth, or elſe how could he be heard?

Rid. He that found the means for Stephen to behold him in heaven, even he could bring to paſs well enough, that Paul might hear him out of heaven.

Smith. As other ſaw him, ſo Paul ſaw him.

Other did ſee him viſibly and corporally on earth.

Ergo, Paul ſaw him viſibly and corporally on earth.

Rid. I grant he was ſeen viſibly and corporally: but yet have you not proved that he was ſeen in earth.

Smith. He was ſeen of him as of other.

But he was ſeen of other being on earth, and appeared viſibly to them on earth:

Ergo, He was ſeen of Paul on earth.

Rid. Your controverſy is about [exiſtens in terra,] that is, being on earth: if [exiſtere,] to be, be referred as unto the place, I deny that Chriſt after that ſort was on earth. But if it be referred to the verity of the body, then I grant it. Moreover, I ſay that Chriſt was ſeen of men in earth after his aſcenſion, it is certain: for he was ſeen of Stephen; he was ſeen alſo of Paul. But whether he deſcended unto the earth, or whether he being in heaven did reveal or manifeſt himſelf to Paul, when Paul was wrapt into the third heaven, I know that ſome contend about it: and the ſcripture, as far as I have read or heard, doth not determine it. Wherefore we cannot but judge uncertainly of thoſe things which be uncertain.

Smith. We have Egeſippus and Linus againſt you, which teſtify that Chriſt appeared corporally on the earth to Peter after his aſcenſion. " Peter, overcome with the
" requeſts and mournings of the people, which deſired
" him to get him out of the city, becauſe of Nero's lying
" in wait for him, began without company to convey
" himſelf away from thence: And when he was come
" to the gate, he ſeeth Chriſt come to meet him, and
" worſhipping him, he ſaid, Maſter, whither walk you?
" Chriſt anſwered, I am come again to be crucified."
Linus writing of the paſſion of Peter, hath the ſelf-ſame ſtory. St. Ambroſe hath the ſame likewiſe, and alſo Abdias, ſcholar to the apoſtles, which ſaw Chriſt before his aſcending into heaven. With what face therefore dare you affirm it to be a thing uncertain, which theſe men do manifeſtly witneſs to have been done?

Rid. I ſaid before that the doctors in that matter did vary.

Smith. Do you think this ſtory is not certain, being approved by ſo ancient and probable authority?

Rid. I do ſo think, becauſe I take and eſteem not their words for the words of ſcripture. And though I did grant you that ſtory to be certain, yet it maketh not againſt me.

Smith. Such things as be certain, and approved of them, you do reject as things uncertain.

Rid. The ſtory of Linus is not of ſo great authority; although I am not ignorant that Euſebius ſo writeth alſo in the ſtory of the church. And yet I account not theſe men's reports ſo ſure as the canonical ſcriptures. Albeit if at any time he had to any man appeared here on the earth after his aſcenſion, that doth not diſprove my ſaying. For I go not about to tie Chriſt up in fetters (as ſome do untruly report of us), but that he may be ſeen upon the earth according to his divine pleaſure, whenſoever it liketh him. But we affirm, that it is contrary to the nature of his manhood, and the true manner of his body, that he ſhould be together and at one inſtant both in heaven and earth, according to his corporal ſubſtance. And the perpetual ſitting at the right hand of the Father, may (I grant) be taken for the ſtability of Chriſt's kingdom, and his continual or everlaſting equality with his Father in the glory of heaven.

Smith. Now whereas you boaſt that your faith is the very faith of the ancient church, I will ſhew here that it is not ſo; but that it doth directly ſtrive againſt the faith of the old fathers, I will bring in Chryſoſtom for this point. " Eliſeus received the mantle, as a right great
" inheritance. For it was indeed a right excellent in-
" heritance, and more precious than any gold beſide.
" And the ſame was a double Helias: He was both
" Helias above, and Helias beneath. I know well you
" think that juſt man to be happy, and you would gladly
" be every one of you as he is. What will you then
" ſay if I ſhall declare unto you a certain other thing,
" which all we that are endued with theſe holy myſteries
" do receive much more than that? Helias indeed left
" his mantle to his ſcholar: But the Son of God aſ-
" cending did leave here his fleſh unto us. Helias left it,
" putting off the ſame: but Chriſt both left it to us, and
" aſcended alſo to heaven, having it with him."

Rid. I grant that Chriſt did both; that is, both took up his fleſh with him aſcending up, and alſo did leave the ſame behind him with us, but after a diverſe manner and reſpect. For he took his fleſh with him, after the true and corporal ſubſtance of his body and fleſh: again, he left the ſame in myſtery to the faithful in the ſupper, to be received after a ſpiritual communication, and by grace. Neither is the ſame received in the ſupper only, but alſo at other times, by hearing the goſpel, and by faith. For, The bread which we break, is the communication of the body of Chriſt: And generally, Unleſs ye eat the fleſh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye ſhall have no life in you.

Smith. Chryſoſtom ſaith: "O miracle, O good will "of God! He that ſitteth above at the ſacrifice time, is "contained in the hands of men." Or elſe as other have tranſlated it, thus: "O miracle, O the gentleneſs "of God! He that ſitteth above with the Father, is "handled with the hands of all men at the very ſame "moment of time, and doth himſelf deliver himſelf to "them that are deſirous to take and embrace him."

Rid. He that ſitteth there is here preſent in myſtery and by grace, and is holden of the godly, ſuch as communicate him, not only ſacramentally with the hand of the body, but much more wholeſomely with the hand of the heart, and by inward drinking is received; but by the ſacramental ſignification he is holden of all men.

Seaton. Where is then the miracle if he be only preſent through his grace and myſtery only?

Rid. Yes, there is a miracle, good Sir, Chriſt is not idle in his ſacraments. Is not the miracle great, trow you, when bread, which is wont to ſuſtain the body, becometh food to the ſoul? He that underſtandeth not that miracle, he underſtandeth not the force of that myſtery. God grant we may every one of us underſtand his truth, and obey the ſame.

Smith. Chryſoſtom calleth it a miracle, that Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God in heaven, and at the ſame time is held in the hands of men; not that he is handled with the hands of men: only in a myſtery, and is with them through grace. Therefore while you deny that, you are altogether deceived, and ſtray far from the truth.

Harpſ. The former part of Chryſoſtom is not to be let ſlip. Let me, before I begin, aſk this one queſtion of you. Is it not a great matter that Elias left his cloak or mantle, and the gift of his prophecy to his ſcholar?

Rid. Yes ſurely, it is a great matter.

Harpſ. Did not Elias then leave great grace?

Rid. He did ſo.

Harpſ. But Chriſt left a far greater grace than Elias: for he could not both leave his cloak and take it with him; Chriſt doth both in his fleſh.

Rid. I am well content to grant, that Chriſt left much greater things to us than Elias to Eliſeus, albeit he be ſaid to have left his double ſpirit with him; for that the ſtrength and grace of the body of Chriſt, which Chriſt aſcending up here left us, is the only ſalvation and life of all men which ſhall be ſaved: which life Chriſt hath here left unto us, to be received by faith through the hearing of the word, and the right adminiſtration of the ſacraments. This virtue and grace Chryſoſtom, after the phraſe and manner of John the evangeliſt, calleth Chriſt's fleſh.

Harpſ. But Chriſt performed a great matter. He carried up, and left behind, You underſtand not the compariſon. The compariſon is in this, That Elias left his mantle, and carried it not with him; Chriſt left his fleſh behind him, and carried it with him alſo.

Rid. True it is, and I myſelf did affirm no leſs before. Now where you ſeem to ſpeak many things, indeed you bring no new things at all. Let there be a compariſon between grace and grace, then Chriſt gave the far greater grace, when he did inſert or graft us into his fleſh.

Harpſ. If you will give me leave, I will aſk you this queſtion. If Chryſoſtom would have meant ſo, that Chriſt left his body in the euchariſt, what plainer words think you, or more evident, could he have uſed than theſe?

Rid. Theſe things be not of ſo great force as they bear a great ſhew outwardly. He might alſo have uſed groſſer words, if he had liſted to have uttered his mind ſo groſly: for he was an eloquent man. Now he ſpeaketh after the manner of other doctors, which of myſtical matters ſpeak myſtically; and of ſacraments, ſacramentally.

Harpſ. The compariſon lieth in this; That which was impoſſible to Elias, is poſſible with Chriſt.

Rid. I grant it was poſſible to Chriſt, which was to the other impoſſible. Elias left his cloak: Chriſt both left his fleſh and took it with him.

Harpſ. Elias left behind him, and could not take with him: Chriſt both left behind him, and alſo took with him: except you will ſay the compariſon here made to be nothing.

Rid. He took up his fleſh with him to heaven, and left here the communion of his fleſh in earth.

Weſt. You underſtand in the firſt place his fleſh for very true fleſh; and in the ſecond place for grace, and communion of his fleſh: and why do you not underſtand it in the ſecond place alſo for his true fleſh? I will make it evident how blockiſh and groſs your anſwer is.

Rid. Theſe be taunts and reproaches, not beſeeming, as I think, the modeſty of this ſchool.

Weſt. Elias left his cloak to his diſciples; but the Son of God going up to heaven, left his fleſh. But Elias certainly left his cloak behind, and Chriſt likewiſe his fleſh, and yet aſcending he carried the ſame with him too. By which words we make this reaſon:

Chriſt left his fleſh to his diſciples, and yet for all that he took the ſame up with him:

Ergo, He is preſent here with us.

Here Dr. Weſton crying to the people, ſaid unto them, Mr. Doctor anſwereth it after this faſhion;

He carried his fleſh into heaven, and he left the communion of his fleſh behind. Aſſuredly the anſwer is too unlearned.

Rid. I am glad you ſpeak in Engliſh. Surely, I wiſh that all the whole world might underſtand your reaſons and my anſwers. He left his fleſh. This you underſtand of his fleſh, and I underſtand the ſame of grace. He carried his fleſh into heaven, and left behind the communion of his fleſh unto us.

Weſt. Ye judges, what think you of this anſwer?

Judges. It is ridiculous and a very fond anſwer.

Rid. Well I take your words patiently for Chriſt's cauſe.

Weſt. Weſton here cited a place; We are ſprinkled with the blood of Chriſt.

Rid. Mr. Doctor, it is the ſame blood, but yet ſpiritually received, and indeed all the prophets were ſprinkled with the ſame blood, but yet ſpiritually I ſay, and by grace. And whatſoever they be that are not ſprinkled with this blood, they cannot be partakers of the everlaſting ſalvation.

Weſt. Here I bring Bernard unto you again, "Even "from the weſt unto the eaſt, from the north unto the "ſouth, there is one and the ſelf-ſame Chriſt in many "and divers places."

Rid. The anſwer is ſoon made, that one Chriſt is here and in divers places. For God according to his majeſty, and according to his providence, as St. Auguſtine ſaith, is every where with the godly, according to his inviſible and unſpeakable grace. Or elſe, if ye would underſtand Bernard according to the corporal preſence, how monſtrous, or huge, and giant-like a body would you then make Chriſt's body to be, which would reach even from north to ſouth, from weſt to eaſt?

Weſt. Nay, nay, you make a monſtrous anſwer, and unlearned.

Ward. Before I come in with thoſe reaſons which I had

had purpoſed to bring againſt you, I am minded to come again to Mr. Doctor's argument, by which you being brought into the briars, ſeemed to doubt of Chriſt's preſence on the earth. To the proof of which matter I will bring nothing elſe, than that which was agreed upon in the cathechiſm of the ſynod of London, ſet out not long ago by you.

Rid. Sir, I give you to wit, before you go any farther, that I did ſet out no catechiſm.

Weſt. Yes, you made one ſubſcribe to it, when you were a biſhop in your ruff.

Rid. I compelled no man to ſubſcribe.

Ward. Yes, by rood, you are the very author of that hereſy.

Rid. I put forth no catechiſm.

Cole. Did you never conſent to the ſetting out of thoſe things which you allowed?

Rid. I grant that I ſaw the book: but I deny that I wrote it. I peruſed it after it was made, and I noted many things for it. So I conſented to the book; I was not the author of it.

Judges. The catechiſm is ſo ſet forth, as though the whole convocation houſe had agreed to it. Cranmer ſaid yeſterday, that you made it.

Rid. I think ſurely, that he would not ſay ſo.

Ward. The catechiſm hath this clauſe; If viſibly on the earth.

Rid. I anſwer that thoſe articles were ſet out, I both witting and conſenting to them. Mine own hand will teſtify the ſame, and Mr. Cranmer put his hand to them likewiſe, and gave to other afterward. Now, as for the place you alledged out of it, that may eaſily be expounded, and without any inconvenience.

Ward. Chriſt is the power and virtue of his Father.

Ergo, He was not of ſo little ſtrength, that he could not bring to paſs whatſoever he would himſelf.

Rid. I grant.

Ward. Chriſt was the wiſdom of the Father.

Ergo, That he ſpake, he ſpake wiſely, and ſo as every man might underſtand: neither was it his mind to ſpeak one thing inſtead of another.

Rid. All this I grant.

Ward. Chriſt was likewiſe the very truth: Ergo, He made and performed indeed that which he intended to make. And likewiſe it is, that he doth neither deceive, nor could be deceived, nor yet would go about to deceive other.

Weſt. Hilarius hath theſe words: "All God's words "or ſayings are true, and neither idly placed, or unpro- "fitably, but fiery, and wonderful fiery, without all "doubtfulneſs of ſuperfluous vanity, that there may be "nothing thought to be there, which is not abſolute and "proper."

Ward. He is the truth of the Father: Ergo, He can neither deceive, nor yet be deceived; eſpecially I mean when he ſpake at his latter end, and his Teſtament.

Rid. Chriſt is the very truth of the Father: and I perceive well to what ſcope you drive your reaſon. This is but a far fetched compaſs of words. If that theſe words of Chriſt, This is my body, which you mean, be rightly underſtood, they are moſt true.

Ward. He took, he brake, he gave, &c. What took he?

Rid. Bread, his body.

Ward. What brake he?

Rid. Bread.

Ward. What gave he?

Rid. Bread.

Ward. Gave he bread made of wheat, and material bread?

Rid. I know not whether he gave bread of wheat; but he gave true and material bread.

Ward. I will prove the contrary by ſcriptures.

He delivered to them that which he bade them take.

But he bade not them take material bread, but his own body.

Ergo, He gave not material bread, but his own body.

Rid. I deny the minor. For he bade them take his body ſacramentally in material bread, and after that ſort it was both bread which he bade them take, becauſe the ſubſtance was bread; and it was alſo his body, becauſe it was the ſacrament of his body, for the ſanctifying and the coming of the Holy Ghoſt, which is always aſſiſtant to thoſe myſteries which were inſtituted of Chriſt, and lawfully adminiſtered.

Harpſ. What is he that ſo ſaith, By the coming unto of the Holy Spirit?

Rid. I have Theophylact for mine author for this manner of ſpeaking. And here I bring him, that ye may underſtand that phraſe not to be mine, upon Matthew 26. Furthermore the ſaid Theophylact writing upon theſe words, This is my body, ſheweth, that the body of the Lord is bread, which is ſanctified on the altar.

Ogle. That place of Theophylact maketh openly againſt you. For he ſaith in that place, that Chriſt ſaid not, This is the figure of my body, but my body. For, ſaith he, by an unſpeakable operation it is transformed, although it ſeem to us to be bread.

Rid. It is not a figure, that is to ſay, Non tantum eſt figura; that is, It is not only a figure of his body.

Weſt. Where have you that word [Tantum] only?

Rid. It is not in that place, but he hath it in another; and Auguſtine doth ſo ſpeak many times, and other doctors more.

Weſt. Here Weſton repeating the words of Theophylact in Engliſh, ſaid, He ſaith it is no figure, and you ſay it is a figure.

And the ſame Theophylact ſaith moreover, that the converting or turning of the bread is made into the Lord's fleſh.

That which Chriſt gave, we do give.

But that which he gave was not a figure of his body.

Ergo, We give no figure, but his body.

As concerning the authority of Theophylact, what he thought and might have ſpoken of that author, Dr. Ridley did not then ſpeak, nor could conveniently (as he himſelf afterward declared, reporting and writing with his own hand the diſputations in the priſon) becauſe of the uproars and clamours, which were ſo great, and he of ſo many called upon, that he could not anſwer as he would, and what he thought touching the authority of Theophylact, but anſwered ſimply to that which is brought out of that author on this ſort.

I grant, quoth he, the bread to be converted and turned into the fleſh of Chriſt, but not by tranſubſtantiation, but by a ſacramental converſion or turning. It is transformed, ſaith Theophylact, in the ſame place, by a myſtical benediction, and by the acceſſion or coming of the Holy Ghoſt unto the fleſh of Chriſt. He ſaith not, by expulſion or driving away the ſubſtance of bread, and by ſubſtituting or putting in its place the corporal ſubſtance of Chriſt's fleſh. And where he ſaith, It is not a figure of the body, we ſhould underſtand that ſaying, as he himſelf doth elſewhere add [only,] that is, it is no naked or bare figure only. For Chriſt is preſent in his myſteries, neither at any time, as Cyprian ſaith, doth the Divine Majeſty abſent himſelf from the Divine Myſteries.

Weſt. You put in [only,] and that is one lye. And I tell you farther, Peter Martyr was fain to deny the author, becauſe the place was ſo plain againſt him. But mark his words, how he ſaith, It is no figure, but his fleſh.

Rid. To take his words, and not his meaning, is to do injury to the author.

Hard. No other doctor maketh more againſt you; for the words in Greek are μεταστοιχείται which is in Latin, Tranſelementatur; that is, turned from one element into another.

another. And ſhewing the cauſe why it is in form of bread, he ſaith, "Becauſe we are infirm, and abhor to "eat the raw fleſh, ſpecially the fleſh of man; therefore "it appeareth bread, but it is fleſh."

Rid. That word hath not that ſtrength which you ſeem to give it. You ſtrain it overmuch, and yet it maketh not ſo much for your purpoſe. For the ſame author hath in another place, ἡμεῖς μεταστοιχειούμεθα; that is, We are tranſelemented, or transformed, and changed into the body of Chriſt. And ſo by that word, in ſuch meaning as you ſpeak of, I could prove as well that we are transformed indeed into the very body of Chriſt.

Ward. Learned Mr. Doctor, thus you expound the place, This is my body; that is, a figure of my body.

Rid. Although I know there be ſome that ſo expound it, yet that expoſition is not full to expreſs the whole.

Ward. My ſheep hear my voice, and follow me.

But all the ſheep of Chriſt hear his voice, This is my body, without a figure:

Ergo, The voice of Chriſt here hath no figure.

Rid. The ſheep of Chriſt follow the voice of Chriſt, unleſs they be ſeduced and deceived through ignorance.

Ward. But the fathers took this place for no figurative ſpeech.

Rid. Yet they do all number this place among figurative and tropical ſpeeches.

Ward. Juſtin Martyr in his ſecond apology hath thus: ἐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν, ἀλλ' ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὸ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτω καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκεῖνα τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι.

This place Cranmer hath corrupted: thus it is engliſhed. "For we do not take this for common bread and drink, "but like as Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour incarnate by the "Word of God, had fleſh and blood for our ſalvation; "even ſo we be taught the food wherewith our fleſh and "blood is nouriſhed by alteration, when it is conſecrated "by the prayer of his Word, to be the fleſh and blood "of the ſame Jeſus incarnate."

Dr. Cranmer hath thus tranſlated it: "Bread, water, "and wine, are not to be taken as other common meats "and drinks be, but they be ordained purpoſely to give "thanks to God, and therefore be called Euchariſtia, "and be called the body and blood of Chriſt; and that "it is lawful for none to eat and drink of them, but ſuch "as profeſs Chriſt, and live according to the ſame: and "yet the ſame meat and drink is changed into our fleſh "and blood, and nouriſheth our bodies."

Rid. O good Mr. Doctor, go ſincerely to work: I know that place, and I know how it is uſed.

Ward. Ward here repeated the place again out of Juſtin, We are taught, &c. as above.

Rid. O what upright dealing is this! I have the ſelf-ſame place of Juſtin here copied out. You know yourſelf, which are ſkilful in Greek, how the words here be removed out of the right place, and without any juſt cauſe.

Ward. I ſtand ſtill upon mine argument. What ſay you?

Rid. If you will that I ſhould anſwer to Juſtin, then you muſt hear. I have but one tongue, I cannot anſwer at once to you all.

Weſt. Chriſt gave us his very and true fleſh to be eaten.

But he never gave it to be eaten but in his laſt ſupper, and in the ſacrament of the altar:

Ergo, There is the very fleſh of Chriſt.

Rid. If you ſpeak of the very true fleſh of Chriſt, after the ſubſtance of his fleſh taken in the womb of the virgin Mary, and not by grace and ſpiritually, I then do deny the firſt part of your reaſon. But if you underſtand it of the true fleſh, after grace and ſpiritual communication, I then grant the firſt part, and deny the ſecond. For he giveth unto us truly his fleſh, to be eaten of all that believe in him. For he is the very and true meat of the ſoul, wherewith we are fed unto everlaſting life, according to his ſaying, My fleſh is meat indeed, &c.

Ward. "I have deſired with my hearty deſire to eat "this paſchal with you." What paſchal, I pray you, deſired he to eat? If you ſtand in doubt, you have Tertullian againſt Marcion: "He therefore proteſting a "great deſire to eat his paſchal, his own paſchal, I ſay "(for it was not meet that he ſhould deſire any other "than his own), taking bread and diſtributing it to his "diſciples, made it his body, ſaying, This is my "body," &c.

What ſay you? Did he underſtand by this paſchal the Judaical lamb, or by that which afterwards he gave in his ſupper?

Rid. I ſuppoſe that the firſt he underſtood of the Judaical paſſover, and afterward of the euchariſt.

Ward. Nay then Tertullian is againſt you, which ſaith: He deſired to eat his paſſover.

But the Judaical paſſover was not his, but ſtrange from Chriſt:

Ergo, He meant not of the Judaical paſſover.

Rid. The Judaical paſſover was not ſtrange from Chriſt, but his own: Inſomuch as he is the Lord of all; and as well the Lord of the Judaical paſſover, as of his own ſupper.

Ward. What anſwer you then to Tertullian, the which ſaith, He deſired to eat his own paſſover, and not the Jewiſh paſſover, which ſtood upon words without fleſh?

Rid. Tertullian may here dally in ſenſe analogical. I know that Cyprian hath theſe words; "He began then "to inſtitute the holy euchariſt, but both were Chriſt's."

Ward. Auguſtine, in Pſalm 96. writing upon theſe words, "Worſhip his footſtool, &c." "I aſk (ſaith he) "what is the footſtool of his feet? and the ſcripture "telleth me, The earth is the footſtool of my feet. And "ſo in ſearching thereof I turn myſelf to Chriſt, becauſe "I ſeek him here in the earth, and find how, without "impiety, the footſtool of his feet may be worſhipped; "for he took earth of earth, in that he is fleſh and earth, "and of the fleſh of Mary he took fleſh, and becauſe "that in the ſame fleſh here he walked, and alſo he gave "the ſame fleſh to us to be eaten unto ſalvation. But "no man eateth that fleſh except he have worſhipped "before. And ſo it is found, how ſuch a footſtool of "the feet of the Lord is to be worſhipped, ſo that not "only we ſin in not worſhipping, but alſo do ſin in not "worſhipping the ſame."

He gave to us his fleſh to be eaten, the which he took of the earth, in which alſo here he walked, &c:

But he never gave his fleſh to be eaten, but when he gave it at his ſupper, ſaying, This is my body:

Ergo, In the euchariſt he gave us his fleſh.

Rid. You do alledge the place of Auſtin upon the 98th Pſalm, where he ſaith, that Chriſt gave his fleſh to be eaten which he took of the earth, and in which here he walked, inferring hereupon that Chriſt never gave the ſame his fleſh to be eaten, but only in the euchariſt: I deny your minor; for he gave it both in the euchariſt to be eaten, and alſo otherwiſe, as well in the word, as alſo upon the croſs.

Smith. What if Auguſtine ſay, that Chriſt did not only give himſelf to us in a figure, but gave his own very fleſh indeed and really?

Rid. I never ſaid that Chriſt gave only a figure of his body. For indeed he gave himſelf in a real communication, that is, he gave his fleſh after a communication of his fleſh.

Weſt. Here Weſton read the place of Auguſtine in Engliſh, and afterward ſaid: Ye ſay, Chriſt gave not his body, but a figure of his body.

Rid. I ſay not ſo, I ſay he gave his own body verily. But he gave it by a real, effectual, and ſpiritual communication.

After this, Dr. Glin began to reaſon, who (notwithſtanding Mr. Ridley had always taken him for his old friend) made a very contumelious preface againſt him. This preface Mr. Ridley therefore did the more take to heart, becauſe it proceeded from him. Howbeit he thought that Dr. Glin's mind was to ſerve the time. For afterward he came to the houſe wherein Mr. Ridley was kept, and, as far as Mr. Ridley could call to remembrance, before Dr. Young and Dr. Oglethorpe he deſired him to pardon his words. The which Mr. Ridley did even from the very heart, and wiſhed earneſtly, that God would give not only to him, but unto all other, the true and evident knowledge of God's evangelical ſincerity, that all offences put apart, they being perfectly and fully reconciled, might agree and meet together in the houſe of the heavenly Father.

Glin. I ſee that you elude or ſhift away all ſcriptures and fathers; I will go to work with you after another ſort.

Chriſt hath here his church known in earth, of which you were once a child, although now you ſpeak contumeliouſly of the ſacraments.

Rid. This is a grievous contumely, that you call me a ſhifter away of the ſcripture, and of the doctors: as touching the ſacraments, I never yet ſpake contumeliouſly of them. I grant that Chriſt hath here his church in earth; but that church did ever receive and acknowledge the euchariſt to be a ſacrament of the body of Chriſt, yet not the body of Chriſt really, but the body of Chriſt by grace.

Glin. Then I aſk this queſtion; Whether the catholic church hath ever or at any time been idolatrous?

Rid. The church is the pillar and ſtay of the truth, that never yet hath been idolatrous in reſpect of the whole: but peradventure in reſpect of ſome part thereof, which ſometimes may be ſeduced by evil paſtors, and through ignorance.

Glin. That church ever hath worſhipped the fleſh of Chriſt in the euchariſt.

But the church hath never been idolatrous:

Ergo, It hath always judged the fleſh of Chriſt to be in the euchariſt.

Rid. And I alſo worſhip Chriſt in the ſacrament, but not becauſe he is included in the ſacrament, like as I worſhip Chriſt alſo in the ſcriptures, not becauſe he is really included in them. Notwithſtanding I ſay, that the body of Chriſt is preſent in the ſacrament, but yet ſacramentally and ſpiritually, according to his grace giving life, and in that reſpect really, that is, according to his benediction giving life.

Furthermore, I acknowledge gladly the true body of Chriſt to be in the Lord's ſupper, in ſuch ſort as the church of Chriſt (which is the ſpouſe of Chriſt, and is taught of the Holy Ghoſt, and guided by God's word) doth acknowledge the ſame. But the true church of Chriſt doth acknowledge a preſence of Chriſt's body in the Lord's ſupper to be communicated to the godly, by grace, and ſpiritually, as I have often ſhewed, and by a ſacramental ſignification, but not by the corporal preſence of the body of his fleſh.

Glin. Auſtin ſaith: "Some there were which thought "us, inſtead of bread and of the cup, to worſhip Ceres "and Bacchus."

Upon this place I gather, that there was an adoration of the ſacrament among the fathers; and Eraſmus, in an epiſtle to the brethren of Low-Germany, ſaith, that the worſhipping of the ſacrament was before Auſtin and Cyprian.

Rid. We do handle the ſigns reverently: but we worſhip the ſacrament as a ſacrament, not as a thing ſignified by the ſacrament,

Glin. What is the ſymbol or ſacrament?

Rid. Bread.

Glin. Ergo, We worſhip bread.

Rid. There is a deceit in this word [Adoramus.] We worſhip the ſymbols, when reverently we handle them. We worſhip Chriſt whereſoever we perceive his benefits. But we underſtand his benefit to be greateſt in the ſacrament.

Glin. So I may fall down before the bench here, and worſhip Chriſt: and if any man aſk me what I do, I may anſwer, I worſhip Chriſt.

Rid. We adore and worſhip Chriſt in the euchariſt. And if you mean the external ſacrament; I ſay, that alſo is to be worſhipped as a ſacrament.

Glin. So was the faith of the primitive church.

Rid. Would to God we would all follow the faith of that church.

Glin. Think you that Chriſt hath now his church?

Rid. I do ſo.

Glin. But all the church adoreth Chriſt, verily, and really in the ſacrament.

Rid. You know yourſelf that the eaſtern church would not acknowledge tranſubſtantiation, as appeareth in the council of Florence.

Cole. That is falſe. For in the ſame they did acknowledge tranſubſtantiation, although they would not intreat of the matter, for that they had not in their commiſſion ſo to do.

Rid. Nay, they would determine nothing of the matter, when the article was propounded unto them.

Cole. It was not becauſe they did not acknowledge the ſame, but becauſe they had no commiſſion ſo to do.

Curtop. Reverend Sir, I will prove and declare, that the body of Chriſt is truly and really in the euchariſt: and whereas the holy fathers, both of the weſt and eaſt church, have written both many things and no leſs manifeſt of the ſame matter, yet will I bring forth only Chryſoſtom.

That which is the cup, is the ſame that flowed from the ſide of Chriſt.

But true and pure blood did not flow from the ſide of Chriſt:

Ergo, His true and pure blood is in the cup.

Rid. It is his true blood which is in the chalice, I grant, and the ſame which ſprang from the ſide of Chriſt. But how? It is blood indeed, but not after the ſame manner, after which manner it ſprang from his ſide. For here is the blood, but by way of a ſacrament.

Again, I ſay, like as the bread of the ſacrament and of thanſgiving is called the body of Chriſt given for us: ſo the cup of the Lord is called the blood which ſprang from the ſide of Chriſt. But that ſacramental bread is called the body, becauſe it is the ſacrament of his body: even ſo likewiſe the cup is called the blood alſo which flowed out of Chriſt's ſide, becauſe it is the ſacrament of that blood which flowed out of his ſide, inſtituted of the Lord himſelf for our ſingular commodity: namely, for our ſpiritual nouriſhment: like as baptiſm is ordained in water to ſpiritual regeneration.

Cur. The ſacrament of the blood is not the blood.

Rid. The ſacrament of the blood is the blood; and that is attributed to the ſacrament, which is ſpoken of the thing of the ſacrament.

Weſt. Here Weſton repeateth Curtop's argument in Engliſh.

That which is in the chalice, is the ſame which flowed out of Chriſt's ſide.

But there came out very blood:

Ergo, There is blood in the chalice.

Rid. The blood of Chriſt is in the chalice indeed, but not in the real preſence, but by grace, and in a ſacrament.

Weſt. That is very well. Then we have blood in the chalice.

Rid. It is true, but by grace, and in a ſacrament.

Here the people hiſſed at him.

Rid.

Rid. O my maſters! I take this for no judgment: I will ſtand to God's judgment.

Wat. Good Sir, I have determined to have reſpect of the time, and to abſtain from all thoſe things which may hinder the entrance of our diſceptation: and therefore firſt I aſk this queſtion, When Chriſt ſaid in the ſixth of John, "He that eateth my fleſh," &c. doth he ſignify in thoſe words the eating of his true and natural fleſh, or elſe of the bread and ſymbol?

Rid. I underſtand that place of the very fleſh of Chriſt to be eaten, but ſpiritually: and further I ſay, that the ſacrament alſo pertaineth unto the ſpiritual manducation. For without the Spirit, to eat the ſacrament is to eat it unprofitably. For whoſo eateth not ſpiritually, he eateth his own condemnation.

Wat. I aſk then, whether the euchariſt be a ſacrament?

Rid. The euchariſt, taken for a ſign or ſymbol, is a ſacrament.

Wat. Is it inſtituted of God?

Rid. It is inſtituted of God.

Wat. Where?

Rid. In the ſupper.

Wat. With what words is it made a ſacrament?

Rid. By the words and deeds which Chriſt ſaid and did, and commanded us to ſay and do the ſame.

Wat. It is a thing commonly received of all, that the ſacraments of the new law give grace to them that worthily receive.

Rid. True it is, that grace is given by the ſacrament, but as by an inſtrument. The inward virtue and Chriſt give the grace through the ſacrament.

Wat. What is a ſacrament?

Rid. I remember there be many definitions of a ſacrament in Auguſtine: but I will take that which ſeemeth moſt fit to this preſent purpoſe. A ſacrament is a viſible ſign of inviſible grace.

Wat. Ergo, Grace is given to the receivers.

Rid. The ſociety or conjunction with Chriſt through the Holy Ghoſt is grace, and by the ſacrament we are made the members of the myſtical body of Chriſt, for that by the ſacrament the part of the body is grafted in the head.

Wat. But there is difference between the myſtical body, and natural body.

Rid. There is (I grant you) a difference, but the head of them both is one.

Wat. The euchariſt is a ſacrament of the New Teſtament:

Ergo, It hath a promiſe of grace.

But no promiſe of grace is made to bread and wine:

Ergo, Bread and wine be not the ſacraments of the New Teſtament.

Rid. I grant that grace pertaineth to the euchariſt, according to this ſaying, "The bread which we break, is "it not the communication or partaking of the body of "Chriſt?" And like as he that eateth, and he that drinketh unworthily the ſacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, eateth and drinketh his own damnation: even ſo he that eateth and drinketh worthily, eateth life, and drinketh life. I grant alſo that there is no promiſe made to bread and wine. But inaſmuch as they are ſanctified, and made the ſacraments of the body and blood of the Lord, they have a promiſe of grace annexed unto them; namely, of ſpiritual partaking of the body of Chriſt to be communicated and given, not to the bread and wine, but to them which worthily receive the ſacrament.

Wat. If the ſubſtance of bread and wine do remain, then the ſociety betwixt Chriſt and us is promiſed to them that take bread and wine.

But that ſociety is not promiſed to bread and wine, but to the receivers of the fleſh and blood. John 6. "He "that eateth my fleſh," &c.

Ergo, The ſubſtance of bread and wine remaineth not.

Rid. The promiſe undoubtedly is made to the fleſh and blood, but the ſame is to be received in the ſacrament through faith.

Wat. Every ſacrament hath a promiſe of grace annexed unto it.

Ergo, The bread and wine are not ſacraments.

Rid. True it is, every ſacrament hath grace annexed unto it inſtrumentally. But there is diverſe underſtanding of this word [Habet] hath. For the ſacrament hath not grace included in it; but to thoſe that receive it well, it is turned to grace. After that manner the water in baptiſm hath grace promiſed, and by that the Holy Spirit is given; not that grace is included in water, but that grace cometh by water.

Wat. This promiſe is made to the fleſh and blood of Chriſt, and not to the bread and wine.

Ergo, The ſacrament is not bread and wine, but the body and blood of Chriſt.

Rid. There is no promiſe made to him that taketh common bread and common wine; but to him that receiveth the ſanctified bread, and bread of the communion, there is a large promiſe of grace made: neither is the promiſe given to the ſymbols, but to the thing of the ſacrament. But the thing of the ſacrament is the fleſh and blood.

Wat. Every ſacrament of the New Teſtament giveth grace, promiſed of God to thoſe that worthily receive it.

Rid. This ſacrament hath a promiſe of grace made to thoſe that receive it worthily, becauſe grace is given by it, as by an inſtrument, not that Chriſt hath transfuſed grace into the bread and wine.

Wat. But this promiſe which is made, is not but to thoſe that worthily receive the fleſh and blood; not the bread and wine.

Rid. That propoſition of yours hath a diverſe underſtanding. There is no promiſe made to them that receive common bread, as it were: but to thoſe that worthily receive the ſanctified bread, there is a promiſe of grace made, like as Origen doth teſtify.

Wat. Where is that promiſe made?

Rid. "The bread which we break, is it not a com-"munication of the body of Chriſt?" And "we being "many are one bread, one body of Chriſt?"

Wat. What doth he mean by bread in that place?

Rid. The bread of the Lord's table, the communion of the body of Chriſt.

Wat. Hearken what Chryſoſtom ſaith upon that place; "The bread which we break, is it not the communica-"tion of Chriſt's body? Wherefore did he not ſay, par-"ticipation? Becauſe he would ſignify ſome great mat-"ter, and that he would declare a great convenience and "conjunction betwixt the ſame. For we do not com-"municate by participation only and receiving, but alſo "by co-uniting. For likewiſe as that body is co-united "to Chriſt, ſo alſo we by the ſame bread are conjoined "and united to him."

Rid. Let Chryſoſtom have his manner of ſpeaking, and his ſentence. If it be true, I reject it not. But let it not be prejudicial to me to name it true bread.

Wat. "All (ſaith Chryſoſtom) which ſit together at "one board, do communicate together of one true body." "What do I call (ſaith he) this communicating? We "are all the ſelf-ſame body. What doth bread ſignify? "The body of Chriſt. What be they that receive it? "The body of Chriſt. For many are but one body." Chryſoſtom doth interpret this place againſt you. "All "we be one bread, and one myſtical body, which do "participate together one bread of Chriſt."

Rid. All we be one myſtical body, which do communicate of one Chriſt in bread, after the efficacy of regeneration or quickening.

Wat. Of what manner of bread ſpeaketh he?

Rid. Of the bread of the Lord's table.

Wat. Is that bread one?

Rid. It is one, of the church being one, becauſe one

bread is ſet forth upon the table: and ſo of one bread all together do participate which communicate at the table of the Lord.

Wat. See how abſurdly you ſpeak. Do you ſay all which be from the beginning to the end of the world?

Rid. All, I ſay, which at one table together have communicated in the myſteries, might well ſo do. Albeit the heavenly and celeſtial bread is likewiſe one alſo, whereof the ſacramental bread is a myſtery: the which being one, all we together do participate.

Wat. A perverſe anſwer. Which All? Mean you all chriſtian men?

Rid. I do diſtribute this word (All:) for all were wont together to communicate of the one bread divided into parts. All, I ſay, which were one congregation, and which all did communicate together at one table.

Wat. What? Do you exclude then from the body of Chriſt all them which did not communicate, being preſent?

Feck. But Cyprian ſaith, "Bread which no multitude "doth conſume." Which cannot be underſtood but only of the body of Chriſt.

Rid. Alſo Cyprian in this place did ſpeak of the true body of Chriſt, and not of material bread.

Feck. Nay, rather he did there intreat of the ſacrament in that tractation De Cœna Domini, writing upon the ſupper of the Lord.

Rid. Truth it is, and I grant he intreateth there of the ſacrament: but alſo he doth admix ſomething therewithal of the ſpiritual manducation.

Smith. When the Lord ſaith, This is my body, he uſeth no tropical ſpeech:

Ergo, You are deceived.

Rid. I deny your antecedent.

Smith. I bring here Auguſtine in Pſalm 33. expounding theſe words, Ferebatur in manibus ſuis, He was carried in his own hands. "How may this be underſtood to be "done in man? For no man is carried in his own hands, "but in the hands of other. How this may be under-"ſtood of David after the letter, we do not find; Of "Chriſt we find it. For Chriſt was borne in his own "hands, when he ſaith, This is my body, for he carried "the ſame body in his own hands," &c.

Auguſtine here did not ſee how this place after the letter could be underſtood of David, becauſe no man can carry himſelf in his own hands. Therefore, ſaith he, this place is to be underſtood of Chriſt after the letter. For Chriſt carried himſelf in his own hands in his ſupper, when he gave the ſacrament to his diſciples, ſaying, This is my body.

Rid. I deny your argument, and I explicate the ſame. Auſtin could not find after his own underſtanding how this could be underſtood of David after the letter. Auſtin goeth here from other in this expoſition, but I go not from him. But let this expoſition of Auſtin be granted to you; although I know this place of ſcripture be otherwiſe read of other men, after the verity of the Hebrew text, and it is alſo otherwiſe to be expounded. Yet to grant to you this expoſition of Auſtin, I ſay yet notwithſtanding it maketh nothing againſt my aſſertion: For Chriſt did bear himſelf in his own hands, when he gave the ſacrament of his body to be eaten of his diſciples.

Smith. Ergo, It is true of Chriſt after the letter, that he was borne in his own hands.

Rid. He was borne literally, and after that letter which was ſpoken of David: but not after the letter of theſe words, Hoc eſt corpus meum.

I grant that St. Auſtin ſaith, that it is not found literally of David, that he carried himſelf in his own hands, but that it is found of Chriſt. But this word, [ad literam,] literally, you do not well refer to that which was borne, but rather it ought to be referred to him that did bear it. St. Auguſtine's meaning is this; that it is not read any where in the Bible, that this carnal David, the ſon of Jeſſe, did bear himſelf in his hands, but of that ſpiritual David that overthrew Goliah the devil; that is, of Chriſt our Saviour, the ſon of the Virgin, it may well be found literally, that he bare himſelf in his own hands after a certain manner, namely, in carrying the ſacrament of himſelf. And note, that St. Auſtin hath theſe words, Quodam modo, after a certain manner; which manifeſtly declare how the doctor's meaning is to be taken.

Smith. When then was he borne in his own hands, and after what letter?

Rid. He was borne in the ſupper ſacramentally, when he ſaid, This is my body.

Smith. Every man may bear in his own hands a figure of his body.

But Auguſtine denieth that David could carry himſelf in his hands:

Ergo, He ſpeaketh of no figure of his body.

Rid. If Auſtin could have found in all the ſcripture, that David had carried the ſacrament of his body, then he would never have uſed that expoſition of Chriſt.

Smith. But he did bear himſelf in his own hands:

Ergo, He did not bear a figure only.

Rid. He did bear himſelf, but in a ſacrament: and Auſtin afterward addeth, Quodam modo, that is, ſacramentally.

Smith. You underſtand not what Auſtin meant when he ſaid, Quodam modo; for he meant that he did bear his very true body in that ſupper, not in figure and form of a body, but in form and figure of bread:

Ergo, You are holden faſt, neither are you able to eſcape out of this labyrinth.

Dr. Weſton repeated this place again in Engliſh. Which done, then Dr. Treſham began thus to ſpeak, moved (as it ſeemed to Mr. Ridley) with great zeal, and deſired that he might be inſtead of John Baptiſt, in converting the hearts of the fathers, and in reducing the ſaid biſhop Ridley again to the mother church. Now at the firſt, not knowing the perſon, he thought he had been ſome good old man, which had the zeal of God, altho' not according to knowledge, and began to anſwer him with manſuetude and reverence. But afterward he ſmelled a fox under a ſheep's cloathing.

"God Almighty grant that it may be fulfilled in me, "that was ſpoken by the prophet Malachi of John Bap-"tiſt, which may turn the hearts of the fathers to the "children, and the hearts of the children to their fathers, "that you at length may be converted. The wiſe man "ſaith, Son, honour thy father, and reverence thy mo-"ther. But you diſhonour your Father in heaven, and "pollute your mother the holy church here on earth, "while ye ſet not by it."

Rid. Theſe by-words do pollute your ſchool.

Treſh. If there were an Arian which had that ſubtle wit that you have, he might ſoon ſhift off the authorities of the ſcripture and fathers.

Weſt. Either diſpute, or elſe hold your peace, I pray you.

Treſh. I bring a place here out of the council of Lateran; the which council repreſenting the univerſal church, wherein were congregated three hundred biſhops, aud ſeventy metropolitans, beſides a great multitude of other, decreed, That bread and wine, by the power of God's word, was tranſubſtantiate into the body and blood of the Lord. Therefore, whoſoever ſaith contrary, cannot be a child of the church, but an heretic.

Rid. Good Sir, I have heard what you have cited out of the council of Lateran, and remember that there was a great multitude of biſhops and metropolitans, as you ſaid: but yet you have not numbered how many abbots, priors, and friers, were in that council, who were to the number of eight hundred.

One of the ſcribes. What, will you deny then the authority of that council for the multitude of thoſe priors?

Rid. No Sir, not ſo much for that cauſe, as for that eſpecially, becauſe the doctrine of that council agreed not with

with the word of God, as it may well appear by the acts of that council, which was holden under Innocent the third, a man (if we believe the hiſtories) moſt pernicious to the church and commonwealth of Chriſt.

Treſh. What, do you not receive the council of Lateran? Whereupon he with certain other cried, Write, write.

Rid. No, Sir, I receive not that council; Write, and write again.

Treſh. Evil men do eat the natural body of Chriſt.

Ergo, The true and natural body of Chriſt is on the altar.

Rid. Evil men do eat the very true and natural body of Chriſt ſacramentally, and no further, as St. Auguſtine ſaith: But good men do eat the very true body both ſacramentally, and ſpiritually by grace.

Treſh. I prove the contrary by Auguſtine, "Like as "Judas, to whom the Lord gave the morſel, did offend; "not in taking a thing that was evil, but in receiving it "after an evil manner, &c." And a little after, "Be- "cauſe ſome do not eat unto ſalvation, it followeth not "therefore that it is not his body."

Rid. It is the body to them, that is, the ſacrament of the body: and Judas took the ſacrament of the Lord to his condemnation. Auſtin hath diſtinguiſhed theſe things well in another place, where he ſaith, "The bread of "the Lord, the bread the Lord. Evil men eat the bread "of the Lord, but not bread the Lord. But good men "eat both the bread of the Lord, and bread the Lord."

Weſt. Paul ſaith the body; and you ſay, the ſacrament of the body.

Rid. Paul meaneth ſo indeed.

Wat. You underſtand it evil concerning the ſign: For the fathers ſay, that evil men do eat him which deſcended from heaven.

Rid. They eat him indeed, but ſacramentally. The fathers uſe many times the ſacrament for the matter of the ſacrament, and all that ſame place maketh againſt you; and ſo here he cited the place.

Weſt. I bring Theophylact, which ſaith: "That Ju- "das did taſte the body of the Lord. The Lord did ſhew "the cruelty of Judas, which, when he was rebuked, "did not underſtand, and taſted the Lord's fleſh, &c."

Rid. This phraſe to divines is well known, and uſed of the doctors. He taſted the fleſh of the Lord [Inſenſibly,] that is, the ſacrament of the Lord's fleſh.

Weſt. Chryſoſtom ſaith, That the ſame puniſhment remaineth to them which receive the body of the Lord unworthily, as to them which crucified him.

Rid. That is, becauſe they defile the Lord's body: for evil men do eat the body of Chriſt ſacramentally, but good men eat both the ſacrament and the matter of the ſacrament.

Wat. You reject the council of Lateran, becauſe (you ſay) it agreeth not with God's word. What ſay you then to the council of Nice? The words of the council be theſe, "Let us not look a-low by the ground upon "the bread and the drink ſet before us, but lifting up our "mind let us faithfully believe, there upon the holy table "to lie the Lamb of God taking away the ſins of the "world, being ſacrificed of the prieſts."

Rid. That council was collected out of ancient fathers, and is to me a great authority; for it ſaith, "That "bread is ſet upon the altar, and having our minds lifted "up, we muſt conſider him which is in heaven." The words of the council make for me.

Wat. [Exalta mente] with a mind exalted: that is, not as brute beaſts at the rack or manger, having an eye only upon the thing that is ſet before them. The Lamb of God lieth on the table, ſaith the council.

Rid. The Lamb of God is in heaven, according to the verity of the body: and here he is with us in a myſtery, according to his power, not corporally.

Wat. But the Lamb of God lieth on the table.

Rid. It is a figurative ſpeech, for in our mind we underſtand him which is in heaven.

Wat. But he lieth there, the Greek word is κεῖται,

Rid. He lieth there, that is, he is here preſent, not corporally, but he lieth there in his operation.

Wat. He lieth, but his operation lieth not.

Rid. You think very groſly of the ſitting or lying of the celeſtial Lamb on the table of the Lord. For we may not imagine any ſuch ſitting or lying upon the table, as the reaſon of man would judge: but all things are here to be underſtood ſpiritually. For that heavenly Lamb is (as I confeſs) on the table, but by a ſpiritual preſence, by grace, and not after any corporal ſubſtance of his fleſh taken out of the virgin Mary.

And indeed the ſame canon doth plainly teach, that the bread which is ſet on the table is material bread; and therefore it (the canon I mean) commandeth that we ſhould not creep on the ground in our cogitation, to thoſe things which are ſet before us: as who ſhould ſay, what other things are they (as much as pertaineth to their true ſubſtance) than bread and wine? but rather, ſaith the canon, lifting up our minds into heaven, let us conſider with faith the Lamb of God which taketh away the ſins of the world, ſitting or lying upon the table. For a lifted-up faith, ſaith he, ſeeth him which ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father, after the true manner of a body ſet by grace on the Lord's table, and taking away the ſins of the world. For I think you mean not ſo, as though the Lamb did lie there proſtrate with his members ſpread upon the table.

Smith. I bring another place out of the council of Nice: "None of the apoſtles ſaid, this is a figure of the body "of Chriſt: None of the reverend elders ſaid, the un- "bloody ſacrifice of the altar to be a figure."

Ergo, You are deceived.

Rid. This canon is not in the council of Nice. For I have read over this council many times.

Then came in another whom Mr. Ridley knew not, and ſaid, The univerſal church both of the Greeks and Latins, of the eaſt and of the weſt, have agreed in the council of Florence uniformly in the doctrine of the ſacrament, that in the ſacrament of the altar there is the true and real body.

Rid. I deny the Greek and the eaſt church to have agreed either in the council at Florence or at any time elſe with the Romiſh church, in the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation of bread into the body of Chriſt. For there was nothing in the council of Florence, wherein the Greeks would agree with the Romaniſts; albeit hitherto I confeſs it was left for every church to uſe, as they were wont, leavened or unleavened bread.

Here cried out Dr. Cole, and ſaid, they agreed together concerning tranſubſtantiation of bread into the body of Chriſt. Mr. Ridley ſaid that could not be.

Here ſtarted up another unknown to Mr. Ridley, but thought to be one of the ſcribes, who affirmed with him, that indeed there was nothing decreed concerning tranſubſtantiation; the council left that as a matter not meet nor worthy to diſturb the peace and concord of the church. To whom Mr. Ridley anſwered again, ſaying, that he ſaid the truth.

Pye. What ſay you to that council, where it is ſaid, that the prieſt doth offer an unbloody ſacrifice of the body of Chriſt?

Rid. I ſay, It is well ſaid, if it be rightly underſtood.

Pye. But he offereth an unbloody ſacrifice.

Rid. It was called unbloody, and is offered after a certain manner, and in a myſtery, and as a repreſentation of that bloody ſacrifice, and he doth not lye which ſaith Chriſt to be offered.

Weſt. I with one argument will throw down to the ground your opinion out of Chryſoſtom, Hom. 24. in 1. ad Cor. And I will teach, not only a figure and a ſign, or grace only, but the very ſame body, which was here converſant on the earth, to be in the euchariſt.

We worſhip the ſelf-ſame body in the euchariſt which the wiſe men did worſhip in the manger.

But that was his natural and real body not ſpiritual.

Ergo, The real body of Chriſt is in the euchariſt.

Again, the ſame Chryſoſtom ſaith, "We have not "here the Lord in the manger, but on the altar. Here "a woman holdeth him not in her hands, but a prieſt."

Rid. We worſhip, I confeſs, the ſame true Lord and Saviour of the world, which the wiſe men worſhipped in the manger, howbeit we do it in a myſtery, and in the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, and that in ſpiritual liberty, as ſaith St. Auſt. l. 3. De Doctrina Chriſtiana: not in carnal ſervitude; that is, we do not worſhip ſervilely the ſigns for the things: for that ſhould be, as he alſo ſaith, a part of a ſervile infirmity. But we behold with the eyes of faith him preſent after grace, and ſpiritually ſet upon the table; and we worſhip him which ſitteth above, and is worſhipped of the angels. For Chriſt is always aſſiſtant to his myſteries, as the ſaid Auguſtine ſaith. And the divine majeſty, as Cyprian ſaith, doth never abſent itſelf from the divine myſteries; but this aſſiſtance and preſence of Chriſt, as in baptiſm it is wholly ſpiritual, and by grace, and not by any corporal ſubſtance of the fleſh: even ſo it is here in the Lord's ſupper, being rightly and according to the word of God duly miniſtered.

Weſt. That which the woman did hold in her womb, the ſame thing holdeth the prieſt.

Rid. I grant the prieſt holdeth the ſame thing, but after another manner. She did hold the natural body; the prieſt holdeth the myſtery of the body.

Weſt. Weſton repeateth again this argument out of Chryſoſtom in Engliſh.

Rid. I ſay that the author meant it ſpiritually.

Dr. Weſton here diſſolving the diſputations, had theſe words: Here you ſee the ſtubborn, the boaſting, the crafty, the unconſtant mind of this man. Here you ſee, this day, that the ſtrength of the truth is without foil. Therefore I beſeech you all moſt earneſtly to blow the note; and he began, and they followed, Verity hath the victory, Verity hath the victory.

The Diſputation had at Oxford, April 18, 1554. between Mr. Hugh Latimer, Anſwerer; and Mr. Smith, and others, Oppoſers.

AFTER theſe diſputations of Biſhop Ridley were ended, Mr. Hugh Latimer was next brought out to diſpute, upon Wedneſday April 18. Which diſputation began at eight of the clock, in ſuch form as before: but it was moſt in Engliſh. For Mr. Latimer alledged, that he was out of uſe with the Latin, and unfit for that place.

There replied unto him Mr. Smith of Oriel college. Dr. Cartwright, Mr. Harpsfield, and ſeveral others had ſnatches at him, and gave him bitter taunts. He eſcaped no hiſſings and ſcornful laughings, no more than they that went before him. He was very faint, and deſired that he might not long tarry. He durſt not drink for fear of vomiting. The diſputation ended before eleven of the clock. Mr. Latimer was not ſuffered to read what he had, as he ſaid, painfully written; but it was exhibited up, and the prolocutor read part thereof, and ſo proceeded unto the diſputation.

The Preface of Weſton unto the following diſputation.

Men and brethren, we are come together this day (by the help of God) to vanquiſh the ſtrength of the arguments, and diſperſed opinions of adverſaries, againſt the truth of the real preſence of the Lord's body in the ſacrament. And therefore, you father, if you have any thing to anſwer, I do admoniſh that you anſwer in ſhort and few words.

Latimer. I pray you, good maſter Prolocutor, do not exact that of me, which is not in me; I have not theſe twenty years much uſed the Latin tongue.

Weſt. Take your eaſe, father.

Lat. I thank you, Sir, I am well; let me here proteſt my faith, for I am not able to diſpute: and afterwards do your pleaſure with me.

The Proteſtation of Mr. Hugh Latimer, given up in writing to Dr. Weſton.

The Concluſions whereunto I muſt anſwer, are theſe:

1. The firſt is, That in the ſacrament of the altar by the virtue of God's word pronounced by the prieſt, there is really preſent the natural body of Chriſt, conceived of the virgin Mary, under the kinds of the appearance of bread and wine; in like manner his blood.
2. The ſecond is, That after conſecration there remaineth no ſubſtance of bread and wine, nor any other ſubſtance, but the ſubſtance of God and man.
3. The third is, That in the maſs there is the lively ſacrifice of the church, which is propitiable, as well for the ſins of the quick, as of the dead.

Concerning the firſt concluſion, me thinketh it is ſet forth with certain new found terms that be obſcure, and do not ſound according to the ſpeech of the ſcripture. Howbeit, howſoever I underſtand it, this I do anſwer plainly, though not without peril; I anſwer, I ſay, that to the right celebration of the Lord's ſupper there is no other preſence of Chriſt required, than a ſpiritual preſence: and this preſence is ſufficient for a chriſtian man, as a preſence by which we abide in Chriſt, and Chriſt abideth in us, to the obtaining of eternal life, if we preſevere. And the ſame preſence may be called moſt fitly a real preſence, that is, a preſence not feigned, but a true and a faithful preſence. Which thing I here rehearſe, leſt ſome ſycophant or ſcorner ſhould ſuppoſe me, with the Anabaptiſts, to make nothing elſe of the ſacrament, but a naked and a bare ſign. As for that which is feigned of many concerning their corporal preſence, I for my part take it but for a papiſtical invention; therefore think it utterly to be rejected.

Concerning the ſecond concluſion, I dare be bold to ſay, that it hath no ground or ſtay in God's word, but is a thing invented and found out by man; and therefore to be taken as fond and falſe: and I had almoſt ſaid, as the mother and nurſe of the other errors. It were good for my lords and maſters of the tranſubſtantiation, to take heed leſt they conſpire with the Neſtorians, for I do not ſee how they can avoid it.

The third concluſion (as I do underſtand it) ſeemeth ſubtilly to ſow ſedition againſt the offering which Chriſt himſelf offered for us in his own proper perſon, according to that pithy place of Paul, Heb. 1. where he ſaith, "That Chriſt his own ſelf hath made purgation of our "ſins." And afterward, "That he might (ſaith he) "be a merciful and faithful biſhop, concerning thoſe "things which are to be done with God, for the taking "away of our ſins." So that the expiation or taking away of our ſins may be thought rather to depend on this, that Chriſt was an offering biſhop, than that he was offered, were it not that he was offered of himſelf: and therefore it is needleſs that he ſhould be offered of any other. I will ſpeak nothing of the wonderful preſumption of man, to dare to attempt this thing without a manifeſt vocation, ſpecially in that it tendeth to the overthrowing and making fruitleſs (if not wholly, yet partly) of the croſs of Chriſt; for truly it is no baſe or mean thing to offer Chriſt. And therefore worthily a man may ſay to my lords and maſters the offerers, By what authority do ye this? and who gave you this authority? Where? When? A man cannot (ſaith the baptiſt) take any thing except it be given him from above: much leſs then may any man preſume to uſurp any honour, before he be thereto called. Again, If any man ſin (ſaith St. John) we have (ſaith he) not a maſter or offerer at home, which can ſacrifice

crifice for us at maſs, but we have (ſaith he) an advocate Jeſus Chriſt, which once offered himſelf long ago; of which offering the efficacy and effect is perdurable for ever, ſo that it is needleſs to have ſuch offerers.

What meaneth Paul, when he ſaith, "They that ſerve "at the altar, are partakers of the altar?" and ſo addeth; "So the Lord hath ordained, that they that "preach the goſpel, ſhall live of the goſpel." Whereas he ſhould have ſaid, The Lord hath ordained, that they that ſacrifice at maſs, ſhould live of their ſacrificing, that there might be a living aſſigned to our ſacrificers now, as was before Chriſt's coming, to the Jewiſh prieſts. For now they have nothing to alledge for their living, as they that be preachers have. So that it appeareth, that the ſacrificing prieſthood is changed by God's ordinance into a preaching prieſthood, and the ſacrificing prieſthood ſhould ceaſe utterly, ſaving inaſmuch as all chriſtian men are ſacrificing prieſts.

The ſupper of the Lord was inſtituted to provoke us to thankſgiving for the offering which the Lord himſelf did offer for us, much rather than that our offerers ſhould do there as they do. "Feed (ſaith Peter) as "much as ye may, the flock of Chriſt:" nay rather let us ſacrifice as much as we may for the flock of Chriſt. If ſo be the matter be as now men make it, I can never wonder enough, that Peter would or could forget this office of ſacrificing, which at this day is in ſuch a price and eſtimation, that to feed is almoſt nothing with many. If thou ceaſe from feeding the flock, how ſhalt thou be taken? Truly catholic enough. But if thou ceaſe from ſacrificing and maſſing, how will that be taken? At the leaſt, I warrant thee, thou ſhalt be called an heretic.

And whence, I pray you, come theſe papiſtical judgments? Except perchance they think a man feedeth the flock in ſacrificing for them: and then what needeth there any learned paſtors? For no man is ſo fooliſh, but ſoon may he learn to ſacrifice and maſs it.

Thus lo, I have taken the more pains to write, becauſe I refuſed to diſpute, in conſideration of my debility thereunto: that all men may know, how that I have ſo done not without great pains, having not any man to help me, as I have never before been debarred to have. O Sir, you may chance to live till you come to this age and weakneſs that I am of. I have ſpoken in my time before two kings more than once, two or three hours together, without interruption: But now, that I may ſpeak the truth (by your leave) I could not be ſuffered to declare my mind before you, no, not by the ſpace of a quarter of an hour, without ſnatches, revilings, checks, rebukes, taunts, ſuch as I have not felt the like, in ſuch an audience, all my life long. Surely it cannot be but an heinous offence that I have given. But what was it? Forſooth I had ſpoken of the four marrow-bones of the maſs. The which kind of ſpeaking I never read to be a ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt.

I could not be allowed to ſhew what I meant by my metaphor: But, Sir, now by your favour I will tell your maſterſhip what I mean.

The firſt is the popiſh conſecration, which hath been called a God's body-making.

The ſecond is tranſubſtantiation.

The third is maſſal oblation.

The fourth adoration.

The chief and principal portions, parts and points belonging or incident to the maſs, and moſt eſteemed and had in price in the ſame, I call the marrow-bones of the maſs; which indeed you, by force, might, and violence intrude in ſound of words in ſome of the ſcripture, with racking and cramping, injuring and wronging the ſame: but elſe indeed, plain out of the ſcripture, as I am thoroughly perſuaded, although in diſputation I now could nothing do to perſuade the ſame to others, being both unapt to ſtudy, and alſo to make a ſhew of my former ſtudy in ſuch readineſs as ſhould be requiſite to the ſame.

I have heard much talk of Mr. Doctor Weſton to and fro in my time: but I never knew your perſon to my knowledge, till I came before you, as the queen's majeſty's commiſſioner. I pray God ſend you ſo right judgment, as I perceive you have a great wit, great learning, with many other qualities. God give you grace ever well to uſe them, and ever to have in remembrance, that he that dwelleth on high, looketh on the low things on the earth; and that there is no counſel againſt the Lord; and alſo that this world hath been, and yet is a tottering world. And yet again, that though we muſt obey the princes, yet that hath this limitation, namely, in the Lord. For whoſo doth obey them againſt the Lord, they be moſt pernicious to them, and the greateſt adverſaries that they have: For they ſo procure God's vengeance upon them, if God be the only ruler of things.

There be ſome ſo corrupt in mind, the truth being taken from them, that they think gain to be godlineſs; great learned men, and yet men of no learning, but of railing, and raging about queſtions and ſtrife of words. I call them men of no learning, becauſe they know not Chriſt, how much elſe ſoever they know. And on this ſort we are wont to call great learned clerks, being ignorant of Chriſt, unlearned men; for it is nothing but plain ignorance, to know any thing without Chriſt: whereas whoſo knoweth Chriſt, the ſame hath knowledge enough, although in other knowledge he be to ſeek. The apoſtle St. Paul confeſſeth of himſelf to the Corinthians, that he did know nothing but Jeſus Chriſt crucified. Many men babble many things of Chriſt, which yet know not Chriſt; but pretending Chriſt do craftily colour and darken his glory. Depart from ſuch men, ſaith the apoſtle St. Paul to Timothy.

It is not out of the way to remember what St. Auguſtine ſaith. The place where, I now well remember not, except it be againſt the epiſtles of Petilian; "Whoſoever "(ſaith he) teacheth any thing neceſſarily to be believed, "which is not contained in the Old and New Teſtament, "the ſame is accurſed." Oh! beware of this curſe, if you be wiſe. I am much deceived if Baſilius have not ſuch like words: "Whoſoever (ſaith he) is beſides the "holy ſcripture, if the ſame be taught as neceſſarily to be "believed, that is ſin." Oh therefore take heed of this ſin!

There be ſome that ſpeak many falſe things more probable, and more like to the truth, than the truth itſelf. Therefore Paul giveth a watch-word; "Let no man "(ſaith he) deceive you with probability and perſuaſions "of words." But what mean you, ſaith one, by this talk ſo far from the matter? Well, I hope, good maſters, you will ſuffer an old man a little to play the child, and to ſpeak one thing twice. O Lord God! you have changed the moſt holy communion into a private action; and you deny to the laity the Lord's cup, contrary to Chriſt's commandment: and you do blemiſh the annunciation of the Lord's death till he come: For you have changed the common prayer, called the divine ſervice, with the adminiſtration of the ſacraments, from the vulgar, and known language, into a ſtrange tongue, contrary to the will of the Lord revealed in his word. God open the door of your heart, to ſee the things you ſhould ſee herein! I would as fain obey my ſovereign as any in this realm; but in theſe things I can never do it with an upright conſcience. God be merciful unto us, Amen.

Weſt. Then refuſe you to diſpute? Will you here then ſubſcribe?

Lat. No, good maſter, I pray be good to an old man. You may, if it pleaſe God, be once old, as I am: you may come to this age, and to this debility.

Weſt. Ye ſaid upon Saturday laſt, that ye could not find the maſs, nor the marrow-bones thereof in your book: but we will find a maſs in that book.

Lat. No, good Mr. Doctor, ye cannot.

Weſt. What find you then there?

Lat. Forſooth a communion I find there.

Weſt. Which communion, the firſt or the laſt?

Lat. I find no great diverſity in them; they are one ſupper of the Lord: but I like the laſt very well.

Weſt. The firſt was naught belike.

Lat. I do not well remember wherein they differ.

Weſt. Then cake bread and loaf bread are all one with you. Ye call it the ſupper of the Lord, but you are deceived in that: for they had done the ſupper before, and therefore the ſcripture ſaith, After they had ſupped. For ye know that St. Paul findeth fault with the Corinthians, for that ſome of them were drunken at this ſupper; and ye know no man can be drunken at your communion.

Lat. The firſt was called [Cœna Judaica] The Jewiſh ſupper, when they did eat the paſchal lamb together; the other was called [Cœna Dominica] The Lord's ſupper.

Weſt. That is falſe; for Chryſoſtom denieth that. And St. Ambroſe in cap. 10. prioris ad Corinthios, ſaith, that "the myſtery of the ſacrament, given as they were "at ſupper, is not the ſupper of the Lord."

And Gregory Nazianzen ſaith the ſame, "Again he "kept the holy feaſt of paſſover with his diſciples in the "dining chamber after the ſupper, and one day before "his paſſion. But we keep it both in the churches and "houſes of prayer, both before the ſupper, and alſo after "the reſurrection."

And that firſt ſupper was called ἀγάπη: can you tell what that is?

Lat. I underſtand no Greek. Yet I think it meaneth Charity.

Weſt. Will you have all things done that Chriſt did then? Why, then muſt the prieſt be hanged on the morrow? And where find you, I pray you, that a woman ſhould receive the ſacrament?

Lat. Will you give me leave to turn my book? I find it in the 11th chapter to the Corinthians. I trow theſe be his words, Probet autem ſeipſum homo, &c.

I pray you, good maſter, what gender is Homo?

Weſt. Marry the common gender.

Cole. It is in the Greek, ὁ ἄνθρωπος.

Harpſ. It is ἄνηρ, that is, Vir.

Lat. It is in my book of Eraſmus's tranſlation, Probet ſeipſum homo.

Feck. It is Probet ſeipſum indeed, and therefore it importeth the maſculine gender.

Lat. What then? I trow when the woman touched Chriſt, he ſaid, Quis tetigit me? Scio quod aliquis me tetigit; that is, "Who touched me? I know that ſome man touched me."

Weſt. I will be at hoſt with you anon. When Chriſt was at ſupper, none were with him but his apoſtles only.

Ergo, He meant no woman, if you will have his inſtitution kept.

Lat. In the twelve apoſtles was repreſented the whole church, in which you will grant both men and women to be.

Weſt. So through the whole heretical tranſlated Bible ye never make mention of prieſt, till ye come to the putting of Chriſt to death. Where find you then that a prieſt or miniſter (a minſtrel I may call him well enough) ſhould do it of neceſſity?

Lat. A miniſter is a more fit name for that office; for the name of a prieſt importeth a ſacrifice.

Weſt. Well, remember that ye cannot find that a woman may receive by ſcripture. Mr. Opponent, fall to it.

Smith. Becauſe I perceive that this charge is laid upon my neck to diſpute with you: to the end that the ſame may go forward after a right manner and order, I will propoſe three queſtions, ſo as they are put forth unto me. And firſt I aſk this queſtion of you, although the ſame indeed ought not to be called in queſtion: but ſuch is the condition of the church, that it is always vexed of the wicked ſort. I aſk, I ſay, whether Chriſt's body be really in the ſacrament?

Lat. I truſt I have obtained of Mr. Prolocutor, that no man ſhall exact that thing of me which is not in me. And I am ſorry that this worſhipful audience ſhould be deceived of their expectation for my ſake. I have given up my mind in writing to Mr. Prolocutor.

Smith. Whatſoever ye have given up, it ſhall be regiſtered among the acts.

Lat. Diſputation requireth a good memory; my memory is gone clean, and marvellouſly weakened, and never the better, I wis, for the priſon.

Weſt. How long have ye been in priſon?

Lat. This three quarters of this year.

Weſt. And I was in priſon ſix years.

Lat. The more pity, Sir.

Weſt. How long have you been of this opinion?

Lat. It is not long, Sir, that I have been of this opinion.

Weſt. The time hath been when you ſaid maſs full devoutly.

Lat. Yea, I cry God mercy heartily for it.

Weſt. Where learned you this new fangleneſs?

Lat. I have long ſought for the truth in this matter of the ſacrament, and have not been of this mind paſt ſeven years: and my lord of Canterbury's book hath eſpecially confirmed my judgment herein. If I could remember all therein contained, I would not fear to anſwer any man in this matter.

Treſh. There are in that book ſix hundred errors.

Weſt. You were once a Lutheran.

Lat. No, I was a papiſt: for I never could perceive how Luther could defend his opinion without tranſubſtantiation. The Tygurines once did write a book againſt Luther, and I oft deſired God that he might live ſo long to make them anſwer.

Weſt. Luther, in his book De privata miſſa, ſaid, That the devil reaſoned with him, and perſuaded him that the maſs was not good, fol. 14. Contigit me, &c. Whereof it may appear, that Luther ſaid maſs, and the devil diſſuaded him from it.

Lat. I do not take in hand here to defend Luther's ſayings or doings. If he were here, he would defend himſelf well enough I trow. I told you before, that I am not meet for diſputations. I pray you read mine anſwer, wherein I have declared my faith.

Weſt. Do you believe this as you have written?

Lat. Yea, Sir.

Weſt. Then have you no faith.

Lat. Then would I be ſorry, Sir.

Treſh. It is written, "Except you ſhall eat the fleſh "of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye ſhall have "no life in you." Which when the Capernaites, and many of Chriſt's diſciples heard, they ſaid, This is a hard ſaying, &c. Now that the truth may the better appear, here I aſk of you, Whether Chriſt ſpeaking theſe words, did mean of his fleſh to be eaten with the mouth, or of the ſpiritual eating of the ſame?

Lat. I anſwer (as Auguſtine underſtandeth) that Chriſt meant of the ſpiritual eating of his fleſh.

Treſh. Of what fleſh meant Chriſt, his true fleſh, or no?

Lat. Of his true fleſh, ſpiritually to be eaten in the ſupper by faith, and not corporally.

Treſh. Of what fleſh meant the Capernaites?

Lat. Of his true fleſh alſo; but to be eaten with the mouth.

Treſh. They, as ye confeſs, did mean his true fleſh to be eaten with the mouth. And Chriſt alſo (as I ſhall prove) did ſpeak of the receiving of his fleſh with the mouth.

Ergo, They both did underſtand it of the eating of one thing, which is done by the mouth of the body.

Lat. I ſay Chriſt underſtood it not of the bodily mouth, but of the mouth of the ſpirit, mind and heart.

Treſh. I prove the contrary, that Chriſt underſtandeth it of the eating with the bodily mouth. For whereas cuſtom is a right good miſtreſs and interpreter of things, and whereas the acts put in practice by Chriſt, do certainly declare thoſe things which he firſt ſpake: Chriſt's deeds

in his ſupper, where he gave his body to be taken with the mouth, together with the cuſtom which hath been ever ſince that time of that eating which is done with the mouth, doth evidently infer that Chriſt did underſtand his words, here cited of me out of the ſixth of John, of the eating with the mouth.

Lat. He gave not his body to be received with the mouth, but he gave the ſacrament of his body to be received with the mouth: he gave the ſacrament to the mouth, his body to the mind.

Treſh. But my reaſon doth conclude, That Chriſt ſpake concerning his fleſh to be received with the corporal mouth: for otherwiſe (which God forbid) he had been a deceiver, and had been offenſive to the Capernaites and his diſciples, if he had not meant in this point as they thought he meant: for if he had thoughts as you do feign, it had been an eaſy matter for him to have ſaid, You ſhall not eat my fleſh with your mouth, but the ſacrament of my fleſh; that is to ſay, Ye ſhall receive with your mouth not the thing itſelf, but the figure of the thing, and thus he might have ſatisfied them: but ſo he ſaid not, but continued in the truth of his words, as he was wont. Therefore Chriſt meant the ſelf-ſame thing that the Capernaites did, I mean concerning the thing itſelf to be received with the mouth, videlicet, that his true fleſh is truly to be eaten with the mouth. Moreover, foraſmuch as you do expound for [Corpus Chriſti] the body of Chriſt [Sacramentum corporis Chriſti] the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt, and hereby do ſuppoſe that we obtain but a ſpiritual union, or union of the mind between us and Chriſt, plain it is, that you are deceived in this thing, and do err from the mind of the fathers: for they affirm by plain and expreſs words, that we are corporally and carnally joined together. And theſe be the words of Hilary, "Therefore if Chriſt did truly take the fleſh of "our body upon him, and the ſame man be Chriſt indeed "which was born of Mary; then we alſo do receive "under a myſtery the fleſh of his body indeed, and there-"by ſhall become one, becauſe the Father is in him, and "he in us. How is the unity of will affirmed, when a "natural propriety by the ſacrament is a perfect ſacra-"ment of unity?"

Thus far hath Hilary. Lo here you ſee how manifeſtly theſe words confound your aſſertion. To be ſhort, I myſelf have heard you preaching at Greenwich before king Henry VIII. where you did openly affirm, That no chriſtian man ought to doubt of the true and real preſence of Chriſt's body in the ſacrament, foraſmuch as he had the word of ſcripture on his ſide, [videlicet] Hoc eſt corpus meum, This is my body: whereby he might be confirmed. But now there is the ſame truth: the word of ſcripture hath the ſelf-ſame thing which it then had. Therefore why do you deny at this preſent that, whereof it was not lawful once to doubt before when you taught it?

Lat. Will you give me leave to ſpeak?

Treſh. Speak Latin, I pray you, for ye can do it, if ye liſt, promptly enough.

Lat. I cannot ſpeak Latin ſo long and ſo largely. Mr. Prolocutor hath given me leave to ſpeak Engliſh. And as for the words of Hilary, I think they make not ſo much for you. But he that ſhall anſwer the doctors had not need to be in my caſe, but ſhould have them in a readineſs, and know their purpoſe. Melancthon ſaith, If the doctors had foreſeen that they ſhould have been ſo taken in this controverſy, they would have written more plainly.

Smith. I will reduce the words of Hilary into the form of a ſyllogiſm.

Such as is the unity of our fleſh with Chriſt's fleſh, ſuch (yea greater) is the unity of Chriſt with the Father.

But the unity of Chriſt's fleſh with ours is true and ſubſtantial.

Ergo, The unity of Chriſt with the Father is true and ſubſtantial.

Lat. I underſtand you not.

Seaton. I know your learning well enough, and how ſubtle ye be: I will uſe a few words with you, and that out of Cyprian, De cœna Domini. The Old Teſtament doth forbid the drinking of blood; the New Teſtament doth command the drinking and taſting of blood: but where doth it command the drinking of blood?

Lat. In theſe words, Bibite ex hoc omnes; that is, Drink ye all of this.

Seat. Then we taſte true blood.

Lat. We do taſte true blood, but ſpiritually; and this is enough.

Seat. Nay, the Old and New Teſtament in this do differ; for the one doth command, and the other doth forbid to drink blood.

Lat. It is true as touching the matter, but not as touching the manner of the thing.

Seat. Then there is no difference between the drinking of blood in the New Teſtament, and that of the Old; for they alſo drank ſpiritually.

Lat. And we drink ſpiritually alſo, but a more precious blood.

Weſt. Auguſtine upon the 45th Pſalm, ſaith, "Drink "boldly the blood which ye have poured out."

Ergo, It is blood.

Lat. I never denied it, nor ever will I go from it, but that we drink the very blood of Chriſt indeed, but ſpiritually: for the ſame Auguſtine ſaith "Believe, and thou haſt eaten."

Weſt. Nay, to believe, is not to drink or eat. You will not ſay, I pledge you, when I ſay, I believe in God.

Lat. Is not [Manducare] To eat, in your learning put for [Credere] To believe?

Weſt. I remember my lord chancellor demanded Mr. Hooper of theſe queſtions, Whether [Edere] To eat, were [Credere] To believe, and [Altare] an altar, were Chriſt in all the ſcripture, &c. And he anſwered, Yea.

Then ſaid my lord chancellor, Why then [Habemus altare de quo non licet edere] that is, We have an altar, of which it is not lawful to eat, is as much as to ſay, [Habemus Chriſtum, in quo non licet credere] We have a Chriſt, in whom we may not believe.

Treſh. Believe, and thou haſt eaten, is ſpoken of the ſpiritual eating.

Lat. It is true, I do allow your ſaying; I take it ſo alſo.

Weſt. We are commanded to drink blood in the new law.

Ergo, It is very blood.

Lat. We drink blood, ſo as appertaineth to us to drink to our comfort, in ſacramental wine. We drink blood ſacramentally: he gave us his blood to drink ſpiritually, he went about to ſhew, that as certainly as we drink wine, ſo certainly we drink his blood ſpiritually.

Weſt. Do you not ſeem to be a papiſt, which do bring in new words, not found in ſcripture? Where find you that [Sacramentaliter] Sacramentally, in God's book?

Lat. It is neceſſarily gathered upon ſcripture.

Weſt. The Old Teſtament doth forbid the taſting of blood, but the New doth command it.

Lat. It is true, not as touching the thing, but as touching the manner thereof.

Weſt. Hear ye people, this is the argument:

That which was forbidden in the Old Teſtament, is commanded in the New.

To drink blood was forbidden in the Old Teſtament, and commanded in the New.

This argument, becauſe the Major thereof is no univerſal, is not formal, and may well be retorted againſt Weſton thus.

No natural or moral thing, forbidden materially in the Old Teſtament, is commanded in the New.

To drink man's natural blood is forbidden materially in the Old Teſtament.

Ergo, To drink man's natural blood materially is not commanded in the New.

Lat. It is commanded ſpiritually to be drank; I grant it is blood drank in the New Teſtament, but we receive it ſpiritually.

Pye. It was not forbidden ſpiritually in the old law.

Lat. The ſubſtance of blood is drank, but not in one manner.

Pye. It doth not require the ſame manner of drinking.

Lat. It is the ſame thing, not the ſame manner. I have no more to ſay.

Weſt. Here Weſton cited the place of Chryſoſtom, of Judas's treaſon: "O the madneſs of Judas! He "made bargain with the Jews for thirty pence to ſell "Chriſt, and Chriſt offered him his blood which he "ſold."

Lat. I grant he offered to Judas his blood which he ſold, but in a ſacrament.

Weſt. Becauſe ye can defend your doctors no better, ye ſhall ſee what worſhipful men ye hang upon, and one that hath been of your mind ſhall diſpute with you. Mr. Cartwright, I pray you diſpute.

Cart. Reverend father, becauſe it is given me in commandment to diſpute with you, I will do it gladly. But firſt underſtand ere we go any further, that I was in the ſame error that you are in: but I am ſorry for it, and do confeſs myſelf to have erred, I acknowledge mine offence, and I wiſh and deſire God that you may alſo repent with me.

Lat. Will you give me leave to tell what hath cauſed Mr. Doctor here to recant? It is Pœna legis, the pain of the law, which hath brought you back, and converted you, and many more; the which letteth many to confeſs God. And this is a great argument, there are few herecan diſſolve it.

Cart. That is not my caſe, but I will make you this ſhort argument, by which I was converted from mine errors.

If the true body of Chriſt be not really in the ſacrament, all the whole church hath erred from the apoſtles time.

But Chriſt would not ſuffer his church to err:

Ergo, It is the true body of Chriſt.

Lat. The Popiſh church hath erred, and doth err. I think for the ſpace of ſix or ſeven hundred years, there was no mention made of any eating but ſpiritually: for, before theſe five hundred years, the church did ever confeſs a ſpiritual manducation. But the Romiſh church begat the error of tranſubſtantiation. My Lord of Canterbury's book handleth that very well, and by him I could anſwer you if I had him.

Cart. Linus and all the reſt do confeſs the body of Chriſt to be in the ſacrament: and St. Auguſtine alſo upon the 99th Pſalm, upon this place, "Worſhip his "footſtool, &c." granteth that it is to be worſhipped.

Lat. We do worſhip Chriſt in the heavens, and we do worſhip him in the ſacrament: but the maſſing worſhip is not to be uſed.

Smith. Do you think that Cyril was of the ancient church?

Lat. I do think ſo.

Smith. He ſaith, That Chriſt dwelleth in us corporally: Theſe be Cyril's words of the myſtical benediction.

Lat. That [corporally] hath another underſtanding than you do groſly take it.

Cyril ſaith, That Chriſt dwelleth corporally in us, but he ſaith not that Chriſt dwelleth corporally in the bread. Which dwelling of Chriſt in us, is as our dwelling is alſo in Chriſt, not local or corporal, but ſpiritual and heavenly. Corporally therefore is to be taken in the ſame ſenſe as St. Paul ſaith the fulneſs of divinity to dwell in Chriſt corporally, that is, not lightly nor accidentally, but perfectly and ſubſtantially, with all his virtue and power, &c. And ſo dwelleth Chriſt corporally in us alſo.

Smith. Here Smith repeateth theſe words of Cyril, "By the communicating of the body of Chriſt, Chriſt "dwelleth in us corporally."

Lat. The ſolution of this is in my lord of Canterbury's book.

Smith. Cyril was a papiſt, and yet theſe be his words, "Chriſt dwelleth in us corporally:" But you ſay he dwelleth in us ſpiritually.

Lat. I ſay both, that he dwelleth in us both corporally and ſpiritually, according to his meaning: Spiritually by faith, and corporally by taking our fleſh upon him. For I remember I have read this in my lord of Canterbury's book.

Weſt. Becauſe your learning is let out to farm, and ſhut up in my lord of Canterbury's book, I will recite unto you a place of St. Ambroſe, De apparatione ad miſſam, where he ſaith, "We ſee the chief prieſt com-"ing unto us, and offering blood, &c."

Likewiſe both Auguſtine in the 38th Pſalm, and Chryſoſtom concerning the incomprehenſible nature of God, tom. 3. ſay, Non ſolum homines, &c.

Lat. I am not aſhamed to acknowledge mine ignorance, and theſe teſtimonies are more than I can bear away.

Weſt. Then you muſt leave ſome behind you for lack of carriage.

Lat. But of Chryſoſtom, he hath many figurative ſpeeches, and emphatical locutions in many places; as in that which you have now recited: But he ſaith not, For the quick and the dead; he taketh the celebration for the ſacrifice.

Weſt. You ſhall hear Chryſoſtom again, upon the ninth chapter of the Acts, Quid dicis? Hoſtia in manibus ſacerdotis, &c. He doth not call it a cup of wine.

Lat. Ye have mine anſwer there with you in a paper; and yet he calleth it not, a propitiatory ſacrifice.

Weſt. You ſhall hear it to be ſo: and I bring another place of Chryſoſtom out of the ſame treatiſe, Non temere ab apoſtolis eſt inſtitutum, &c.

Lat. He is too precious a thing for us to offer; he offereth himſelf.

Weſt. Here in another place of Chryſoſtom to the people of Antioch, and alſo to the Philippians, he ſaith, "There ſhould be a memory and ſacrifice for the dead."

Lat. I do ſay, that the holy communion beareth the name of a ſacrifice, becauſe it is a ſacrifice memorative.

Weſt. How ſay you to the ſacrifice of the dead?

Lat. I ſay that it needeth not, and it booteth not.

Weſt. Auguſtine in his Enchiridion, ſaith, "We muſt "not deny that the ſouls of the dead are relieved by "the devotion of their friends which are living, when "the ſacrifice of the mediator is offered for them." Where he proveth the verity of Chriſt's body, and prayeth for the dead. And it is ſaid, that the ſame Auguſtine ſaid maſs for his mother.

Lat. But that maſs was not like yours, which thing doth manifeſtly appear in his writings, which are againſt it in every place. And Auguſtine is a reaſonable man, he requireth to be believed no further than he bringeth ſcripture for his proof, and agreeth with God's word.

Weſt. In the ſame place he proveth a propitiatory ſacrifice, and that upon an altar, and no oyſter-board.

Lat. It is the Lord's table, and no oyſter-board. It may be called an altar, and ſo the doctors call it in many places: but there is no propitiatory ſacrifice, but only Chriſt. The doctors might be deceived in ſome points, though not in all things; I believe them when they ſay well.

Cole. Is it not a ſhame for an old man to lye? You ſay you are of the old fathers faith where they ſay well, and yet ye are not.

Lat. I am of their faith when they ſay well. I refer myſelf to my lord of Canterbury's book wholly herein.

Smith. Then are not you of Chryſoſtom's faith, nor of St. Auguſtine's faith.

Lat. I have ſaid, when they ſay well, and bring ſcripture for them, I am of their faith; and further Auguſtine requireth not to be believed.

Weſt. Origen, Hom. 13. upon Leviticus.

Lat. I have but one word to ſay, The ſacramental bread is called a propitiation, becauſe it is a ſacrament of the propitiation. What is your vocation?

Weſton. My vocation is at this time to diſpute; otherwiſe I am a prieſt, and my vocation is to offer.

Lat. Where have you that authority given you to offer?

Weſt. Hoc facite, Do this; for Facite in that place is taken for Offerte, that is, Offer you.

Lat. Is Facere, nothing but Sacrificare, to ſacrifice? Why, then no man muſt receive the ſacrament but prieſts only: For there may none other offer but prieſts.

Ergo, There may none receive but prieſts.

Weſt. Your argument is to be denied.

Lat. Did Chriſt then offer himſelf at his ſupper?

Pye. Yea, he offered himſelf for the whole world.

Lat. Then if this word [Facite] Do ye, ſignify [Sacrificare] Sacrifice ye, it followeth, as I ſaid, that none but prieſts only ought to receive the ſacrament, to whom it is only lawful to ſacrifice: And where find you that, I pray you?

Weſt. Forty years agon whither could you have gone to have found your doctrine?

Lat. The more cauſe we have to thank God, that hath now ſent the light into the world.

Weſt. The light? Nay light and lewd preachers; for you could not tell what you might have. Ye altered and changed ſo often your communions and altars, and all for this one end, to ſpoil and rob the church.

Lat. Theſe things pertain nothing to me, I muſt not anſwer other mens deeds, but only for mine own.

Weſt. Well, Mr. Latimer, this is our intent, to will you well, and to exhort you to come to yourſelf, and remember, that without Noah's ark there is no health. Remember what they have been, that were the beginners of your doctrine; none but a few flying apoſtates, running out of Germany for fear of the faggot. Remember what they have been which have ſet forth the ſame in this realm: A ſort of fling-brains and light heads, which were never conſtant in any one thing, as it was to be ſeen in the turning of the table, where like a ſort of apes they could not tell which way to turn their tails, looking one day weſt, and another day eaſt; one that way, and another this way. They will be like (they ſay) to the apoſtles, they will have no churches; a hovel is good enough for them. They come to the communion with no reverence. They get them a tankard, and one ſaith, I drink, and I am thankful; the more joy of thee, ſaith another. And in them was it true that Hilary ſaith, "We make every year and every month a faith." A runnagate Scot did take away the adoration or worſhipping of Chriſt in the ſacrament, by whoſe procurement that hereſy was put into the laſt communion-book; ſo much prevailed that one man's authority at that time. You never agreed with the Tygurines or Germans, or with the church, or with yourſelf. Your ſtubbornneſs cometh of a vain glory, which is to no purpoſe; for it will do you no good when a faggot is in your beard. And we ſee all, by your own confeſſion, how little cauſe you have to be ſtubborn, for your learning is in feoffers hold. The Queen's grace is merciful, if ye will turn.

Lat. You ſhall have no hope in me to turn. I pray for the Queen daily, even from the bottom of my heart, that ſhe may turn from this religion.

Weſt. Here you all ſee the weakneſs of hereſy againſt the truth: He denieth all truth, and all the old fathers.

Here all good readers may ſee how this glorious prolocutor triumpheth; but whether he hath victory or no, that I ſuppoſe they have yet neither heard nor ſeen. And grant that he had the victory, yet what great marvel was it, diſputing as he did, Non ſine ſuo Theſeo, that is, not without his tipling cup ſtanding at his elbow all the time of his diſputation; not without a privy noting and ſmiling of them that beheld the matter; but eſpecially at that time, when Dr. Ridley diſputing with one of the opponents, the ſaid prolocutor took the cup, and holding it in his hand, ſaid to the opponent, Urge hoc, urge hoc, nam hoc facit pro nobis. In which words, as he moved the beholders thereof to laughter, ſo I thought it proper to mention here, to delight the reader withal, after his tedious wearineſs in reading the ſtory thereof.

And thus haſt thou (loving reader) the whole action and ſtage of this doctorly diſputation ſhewed forth unto thee, againſt theſe three worthy confeſſors and martyrs of the Lord; wherein thou mayeſt behold the diſordered uſage of the univerſity men, the unmannerly manner of the ſchool, the rude tumult of the multitude, the fierceneſs and interruption of the doctors, the full pith and ground of all their arguments, the cenſures of the judges, the railing language of the oblocutor, with his blaſt of triumph in the latter end, being both the actor and moderator, and alſo judge himſelf. And what marvel then if the courage of this victorious conqueror, having the law in his own hands, to do and ſay what he pleaſed, would ſay for himſelf, Vicit veritas, although he ſaid never a true word, nor ever made a true concluſion, almoſt in all that diſputation.

It furthermore followed, after diſputation of theſe three days being ended, that Mr. Harpsfield, the next day after, which was April 19, ſhould diſpute for his form, to be made doctor. To which diſputation the archbiſhop of Canterbury was brought forth, and permitted among the reſt to utter an argument or two in defence of his cauſe; as in ſequel hereof may appear.

The Diſputation of Mr. Harpsfield, Bachelor of Divinity, anſwering for his Form to be made Doctor.

Mr. Harpsfield.

I AM not ignorant what a weighty matter it is to intreat of the whole order and trade of the ſcriptures: And moſt hard it is too, in the great contention of religion, to ſhew the ready way whereby the ſcriptures may beſt be underſtood; for the often reading of them doth not bring the true underſtanding of them. What other thing is there then? Verily this is the ready way, not to follow our own heads and ſenſes, but to give over our judgment unto the holy catholic church, who hath had of old years the truth, and always delivered the ſame to their poſterity: but if the often reading of ſcriptures, and never ſo painful comparing of places, ſhould bring the true underſtanding, then divers heretics might prevail even againſt whole general councils. The Jews did greatly brag of the knowledge of the law, and of the Saviour that they waited for. But what availed it them? Notwithſtanding, I know right well, that divers places of the ſcripture do much warn us of the often reading of the ſame, and what fruit doth thereby follow; as, "Search "the ſcriptures, for they do bear witneſs of me, &c. "The law of the Lord is pure, able to turn ſouls." And that ſaying of St. Paul, "All ſcripture inſpired "from above, doth make that a man may be inſtructed "to all good works." Howbeit doth the law of the Jews convert their ſouls? Are they by reading inſtructed to every good work? The letter of the Old Teſtament is the ſame that we have.

The heretics alſo have ever had the ſame ſcriptures which we have that be catholics. But they are ſerved as Tantalus that the poets ſpeak of, who in the plenty of things to eat and drink, is ſaid to be oppreſſed with hunger and thirſt. The ſwifter that men do ſeek the ſcrip-

ſcriptures without the catholic church, the deeper they fall, and find hell for their labour. St. Cyprian never ſwerving from the catholic church, ſaith, "He that "doth not acknowledge the church to be his mother, "ſhall not have God to his Father." Therefore it is true divinity to be wiſe with the church, where Chriſt ſaith, "Unleſs ye eat my fleſh, and drink my blood, ye "have no life in you."

If he had meant of only eating bread and drinking wine, nothing had been more pleaſant to the Capernaites, neither would they have forſaken him. The fleſh profiteth nothing to them that do ſo take it. For the Capernaites did imagine Chriſt to be given in ſuch ſort as he lived. But Chriſt ſpake high things; not that they ſhould have him as fleſh in the market, but to conſider his preſence with the Spirit, under the forms whereby it is given. As there is an alteration of bodies by courſes and times of ages, ſo there is no leſs variety in eating of bodies.

Theſe things which I have recited briefly, Mr. Harpſfield did ſet out with many more words: and hereupon Dr. Weſton diſputed againſt him.

Weſt. Chriſt's real body is not in the ſacrament.

Ergo, You are deceived.

Harpſ. I deny the antecedent.

Weſt. John 16. "I ſpeak the truth unto you: it be-"hoveth me that I go away from you. For unleſs I do "depart, that Comforter cannot come, &c."

Upon this I will make this argument.

Chriſt is ſo gone away, as he did ſend the Holy Ghoſt.

But the Holy Ghoſt did verily come into the world:

Ergo, Chriſt is verily gone.

Harpſ. He is verily gone, and yet remaineth here.

Weſt. St. Auguſtine ſaith, that theſe words, "I will "be with you even to the end of the world." are accompliſhed, [Secundum Majeſtatem] According to his majeſty: but [Secundum præſentiam carnis non eſt hic] By the preſence of his fleſh he is not here. The church hath him not in fleſh, but by belief.

Harpſ. We muſt diligently weigh that there are two natures in Chriſt: the divine nature, and human nature. The divine nature is of ſuch ſort, that it cannot chooſe but be in all places. The human nature is not ſuch, that of force it muſt be in all places, altho' it be in divers after diverſe manner. So where the doctors do intreat of his preſence by majeſty, they do commend the majeſty of the divine nature, not to hinder us of the natural preſence here in the ſacrament.

Weſt. He ſaith farther, "Ye ſhall not have me always "with you," is to be underſtood in the fleſh.

Harpſ. The preſence of the fleſh is to be conſidered, that he is not here as he was wont to live in converſation with them, to be ſeen, talked withal, or in ſuch ſort as a man may give him any thing: afrer that ſort he is not preſent.

Weſt. But what ſay you to this of Auguſtine, "He is "not here?"

Harpſ. I do anſwer out of St. Auguſtine upon John, Tractat. 25. upon theſe words, "I go to the Father, "ye ſhall not ſee me; that is, Such as I am now." Therefore I do deny the manner of his preſence.

Weſt. I will overthrow St. Auguſtine with St. Auguſtine; who ſaith this alſo, "How may a man hold "Chriſt? ſend thy faith, and thou holdeſt him."

So he ſheweth, that by ſending our faith, we do hold Chriſt.

Harpſ. Indeed no man holdeth Chriſt unleſs he believe in him; but it is another thing to have Chriſt merciful and favourable unto us, and to have him preſent in the ſacrament.

There St. Auguſtine ſpeaketh of holding him by faith, as he is favourable unto us.

Weſt. Nay, he ſpeaketh there how the fathers had him in the fleſh, and teacheth that we have him not ſo in the fleſh, as they had him long time, ſaying, "Your "fathers did hold Chriſt preſent in the fleſh: Do you "hold him in your heart?" What words can be more plain? Further he ſaith, "He is gone, and is not here: "he hath left us, and yet hath not forſaken us. He is "here in majeſty, and gone touching the fleſh."

Harpſ. I do underſtand Auguſtine thus, that Chriſt is here in his fleſh to them that receive him worthily: to ſuch as do not worthily receive him, to them he is not preſent in the fleſh. I judge St. Auguſtine meaneth ſo. We have him, and have him not: we have him in receiving him worthily, otherwiſe not.

Weſt. Nay, Tenere carnem eſt tenere corticem literæ. I will proſecute another argument. Cyril doth ſay, "By "the majeſty of his divinity he is ever here, but the "preſence of his fleſh hath he taken away."

Harpſ. The ſenſe of Cyril is thus to be underſtood: The moſt true fleſh of Chriſt is at the right hand of the Father. Thus the fathers taught, and ſo they believed. Thus ſaid Cyril; thus ſaid Auguſtine: and becauſe this is the foundation of our faith, they did oftentimes teach it. Therefore when they prove this (the body to be in heaven), they do not make againſt the preſence in the ſacrament.

So unleſs ye can plainly ſhew, that the fathers do directly ſay he is not in the ſacrament, you make nothing againſt me: For I have ſhewed why the fathers ſo ſpake. They did teach the great difference between the divine nature, and the human nature, as I have before ſaid.

Weſt. I will then prove, that he is not in the ſacrament. Vigilius againſt the heretic Eutyches, upon theſe words, "Ye ſhall not have me always with you," ſaith, "The Son of God, as touching his humanity, he is "gone from us, by his divinity he remaineth with us." And the ſame Vigilius in his fourth book ſaith, "He that "is in the heaven, is not in the earth;" ſpeaking of Chriſt.

Harpſ. I will ſhew you the reaſon of theſe words. The heretic Eutyches did believe that the divine nature of Chriſt was faſtened on the croſs, and believed that Chriſt had no natural body. To this Vigilius ſaid, That the human nature was taken up and aſcended, which could not ſo have done, unleſs he had a body. This he ſaid not, to take away the preſence in the ſacrament.

For what had he to refer this ſentence to the ſacrament? He never did ſo much as dream of the ſacrament.

Weſt. Cyril ſaith, "Although he be abſent from us "in body, yet are we governed by his Spirit."

Harpſ. By theſe words he gave us a chearfulneſs to aſpire upwards, ſeeking there hence our help. For as touching his converſation, he is not ſo in the ſacrament as one meet to be lived withal. But let him not teach us that he is not there to feed us; for after that ſort he is here.

Weſt. You have ſatisfied me with your anſwers, in doing the ſame learnedly, and catholicly. But now to another argument.

Chriſt is now ſo abſent from the earth by his body, as he was abſent from heaven when he lived here.

But when he did live bodily on earth, the ſame natural body was out of heaven.

Ergo, Now whilſt this natural body is in heaven, it is not in the earth.

Harpſ. I deny the Major.

Weſt. Fulgentius ad Thraſimundum regem, lib. 2. ſaith, "Secundum humanam ſubſtantiam abſens erat "cœlo, cum deſcendit de cœlo" Theſe are Fulgentius's words touching his human ſubſtance, "He was "abſent from heaven, when he deſcended from heaven; "and touching the ſame ſubſtance, now he is in heaven "he is not on the earth: but concerning the divine "nature, he never forſook neither heaven nor earth."

After theſe words, not waiting Harpsfield's anſwer, he offered Mr. Cranmer to diſpute; who began in this wiſe.

Cranmer. I have heard you right learnedly and eloquently

quently intreat of the dignity of the ſcriptures, which I do both commend, and have marvelled thereat within myſelf. But whereas you refer the true ſenſe and judgment of the ſcriptures to the catholic church as judge thereof, you are much deceived; eſpecially for that under the name of the church you appoint ſuch judges as have corruptly judged, and contrary to the ſenſe of the ſcripture. I wonder likewiſe why you attribute ſo little to the diligent reading of the ſcriptures, and conferring of places, ſeeing the ſcriptures do ſo much commend the ſame, as well in divers other places, as alſo in thoſe which you yourſelf have already alledged. And as touching your opinion of theſe queſtions, it ſeemeth to me neither to have any ground of the word of God, nor of the primitive church. And to ſay the truth, the ſchoolmen have ſpoken diverſely of them, and do not agree thereof among themſelves. Wherefore, minding here briefly to ſhew my judgment alſo, I muſt deſire you firſt to anſwer to me a few queſtions which I ſhall demand of you. Which being done, we ſhall the better proceed in our diſputation. Moreover, I muſt deſire you to bear alſo with my rudeneſs in the Latin tongue, which through long diſuſe is not now ſo prompt and ready with me as it hath been: and now all other things ſet apart, I mind chiefly to have regard to the truth. My firſt queſtion is this: How Chriſt's body is in the ſacrament, according to your mind or determination?

Then anſwered a doctor, He is there as touching his ſubſtance, but not after the manner of his ſubſtance.

Harpſ. He is there in ſuch ſort and manner, as he may be eaten.

Cran. My next queſtion is, Whether he hath his quantity and qualities, form, figure, and ſuch like properties?

Harpſ. Are theſe your queſtions, ſaid Mr. Harpsfield? I may likewiſe aſk you, When Chriſt paſſed through the virgin's womb, An ruperit necne? When they had thus a little while contended, there were divers opinions in this matter.

All the doctors fell in a buzzing, uncertain what to anſwer: ſome thought one way, ſome another; and thus Mr. Doctors could not agree.

Then Mr. Cranmer ſaid thus; You put off queſtions with queſtions, and not with anſwers; I aſk one thing of you, and you anſwer another. Once again I aſk, Whether he have thoſe properties which he had on the earth?

Treſh. No, he hath not all the quantities and qualities belonging to a body.

Smith. Stay you, Mr. Treſham. I will anſwer you, Mr. Doctor, with the words of Damaſcene, [Transformatur panis, &c.] The bread is transformed, &c. But if thou wilt enquire how, [Modus impoſſibilis,] The manner is impoſſible.

Then two or three others added their anſwers to this queſtion, ſomewhat doubtfully. A great hurly-burly was among them, ſome affirming one thing, and ſome another.

Cran. Do you appoint me a body, and cannot tell what manner of body? Either he hath not his quantity, or elſe you are ignorant how to anſwer it.

Harpſ. Theſe are vain queſtions, and it is not meet to ſpend the time on them.

Weſt. Hear me a while. Lanfrancus, ſometime biſhop of Canterbury, doth anſwer in this wiſe unto Berengarius, upon ſuch like queſtions, "They may well be believed, but never faithfully aſked."

Cran. If you think good to anſwer it, ſome of you declare it.

Harpſ. He is there as pleaſeth him to be there.

Cran. I would be beſt contented with that anſwer, if that your appointing of a carnal preſence had not driven me of neceſſity to have inquired, for diſputation's ſake, how you place him there, ſince you will have a natural body.

When again he was anſwered of divers at one time, ſome denying it to be a [Quantum,] ſome ſaying it to be [Quantitativum,] ſome affirming it to have [Modum quanti,] ſome denying it; ſome one thing, ſome another: up ſtarts Dr. Weſton, and doughtily decided, as he thought, all the matter, ſaying, It is a body having quantity, but not according to the manner of quantity.

Whereunto Mr. Ward, a great ſophiſter, thinking the matter not fully anſwered, did largely declare and diſcourſe his ſentence: how learnedly and truly I cannot tell, nor I think he himſelf neither, nor yet the beſt learned there. For it was ſaid ſince, That far better learned than he, laid as good ear to him as they could, and yet could by no means perceive to what end all his talk tended. Indeed he told a formal tale to clout up the matter. He was full of [Quantum & quantitativum.] This that follows was, as it is thought, the effect, yet others think not. Howbeit we will rehearſe the ſum of his words, as it is thought he ſpake them.

Ward. We muſt conſider, ſaith he, that there are two poſitions. The one ſtandeth by the order of parts, with reſpect of the whole. The other in reſpect of that which containeth Chriſt, is in the ſacrament in reſpect of the whole. This propoſition is one of Ariſtotle's predicaments, called Situs. I remember I did intreat theſe matters very largely, when I did rule and moderate the philoſophical diſputations in the public ſchools. This poſition is [Sine modo quantitativo,] as by an enſample, you can never bring heaven to a quantity. So I conclude that he is in the ſacrament [Quantum, ſine modo quantitativo.]

Theſe words he amplified very largely, and ſo high he climbed into the heavens with Duns's ladder, and not with the ſcriptures, that it is to be marvelled how he could come down again without falling. To whom Mr. Cranmer ſaid, Then thus do I make my argument.

Cran. In heaven his body had quantity, in earth it hath none by your ſaying.

Ergo, He hath two bodies, the one in heaven, the other in earth.

Here ſome would have anſwered him, that he had quantity in both, and ſo put off the antecedent: but thus ſaid Mr. Harpsfield:

Harpſ. I deny your argument. Though ſome would not have had him ſay ſo.

Cran. The argument is good. It ſtandeth upon contradictories, which is the moſt ſure hold.

Harpſ. I deny that there are contradictions.

Cran. I thus prove it. Habere modum quantitativum & non habere, ſunt contradictoria.

Sed Chriſtus in cœlis, ut dicitis, habet modum quantitativum, in terra non habet:

Ergo, Duo ſunt corpora ejus in quæ cadunt hæc contradictoria; Nam in idem cadere non poſſunt.

Weſt. I deny the Minor.

Harpſ. I anſwer that the Major is not true. For Habere quantum, & non habere, non ſunt contradictoria, niſi ſic conſiderentur, ejuſdem ad idem, eodem modo & ſimpliciter.

Weſt. I confirm the ſame; for one body may have Modum quantitativum, and not have; and the ſame body was paſſible and impaſſible; one body may have wounds and not wounds.

Cran. This cannot be at one time.

Weſt. The enſample of the potter doth prove that which I ſay; who, of that which is clay now, maketh a pot or cup forthwith.

Cran. But I ſay again that it is ſo, but at divers times as one piece of meat to be raw and ſodden, cannot be at one time together. But you would have it otherwiſe, that Chriſt ſhould be here and in heaven at one time, and

ſhould have Modum quantitativum, and not have; which cannot be but by ſuch argument as I have ſhewed you.

Weſt. But I ſay Chriſt's body was paſſible and not paſſible at one inſtant.

Seaton. You may aſk as well other queſtions, how he is in heaven? whether he ſit or ſtand? and whether he be there as he lived here?

Cran. You yourſelf, by putting a natural preſence, do force me to queſtion, how he is here. Therefore next I do aſk this queſtion, Whether good and evil men do eat the body in the ſacrament?

Harpſ. Yea, they do ſo, even as the ſun doth ſhine upon kings palaces, and on dung-heaps.

Cran. Then do I inquire, how long Chriſt tarrieth in the eater?

Harpſ. Theſe are curious queſtions, unmeet to be aſked.

Cran. I have taken them out of your ſchools and ſchoolmen, which you yourſelves do moſt uſe: and there alſo do I learn to aſk how far he goeth into the body.

Harpſ. We know that the body of Chriſt is received to nouriſh the whole man, both body and ſoul. Eouſque progreditur corpus quouſque ſpecies.

Cran. How long doth he abide in the body?

Seaton. St. Auguſtine ſaith, our fleſh goeth into his fleſh. But after he is once received into the ſtomach, it maketh no matter for us to know how far he doth pierce, or whither he is conveyed.

Here Mr. Treſham and one Mr. London anſwered, that Chriſt being given there under ſuch form and quantity as pleaſed him, it was not to be inquired of his tarrying, or of his deſcending into the body.

Harpſ. You were wont to lay to our charge, that we added to the ſcripture, ſaying always that we ſhould fetch the truth out of the ſcripture, and now you yourſelf bring queſtions out of the ſchoolmen, which you have diſallowed in us.

Cran. I ſay as I have ſaid alway, that I am conſtrained to aſk theſe queſtions, becauſe of this carnal preſence which you imagine: and yet I know right well that theſe queſtions be anſwered out of the ſcriptures. As to my laſt queſtion, How long he abideth in the body, &c. the ſcripture anſwereth plainly, that Chriſt doth ſo long dwell in his people, as they are his members. Whereupon I make this argument.

They which eat the fleſh of Chriſt do dwell in him, and he in them.

But the wicked do not remain in him, nor he in them:

Ergo, The wicked do not eat his fleſh, nor drink his blood.

Harpſ. I will anſwer unto you as St. Auguſtine ſaith, not that howſoever a man do eat, he eateth the body; but he that eateth after a certain manner.

Cran. I cannot tell what manner ye appoint, but I am ſure that evil men do not eat the fleſh and drink the blood of Chriſt, as Chriſt ſpeaketh in the ſixth of John.

Harpſ. In the ſixth of John ſome things are to be referred to the godly, and ſome to the ungodly.

Cran. Whatſoever he doth intreat there of eating, doth pertain unto good men.

Harpſ. If you do mean only of the word of eating, it is true; if concerning the thing, it is not ſo: and if your meaning be of that which is contained under the word of eating, it may be ſo taken, I grant.

Cran. Now to the argument; He that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. Doth not this prove ſufficiently, that evil men do not eat that the good do?

Treſh. You muſt add, He that eateth worthily.

Cran. I ſpeak of the ſame manner of eating that Chriſt ſpeaketh of.

Weſt. Auguſtinus ad Fratres in Eremo, Serm. 28. ſays, There is a certain manner of eating. Auguſtine ſpeaketh of two manners of eating; the one of them that eat worthily, the other that eat unworthily.

Harpſ. All things in the ſixth of John are not to be referred to the ſacrament, but to the receiving of Chriſt by faith. The fathers do agree, that there is not intreaty made of the ſupper of the Lord, before they come unto "The bread which I give, is my fleſh, &c."

Cran. There is intreating of manna both before and after.

Harpſ. I will apply another anſwer. This argument hath a kind of poiſon in it, which muſt be thus bitten away; that manna and this ſacrament be not both one. Manna hath not his efficacy of himſelf, but of God.

Cran. But they that did take manna worthily had fruit thereby: and ſo by your aſſertion, he that doth eat the fleſh of Chriſt worthily, hath his fruit by that. Therefore the like doth follow of them both, and ſo there ſhould be no difference between manna and this ſacrament, by your reaſon.

Harpſ. When it is ſaid, that they which did eat manna are dead, it is to be underſtood, that they did want the virtue of manna.

Cran. They then which do eat either of them worthily, do live.

Harpſ. They do live which do eat manna, worthily, not by manna, but by the power of God given by it. The other which do eat this ſacrament, do live by the ſame.

Cran. Chriſt did not intreat of the cauſe, but the effect which followed: he doth not ſpeak of the cauſe whereof the effect proceedeth.

Harpſ. I do ſay, the effects are diverſe, life, and death, which do follow the worthy and unworthy eating thereof.

Cran. Since you will needs have an addition to it, we muſt uſe both in manna and in the ſacrament, indifferently, either worthily or unworthily. Chriſt ſpake abſolutely of manna and of the ſupper, ſo that after that abſolute ſpeaking of the ſupper, wicked men can in no wiſe eat the fleſh of Chriſt, and drink his blood.

Further, Auguſtine upon John, Tractat. 26. upon theſe words, "He that eateth, &c." ſaith, "There is "no ſuch reſpects in common meats, as in the Lord's "body. For who that eateth other meats hath ſtill "hunger, and needeth to be ſatisfied daily; but he that "doth eat the fleſh of Chriſt, and drinketh his blood, "doth live for ever." But you know wicked men do not ſo.

Ergo, Wicked men do not receive.

Harpſ. St. Auguſtine meaneth, That he who eateth Chriſt's fleſh, &c. after a certain manner, ſhould live for ever. Wicked men do eat, but not after that manner.

Cran. Only they which participate Chriſt be of the myſtical body.

But the evil men are not of the myſtical body.

Ergo, They do not participate Chriſt.

Weſt. Your wonderful gentle behaviour and modeſty, good Mr. Doctor Cranmer, is worthy much commendation: and that I may not deprive you of your right and juſt deſerving, I give you moſt hearty thanks in my own name, and in the name of all my brethren. At which ſaying all the doctors gently put off their caps. Then Dr. Weſton did oppoſe the reſpondent on this wiſe.

Weſt. Tertullian doth call the ſacrament the ſign and figure of the Lord.

St. Auguſtine ad Dardanum ſaith, "The Lord did "not ſtick to ſay, This is my body, when he gave a ſign "of his body."

Beſides this, he giveth rules how to underſtand the ſcriptures, ſaying, If the ſcriptures ſeem to command ſome heinous thing, then it is figurative, as by example; "To eat the fleſh, and drink the blood, is a tropical "ſpeech."

Harpſ. Tertullian did write in that place againſt Marcion an heretic, who denied Chriſt to have a true body, and ſaid he had only a fantaſtical body. He went about to ſhew, that we had Chriſt both in heaven and in earth; and though we have the true body in the ſacrament, yet he would not go about ſo to confound him, as to ſay, That Chriſt was truly in the ſacrament: for that heretic would have thereat rather marvelled, than believed it. Therefore he ſhewed him, that it was the figure of Chriſt: and a figure cannot be but of a thing that is, or hath been extant.

To the text of Auguſtine, the church hath never taught the contrary. There is an outward thing in the ſacrament, which ſometimes hath ſundry names. For it may be called a figure in this declaration, That body which is in the ſacrament, is a figure of Chriſt dwelling in heaven.

To the third, That which is wrought by Auguſtine for example, about the underſtanding of the ſcriptures, is thus to be underſtood, as tending to a general manner of eating; ſo, To eat the fleſh, and drink the blood, may be a figurative ſpeech to exclude Anthropophagiam, that is, the eating of man's fleſh. The which is, when we eat man's fleſh cut in morſels, as we eat common meat; ſo as we neither have, nor eat Chriſt in the ſacrament.

Weſt. I underſtand your ſhort and learned anſwer, which doth ſufficiently content me. But now to the ſecond queſtion, which is of tranſubſtantiation.

The ſcripture calleth it bread.

Ergo, It is bread.

Harpſ. In the name of bread all is ſignified which we do eat.

Weſt. Theodoret an ancient writer, in his firſt dialogue, ſaith, "That Chriſt changeth not the nature, but called "it his body."

Harpſ. He doth there ſpeak De Symbolo, which is the outward form of the ſacrament. He meaneth, that that doth tarry in his own nature. Moreover as it was reported, he brought for his anſwer Auguſtinum in ſententiis proſperi.

Weſt. Theodoret alſo, in his ſecond dialogue of thoſe kinds of bread and wine, ſaith, "They go not out of "their own nature, but they tarry in their own ſub-"ſtance."

Harpſ. They are underſtood to be of the ſame ſubſtance wherein they are turned.

Weſt. But what ſay you to this? "They remain in their "former ſubſtance."

Harpſ. Symbola manent, that is, The outward ſigns do tarry.

Weſt. But what is meant here by this word ſymbolum?

Harpſ. The outward form or ſhape only of the nature.

Weſt. Then you cannot call them a ſubſtance.

Harpſ. Yes, Sir, every thing hath a certain ſubſtance in his kind.

Weſt. That is true, but accidents are not ſubſtances in their kind.

Harpſ. Sunt quid in ſuo genere. Of this they contended much.

Weſt. Chryſoſtom to Cæſarius the monk, ſaith, "Like "as before it is conſecrated, it is bread; ſo after it is "conſecrated, it is delivered from the name of bread, "and is endued with the name of the Lord's body, "whereas the nature doth remain."

Harpſ. Where read you this place, I pray you?

Weſt. Here in Peter Martyr I find it; I have his book in my hand.

Harpſ. The author ſhall be of more credit before that I make ſo much of him as to frame an anſwer unto it.

Weſt. Indeed I know not well where he findeth it. But Gelaſius ſaith, That the nature of bread and wine do tarry.

Harpſ. What is that Gelaſius?

Weſt. A biſhop of Rome.

Harpſ. Then he allowed the maſs.

Weſt. Yea, and oftentimes ſaid it: and purgatory he alſo allowed, and ſo prayer for the dead, relics, and invocation to the ſaints.

Harpſ. Belike then he meant nothing againſt tranſubſtantiation.

Weſt. It doth appear ſo indeed. But Origen ſaith, "That the material bread doth tarry, and is conveyed "into the privy, and is eaten of worms."

Harpſ. Tuſh, tuſh, this place appertaineth unto holy bread.

Weſt. What, doth it appertain to holy bread?

Harpſ. Yea, unto holy bread.

Weſt. By what means can you ſhew how this miraculous work bringeth Chriſt into the ſacrament?

Harpſ. By the ſcriptures I prove that, which ſaith, "This is my body."

Weſt. It doth rejoice us all not a little, that you have ſo well maintained the ſound doctrine of the ſacrament of the altar, wherein you have faithfully cleaved to the catholic church, as an only ſtay of our religion: by which means you have proved yourſelf meet to be authoriſed further towards the practiſing of the ſcripture.

And here, I do openly witneſs, that I do thoroughly conſent with you, and have for diſputation's ſake only, brought theſe arguments againſt you, which you have right learnedly ſatisfied: and now all things being done, after our form and manner, we will end this diſputation, ſaying, In oppoſitum eſt ſacra theologia, In oppoſitum eſt, &c.

Thus have ye heard in theſe aforeſaid diſputations about the holy ſupper of the Lord, the reaſons and arguments of the doctors, the anſwers and reſolutions of the biſhops, and the triumph of the prolocutor, triumphing before the victory, with, The truth hath overcome; who rather in my mind, ſhould have exclaimed, Power hath overcome: as it happeneth always, where the greater part overcometh the better. For elſe, if power had not helped the prolocutor more than truth, there had been a ſmall victory. But ſo it is where judgments be partial, there all things turn to victory, though it be never ſo mean and ſimple, as in this diſputation doth well appear.

For firſt, of the opponent part, there was ſcarce any argument rightly framed in true mood and figure: neither could the anſwerers be permitted to ſpeak for themſelves: and if they anſwered any thing, it was condemned before they began to ſpeak. Again, ſuch diſturbance and confuſion (more like a conſpiration than any diſputation, without all form and order) was in the ſchools during the time of their anſwering, that the anſwerers could not have place to utter their minds, neither would the opponents be ſatisfied with any reaſons. Concerning which diſturbance of that miſruled diſputation, you ſhall hear what maſter Ridley himſelf reporteth by his own deſcription, in the following narration.

The Report and Narration of Mr. Ridley, concerning the miſ-ordered Diſputation had againſt him and his Fellow-Priſoners at Oxford.

I Never yet, ſince I was born, ſaw or heard any thing done or handled more vainly and tumultuouſly, than the diſputation which was with me in the ſchools at Oxford. Yea, verily, I could never have thought that it had been poſſible to have found amongſt men recounted to be of knowledge and learning in this realm, any ſo brazen-faced and ſhameleſs, ſo diſorderly and vainly to behave themſelves, more like ſtage-players in interludes to ſet forth a pageant, than to grave divines in ſchools to diſpute. The ſorbonical clamours (which at Paris I have ſeen in times paſt, when popery moſt reigned) might be worthily

worthily thought (in compariſon of this thraſonical oſtentation) to have had much modeſty. And no great marvel, ſeeing they which ſhould have been moderators, and overſeers of others, and which ſhould have given good examples in words and gravity; they themſelves, above all other, gave worſt example, and did as it were blow the trump to the reſt, to rave, roar, rage, and cry out. By reaſon whereof (good chriſtian reader) manifeſtly it may appear, that they never ſought for any truth or verity, but only for the glory of the world, and their own bragging victory. But leſt by the innumerable railings and reproachful taunts, wherewith I was baited on every ſide, our cauſe, yea rather God's cauſe and his church's, ſhould be evil ſpoken of, and ſlandered to the world through falſe reports, and untrue examples given out of diſputation, and ſo the verity might ſuſtain ſome damage, I thought it no leſs than my duty to write mine anſwers; to the intent, that whoſoever is deſirous to know the truth thereof, may by this perceive as well thoſe things which were chiefly objected, as ſummarily that which was anſwered of me unto every of them. Howbeit (good reader) I confeſs this to be moſt true, that it is impoſſible to ſet forth either all that was, God knoweth, tumultuouſly and confuſedly objected of their parts, being ſo many, ſpeaking many times all together ſo thick, that one could not well hear another, neither all that was anſwered on my behalf to them ſo ſundry and divers opponents.

Moreover, a great part of the time appointed for the diſputations was vainly conſumed in opprobrious checks and reviling taunts, with hiſſing and clapping of hands, and that in the Engliſh tongue, to procure the people's favour withal. All which things, when I with great grief of heart did behold, proteſting openly, that ſuch exceſſive and outrageous diſorder was unſeemly for thoſe ſchools, and men of learning and gravity, and that they which were the doers and ſtirrers of ſuch things, did nothing elſe but betray the ſlenderneſs of their cauſe, and their own vanities: I was ſo far off by this my humble complaint, from doing any good at all, that I was inforced to hear ſuch rebukes, checks, and taunts for my labour, as no perſon of any honeſty, without bluſhing, could abide to hear the like ſpoken of a moſt vile varlet, againſt a moſt wretched ruffian.

At the firſt beginning of the diſputation, when I ſhould have firſt confirmed mine anſwer to the firſt propoſition, in few words, and that (after the manner and law of ſchools) afore I could make an end of my firſt probation, which was not very long, even the doctors themſelves cried out, He ſpeaketh blaſphemies, he ſpeaketh blaſphemies. And when I on my knees beſought them, and that heartily, that they would vouchſafe to hear me to the end (whereat the prolocutor being moved, cried out on high, Let him read it, let him read it). Yet, when I began to read again, there followed immediately ſuch ſhouting, ſuch a noiſe and tumult, ſuch confuſion of voices, crying, Blaſphemies, blaſphemies, as I to my remembrance never heard or read the like, except it be that one which was, in the Acts of the apoſtles, ſtirred up of Demetrius the ſilverſmith, and other of his occupation, crying out againſt Paul, Great is Diana of the Epheſians, Great is Diana of the Epheſians! and except it be a certain diſputation which the Arians had againſt the Orthodox, and ſuch as were of godly judgement in Africa, where it is ſaid, that ſuch as the preſident and rulers of the diſputation were, ſuch was the end of the diſputations. All were in a hurly-burly, and ſo great were the ſlanders which the Arians caſt out, that nothing could quietly be heard. This writeth Victor in the ſecond book of his hiſtory.

The which cries and tumults of them againſt me ſo prevailed, that, will I, nill I, I was inforced to leave off reading of my probations, although they were ſhort. If any man doubt of the truth hereof, let the ſame aſk any one that was there, and utterly perverted in popery, and I am aſſured, he will ſay, I ſpeak the leaſt. But to complain of theſe things further, I will ceaſe.

And further ſpeaking of this diſputation, he concluded with theſe words: and thus was ended this moſt glorious diſputation of the moſt holy fathers, ſacrificers, doctors and maſters, which fought moſt manfully, as ye may ſee, for their God and goods, for their faith and felicity, for their country and kitchen, for their beauty and belly, with triumphant applauſes and favour of the whole univerſity.

After the diſputation of Mr. Latimer was ended, on the Friday following, April 20, the commiſſioners ſate in St. Mary's church, as they did the Saturday before, and Dr. Weſton uſed particular diſſuaſions with every one of them, and would not ſuffer them to anſwer in any wiſe, but directly and peremptorily, as his words were, to ſay whether they would ſubſcribe or no. And firſt to Dr. Cranmer he ſaid, He was overcome in diſputations. To whom the biſhop anſwered, That whereas Dr. Weſton ſaid, he hath anſwered and oppoſed, and could neither maintain his own errors, nor impugn the verity; all that he ſaid was falſe: for he was not ſuffered to oppoſe as he would, nor could anſwer as he was required, unleſs he would have brawled with them, ſo thick their reaſons came one after another, four or five frequently interrupting him, that he could not ſpeak. Mr. Ridley and Mr. Latimer were aſked what they would do: they replied, that they would ſtand to that they had ſaid. Then they were all called together, and ſentence read over them, that they were no members of the church: and therefore they, their favourers and patrons, were condemned as heretics. And in reading of it, they were aſked, Whether they would turn or no? But they bade them read on in the name of God, for they were not minded to turn. So they were all three condemned.

After which ſentence of condemnation being awarded againſt them, they anſwered again each in his turn, in manner and effect of words as followeth: the archbiſhop ſpeaking firſt.

Dr. Cranmer. "From this your judgment and ſentence "I appeal to the juſt judgment of God Almighty, truſt-"ing to be preſent with him in heaven, for whoſe pre-"ſence in the altar I am thus condemned."

Dr. Ridley. "Although I be not of your company, "yet doubt I not but my name is written in another "place, whither this ſentence will ſend us ſooner, than "we ſhould by the courſe of nature have come."

Mr. Latimer. "I thank God moſt heartily, that he "hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this "caſe glorify God by that kind of death."

Dr. Weſton's anſwer unto Latimer. "If you go "to heaven in this faith, then I will never come thither, "as I am thus perſuaded."

After ſentence was pronounced, they were ſeparated one from another, namely, the archbiſhop was returned to Bocardo, Dr. Ridley to the ſheriff's houſe, Mr. Latimer to the bailiff's.

On Saturday following, they had a maſs, with a general proceſſion and great ſolemnity. Dr. Cranmer was cauſed to behold the proceſſion out of Bocardo, Dr. Ridley out of the ſheriff's houſe. Latimer alſo being brought to ſee it from the bailiff's houſe, thought that he ſhould have gone to burning, and ſpake to one Auguſtine Cooper, a catch-pole, to make a quick fire. But when he came to Carſox, and ſaw the matter, he ran as faſt as his old bones would carry him, to one Spenſer's ſhop, and would not look towards it. Laſt of all Dr. Weſton carried the ſacrament, and four doctors carried the canopy over him.

Immediately after the ſentence was given, Dr. Ridley writeth to the prolocutor in the following manner.

MR. Prolocutor, you remember, I am ſure, how you promiſed me openly in the ſchools, after my proteſtation, that I ſhould ſee how my anſwers were there

taken

taken and written of the notaries whom ye appointed (Me fateor neminem recuſare) to write what ſhould be ſaid, and to have had licenſe to have added unto them, or to have altered them, as upon more deliberation ſhould have ſeemed me beſt. Ye granted me alſo, at the delivery of my anſwer unto your firſt propoſition, a copy of the ſame. Theſe promiſes are not performed. If your ſudden departure be any part of the cauſe thereof, yet I pray you remember that they may be performed; for performance of promiſe is to be looked for at a righteous judge's hands. Now I ſend you here my anſwers in writing to your ſecond and third propoſitions, and do deſire and require earneſtly a copy of the ſame, and I ſhall by God's grace procure the pains of the writer to be paid for, and ſatisfied accordingly. Maſter Prolocutor, in the time of my anſwering in the ſchools, when I would have confirmed my ſayings with authorities and reaſons, ye ſaid then openly, that I ſhould have time and place to ſay and bring whatſoever I could, another time, and the ſame your ſaying was then and there confirmed of other of the commiſſioners: Yea, and (I dare ſay) the audience alſo thought then that I ſhould have had another day, to have brought and ſaid what I could for the declaration and confirmation of mine aſſertions. Now that this was not done, but ſo ſuddenly ſentence given before the cauſe was perfectly heard, I cannot but marvel, &c.

On Monday next enſuing, April 23. Dr. Weſton took his journey up to London, with the letters certificatory from the univerſity to the queen, by whom the archbiſhop directed his letters ſupplicatory unto the council; which letters after the prolocutor had received, and had carried them well near half-way to London, by the way he opened the ſame, and ſeeing the contents thereof, ſent them back again, refuſing to carry them. Likewiſe biſhop Ridley hearing of the prolocutor's going to London, writeth to him his letters, wherein he deſireth him to carry his anſwers up to certain biſhops in London; the form of which letters, firſt of Dr. Ridley, then of the archbiſhop, and laſtly, another Letter of Dr. Ridley to the archbiſhop, here in order followeth.

Biſhop Ridley's Letter to the Prolocutor.

MR. Prolocutor, I deſire you, and in God's name require you, that you truly bring forth and ſhew all mine anſwers, written and ſubſcribed with mine own hand, unto the higher houſe of the convocation, and eſpecially to my lord chancellor, my lords of Durham, Ely, Worceſter, Norwich, and Chicheſter; and alſo to ſhew and exhibit this my writing unto them, which in theſe few lines here I write unto you: and that I did make this requeſt unto you by this my writing, know ye, that I did take witneſs of them by whom I ſend you this writing, and alſo of thoſe which were then with them preſent, viz. The two bailiffs of Oxford, and of Mr. Iriſh, alderman, then there called to be a witneſs.

By me NICHOLAS RIDLEY,
April 23. 1554.

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury's Letter to the Council.

IN right humble wiſe ſheweth unto your honourable lordſhips, Thomas Cranmer late archbiſhop of Canterbury, beſeeching the ſame to be a means for me unto the queen's highneſs for her mercy and pardon. Some of you know by what means I was brought and trained unto the will of our late ſovereign lord king Edward the ſixth, and what I ſpake againſt the ſame, wherein I refer me to the reports of your honours and worſhips. Furthermore, this is to ſignify unto your lordſhips, that upon Monday, Tueſday, and Wedneſday laſt paſt, were open diſputations here in Oxford againſt me, Mr. Ridley, and Mr. Latimer, in three matters concerning the ſacrament: Firſt, of the real preſence. Secondly, of tranſubſtantiation. And thirdly, of the ſacrifice of the maſs. Upon Monday againſt me; upon Tueſday againſt Dr. Ridley; and upon Wedneſday againſt Mr. Latimer. How the other two were ordered, I know not, for we were ſeparated, ſo that none of us knoweth what the other ſaid, nor how they were ordered. But as concerning myſelf I can report: Dr. Chedſey was appointed to diſpute againſt me; but the diſputation was ſo confuſed that I never knew the like, every man bringing forth what him liked without order: and ſuch haſte was made, that no anſwer could be ſuffered to be taken fully to any argument, before another brought a new argument. And in ſuch weighty matters the diſputation muſt needs be ended in one day, which can ſcantly be ended in three months. And when we had anſwered them, they would not appoint us one day to bring forth our proofs, that they might anſwer us, being required by me thereunto, whereas I myſelf have more to ſay, than can be well diſcuſſed, as I ſuppoſe, in twenty days. The means to reſolve the truth, had been to have ſuffered us to anſwer fully to all that they could ſay, and then they again to anſwer us fully to all that we can ſay. But why they would not anſwer us, what other cauſe can there be, but that either they feared their matter, that they were not able to anſwer us, or elſe for ſome conſideration they made ſuch haſte, not to ſeek the truth, but to condemn us, that it muſt be done in poſt-haſte before the matters could be thoroughly heard: for in haſte we were all three condemned of hereſy. Thus much I thought good to ſignify unto your lordſhips, that you may know the indifferent handling of matters, leaving the judgment thereof unto your wiſdoms. And I beſeech your lordſhips to remember me, a poor priſoner, unto the queen's majeſty, and I ſhall pray, as I do daily unto God, for the long preſervation of your good lordſhips in all godlineſs and felicity. April 23.

Dr. Ridley to Dr. Cranmer.

I Wiſh ye might have ſeen theſe mine anſwers before I had delivered them, that ye might have corrected them. But I truſt, in the ſubſtance of the matter we do agree fully, both led by one ſpirit of truth, and both walking after one rule of God's word. It is reported, that ſerjeant Morgan, the chief juſtice of the common pleas, is gone mad. It is ſaid alſo, that juſtice Hales hath recanted, perverted by Dr. Moreman. Item, That Maſter Rogers, Doctor Crome, and Maſter Bradford ſhall be had to Cambridge, and there be diſputed with, as we were here; and that the doctors of Oxford ſhall go likewiſe thither, as Cambridge men came hither. When ye have read mine anſwers, ſend them again to Auſten, except ye will put any thing to them. I truſt the day of our delivery out of all miſeries, and of our entrance into perpetual reſt, and unto perpetual joy and felicity, draweth nigh: The Lord ſtrengthen us with his mighty ſpirit of grace. If you have not to write with, you muſt make your man your friend. And this bearer deſerveth to be rewarded; ſo he may, and will do you pleaſure. My man is truſty, but it grieveth both him and me, that when I ſend him with any thing to you, your man will not let him come up to ſee you, as he may to Maſter Latimer, and yours to me. I have a promiſe to ſee how my anſwers were written in the ſchools, but as yet I cannot come by it. Pray for me, I pray for you, and ſo ſhall I for you. The Lord have mercy of his church, and lighten the eyes of the magiſtrates, that God's extream plagues light not on this realm of England.

TURN, OR BURN.

Theſe diſputations being thus diſcuſſed and ended, now let us return again to the proſecuting of our ſtory, touch-

ing other things likewiſe that happened in other parts of the realm, in this tumultuous time of queen Mary. And becauſe ſo many things happened in that time, that it is hard to keep a perfect order in reciting them all; to the intent therefore to inſert things left out before, or elſe to proſecute the ſame more at large, we have thought here a little to interrupt the order of time, returning again to the month of July the year before, viz. 1553, in which month of July I ſhewed before, how the duke of Northumberland was apprehended by the guard, and brought to London by the earl of Arundel, and other lords and gentlemen appointed for that purpoſe, on St. James's day, being July 25, and ſo to the Tower, where he remained. Theſe be the names of them which were committed to the Tower with the duke.

The earl of Warwick, the earl of Huntington, lord Ambroſe, and lord Henry Dudley, lord Haſtings, who was delivered again the ſame night; Sir John Gates, Sir Henry Gates, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Dr. Sands chancellor of Cambridge.

July 26. the lord marquis of Northampton, the biſhop of London, lord Robert Dudley, and Sir Richard Corbet were brought and committed to the Tower.

July 27. the lord chief juſtice of England, and the lord Mountacute chief juſtice of the common pleas, were committed to the Tower.

July 28. the duke of Suffolk and Sir John Cheek were committed to the Tower.

July 30. the lord Ruſſel was committed to the ſheriff of London's cuſtody.

July 31. the earl of Rutland was committed to the Fleet; and on the ſame day the duke of Suffolk was delivered out of the Tower again.

Upon Thurſday Auguſt 3. the queen entered into the city of London at Aldgate, and ſo to the Tower, where ſhe remained ſeven days, and then removed to Richmond.

Auguſt 4. Dr. Day was delivered out of the Fleet; and the day after the lord Ferris was committed to the Tower, and Dr. Bonner delivered out of the Marſhalſea. The ſame day at night Dr. Cocks was committed to the Marſhalſea, and one Mr. Edward Underhill to Newgate. Alſo the ſame day Dr. Tonſtal and Stephen Gardiner were delivered out of the Tower, and Gardiner received into the queen's privy council, and made lord chancellor.

On Sunday Auguſt 7. Henry Dudley captain of the guard at Guines, who before had been ſent to the French king by his couſin the duke of Northumberland, after the diſpatch of his ambaſſage with the French king, returned to Guines, and ſo was taken, and this day brought to the Tower.

On Monday Auguſt 7. Dirige in Latin was ſung within the Tower by all the king's chapel, and the biſhop of Wincheſter was chief miniſter, the queen being preſent and moſt of the council.

On Tueſday Auguſt 8. the king's body was brought to Weſtminſter, and there buried; where Dr. Day biſhop of Chicheſter preached. The ſame day a maſs of Requiem was ſung within the Tower by the biſhop of Wincheſter, who had on his mitre; and did all things as in times paſt was done; the queen being preſent.

Upon Thurſday the duke of Norfolk came forth of the Tower, with whom the ducheſs of Somerſet was alſo delivered.

On Sunday Auguſt 11. Dr. Bourne preached at Paul's Croſs: of which ſermon read before, page 5.

In the week following, commandment was given throughout the city, that no apprentices ſhould come to the ſermon, nor bear any knife or dagger.

On Wedneſday Auguſt 16. Mr. Bradford, Mr. Beacon, and Mr. Vernon, were committed to the Tower: with whom alſo Mr. Sampſon ſhould have been committed, and was ſought for the ſame time at Mr. Elſing's houſe in Fleet-ſtreet, where Mr. Bradford was taken: and becauſe he was not found, the biſhop of Wincheſter was greatly diſpleaſed with the meſſenger.

Auguſt 18. the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Warwick, were arraigned at Weſtminſter, and condemned the ſame day, the duke of Norfolk that day being the high judge.

Auguſt 19. Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Gates, Sir Henry Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were arraigned at Weſtminſter, and condemned the ſame day, the lord marquis of Wincheſter being high judge.

Upon which day a letter was ſent unto Sir Henry Tirril, Anthony Brown, and Edmund Brown, Eſquires, praying them to commit to ward all ſuch as ſhall contemn the queen's order of religion, or ſhall keep themſelves from church, there to remain until they be conformable, and to ſignify their names to the council.

Upon Sunday Auguſt 20. Dr. Watſon, the biſhop of Wincheſter's chaplain, preached at Paul's Croſs, at whoſe ſermon were preſent the marquis of Wincheſter, the earl of Bedford, the earl of Pembroke, the lord Rich, and 200 of the guard with their halberds, leſt the people ſhould have made any ſtir againſt the preacher.

Upon Monday Auguſt 21. the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, heard a maſs within the Tower, and after maſs they all five received the ſacrament in one kind only, as in the popiſh time was uſed. On which day alſo queen Mary ſet forth a proclamation, ſignifying to the people, that ſhe could not hide any longer the religion which ſhe from her infancy had profeſſed, &c. inhibiting in the ſaid proclamation, printing, and preaching; the tenor whereof read before, page 4.

Upon Tueſday, Auguſt 22. the duke of Northumberland, Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were beheaded at Tower-hill, as before is ſaid, p. 3. The ſame day certain noble perſonages heard maſs within the Tower, and likewiſe after maſs received the ſacrament in one kind.

Upon Sunday Auguſt 27. Dr. Chedſey preached at Paul's Croſs, and the ſame day the archbiſhop of Canterbury, Sir Thomas Smith, and the dean of Paul's, were cited to appear the week following before the queen's commiſſioners, in the biſhop's conſiſtory within Paul's.

In the mean time it was noiſed abroad by running rumours falſly and craftily deviſed, either to eſtabliſh the credit of the maſs, or elſe to bring Thomas Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury out of credit, that he, to curry favour with queen Mary, ſhould promiſe to ſay Dirige maſs after the old cuſtom for king Edward, and that he had already ſaid maſs at Canterbury, &c. Wherefore to ſtop the ſlanders of thoſe rumours, the ſaid Thomas archbiſhop of Canterbury, the ſeventh day of September, ſet forth a letter, which was alſo printed, in purgation of himſelf, the copy of which letter here followeth.

A Purgation of Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury, againſt certain ſlanders falſly raiſed upon him.

AS the devil, Chriſt's ancient adverſary, is a lyar, and the father of lyes, even ſo hath he ſtirred up his ſervants and members to perſecute Chriſt and his true word and religion with lying; which he ceaſeth not to do moſt earneſtly at this preſent time. For whereas the prince of famous memory king Henry the eighth, ſeeing the great abuſes of the Latin maſs, reformed ſome things therein in his life-time, and after our late ſovereign lord king Edward the ſixth took the ſame wholly away, for the manifold and great errors and abuſes of the ſame, and reſtored in the place thereof Chriſt's holy ſupper, according to Chriſt's own inſtitution, and as the apoſtles uſed the ſame in the primitive church, the devil goeth about now by lying to overthrow the Lord's ſupper again, and to reſtore his Latin ſatisfactory maſs, a thing of his

own

own invention and device. And to bring the ſame more eaſily to paſs, ſome have abuſed the name of me Thomas archbiſhop of Canterbury, bruiting abroad, that I have ſet up the maſs at Canterbury, and that I offered to ſay maſs at the burial of our late ſovereign prince king Edward the ſixth, and that I offered to ſay maſs before the queen's highneſs, and at Paul's church, and I wot not where. And although I have been well exerciſed theſe twenty years to ſuffer and bear evil reports and lyes, and have not been much grieved thereat, but have borne all things quietly; yet when untrue reports and lyes turn to the hindrance of God's truth, they are in no wiſe to be ſuffered. Wherefore theſe be to ſignify unto the world, that it was not I that ſet up the maſs at Canterbury, but it was a falſe, flattering, lying, and diſſembling monk, which cauſed maſs to be ſet up there without mine advice or council; Reddat illi Dominus in die illo. And as for offering myſelf to ſay maſs before the queen's highneſs, or in any other place, I never did it, as her grace well knoweth. But if her grace will give me leave, I ſhall be ready to prove, againſt all that will ſay the contrary, that all that is contained in the holy communion, ſet out by the moſt innocent and godly prince king Edward the ſixth, in his high court of parliament, is conformable to that order which our Saviour Chriſt did both obſerve, and command to be obſerved, and which his apoſtles and the primitive church uſed many years; whereas the maſs, in many things, not only hath no foundation of Chriſt, his apoſtles, nor the primitive church, but is manifeſtly contrary to the ſame, and containeth many horrible abuſes in it. And although many, either unlearned or malicious, do report, that Mr. Peter Martyr is unlearned, yet if the queen's highneſs will grant thereunto, I, with the ſaid Mr. Peter Martyr, and other four or five, which I ſhall chuſe, will, by God's grace, take upon us to defend, not only the common prayers of the church, the miniſtration of the ſacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, but alſo all the doctrine and religion ſet out by our ſovereign lord king Edward the ſixth, to be more pure, and according to God's word, than any other that hath been uſed in England theſe 1000 years: ſo that God's word may be judge, and that the reaſons and proofs of both parties may be ſet out in writing, to the intent, as well that all the world may examine and judge thereon, as that no man ſhall ſtart back from his writing. And where they boaſt of the faith, that hath been in the church theſe 1500 years, we will join with them in this point; and that the ſame doctrine and uſage is to be followed, which was in the church 1500 years paſt: And we ſhall prove, That the order of the church, ſet out at this preſent in this realm by act of parliament, is the ſame that was uſed in the church 1500 years paſt, and ſo ſhall they be never able to prove theirs.

On Thurſday September 7, lord Mountacute, chief juſtice, and lord chief baron were delivered out of the Tower.

September 13, the reverend father maſter Hugh Latimer was committed to the Tower.

September 14, the archbiſhop of Canterbury was committed to the Tower.

September 26, one Mr. Gray of Cambridge, called before him one Mr. Garth, for that he would not ſuffer a boy of Peter-houſe to help him ſay maſs in Pembroke-hall, which was before any law was eſtabliſhed for that behalf.

On Thurſday Septumber 28, the queen came to the Tower of London, and upon the Saturday following ſhe rode from the Tower through the city, where were made many pageants to receive her, and ſo ſhe was triumphantly brought to Whitehall.

Upon Sunday, October 1, the queen's highneſs went from Whitehall to Weſtminſter-abbey, accompanied with the moſt part of the nobility of this realm: namely, theſe, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Shrewſbury, the marquis of Wincheſter, the earls of Derby, Bedford, Worceſter, Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, Oxford, Suſſex, Devonſhire, Pembroke, the lord Dacres of the north, lord Ferris, lord Cobham, lord Abergavenny, lord Wentworth, lord Scroope, lord Rich, lord Vaus, lord Howard, lord Conias, lord Morley, lord Paget, and the lord Willoughby, with other nobles, and all the embaſſadors of divers countries, the mayor of London, with all the aldermen. Alſo out of the abbey, to receive her coming, came three ſilver croſſes, and to the number of about fourſcore ſinging men, all in very rich and gorgeous copes. Amongſt whom was the dean of Weſtminſter, and divers of the queen's chaplains, which bare every one ſome enſign in their hands, and after them followed ten biſhops, all mitred, and their croſier ſtaves in their hands, and rich copes upon them every one. And in this order they returned from Weſtminſter-hall before the queen to the Abbey, where ſhe was crowned by Stephen Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, and lord chancellor of England. At the time of the coronation, Dr. Day biſhop of Chicheſter made a ſermon to the queen's majeſty, and to the reſt of the nobility.

Alſo there was a general pardon proclaimed within the Abbey at the time of her coronation, out of which proclamation all the priſoners of the Tower and of the Fleet were excepted, and 62 more; whereof Mr. Whitchurch and Mr. Grafton were two.

October 3, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge did challenge one Mr. Pierſon, for that he miniſtered ſtill the communion in his own pariſh, and did receive ſtrangers of other pariſhes to the ſame, and would not ſay maſs. Whereupon within two days after he was clean diſcharged from further miniſtering in his cure.

Upon the Wedneſday following, the archbiſhop of York was committed to the Tower.

Upon Tueſday, October 5, 1553, the queen rode to the parliament in her robes, and all the nobility with her; and when they were ſet in the parliament-houſe, the biſhop of Wincheſter made to them a ſolemn oration, and ſerjeant Pollard was choſen ſpeaker. The ſame day the biſhops of Lincoln, Hereford, and Weſt-cheſter, were diſcharged from the parliament and convocation.

Alſo October 10, the earl of Huntingdon was delivered out of the Tower.

Upon Sunday after, October 15, Mr. Laurence Saunders preached at Alhallows in Bread-ſtreet in the morning: where he fully declared the abomination of the maſs, with divers other matters; whereof more ſhall be heard by God's leave hereafter, when we come to his ſtory. In which his doing, as he ſhewed himſelf to be God's faithful miniſter, ſo is he ſure not to be defrauded of God's faithful promiſe, who ſaith, Matt. 10. "Whoſoever ſhall "confeſs me before men, him will I confeſs alſo before "my Father which is in heaven." But about noon of the ſame day, he was ſent for by the biſhop of London, and committed to the Marſhalſea.

Upon the Sunday following, October 20, Dr. Weſton preached at Paul's Croſs. Who in the beginning of his ſermon willed the people to pray for the ſouls departed, on this wiſe: "You ſhall pray for all them that be de-"parted, that be neither in heaven, nor hell, but in a "place not yet ſufficiently purged to come to heaven, that "they may be relieved by your devout prayers." He named the Lord's table an oyſter-board. He ſaid, that the catechiſm in Latin, lately ſet out, was abominable hereſy, and likened the ſetters out of the ſame catechiſm to Julian the apoſtate, and the book to a dialogue ſet out by the ſaid Julian, wherein Chriſt and Pilate were the ſpeakers, with many other things. Which ſermon, with all the points thereof, Mr. Coverdale the ſame time learnedly confuted by writing, which remaineth yet in my hands to be ſeen.

In the week following the diſputations began in the convocation houſe in St. Paul's church, whereof ſufficient hath been before declared.

October 26, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge went to Clare-hall, and in the preſence of Dr. Walker diſplaced

Dr. Madew, and placed Mr. Swyborne in the maſterſhip there, by virtue of the lord chancellor's letters, for that he was (as they termed it) Uxoratus, that is, married.

October 28. the papiſts in the king's college in Cambridge (not tarrying the making of any law, but of their blind zeal) had their whole ſervice again in the Latin tongue contrary to the law then in force.

October 31, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge did ſharply reprove and threaten one Mr. Thrackold, for that he challenged the ſaid vice-chancellor, who had ſuffered Mr. Bovel (contrary to the ſtatutes then in force) to depart quietly without puniſhment, notwithſtanding that he refuſed to ſwear to the ſupremacy of the queen, and the abrogation of the biſhop of Rome.

November 3. the vice-chancellor ſent for the curate of the round pariſh in Cambridge, commanding him not to miniſter any more in the Engliſh tongue, ſaying he would have one uniform order of ſervice throughout the town, and that in Latin, with maſs, which was eſtabliſhed the twelfth day of this month.

November 6. Mr. Pollard preached at St. Michael's, and in the ſermon approved purgatory.

November 28. the archdeacon's official viſited in Hinton, where he gave in charge to preſent all ſuch as did diſturb the queen's proceedings, in hindering the Latin ſervice, the ſetting up of their altars, and ſaying of maſs, or any part thereof: whereby it was eaſy to ſee how theſe good fellows meant to proceed having the law once on their ſide, that thus readily, againſt a manifeſt law, would attempt the puniſhment of any man.

December 15. There were two proclamations at London; the one for the repealing of certain acts made by king Edward, and for the ſetting up of the maſs the 20th of December then next following. The other was, that no man ſhould interrupt any of thoſe that would ſay maſs.

The parliament beginning about the 5th of October, continued till the 5th of December. In which parliament were diſſolved as well all the ſtatutes made of Premunire in the time of king Henry VIII. &c. as alſo other laws and ſtatutes concerning religion and adminiſtration of ſacraments, decreed under king Edward VI. In which parliament was appointed, that on December 20, then next enſuing the ſame year, 1553, the old form and manner of church-ſervice uſed in the laſt year of king Henry, ſhould now again be reſtored.

On December 31, the lord marquis of Northampton was delivered out of the Tower.

About this time a prieſt of Canterbury ſaid maſs on one day, and the next day after, he came into the pulpit, and deſired all the people to forgive him; for he ſaid he had betrayed Chriſt, not as Judas did, but as Peter did, and there made a long ſermon againſt the maſs.

January 2, 1554, four embaſſadors came into London from the emperor, and were honourably received. Their names were, Le Countie de Egmont, Le Countie de Lalen, Monſieur Corire, Le Chancellor Nigre.

About this time a great number of new biſhops, deans, &c. were choſe, more than were made at one time ſince the conqueſt: namely, Dr. Holyman, biſhop of Briſtol; Dr. Coates, biſhop of Weſt Cheſter; Dr. Hopton, biſhop of Norwich; Dr. Bourne, biſhop of Bath; Dr. White, biſhop of Lincoln; Dr. Mores, biſhop of Rocheſter; Dr. Morgan, biſhop of St. David's; Dr. Poole, biſhop of St. Aſaph; Dr. Brooks, biſhop of Glouceſter; Dr. Moreman, coadjutor to the biſhop of Exeter, and after his deceaſe biſhop of Exeter; Dr. Glin, biſhop of Bangor; Mr. Fecknam, dean of Paul's; Dr. Reynold's, dean of Briſtol, with others.

January 12. the vice-chancellor of Cambrid gecalled a congregation general, wherein amongſt other things he ſhewed, that the queen would have there a maſs of the Holy Ghoſt upon the 18th of February then next following, for that it was her birth-day; which was fulfilled the day appointed, and that very ſolemnly.

On Saturday January 13. Dr. Crome was committed to the fleet: alſo the Sunday following one Mr. Addington was committed to the Tower. The ſame Sunday likewiſe the biſhop of Wincheſter declared openly in the court, that the marriage between the queen's majeſty and the king of Spain was concluded; and the day following, January 15. the mayor with the aldermen and certain commons were at the court, and there they were commanded by the lord chancellor to prepare the city ready to receive the ſaid king of Spain; who declared unto them what a catholic, mighty, prudent, and wiſe prince the ſaid king was, with many other commendations of him.

On Saturday January 20. the court of the firſt fruits and tenths was diſſolved.

On Thurſday night following, January 25. the lord marquis of Northampton was again committed to the Tower, and Sir Edward Warner with him; who were brought to the Tower by the mayor.

On Saturday following, January 26. juſtice Hales was committed to the Marſhalſea; and the ſame day Mr. Rogers was committed to Newgate. Upon this Saturday, Sunday and Monday following, the Londoners prepared a number of ſoldiers. by the queen's command, to go into Kent againſt the commons; whereof were chief captains the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Wormwood, Sir Henry Jeningham, Sir George Howard, and ten other captains; which ſoldiers when they came to Rocheſter bridge, where they ſhould have ſet upon their enemies, moſt of them (as it is ſaid) left their own captains, and came wholly to the Kentiſh men; and ſo the aforeſaid captains returned to the court both void of men and victory, leaving behind them ſix pieces of ordnance and treaſure.

About the latter end of January the duke of Suffolk with his brethren departed from his houſe at Shene, and went into Leiceſterſhire; after whom the earl of Huntington was ſent, to take him and bring him to London, who proclaimed the ſaid duke traitor by the way as he rode.

And thus paſſing to the month of February, here is to be noted, by way of ſtory, that upon the 15th day of the ſaid month, being Thurſday, within the city of London, about nine of the clock in the forenoon, ſtrange ſights were ſeen. Two ſuns both ſhining at once, the one a good way diſtant from the other; at the ſame time was alſo ſeen a rainbow turned contrary, and a great deal higher than hath been accuſtomed. The common ſtanding of the rainbow is thus ⌒, but this ſtood thus ⌣ with the head downward, and the feet as it were upward. Both theſe ſights were ſeen as well at Weſtminſter, in Cheapſide, on the ſouth ſide of Paul's, as in many other places, and that by a great number of honeſt men. Alſo certain aldermen went out of Guildhall to behold the ſight.

As touching the riſing of Mr. Wyat, with Sir William Cobham, and others in Kent, and their coming to London in the month of February: alſo of the queen's coming to Guildhall, and her oration there made; and of the taking of the ſaid Wyat and his company; likewiſe of the apprehenſion of the duke of Suffolk with his brother lord John Gray; and the next day after of the beheading of the lord Guilford and lady Jane, which was February 12. and how the day before, which was the 11th of February, lord William Howard, and Sir Edward Haſtings were ſent for the lady Elizabeth; and how the ſame Sunday, Sir Henry Iſeley, Mr. Culpepper, and Mr. Winter were committed to the Tower, the biſhop of Wincheſter the ſame day, February 11. preaching before the queen, and perſuading her to uſe no mercy toward theſe Kentiſh men, but ſevere execution, all which was in the month of February; becauſe moſt of theſe matters have been briefly touched before, or elſe may be found in other chronicles, I will ceaſe to make any further ſtory of them: having ſomewhat notwithſtanding to declare touching the arraignment and death of the duke of Suffolk.

Upon Saturday February 17. the duke of Suffolk was arraigned at Weſtminſter, and the ſame day condemned

to die by his peers; the earl of Arundel was chief judge for this day.

Upon the Sunday following, which was the 18th day of the ſaid month, ſeſſions was kept in London, which hath not before been kept upon the Sunday.

Upon Monday February 19. the lord Cobham's three ſons, and four other men, were arraigned at Weſtminſter: of which ſons the youngeſt was condemned, whoſe name was Thomas, and the other two came not at the bar; and the other four men were condemned.

Upon Tueſday February 20. the lord John Gray was arraigned at Weſtminſter, and there condemned the ſame day, and other three men, whereof one was named Nailer.

Upon Wedneſday February 21. the lord Thomas Gray and Sir James Croft were brought through London to the Tower with a number of horſemen.

Upon Thurſday February 22. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was committed to the Tower.

Upon Friday February 23. 1554. the duke of Suffolk was beheaded at Tower-hill, the order of whoſe death here followeth.

On Friday February 23. about nine of the clock in the forenoon, the lord Henry Gray, duke of Suffolk, was brought forth of the Tower of London unto the ſcaffold on Tower-hill, with a great company, &c. and in his coming thither, there accompanied him Dr. Weſton as his ghoſtly father, notwithſtanding, as it ſeemed, againſt the will of the ſaid duke. For when the duke went up to the ſcaffold, the ſaid Weſton, being on the left hand, preſſed to go up with him; the duke with his hand, put him down again off the ſtairs; and Weſton taking hold of the duke, forced him down likewiſe. And as they aſcended the ſecond time, the duke again put him down. Then Weſton ſaid, that it was the queen's pleaſure he ſhould ſo do. Wherewith the duke caſting his hands abroad, aſcended up the ſcaffold, and pauſed a pretty while after. And then he ſaid: "Maſters, I "have offended the queen, and her laws, and thereby "am juſtly condemned to die, and am willing to die, "deſiring all men to be obedient; and I pray God that "this my death may be an enſample to all men, be-"ſeeching you all to bear me witneſs, that I die in the "faith of Chriſt, truſting to be ſaved by his blood only, "and by no other trumpery, the which died for me, and "for all men that truly repent, and ſtedfaſtly truſt in "him. And I do repent, deſiring you all to pray to "God for me: and that when you ſee my breath depart "from me, you will pray to God that he may receive "my ſoul." And then he deſired all men to forgive him, ſaying, that the queen had forgiven him.

Then Dr. Weſton declared with a loud voice, that the queen's majeſty had forgiven him. With that ſeveral of the ſtanders-by ſaid with good and audible voices: Such forgiveneſs God ſend thee, meaning Dr. Weſton. Then the duke kneeled down upon his knees, and ſaid the Pſalm Miſerere mei Deus unto the end, holding up his hands, and looking up to heaven. And when he had ended the Pſalm, he ſaid, Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my ſpirit, &c. Then he aroſe and ſtood up, and delivered his cap and his ſcarf unto the executioner. Then the ſaid executioner kneeled down, and aſked the duke forgiveneſs. And the duke ſaid, God forgive thee, and I do: and when thou doeſt thine office, I pray thee, do it well, and bring me out of this world quickly, and God have mercy to thee. Then ſtood there a man and ſaid, My lord, how ſhall I do for the money you do owe me? And the duke ſaid, Alas, good fellow, I pray thee trouble me not now, but go thy way to my officers. Then he knit a kercher about his face, and kneeled down and ſaid, Our Father which art in heaven, &c. unto the end. And then he ſaid, Chriſt have mercy upon me, and laid down his head on the block, and the executioner took the ax, and at the firſt chop ſtruck off his head, and held it up to the people, &c.

The ſame day a number of priſoners had their pardon, and came through the city with their halters about their necks. They were in number about 200.

Upon Saturday February 24. Sir William Sentlow was committed as priſoner to the maſter of the horſe to be kept. This Sir William was at this time one of the lady Elizabeth's gentlemen.

Upon Sunday February 25. Sir John Rogers was committed to the Tower.

In this week, all ſuch prieſts within the dioceſe of London as were married, were divorced from their livings, and commanded to bring their wives within a fortnight, that they might be likewiſe divorced from them. This the biſhop did of his own power.

Upon Tueſday in the ſame week, February 27. certain gentlemen of Kent were ſent into Kent, there to be executed. Their names were theſe, the two Mantels, two Knevets, and Bret; with theſe Mr. Rudſton alſo and certain others were condemned, and ſhould have been executed, but they had their pardon.

As concerning the foreſaid Mr. Mantel the elder, here is to be noted, that as he was led to execution, and at his firſt caſting under the gallows, the rope brake. Then they would have had him recanted the truth, and received the ſacrament of the altar (as they term it) and then they ſaid he ſhould have the queen's pardon: but Mr. Mantel, like a worthy gentleman, refuſed their ſerpentine counſel, and choſe rather to die, than to live for diſhonouring of God.

Moreover, as touching the ſaid Mr. Mantel, for that he was reported falſly to have fallen from the conſtancy of his profeſſion; to clear himſelf thereof, and to reprove the ſiniſter ſurmiſe of his recantation, he wrote this brief apology to clear himſelf: the copy whereof here followeth.

The Apology of Mr. Mantel, ſenior.

PErceiving that already certain falſe reports are raiſed of me concerning my anſwer in the behalf of my belief while I was priſoner in the Tower of London, and conſidering how ſore a matter it is to be an occaſion of offence to any of thoſe little ones that believe in Chriſt: I have thought it the duty of a chriſtian man, as near as I can (with the truth) to take away this offence. It pleaſed the queen's majeſty to ſend unto me Mr. Doctor Bourne, unto whom at the firſt meeting I acknowledged my faith in all points to agree with the four creeds, that is, the common Creed, the Creed of Nicene, Quicunque vult, and Te Deum laudamus.

Further, as concerning confeſſion and penance, I declare that I could be content to ſhew unto any learned miniſter of Chriſt's church any thing that troubled my conſcience, and of ſuch a man I would moſt willingly hear abſolution pronounced.

Touching the ſacrament of the altar (as he termed it) I ſaid that I believed Chriſt to be there preſent as the Holy Ghoſt meant, when theſe words were written; "This is my body."

Further, when this would not ſatisfy, I deſired him to conſider, that I was a condemned man to die by a law, and that it was more meet for me to ſeek a readineſs and preparation to death. And inſomuch as I diſſented not from him in any article of the chriſtian faith neceſſary to ſalvation, I deſired him for God's ſake no more to trouble me with ſuch matters, as which to believe, is neither ſalvation; nor not to believe, damnation. He anſwered, that if I diſſented but in the leaſt matter from the catholic church, my ſoul was in great danger; therefore much more in this great matter, alledging this text, "He "that offendeth in the leaſt of theſe, is guilty of them all." Yea, quoth I, it is true of theſe commandments of God. To this I deſired him to conſider it was not my matter, nor could I in theſe matters keep diſputation, nor minded ſo to do; and therefore to take theſe few words for a full

anſwer, that I not only in the matter of the ſacrament, but alſo in all other matters of religion, believe as the holy catholic church of Chriſt (grounded upon the prophets and apoſtles) believeth. But upon this word Church we agree not; for I took exception at the antichriſtian popiſh church.

Then fell we in talk of the maſs, wherein we agreed not; for I both for the occaſion of idolatry, and alſo the clear ſubverſion of Chriſt's inſtitution, thought it naught; and he, è contra, upon certain conſiderations ſuppoſed it good. I found fault that it was accounted a ſacrifice propitiatory for ſin, and at certain other applications of it. But he ſaid that it was not a propitiatory ſacrifice for ſin (for the death of Chriſt only was the ſacrifice) and this but a commemoration of the ſame. Then, if ye think ſo (certain blaſphemous collects left out), I could be content (were it not for offending my poor brethren that believe in Chriſt, which know not ſo much) to hear your maſs. See, quoth he, how vain-glory toucheth you. Not ſo, Sir, quoth I, I am not now, I thank God, in caſe to be vain-glorious.

Then I found further fault with it, that it was not a communion. Yea, ſaith he, one prieſt ſaying maſs here, and another there, and the third in another place, &c. is a communion. This agreeth ſcarcely with theſe words of Paul, ſaid I, "Ye come not after a better manner, but "after a worſe." Yea, and it is a communion too, ſaid he, when they come together. Now draweth on the time, quoth he, that I muſt depart from you to the court, to ſay maſs before the queen, and muſt ſignify unto her in what caſe I find you, and methink I find you ſore ſeduced. Then I ſaid, I pray you report the beſt; for I truſt you find me not obſtinate. What ſhall I ſay, are ye content to hear maſs, and to receive the ſacrament of the maſs? I beſeech you, ſaid I, ſignify unto her majeſty, that I am neither obſtinate nor ſtubborn, for time and perſuaſion may alter me, but as yet my conſcience is ſuch, that I can neither hear maſs, nor receive the ſacrament after that ſort. Thus, after certain requeſts made to the queen's majeſty concerning other matters, he departed.

The next day he came to me again, and brought with him St. Cyprian's works; for ſo I had required him to do the day before, becauſe I would ſee his ſermon De Mortalitate. He had in this book turned and interlined certain places both concerning the church and the ſacrament, which he willed me to read. I read as much as my time would ſerve, and at his next coming I ſaid, that I was wholly of Cyprian's mind in the matter of the ſacrament. Dr. Weſton and Dr. Mallet came after to me, whom I anſwered much after that ſort as I did the other. Dr. Weſton brought in the place of St. Cyprian, Panis iſte non effigie, ſed natura mutatus, &c. I aſked of him how Natura was taken in the convocation-houſe, in the diſputation upon the place of Theodoret.

To be ſhort, Dr. Bourne came often unto me, and I always ſaid unto him, that I was not minded, nor able to diſpute in matters of religion; but I believed as the holy catholic church of Chriſt, grounded upon the prophets and apoſtles, doth believe; and namely in the matter of the ſacrament, as the holy fathers St. Cyprian and St. Auguſtine do write, and believed; and this anſwer and none other they had of me in effect, what words ſoever have been ſpread abroad of me, that I ſhould be conformable to all things, &c. The truth is, I never heard maſs, nor received the ſacrament during the time of my impriſonment.

One time he willed me to be confeſſed. I ſaid, I am content. We kneeled down to pray together in a window, I began without Benedicite, deſiring him not to look at my hand for any ſuperſtitious particular enumeration of my ſins. Therewith he was called away to the council; & ego liberatus. Thus much I bear only for my life, as God knoweth. If in this I have offended any chriſtian, from the bottom of my heart I aſk them forgiveneſs. I truſt God hath forgiven me, who knoweth that I durſt never deny him before men, leſt he ſhould deny me before his heavenly Father.

Thus I have left behind me written with mine own hand, the effect of all the talk, eſpecially of the worſt that ever I granted unto, to the uttermoſt I can remember, as God knoweth. All the whole communication I have not written; for it were both too long and too fooliſh ſo to do. Now I beſeech the living God, which hath received me to his mercy, and brought to paſs, that I die ſtedfaſt and undefiled in his truth, at utter defiance and deteſtation of all papiſtical and antichriſtian doctrine; I beſeech him, I ſay, to keep and defend all his choſen for his name's ſake, from the tyranny of the biſhop of Rome that Antichriſt, and from the aſſault of all his ſatellites. God's indignation is known: he will try and prove who be his. Amend your lives. Deny not Chriſt before men, leſt he deny you before his heavenly Father. Fear not to loſe your lives for him; for ye ſhall find them again. God hold his merciful hand over this realm, and avert the plagues imminent from the ſame. God ſave the queen, and ſend her knowledge in his truth, Amen. Pray, pray, pray, ye chriſtians, and comfort yourſelves with the ſcriptures.

Written March 2. 1554. by me Walter Mantel, priſoner, whom both God and the world hath forgiven his offences. Amen.

And thus much concerning the purgation of Mr. Walter Mantel, who if he had conſented unto the queen, when ſhe ſent Dr. Bourne unto him to deny his faith, it is not otherwiſe to be thought but he would have been pardoned.

On Saturday March 3. Sir Gawen Carew and Mr. Gibbes were brought through London to the Tower with a company of horſemen.

March 17. every houſholder in London was commanded to appear before the aldermen of their ward, and there were commanded, that they, their wives and ſervants, ſhould prepare themſelves to confeſſion, and receive the ſacrament at Eaſter, and that neither they, nor any of them, ſhould depart out of the city until Eaſter was paſt.

Upon the Sunday following, March 18. the lady Elizabeth, the queen's ſiſter, of whom mention was made before, was brought to the Tower.

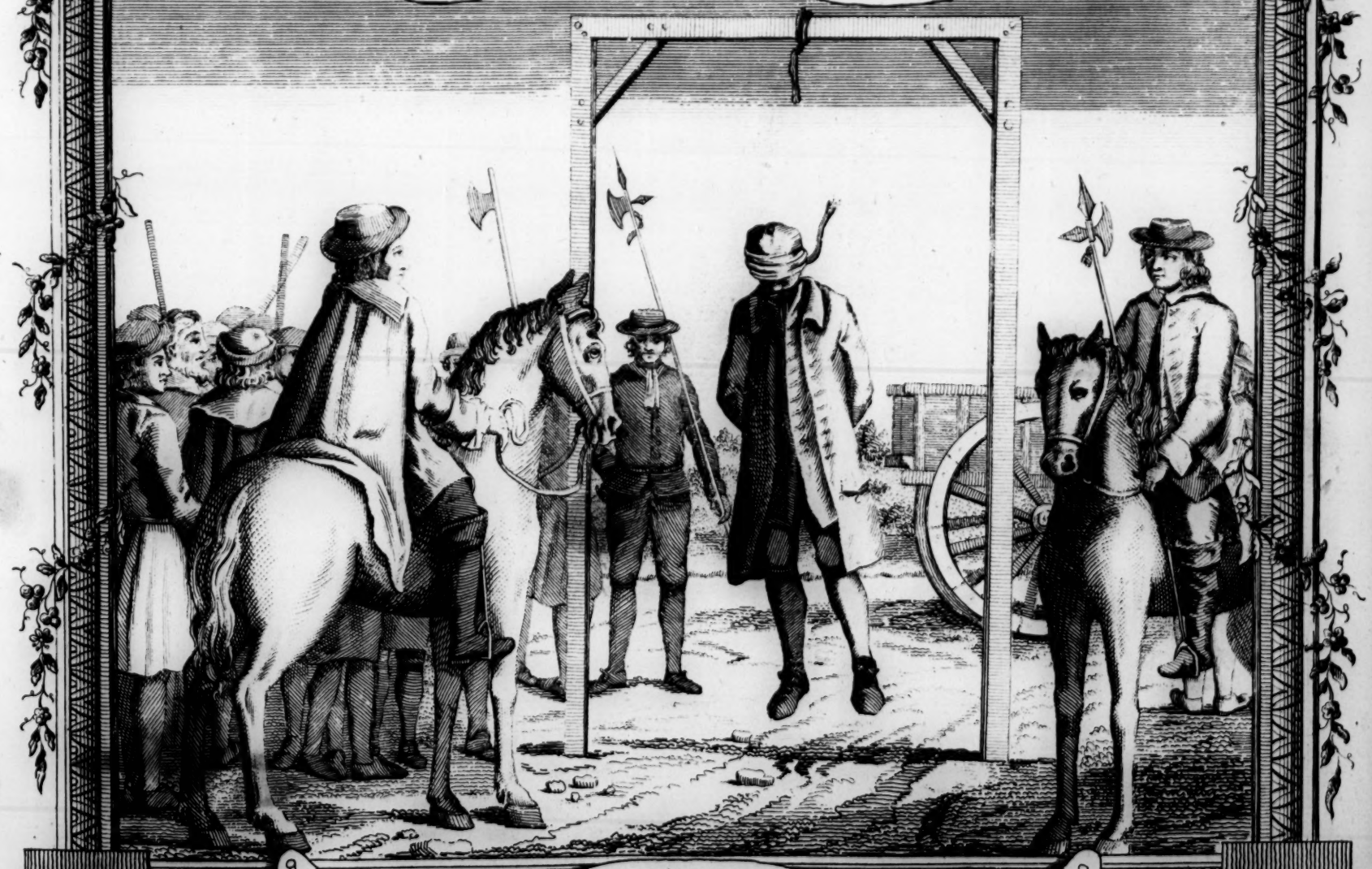
Upon Eaſter eve March 24. the lord marquis of Northampton, the lord Cobham, and Sir William Cobham were delivered out of the Tower.

March 25. being Eaſter-day in the morning, at St. Pancraſs in Cheap, the crucifix with the pyx [the veſſel in which the hoſt was kept] were taken out of the ſepulchre, before the prieſt roſe to the reſurrection: ſo that when after his accuſtomed manner he put his hand into the ſepulchre, and ſaid very devoutly, He is riſen, He is not here; he found his words true, for he was not there indeed. Whereupon being half diſmayed, they conſulted among themſelves whom they thought to be the likelieſt to do this thing: in which conſultation they remembered one Marſh, which a little before had been put from that parſonage becauſe he was married, to whoſe charge they laid it. But when they could not prove it, being brought before the mayor, they then burthened him to have kept company with his wife, ſince that they were by commandment divorced. Whereto he anſwered, That he thought the queen had done him wrong, to take from him both his living and his wife: which words were then noted, and taken very grievouſly, and he and his wife were both committed to ſeveral Compters, notwithſtanding that he had been very ſick.

The 8th of April there was a cat hanged upon a gallows at the croſs in Cheapſide, apparelled like a prieſt ready to ſay maſs, with a ſhaven crown: Her two fore feet were tied over her head, with a round paper like a wafer-cake put between them; whereon aroſe great evil will againſt the city of London. For the queen and the biſhops were very angry; and the ſame afternoon there was a proclamation

Engraved for Fox's Book of Martyrs.

A Cat hung up in Cheapside, habited like a Priest.



The hanging Mr. Mantle, and the Rope breaking.

G. Terry Sculp. Pater-noster Row.

Published as the Act directs. 1776. for H. Trapp. Pater-noster Row.

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mation iſſued, that whoſoever could bring forth the party that did hang up the cat, ſhould have twenty nobles, which was afterwards increaſed to twenty marks, but none could or would earn it.

As touching the firſt occaſion of ſetting up this gallows in Cheapſide, here is to be underſtood, that after the biſhop of Wincheſter's ſermon abovementioned, made before the queen for the ſpeedy execution of Wyat's ſoldiers, immediately upon the ſame, February 13. there were ſeveral gibbets ſet up in divers parts of the city; namely, two in Cheapſide, one at Leaden hall, one at Billingſgate, one at St. Magnus church, one in Smithfield, one in Fleet-ſtreet, four in Southwark, one at Aldgate, one at Biſhopſgate, one at Alderſgate, one at Newgate, one at Ludgate, one at St. James park corner, one at Cripplegate: all which remained for the terror of others, from February 13. to June 4; and then at the coming in of king Philip were taken down.

April 11. Sir Thomas Wyat was beheaded and quartered on Tower-hill, where he ſpoke theſe words concerning the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonſhire; "Concerning, ſaid he, what I have ſaid of others in "my examination, to charge any others as partaking "of my doings, I accuſe neither my lady Elizabeth's "grace, nor my lord of Devonſhire. I cannot accuſe "them, neither am I able to ſay, that to my knowledge "they knew any thing of my riſing." And when Dr. Weſton told him, that his confeſſion was otherwiſe before the council, he anſwered, "That which I ſaid "then, I ſaid; but that which I ſay now, is true."

Upon Tueſday, April 17. Sir James Croft and Mr. Winter were brought to Guildhall, with whom alſo was brought Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and there arraigned of treaſon, for that he was ſuſpected to be of the conſpiracy with the duke of Suffolk and the reſt, againſt the queen; where he ſo learnedly and wiſely behaved himſelf (as well in clearing his own caſe, as alſo in opening ſuch laws of the realm as were then alledged againſt him) that the queſt which was charged with this matter, could not in conſcience but find him not guilty; for which, the ſaid twelve perſons of the queſt, being ſubſtantial men of the city, were each bound in the ſum of 500 pounds, to appear before the queen's council at a day appointed, there to anſwer ſuch things as ſhould be laid againſt them. Which queſt appeared accordingly before the council in the Star-chamber upon Wedneſday April 25. From whence, after certain queſtioning, they were committed to priſon, Emanuel Lucar and Mr. Whetſtone were committed to the Tower, and the other ten to the Fleet.

As concerning the condemnation of Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, and Mr. Latimer, which was the 20th of this month of April, and alſo of their diſputations, having ſaid enough before, we need not here rehearſe again.

The Friday after their condemnation, April 27. the lord Thomas Gray, brother to the late duke of Suffolk, was beheaded at Tower-hill.

On Saturday, April 28. Sir James Croft and Mr. Winter were again brought to Guild hall, where Sir James Croft was arraigned and condemned; and becauſe the day was far ſpent, Mr. Winter was not arraigned.

Upon Thurſday, May 17. William Thomas was arraigned at Guildhall, and the ſame day condemned, who the next day after was hanged, drawn and quartered. His accuſation was, for conſpiring the queen's death; which how true it was I have not to ſay. This is certain, that he made a right godly end, and wrote many fruitful exhortations, letters and ſonnets in the priſon before his death.

In the month of May it was given out, that a ſolemn diſputation ſhould be held at Cambridge (as ye heard before in Dr. Ridley's letter, pag. 65.) between Mr. Bradford, Mr. Saunders, Mr. Rogers, and others of that ſide, and the doctors of both the univerſities on the other ſide, like as had been before in Oxford. Whereupon the godly preachers who were in priſon having notice thereof, albeit they were deſtitute of their books, and were not ignorant of the purpoſe of their adverſaries, and how the cauſe was prejudiced before, alſo how the diſputations were confuſedly handled at Oxford; nevertheleſs they thought not to refuſe the offer of diſputation, ſo that they might be quietly and indifferently heard; and therefore wiſely pondering the matter with themſelves, by a public conſent directed out of priſon a declaration of their mind by writing the 8th of May. Wherein firſt, as touching the diſputation, although they knew that they ſhould do no good, becauſe all things were pre-determined before; yet nevertheleſs they would not deny to diſpute, if the diſputation might be either before the queen, or before the council, or before the parliament, or if they might diſpute by writing; for elſe if the matter were brought to the doctors handling in their own ſchools, they have ſufficient proof, they ſaid, by the experience of Oxford, that little good will be done at Cambridge; and ſo conſequently declaring the faith and doctrine of their religion, and exhorting the people withal to ſubmit themſelves with all patience and humility, either to the will or puniſhment of the higher powers; they appealed in the end from them to be their judges in this behalf, and ſo ended their proteſtation: the copy and contents whereof I thought not unfit here to be inſerted.

A Copy of the Declaration drawn up by Mr. Bradford, Mr. Saunders, and ſeveral others.

BEcauſe we hear that it is determined of the magiſtrates, and ſuch as be in authority, eſpecially of the clergy, to ſend us ſpeedily out of the priſons of the King's-Bench, the Fleet, the Marſhelſea, and Newgate, where at this preſent we are, and of long time ſome of us have been, not as rebels, traitors, ſeditious perſons, thieves, or tranſgreſſors of any laws of this realm, inhibitions, proclamations, or commandments of the queen's highneſs, or of any of the councils (God's name be praiſed therefore) but alonely for the conſcience we have to God, and his moſt holy word and truth, upon moſt certain knowledge: becauſe, we ſay, we hear that it is determined, we ſhall be ſent to one of the univerſities of Cambridge or Oxford, there to diſpute with ſuch as are appointed in that behalf: in that we purpoſe not to diſpute otherwiſe than by writing, except it may be before the queen's highneſs and her council, or before the parliament-houſes; and therefore perchance it will be bruited abroad, that we are not able to maintain by the truth of God's word, and the conſent of the true and catholic church of Chriſt, the doctrine we have generally and ſeverally taught, and ſome of us have written and ſet forth, where through the godly and ſimple may be offended, and ſomewhat weakened: we have thought it our bounden duty now whilſt we may, by writing to publiſh and notify the cauſes why we will not diſpute otherwiſe than is aboveſaid, to prevent the offences which might come thereby.

Firſt, Becauſe it is evidently known unto the whole world, that the determinations of both the univerſities in matters of religion, eſpecially wherein we ſhould diſpute, are directly againſt God's word, yea, againſt their own determination in the time of our late ſovereign lord and moſt godly prince, king Edward: and further it is known they be our open enemies, and have already condemned our cauſes, before any diſputation had of the ſame.

Secondly, Becauſe the prelates and clergy do not ſeek either us or the verity, but our deſtruction and their glory. For if they had ſought us (as charity requireth) then would they have called us forth hereabouts before their laws were ſo made, that frankly and without peril we

might have ſpoken our conſciences. Again, If they had ſought for the verity, they would not have concluded of controverſies before they had been diſputed: ſo that it eaſily appeareth, that they ſeek their own glory and our deſtruction, and not us and the verity: and therefore we have good cauſe to refuſe diſputation, as a thing which ſhall not further prevail than to the ſetting forth of their glory, and ſuppreſſion of the verity.

Thirdly, Becauſe the cenſors and judges (as we hear who they be) are manifeſt enemies to the truth, and that which worſe is, obſtinate enemies, before whom pearls are not to be caſt, by the commandment of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and by his own example. That they be ſuch, their doings of late at Oxford, and in the convocation-houſe, in October laſt paſt, do moſt evidently appear.

Fourthly, Becauſe ſome of us have been in priſon theſe eight or nine months, where we have had no books, no paper, no pen, no ink, or convenient place for ſtudy, we think we ſhould do evil, thus ſuddenly to deſcend into diſputation with them, which may alledge, as they liſt, the fathers and their teſtimonies, becauſe our memories have not that which we have read ſo readily, as to reprove, when they ſhall report and wreſt the authors to their purpoſe, or to bring forth that we may have there for our advantage.

Fifthly, Becauſe in diſputation we ſhall not be permitted to proſecute our arguments, but be ſtopt when we ſhould ſpeak; one ſaying this, another that, the third his mind, &c. As was done to the godly learned fathers, eſpecially Dr. Ridley at Oxford, who could not be permitted to declare his mind and meaning of the propoſitions, and had oftentimes half a dozen at once ſpeaking againſt him, always hindering him to proſecute his argument, and to anſwer accordingly: we will not ſpeak of the hiſſing, ſcoffing, and taunting which wonderfully then was uſed. If on this ſort, and much worſe they handled theſe fathers, much more will they be ſhameleſs bold with us, if we ſhould enter into diſputation with them.

Sixthly, Becauſe the notaries, that ſhall receive and write the diſputations ſhall be of their appointment, and ſuch as either do not or dare not favour the truth, and therefore muſt write either to pleaſe them, or elſe they themſelves (the cenſors and judges we mean) at their pleaſure will put to, and take from that which is written by the notaries; who cannot, or muſt not have in their cuſtody that which they write, longer than the diſputation endureth, as their doings at Oxford declareth. No copy nor ſcroll could any man have by their good will. For the cenſors and judges will have all delivered into their hands. Yea, if any man was ſeen there to write, as the report is, the ſame man was ſent for, and his writings taken from him: ſo muſt the diſputation ſerve only for the glory, not of God, but of the enemies of his truth.

For theſe cauſes we all think it ſo neceſſary not to diſpute with them, as if we did diſpute we ſhould do that which they deſire and purpoſely ſeek, to promote the kingdom of Antichriſt, and to ſuppreſs (as much as may be) the truth. We will not ſpeak of the offence that might come to the godly, when they ſhall hear, by the report of our enemies, our anſwers and arguments framed (you may be ſure) for their fantaſies, to the ſlandering of the verity.

Therefore we publiſh, and by this writing notify unto the whole congregation and church of England, that for theſe aforeſaid cauſes we will not diſpute with them, otherwiſe than with the pen, unleſs it be before the queen's highneſs and her council, or before the houſes of the parliament, as is aboveſaid. If they will write, we will anſwer; and by writing confirm and prove out of the infallible verity, even the very word of God, and by the teſtimony of the good and moſt ancient fathers in Chriſt's church, this our faith and every piece thereof, which hereafter we, in a ſum, do write and ſend abroad purpoſely, that our good brethren and ſiſters in the Lord may know it: and to ſeal up the ſame, we are ready through God's help and grace to give our lives to the halter or fire, or otherwiſe, as God ſhall appoint: humbly requiring, and in the bowels of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt beſeeching all that fear God, to behave themſelves as obedient ſubjects to the queen's highneſs and the ſuperior powers, which are ordained of God under her, rather after our example to give their heads to the block, than in any point to rebel, or once to mutter againſt the Lord's anointed; we mean our ſovereign lady queen Mary, into whoſe heart we beſeech the Lord of mercy plentifully to pour the wiſdom and grace of his Holy Spirit, now and for ever. Amen.

Firſt, We confeſs and believe all the canonical books of the Old Teſtament, and all the books of the New Teſtament, to be the very true Word of God, and to be written by the inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, and are therefore to be heard accordingly, as the judge in all controverſies and matters of religion.

Secondly, We confeſs and believe, that the catholic church, which is the ſpouſe of Chriſt, as a moſt obedient and loving wife, doth embrace and follow the doctrine of theſe books in all matters of religion, and therefore is ſhe to be heard accordingly; ſo that thoſe which will not hear this church thus following and obeying the word of her huſband, we account as heretics and ſchiſmatics, according to this ſaying. "If he will not hear the church, "let him be to thee as a heathen."

Thirdly, We believe and confeſs all the articles of faith and doctrine ſet forth in the ſymbol of the apoſtles, which we commonly call the Creed, and in the ſymbols of the council of Nice, kept in the year 324. of Conſtantinople, in the year 384. of Epheſus, in the year 432. of Chalcedon, in the year 454. of Toletum the firſt and fourth. Alſo in the ſymbols of Athanaſius, Ireneus, Tertullian, and of Damaſus, which was about the year of our Lord 376. we confeſs and believe (we ſay) the doctrine of the ſymbols generally and particularly; ſo that whoſoever doth otherwiſe, we hold the ſame to err from the truth.

Fourthly, We believe and confeſs concerning juſtification, that as it cometh only from God's mercy through Chriſt, ſo it is perceived and had of none, which be of years of diſcretion, otherwiſe than by faith only: which faith is not an opinion, but a certain perſuaſion wrought by the Holy Ghoſt in the mind and heart of man, where through as the mind is illuminated, ſo the heart is ſuppled to ſubmit itſelf to the will of God unfeignedly, and ſo ſheweth forth an inherent righteouſneſs, which is to be diſcerned in the article of juſtification, from the righteouſneſs which God endueth us withal, juſtifying us, although inſeparably they go together. And this we do not for curioſity or contention ſake, but for conſcience ſake, that it might be quiet, which it can never be, if we confound without diſtinction forgiveneſs of ſins, and Chriſt's juſtice imputed to us, with regeneration and inherent righteouſneſs. By this we diſallow papiſtical doctrine of free-will, of works of ſupererogation, of merits, of the neceſſity of auricular confeſſion and ſatisfaction to God-wards.

Fifthly, We confeſs and believe concerning the exterior ſervice of God, that it ought to be according to the word of God; and therefore in the congregation all things public ought to be done in ſuch a tongue as may be moſt to edify, and not in Latin, where the people underſtand not the ſame.

Sixthly, We confeſs and believe that God only by Chriſt Jeſus is to be prayed unto and called upon; and therefore we diſallow invocation or prayer to ſaints departed this life.

Seventhly, We confeſs and believe, that as a man departeth this life, ſo ſhall he be judged in the laſt day generally, and in the mean ſeaſon is entered either into the ſtate of the bleſſed for ever, or damned for ever; and therefore is either paſt all help, or elſe needs no help of any in this life. By reaſon whereof we affirm purgatory, maſſes

maſſes of Scala cœli, trentals, and ſuch ſuffrages as the popiſh church doth obtrude as neceſſary, to be the doctrine of Antichriſt.

Eighthly, We confeſs and believe the ſacraments of Chriſt, which be baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper, that they ought to be miniſtered according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, concerning the ſubſtantial parts of them: and that they be no longer ſacraments, than they be had in uſe, and uſed to the end for which they were inſtituted.

And here we plainly confeſs, that the mutilation of the Lord's ſupper, and the ſubtraction of the one kind from the lay people, is antichriſtian. And ſo is the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation of the ſacramental bread and wine after the words of conſecration, as they be called.

Item, The adoration of the ſacrament with honour due unto God; the reſervation and carrying about of the ſame.

Item. The maſs to be a propitiatory ſacrifice for the quick and dead, or a work that pleaſeth God.

All theſe we believe and confeſs to be Antichriſt's doctrine: as is the inhibition of marriage as unlawful to any ſtate. And we doubt not by God's grace, but we ſhall be able to prove all our confeſſions here to be moſt true by the verity of God's word, and conſent of the catholic church, which followeth and hath followed the governance of God's Spirit, and the judgment of his word.

And this through the Lord's help we will do, either in diſputation by word before the queen's highneſs and her council, either before the parliament houſes, of whom we doubt not but to be indifferently heard, or elſe with our pens, whenſoever we ſhall be thereto by them that have authority, required and commanded.

In the mean ſeaſon, as obedient ſubjects, we ſhall behave ourſelves towards all that be in authority, and not ceaſe to pray to God for them, that he would govern them all, generally and particularly, with the ſpirit of wiſdom and grace. And ſo we heartily deſire, and humbly pray all men to do, in no point conſenting to any kind of rebellion or ſedition againſt our ſovereign lady the queen's highneſs: but where they cannot obey, but they muſt diſobey God, there to ſubmit themſelves with all patience and humility to ſuffer as the will and pleaſure of the high powers ſhall judge: as we are ready through the goodneſs of the Lord to ſuffer whatſoever they ſhall adjudge us unto, rather than we will conſent to any doctrine contrary to this which we here confeſs, unleſs we ſhall be juſtly convinced thereof, either by writing or by word, before ſuch judges as the queen's highneſs and her council, or the parliament houſes ſhall appoint. For the univerſities and clergy have condemned our cauſes already by the bigger, but not by the better part, without all diſputation of the ſame: and therefore moſt juſtly we may, and do appeal from them to be our judges in this behalf, except it may be in writing, that to all men the matter may appear. The Lord of mercy endue us all with the Spirit of his truth and grace of perſeverance therein unto the end. Amen.

Robert Menaven, alias Robert Ferrar.
Rowland Taylor.
John Philpot.
John Bradford.
John Wigorne, and Glouc. Episcopus, alias John Hooper.
Edward Crome.
John Rogers.
Laurence Saunders.
Edmund Laurence.
J. P.
T. M.

May 8. 1554.

To theſe things aboveſaid, do I Miles Coverdale, late of Exon, conſent and agree, with theſe mine afflicted brethren being priſoners, mine own hand.

And thus much concerning this preſent declaration ſubſcribed by theſe preachers, which was on the 8th day of May.

Furthermore, the 19th of the ſaid month, the Lady Elizabeth, the queen's ſiſter, was brought to the Tower, and committed to the cuſtody of Sir John Williams, afterwards lord Williams of Tame, by whom her highneſs was gently and courteouſly intreated: who afterwards was had to Woodſtock, and there committed to the keeping of Sir Henry Benefield, knight, of Oxborough in Norfolk; who, on the other ſide, both forgetting her eſtate, and his own duty, as it is reported, ſhewed himſelf more hard and ſtreight unto her, than either cauſe was given of her part, or reaſon of his own part would have led him, if either grace or wiſdom in him might have ſeen before, what danger might have enſued thereof afterward. Of which we ſhall intreat more at large hereafter, the Lord willing, in the ſtory and life of queen Elizabeth.

On Friday, July 20. king Philip arrived at Southampton. The prince himſelf was the firſt that landed; who immediately as he ſet foot upon the land, drew out his ſword, and carried it naked in his hand. A little without the town the mayor of Southampton, with certain commoners, met him, and delivered the keys of the town unto the prince, who removed his ſword, naked as it was, out of his right hand into his left, and ſo received the keys of the mayor without any word ſpeaking, or countenance of thankfulneſs, and after a while delivered the keys to the mayor again. At the town gate the earl of Arundel and the lord Williams met him, and ſo he was brought to his lodging.

Upon Wedneſday following, July 25. being St. James's day, Philip prince of Spain, and Mary queen of England, were ſolemnly married in the cathedral church at Wincheſter, by the biſhop of Wincheſter, in the preſence of a great number of noblemen of both the realms. At the time of this marriage, the emperor's ambaſſador being preſent, openly pronounced, that in conſideration of that marriage, the emperor had granted and given unto his ſon the kingdom of Naples, &c.

Whereupon the firſt of Auguſt following, there was a proclamation, that from that time forth the ſtyle of all manner of writings ſhould be altered, and this following uſed:

"Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, king and "queen of England, France, Naples, Jeruſalem and Ire-"land, Defenders of the Faith, Princes of Spain and "Sicily, Archdukes of Auſtrich, dukes of Milan, Bur-"gundy, and Brabant, Counties of Haſpurge, Flanders "and Tyrol."

Of this marriage as the papiſts chiefly ſeemed to be very glad, ſo ſeveral of them, after divers ſtudies to ſhew forth their inward affections, made interludes and pageants, ſome drew forth genealogies, deriving his pedigree from Edward III. and John of Gaunt. Amongſt others, Mr. White, then biſhop of Lincoln (his poetical vein being drunk with joy of the marriage) made certain verſes; a tranſlation whereof we have here inſerted.

The genealogy of Philip and Mary, whereby both princes are ſhewn to have deſcended from John of Gaunt, ſon of Edward III. king of England and France. The author Mr. White biſhop of Lincoln.

JOHN of Gaunt, father of princes did beget,
John the puiſſant earl of Somerſet:
From him John duke of Somerſet did ſpring,
Whoſe daughter Marg'ret brought forth England's king,
Henry the ſeventh, who of life bereft,
The throne unto his ſon prince Henry left:
His daughter Mary, England's ſcepter bears,
And may ſhe bear it long exempt from cares.

Verſes of Mr. White biſhop of Lincoln, concerning the marriage of Philip and Mary.

THE devil, that old enemy of mankind,
Strives to prevent, tho' to it God's inclin'd,

That Mary, England's queen, ſhould join her hands
To Engliſh Philip in hymeneal bands.
Againſt the match, with the dark prince of Night,
The helpleſs Scots, and timorous French unite,
With theſe hell's prelates join, Caiaphas's race,
Eight married fathers, void of heav'nly grace,
John Dudley, Wyat, and rebellious Kent,
With Gray, conſpire the marriage to prevent.
But that the nuptials ſhould performed be,
Cæſar and Flanders would, and Italy,
Catholic biſhops, and with theſe comply
Five holy Fathers, for their ſanctity
In fetters bound, the ſenate of the nation,
And all true catholics in every ſtation,
Lords, commons, learned, ignorant, and we,
'Cauſe God himſelf doth thereunto agree.
When Philip to queen Mary ſhall be join'd,
Their blood its wonted courſe ſhall run refin'd.

Anſwer to White biſhop of Lincoln, by the reverend biſhop of Norwich.

THAT Mary ſhould to Spaniſh Philip wed,
And England's glory be extirpated,
The devil wills, jointly with him agree,
All Flanders, Italy, and Germany,
Caiaphas's race, the mitered company
Of popiſh biſhops, Five for impiety
In priſon caſt: but God's extended arm
Kindly ſupports us, and averts the harm:
He nills the match, gives England liberty,
With him the warlike Scots and French agree,
Eight married in the Lord: and Dudley you,
Foreboding diſmal things, the marriage view,
The ſenate nills; brave Wyat doth eſpouſe
With pious zeal his country's injur'd cauſe;
With him Gray, and the Kentiſh folk comply,
Either to gain their liberty, or die.
Then ſay, what profits will the Spaniſh king,
Having wedded Mary, to the Engliſh bring?

Another Anſwer by the ſaid Author.

SATAN, your all-confounding ſire it's plain,
Would have queen Mary wed the prince of Spain;
That ſo he may Britannia's noble race
Eradicate, and ſuddenly deface.
But God, the Father of the Engliſh ſtill,
Reſents the rancour of his wicked will.
Nor do the warlike French nor Scots agree;
Tho' Flanders, Italy, and Germany,
Conſpire and jointly ſtrive that this may be.
The mitred prelates all the match proclaim;
Our holy Fathers all decry the ſame.
The Eight, who ſacred nuptial tyes revere,
Couragious, and unmov'd by ſlaviſh fear,
Will not, altho' the factious Five agree,
That were impriſon'd for impiety.
Dudley the brave Northumbrian hero ſtands:
Prompt to oppoſe the matrimonial bands;
And ſo will all prepar'd and ready be,
That love their country, laws, and liberty.
Wyat the brave this generous mind doth ſhew,
The nobles, commons, and the clergy too.
Ye will the match, who are by nature prone
To baniſh truth, and piety dethrone:
But Gray, and all the Kentiſh folk declare
Their juſt reſentment at the married pair.
What glory then from ſuch a marriage ſprings?
What ſplendor does it add unto the ancient kings?

Other Verſes anſwering to biſhop White, made by J. C.

THO' Philip to the Engliſh line pretend,
And Mary from the Spaniſh did deſcend;
Yet for an Engliſh queen of Mongrel breed,
To wed a Spaniſh prince (as 'tis decreed)
Is to her Sire and nation a diſgrace indeed.
Th' admirers of Old England's valour ſee,
With truth aud juſtice this can ne'er agree;
But God the ſame does for our ſins permit,
And therefore patiently they ſuffer it.
The people if they are not ſtrangely bent
Againſt our welfare, never will conſent
To this unhappy match, foreboding ill:
What's it to us if th' adverſe nation will?
All pious men againſt the match contend;
For they are mad indeed who it defend.
The Eight, who ſacred wedlock do revere,
Than the impriſon'd Five more wiſe appear;
For this pernicious marriage they oppoſe,
To ſave the nation from inſulting foes.
The Hero of Northumberland withſtands
Theſe inauſpicious and illegal bands:
O dire, infernal councellors, who will
Promote this fatal match, preſaging ill!
Wyat in war unhappily engag'd,
Was at the marriage generouſly enrag'd:
None for it was; but all the ſame withſtood,
Except th' unthinking Popiſh multitude.
Gray, and the Britains all, will not agree
That this unhappy match ſhould ever be:
We, 'cauſe th' Almighty wills it ſo, ſubmit,
And patiently endure and ſuffer it:
But worſe things we ſhall bear, if Mary be
In ſacred wedlock, Philip, join'd to thee.

Other Verſes anſwering likewiſe,

SAY White, whom can you find that will agree,
That Mary ſhould to Philip married be?
It matters not what the vain multitude
Do Will or Nill (they're ignorant and rude).
To Will and Nill is God's chief property:
The queſtion then is, What he wills to be?
'Cauſe God hath will'd the match (you ſay) the ſame
Ye will, and loudly every where proclaim:
You ought indeed to know what God doth will,
Becauſe, dull fool, thou'rt ignorant of it ſtill.
This he hath will'd that in his augury
White ſhould a lying Pſeudo-prophet be.
A king tho' not the king ſhe weds indeed,
Herſelf an Engliſh queen, tho' not of Engliſh breed.
She's pregnant and not pregnant, yet pretends
Her teeming womb a joyful Offſpring ſends:
This ye with hearts exulting wiſh to ſee;
But lo! no Offſpring comes: This God would have to be.
He for a ſeaſon weds, and then forſakes her;
One day a bride, the next a widow makes her:
This God would have; (whoſe vengeance overtakes her)
So vain the prayers of wicked men are made,
Who for their country's ruin have deſtruction laid.
Sit Nomen Domini benedictum.

After the conſummation of the marriage, the king and queen removed from Wincheſter to ſeveral other places, and by eaſy journeys came to Windſor caſtle, where he was inſtalled in the order of the Garter, upon Sunday Auguſt 12. at which time an herald took down the arms of England at Windſor, and in the place of them would have ſet up the arms of Spain, but he was commanded to ſet them up again by certain lords. From thence they both removed to Richmond, and from thence by water to London, and landed at the biſhop of Wincheſter's houſe, through which they paſſed both into Southwark-park, and ſo to Southwark houſe called Suffolk place, where they lay that night, being the 18th of Auguſt.

And the next day the king and queen's majeſties rode from Suffolk place (accompanied with a great number, as well

well of noblemen as gentlemen) through the city of London to Whitehall; and at London-bridge, as he entered at the draw-bridge, was a vain great ſpectacle ſet up, two images repreſenting two giants, one named Corineus, and the other Gogmagog, holding between them certain Latin verſes, which for the vain oſtentation of flattery I overpaſs.

And as they paſſed over the bridge, there was a number of ordnance ſhot off at the Tower, ſuch as by old men's report the like hath not been heard or ſeen theſe 100 year.

From London-bridge they paſſed the conduit in Gracious-ſtreet, which was finely painted, and among other things, the nine worthies, whereof king Henry VIII. was one. He was painted in harneſs, having in one hand a ſword, and in the other hand a book, whereon was written Verbum Dei, delivering the ſame book, as it were to his ſon king Edward, who was painted in a corner by him.

But this gave great offence; for the biſhop of Wincheſter, lord chancellor, ſent for the painter, and not only called him knave for painting a book in king Henry's hand, and ſpecially for writing thereupon Verbum Dei, but alſo rank traitor and villain, ſaying to him that he ſhould rather have put the book into the queen's hand, who was alſo painted there, for that ſhe had reformed the church and religion, with other things according to the pure and ſincere word of God indeed. The painter anſwered, and ſaid, That if he had known that had been the matter wherefore his lordſhip ſent for him, he could have remedied it, and not troubled his lordſhip. The biſhop anſwered, That it was the queen's majeſty's will and commandment that he ſhould ſend for him: and ſo commanding him to wipe out the book and Verbum Dei too, he ſent him home. The painter departed, but fearing leſt he ſhould leave ſome part either of the book, or of Verbum Dei in king Henry's hand; he wiped away a piece of his fingers withal.

Here I paſs over other gawds and pageants of paſtime ſhewed to him in paſſing through London, with the flattering verſes ſet up in Latin, wherein were blazed out in one place the five Philips, as the five worthies of the world, Philip of Macedone, Philip the emperor, Philip the bold, Philip the good, Philip prince of Spain, and king of England.

In another poetry, king Philip was reſembled by an image repreſenting Orpheus, and all Engliſh people reſembled to brute and ſavage beaſts following after Orpheus harp, and dancing after king Philip's pipe. Not that I reprehend the art of the Latin verſes, which was fine and cunning, but that I paſs over the matter, having graver things in hand; and therefore paſs over alſo the ſight at Paul's church ſide, of him that came down upon a rope tied to the battlements with his head before, neither ſtaying himſelf with his hand nor foot; which ſhortly after coſt him his life.

But one thing by the way I cannot let paſs, touching the rood newly ſet up againſt this time, to welcome king Philip into Paul's church. The ſetting up of which rood was this, and may make as good a a pageant as the beſt.

Anno 2 Mariæ, Bonner in his royalty, and all his prebendaries about him in Paul's quire, the rood laid along upon the pavements, and alſo the doors of Paul's being ſhut, the biſhop with others ſaid and ſung divers prayers by the rood: that being done, they anointed the rood with oil in divers places, and after the anointing, crept unto it, and kiſſed it.

After that, they took the ſaid rood, and weighed him up, and ſet him in his old accuſtomed place, and all the while they were doing thereof, the whole quire ſang Te Deum, and when that was ended, they rang the bells, not only for joy, but alſo for the notable and great fact they had done therein.

Not long after this, a merry fellow came into Paul's, and ſpied the rood with Mary and John new ſet up; whereto, among a great ſort of people, he made low courteſy, and ſaid: Sir, your maſterſhip is welcome to town. I had thought to have talked further with your maſterſhip, but that ye be here cloathed in the queen's colours. I hope that ye be but a ſummer's bird, in that ye be dreſſed in white and green.

The prince thus being in the church of Paul's, after Dr. Harpsfield had finiſhed his oration in Latin, ſet forward through Fleet-ſtreet, and ſo came to Whitehall, where he with the queen remained four days after, and from thence removed unto Richmond.

After this, all the lords had leave to depart into their countries, with ſtrait commandment to bring all their harneſs and artillery into the Tower of London with all ſpeed. Now remained there no Engliſh lord at the court, but the biſhop of Wincheſter. From Richmond they removed to Hampton-court, where the hall-door within the court was continually ſhut, ſo that no man might enter, unleſs his errand were firſt known, which ſeemed ſtrange to Engliſhmen that had not been uſed thereto.

About September 8. biſhop Bonner began his viſitation, who charged ſix men in every pariſh to enquire (according to their oaths) and to preſent before him the day after St. Matthew's day, all ſuch perſons as either had or ſhould offend in any of his articles, which he had ſet forth to the number of 37. of which viſitation of Bonner I ſhall ſpeak more largely, after I have related a few other things in courſe of the preſent ſtory.

September 17. was a proclamation in London, That all vagabonds and maſterleſs men, as well ſtrangers as Engliſhmen, ſhould depart the city within five days; and ſtraitly charging all innholders, victuallers, taverners, and alehouſe-keepers, with all other that ſell victuals, that they after the ſaid five days ſhould not ſell any meat, drink, or any kind of victuals to any ſervingman whatſoever, unleſs he brought a teſtimonial from his maſter to declare whoſe ſervant he was, and were in continual houſhold with his ſaid maſter, upon pain to run in danger of the law, if they offended herein.

Upon Sunday following, the biſhop of Wincheſter, lord chancellor of England, preached at Paul's Croſs, at whoſe ſermon were preſent all the council that were at the court: namely, the marquis of Wincheſter, the earl of Arundel, lord North, Sir Anthony Brown, Mr. Rocheſter, Mr. Walgrave, Mr. Englefield, lord Fitzwater, and ſecretary Peter, and the biſhops of London, Durham, and Ely, which three ſat under the biſhop's arms. The goſpel whereof he made his ſermon, is written in the twenty-ſecond chapter of Matthew, where the Phariſees came unto Chriſt, and among them one aſked Chriſt which was the greateſt commandment; Chriſt anſwered, "Thou ſhalt love the Lord thy God with all thy "heart, &c. and thy neighbour as thyſelf, in theſe two "is comprehended the law and the prophets."

After his long declaration of theſe words, ſpeaking very much of love and charity, at laſt he had occaſion upon St. James his words to ſpeak of the true teachers, and of the falſe teachers; ſaying, That all the preachers almoſt in king Edward's time, preached nothing but voluptuouſneſs, and filthy and blaſphemous lyes, affirming their doctrine to be that falſe doctrine whereof St. James ſpeaketh in this third chapter ſaying, that it was full of perverſe zeal, earthly, full of diſcord and diſſention, that the preachers aforenamed would report nothing truly, and that they taught that it was lawful for a man to put away his wife for adultery, and marry another, and that if a man vowed to-day, he might break it to-morrow at his pleaſure, with many other things which I omit. And when he ſpake of the ſacrament, he ſaid, that all the church from the beginning have confeſſed Chriſt's natural body to be in heaven, and here to be in the ſacrament, and ſo concluded that matter: and then willed all men to ſay with Joſeph's brethren, "We have all ſinned againſt our brother," and ſo ſaid he have I too. Then he declared what a noble king and queen we have, ſaying, that if he ſhould go about to ſhew that the king came hither for no neceſſity or need, and what he had

brought with him, it ſhould be ſuperfluous, ſeeing it is evidently known, that he hath ten times as much as we are in hope and poſſeſſion of, affirming him to be as wiſe, ſober, gentle, and temperate a prince as ever was in England, and if it were not ſo proved, then to take him for a falſe lyar for his ſo ſaying: exhorting all men to make much of him, and to win him whilſt we had him, and ſo ſhould we alſo win all ſuch as he hath brought with him; and ſo made an end.

Upon Tueſday October 2. twenty carts came from Weſtminſter laden (as it was noiſed) with gold and ſilver, and certain of the guard with them thro' the city to the Tower, and it was received in by a Spaniard, who was the king's treaſurer, and had cuſtody of it within the Tower. It was matted about with mats, and mailed in little bundles about two foot long, and almoſt half a foot thick, and in every cart were ſix of thoſe bundles. What it was indeed, God knoweth, for it is to us uncertain.

About the ſame time, or a little before, upon Corpus Chriſti day, the proceſſion being made in Smithfield where after the manner the prieſt with his box went under the canopy, by chance there came by the way a certain ſimple man, named John Street, a Joyner of Coleman-ſtreet, who having ſome haſte in his buſineſs, and finding no other way to paſs through, by chance went under the canopy by the prieſt. The prieſt ſeeing the man ſo to preſume to come under the canopy, being belike afraid, and worſe feared than hurt, for fear let his pyx fall down. The poor man, being ſtreightways apprehended, was had to the Compter, the prieſt accuſing him unto the council, as though he had come to ſlay him; whenas the poor man, as himſelf hath ſince declared unto us, had no ſuch thought ever in his mind. Then from the Compter, he was had unto Newgate, where he was caſt into the dungeon, there chained to a poſt, where he was cruelly and miſerably handled, and ſo extreamly dealt withal, that being but ſimple before, he was now feared out of his wits altogether, and ſo upon the ſame had to Bedlam. Whereupon the brief chronicle of London in this point is not to be credited, which untruly reported that he feigned himſelf in Newgate to be mad: which thing we, in writing of this hiſtory, by due inquiſition of the party, have found to be contrary.

About the fifth of October, divers as well houſholders as ſervants and 'prentices were apprehended and taken, and committed to ſundry priſons, for having and ſelling of certain books which were ſent into England by the preachers that fled into Germany and other countries; which books nipped a great number ſo near, that within one fortnight there were little leſs than threeſcore imprioned for this matter: among whom was Mr. Brown a goldſmith, Mr. Spark a draper, Randal Tyrer a ſtationer, Mr. Beſton a merchant, with many others.

Upon Sunday October 14. the old biſhop of Durham preached in the ſhrouds.

Upon St. Luke's day, October 18. the king came from Weſtminſter to Paul's church along the ſtreets, accompanied with a great number of noblemen, and there he was received under a canopy at the weſt door, and ſo came into the chancel, where he heard maſs, which a Spaniſh biſhop and his own chaplain ſung; and that done, he returned to Weſtminſter to dinner.

Upon Friday October 26. certain men, whereof I ſpake before, which were of Mr. Throgmorton's queſt, being in number eight (for the other four were delivered out of priſon, for that they ſubmitted themſelves, and ſaid they had offended, like weaklings, not conſidering truth to be truth, but for fear ſaid ſo), theſe eight men, I ſay, whereof Mr. Emanuel Lucas and Mr. Whetſtone were chief, were called before the council in the Star-chamber: where they all affirmed that they had done all things in that matter according to their knowledge, and with good conſciences, even as they ſhould anſwer before God at the day of judgment. When Mr. Lucas ſaid openly before all the lords, that they had done in the matter like honeſt men and true and faithful ſubjects, and therefore they humbly beſought the lord chancellor, and the other lords, to be means to the king and queen's majeſties that they might be diſcharged and ſet at liberty, and ſaid that they were all contented humbly to ſubmit themſelves to their majeſties, ſaving and reſerving their truth, conſciences and honeſty. Some of the lords ſaid, that they were worthy to pay 1000 pounds apiece, and others ſaid, that Mr. Lucas and Mr. Whetſtone were worthy to pay 1000 marks apiece, and the reſt 500 l. apiece. In concluſion, ſentence was given by the lord chancellor, that they ſhould pay 1000 marks apiece, and be ſent to priſon again, there to remain till further order were taken for their puniſhment.

On Tueſday October 30. the lord J. Gray was delivered out of the Tower, and ſet at liberty.

On Sunday November 4, five prieſts did penance at Paul's Croſs, which were content to put away their wives, and take upon them again to miniſter. Every one of them had a taper in his hand, and a rod, wherewith the preacher did diſpel them.

Upon Wedneſday November 7. the lord Paget, and Sir Edward Haſtings maſter of the horſe, were ſent as ambaſſadors, I know not whither, but as it was adjudged, to cardinal Poole, who lay all the ſummer before at Bruſſels; and it was thought they were ſent to accompany and conduct him into England, where at that time he was nominated archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Upon Friday November 9. Mr. Barlow, late biſhop of Bath, and Mr. Cardmaker, were brought before the council in the ſtar-chamber, where, after communication, they were commanded to the Fleet.

Upon Saturday November 10. the ſheriffs of London had commandment to take an inventory of every one of their goods which were of maſter Throgmorton's queſt, and to ſeal up their doors; which was done the ſame day. Mr. Whetſtone, Mr. Lucas, Mr. Kytely, were judged to pay 1000 pounds apiece, and the reſt 1000 marks apiece, to be paid within one fortnight after. From this payment were exempted thoſe four which confeſſed a fault, and ſubmitted themſelves, whoſe names are theſe, Mr. Loe, Mr. Poynter, Mr. Beſwike, and Mr. Carter.

Mention was made a little before of the viſitation of Edmund Bonner biſhop of London, which began (as is ſaid) about the month of September; for the better preparation whereof were ſet forth certain articles to the number of 37. which articles, partly for the tedioufneſs of them, partly for that Mr. Bale, in a certain treatiſe, hath ſufficiently painted out the ſame in their colours, partly alſo becauſe I will not infect this book with them, I ſlip them over, proceeding in the progreſs of this biſhop in his viſitation in the county of Eſſex. Who paſſing through the ſaid county of Eſſex, being attended with divers worſhipful of the ſhire (for ſo they were commanded) arrived at Sterford in Hertfordſhire, where he reſted certain days, ſolacing himſelf after that painful peregrination with no ſmall feaſting and banquetting with his attendants aforeſaid, at the houſe of one Parſons his nephew, whoſe wife he commonly called his fair niece (and fair ſhe was indeed) he took there great pleaſure to hear her play upon the virginals, wherein ſhe excelled, inſomuch that every dinner (ſitting by his ſweet ſide) ſhe aroſe and played three ſeveral times at his requeſt, of his good and ſpiritual devotion towards her. After ſome days were paſſed in this faſhion, he proceeded in his popiſh viſitation toward Hadham, his own houſe and pariſh, not paſt two miles from Sterford, being there moſt ſolemnly rung out, as in all other places where he paſſed. At length drawing near unto Hadham, when he heard no ſtirring there in honour of his holineſs, he grew into ſome choler, and the nearer he approached the hotter was his fit: and the quieter the bells were, the unquieter was his mood. Thus rode he on, chafing and fuming with himſelf: "What meaneth (ſaith he) that knave the

"clerk,

" clerk, that he ringeth not? and the parſon, that he " meeteth me not?" with other paſſionate expreſſions. There this patient prelate, coming to the town, alighted, calling for the key of the church, which was then all unready; for that, as they then pretended, he had prevented his time by two hours: whereupon he grew from choler to plain melancholy, ſo as no man willingly would deal with him to qualify the raging humour ſo far incorporated in his breaſt. At laſt, the church door being opened, the biſhop entered, and finding no ſacrament hanged up, no rood-loft decked after the popiſh precept (which had commanded about the ſame time a well-favoured rood, and of tall ſtature univerſally in all churches to be ſet up), curtailed his ſmall devotions, and fell from all choler and melancholy to flat madneſs in the greateſt degree, ſwearing and raging with an hunting oath or two (and by no ſmall oaths), that in his own church, where he hoped to have ſeen beſt order, he found moſt diſorder, to his honour's moſt heavy diſcomfort, as he ſaid, calling the parſon (whoſe name was Dr. Bricket) knave, and heretic. Who there humbled himſelf, and yielded, as it were, to his fault, ſaying, He was ſorry his lordſhip was come before that he and his pariſh looked for him, and therefore could not do their duties to receive him accordingly: and as for thoſe things which were lacking, he truſted in ſhort time hereafter he ſhould compaſs that which hitherto he could not bring about. Therefore if it pleaſed his lordſhip to come to his poor houſe, where his dinner was prepared, he would ſatisfy him in thoſe things which his lordſhip thought amiſs. Yet this reaſonable anſwer neither could ſatisfy nor aſſwage his unreaſonable paſſion. For the catholic prelate utterly defied him and his chear, commanding him out of his ſight, ſaying, as his by-word was, " Before God, thou art a knave; " avaunt, heretic;" and therewithal, whether thruſting or ſtriking at him, ſo it was that with his hand he gave Sir Thomas Joſſelin knight (who was then amongſt the reſt, and ſtood next the biſhop) a good blow upon the upper part of the neck, even under his ear, as ſome ſay which ſtood by; but, as he himſelf ſaid, he hit him full upon the ear; whereat he was ſomewhat aſtoniſhed at the ſuddenneſs of the quarrel for that time. At laſt he ſpake and ſaid, " What meaneth your lordſhip? have you " been trained in Will. Sommer's ſchool, to ſtrike him " that ſtandeth next you?" The biſhop ſtill in rage either heard not, or would not hear.

Then Mr. Fecknam, dean of Paul's, ſeeing the biſhop ſtill in this bitter rage, ſaid, " O Mr. Joſſelin, you muſt " bear with my lord, for truly his long impriſonment in " the Marſhalſea, and the miſuſing of him there hath " altered him, that in theſe paſſions he is not ruler of " himſelf, nor it booteth any man to give him counſel " until his heat be paſt, and then aſſure yourſelf, " Mr. Joſſelin, my lord will be ſorry for thoſe abuſes " that now he cannot ſee in himſelf." Whereunto he merrily replied, " So it ſeems, Mr. Fecknam, for now " that he is come forth of the Marſhalſea, he is ready to " go to Bedlam." At which merry conceit ſome laughed, and more ſmiled, becauſe the nail was ſo truly hit upon the head. The biſhop nothing abaſed at his own folly gave a deaf ear; and it was no marvel, that he was not aſhamed to ſtrike a ſtranger, who ſpared not the burning of ſo many good men.

After this worthy combat thus finiſhed, this martial prelate preſently taketh him to his horſe again, notwithſtanding he at firſt intended to tarry at Hadham three or four days, and had made proviſion in his own houſe accordingly; but leaving his dinner, he rode that night with a ſmall company of his houſhold to Ware, to the great wonder of all the country, who looked not for his coming till three days after.

At this haſty poſting away of the biſhop, his whole train of attendants there left him; alſo his doctors and chaplains, a few excepted, tarried behind, and dined at Dr. Bricket's as merrily as the biſhop rode toward Ware chafingly: which dinner was prepared for the biſhop himſelf. Now whether the biſhop were offended at thoſe ſolemnities which he wanted, and was accuſtomed to be ſaluted withal in other places where he journeyed, adding to that, that his great God was not exalted aboveground over the altar, nor his block almighty ſet ſeemly in the rood-loft to entertain ſtrangers, and thereupon took occaſion to quarrel with Dr. Bricket (whoſe religion perchance he ſomewhat ſuſpected), I have not perfectly to ſay, but ſo it was ſuppoſed of ſeveral the cauſe thereof to riſe, which drave the biſhop ſo haſtily from ſuch a dinner. Teſtified by ſuch as there and then were preſent.

In this viſitation of Biſhop Bonner above-mentioned, ye ſee how the biſhop took on for not ſetting up the rood, and ringing the bells at Hadham. Ye heard alſo of the precept, which commanded in every pariſh a rood to be erected, both well-favoured and of a tall ſtature. By occaſion whereof it cometh in mind, and not out of place, what happened in a certain town in Lancaſhire near to Lancaſter, called Cockram, where the pariſhioners and church-wardens, having at the ſame time a like charge for the erecting of a rood in their pariſh church, had made their bargain, and were at a price with one that could cunningly carve and paint ſuch idols, for the framing of their rood: who, according to his promiſe, made them one, and ſet it up in their church. This done, he demanded his money: but they miſliking his workmanſhip, refuſed to pay him, whereupon he arreſted them, and the matter was brought before the mayor of Lancaſter, who was a very fit man for ſuch a purpoſe, and an old favourer of the goſpel, which is rare in that country. Then the carver began to declare how they covenanted with him for the making of a rood with the appurtenances, ready carved and ſet up in their church, which he according to his promiſe had done; and now demanding his money, they refuſed to pay him. Is this true? quoth the mayor to the wardens. Yea, Sir, ſaid they. And why do you not pay the poor man his due? quoth he. And it pleaſe you, maſter mayor, quoth they, becauſe the rood we had before was a well-favoured man, and he promiſed to make us ſuch another; but this that he hath ſet us up now, is the worſt favoured thing that ever you ſet your eyes on, gaping and grinning in ſuch ſort, that none of our children dare once look him in the face, or come near him. The mayor thinking that it was good enough for that purpoſe if it had been worſe; My maſters, quoth he, howſoever the rood like you, the poor man's labour hath been never the leſs, and it is a pity that he ſhould have any hindrance or loſs thereby. Therefore I will tell you what you ſhould do: pay him the money ye promiſed him, and go your ways home and, look on it, and if it will not ſerve for a god, make no more ado, but clap a pair of horns on his head, and ſo he will make an excellent devil. This the pariſhioners took well in worth: the poor man had his money, and divers laughed well thereat: but ſo did not the Babyloniſh prieſts.

This Mayor above-mentioned continued a proteſtant almoſt 50 years, and was the only reliever of Mr. March the martyr (whoſe ſtory followeth hereafter) with meat, drink and lodging, while he lay in Lancaſter-caſtle, the ſpace of three quarters of a year, before he was had to Cheſter to be burned, &c.

About this time there came a precept or mandate from Bonner biſhop of London, to all biſhops and curates within his dioceſe, for the aboliſhing of ſuch ſcriptures and writings as had been painted upon church-walls in king Edward's days. The copy of which precept or mandate we thought good to inſert here, that the world might ſee the wicked proceedings of their impious zeal, or rather their malicious rage againſt the Lord and his word, and againſt the edifying of chriſtian people: whereby it might appear by this blotting out of the ſcriptures, not only how blaſphemouſly they ſpake againſt the holy ſcriptures of God,

but alſo how ſtudiouſly they ſought all manner of means to keep the people ſtill in ignorance.

A Mandate of Biſhop Bonner, to aboliſh the Scriptures and Writings painted upon the Church-Walls.

EDMUND by God's permiſſion biſhop of London, to all and every parſons, vicars, clerks, and lettered, within the pariſh of Hadham, or within the precinct of our dioceſe of London, whereſoever being, ſendeth greeting, grace and benediction.

Becauſe ſome children of iniquity, given up to carnal deſires and novelties, have by many ways enterprized to baniſh the ancient manner and order of the church, and to bring in and eſtabliſh ſects and hereſies; taking from thence the picture of Chriſt, and many things beſides inſtituted and obſerved of ancient time laudably in the ſame, placing in the room thereof ſuch things, as in ſuch a place it behoveth them not to do; and alſo have procured as a ſtay to their hereſies (as they thought) certain ſcriptures wrongly applied to be painted upon the church-walls, all which perſons tend chiefly to this end; that they might uphold the liberty of the fleſh, and marriage of prieſts, and deſtroy as much as lay in them the reverend ſacrament of the altar, and might extinguiſh and enervate holy-days, faſting days, and other laudable diſcipline of the catholic church, opening a window to all vices, and utterly cloſing up the way unto virtue: wherefore we being moved with a chriſtian zeal, judging that the premiſes are not to be longer ſuffered, do for diſcharge of our duty, commit unto you jointly and ſeverally, and by the tenor hereof do ſtraitly charge and command you, that at the receipt hereof, with all ſpeed convenient, you do warn, or cauſe to be warned, firſt, ſecond, and third time, and peremptorily, all and ſingular church-wardens and pariſhioners whoſoever, within our foreſaid dioceſe of London, whereſoever any ſuch ſcriptures or paintings have been attempted, that they aboliſh and extinguiſh ſuch manner of ſcriptures, ſo that by no means they be either read or ſeen, and therein to proceed moreover as they ſhall ſee good and laudable in this behalf. And if after the ſaid monition, the ſaid church-wardens and pariſhioners ſhall be found remiſs and negligent or culpable, then you jointly and ſeverally ſhall ſee the aforeſaid ſcriptures to be razed, aboliſhed and extinguiſhed forthwith: citing all and ſingular thoſe church-wardens and pariſhioners (whom we alſo for the ſame do cite here by the tenor hereof) that all and ſingular the church-wardens and pariſhioners being ſlack and negligent, culpable therein, ſhall appear before us, our vicar-general and principal official, or our commiſſary ſpecial in our cathedral church of St. Paul at London, in the conſiſtory there, at the hour appointed for the ſame, the ſixth day next after their citation, if it be a court-day, or elſe at the next court-day after enſuing, whereas either we or our official or commiſſary ſhall ſit; there to ſay and alledge for themſelves ſome reaſonable cauſe, if they have or can tell of any, why they ought not to be excommunicated, or otherwiſe puniſhed for their ſuch negligence, ſlackneſs and fault, to ſay and to alledge, and further to do and receive, as law and reaſon requireth. And what you have done in the premiſes, do you certify us, or our vicar, principal official, and ſuch our commiſſary, diligently and duly in all things, and through all things, or let him among you thus certify us, which hath taken upon him to execute this mandate: In witneſs whereof we have ſet our ſeals to theſe preſents. Dated in the biſhop's palace at London the 25th day of the month of October, in the year of our Lord 1554. and of our tranſlation the 16th.

About this time the lord chancellor ſent Mr. Chriſtopherſon unto the univerſity of Cambridge, with theſe three articles, which he enjoined them to obſerve.

The firſt, That every ſcholar ſhould wear his apparel according to his degree in the ſchools.

The ſecond was touching the pronunciation of the Greek tongue.

The third, That every preacher there ſhould declare the whole ſtile of the king and queen in their ſermons.

In this univerſity of Cambridge, and alſo of Oxford, by reaſon of the bringing of theſe things, and eſpecially for the alteration of religion, many wiſe and learned men departed the univerſities: of whom, ſome of their own accord gave over, ſome were thruſt out of their fellowſhips, ſome were miſerably handled: inſomuch that in Cambridge, in the college of St. John, there were 24 places void together, in whoſe rooms were taken in 24 others, which neither in virtue nor religion were to be compared to thoſe that were before. And no leſs miſerable was the eſtate of Oxford, by reaſon of the time, and the ſtrait dealing of the viſitors, who for ſetting forward their papiſtical proceedings, had no regard or reſpect to the forwardneſs of good wits, and the maintenance of good letters, beginning then more and more to flouriſh in that univerſity.

And foraſmuch as we have entered into the mention of Oxford, we may not paſs over in ſilence the famous exhortation of Dr. Treſham, who ſupplying the room of the ſub-dean in Chriſt-church, after he had called the ſtudents of the college together, with great eloquence and art, began to commend the dignity of the maſs unto them, declaring, that there was ſtuff enough in the ſcripture to prove the maſs good. Then to allure them to the catholic ſervice of the church, he uſed theſe reaſons, declaring that there were a goodly company of copes, that were appointed to Windſor, but he had found the queen ſo gracious unto him, that they ſhould come to Chriſt's-church. Now, if they like honeſt men would come to church, they ſhould wear them on holy-days. And beſides all this, he would get them the lady bells of Bampton, and that ſhould make the ſweeteſt ring in all England. And as for an holy water to ſprinkle, he had already the faireſt that was within the realm. Wherefore he thought that no man would be ſo mad to forego theſe commodities, &c.

Which things I rehearſe, that it may appear what want of diſcretion is in the fathers of popery, and into what idle follies ſuch men do fall, whom I beſeech the Lord, if it be his pleaſure, to reduce to a better truth, and to open their eyes to ſee their own blindneſs.

But to proceed where we left off, being in the month of November, on the 12th day of the ſaid month, being Monday, the parliament began at Weſtminſter, in the beginning whereof both the king and queen rode in their parliament robes, having two ſwords borne before them. The earl of Pembroke bare the king's ſword, and the earl of Weſtmoreland the queen's. They had two caps of maintenance borne before them, whereof the earl of Arundel bare one, and the earl of Shrewſbury the other.

Cardinal Poole landed at Dover upon Wedneſday November 21. on which day one act paſſed in the parliament for his reſtitution in blood, utterly repealing, as falſe and moſt ſlanderous, that act made againſt him in the reign of king Henry VIII. and on the next day, November 22. the king and queen came to the parliament houſe to give their royal aſſent, and to eſtabliſh this act againſt his coming.

On Saturday November 24. the ſaid cardinal came by water to London, and ſo to Lambeth houſe, which was ready prepared againſt his coming.

On Wedneſday November 28. there was a general proceſſion in Paul's, for joy that the queen was conceived and quick with child, as it was declared in a letter ſent from the council to the biſhop of London. At this proceſſion ten biſhops, and all the prebendaries of Paul's were preſent, and alſo the lord mayor with the aldermen, and a great

a great number of commons of the city in their beſt array. The copy of the council's letter here followeth.

A Letter from the Council to Edmund Bonner Biſhop of London, concerning Queen Mary's conceiving with child.

AFTER our hearty commendations unto your good lordſhip: Whereas it hath pleaſed Almighty God amongſt other his infinite benefits of late moſt graciouſly poured upon us and this whole realm, to extend his benediction upon the queen's majeſty in ſuch ſort, as ſhe is conceived and quick of child: whereby her majeſty (being our natural liege lady, queen, and undoubted inheritor of this imperial crown) good hope of certain ſucceſſion in the crown is given unto us, and conſequently the great calamities (which for want of ſuch ſucceſſion might otherwiſe have fallen upon us and our poſterity) ſhall by God's grace be well avoided, if we thankfully acknowledge this benefit of almighty God, endeavouring ourſelves with earneſt repentance to thank, honour and ſerve him, as we be moſt bounden: theſe be not only to advertiſe you of this good news to be by you publiſhed in all places within your dioceſe, but alſo to pray and require you, that both yourſelf do give God thanks with us for this his ſpecial grace, and alſo give order that thanks may be openly given by ſinging of Te Deum in all the churches within your ſaid dioceſe: and that likewiſe all prieſts and other eccleſiaſtical miniſters, in their maſſes, and other divine ſervices, may continually pray to almighty God ſo to extend his holy hand over her majeſty, the king's highneſs, and the whole realm, as that this thing being by his omnipotent power graciouſly thus begun, may by the ſame be well continued and brought to good effect, to the glory of his name. Whereunto, albeit we doubt not, ye would of yourſelf have had a ſpecial regard without theſe our letters, yet for the earneſt deſire we have to have this thing done out of hand, and diligently continued, we have alſo written theſe our letters, to put you in remembrance; and ſo bid your lordſhip moſt heartily well to fare. From Weſtminſter, November 27. 1554. Your aſſured loving friends,

S. Winton. Cancel.	John Bathon.
Arundel.	R. Rich.
F. Shrewsbury.	Thomas Watthom.
Edward Darby.	John Huddilstone.
Henry Sussex.	R. Southwell.

Alſo the ſame day in the afternoon cardinal Poole came to the parliament-houſe, which at that time was kept in the great chamber of the court at Whitehall, becauſe the queen was then ſick, and could not go abroad: where the king and queen's majeſty ſitting under the cloth of ſtate, and the cardinal ſitting on the right hand, with all the other eſtates of the parliament being preſent, the biſhop of Wincheſter, being lord chancellor, began in this manner:

MY lords of the upper houſe, and you my maſters of the nether houſe, here is preſent the right reverend father in God my lord cardinal Poole, come from the apoſtolic ſee of Rome, as ambaſſador to the king and queen's majeſties, upon one of the weightieſt cauſes that ever happened in this realm, and which pertaineth to the glory of God, and your univerſal benefit. The which ambaſſage their majeſties pleaſure is to be ſignified unto you all by his own mouth, truſting that you will receive and accept it in as benevolent and thankful wiſe as their highneſſes have done, and that you will give an intent and inclinable ear unto him.

The lord chancellor having ended, the cardinal began his oration, wherein he declared the cauſes of his coming, and what were his deſires and requeſts. In the mean time the court gate was kept ſhut till he had made an end.

MY lords all, and you that are the commons of this preſent parliament aſſembled, which in effect is nothing elſe but the ſtate and body of the whole realm. As the cauſe of my repair hither hath been moſt wiſely and gravely declared by my lord chancellor, ſo, before that I enter to the particularities of my commiſſion, I have ſomewhat touching myſelf, and to give moſt humble and hearty thanks to the king and queen's majeſties, and, after them, to you all, which of a man exiled and baniſhed from the commonwealth, have reſtored me to be a member of the ſame; and of a man having no place neither here or elſewhere within this realm, having admitted me in a place, where to ſpeak and to be heard. This I proteſt unto you all, that though I was exiled my native country without juſt cauſe, as God knoweth, yet the ingratitude could not pull from me the affection and deſire that I had to profit and do you good. If the offer of my ſervice might have been received, it was never to ſeek, and where that could not be taken, you never failed of my prayer, nor ever ſhall.

But leaving the rehearſal thereof, and coming more near to the matter of my commiſſion, I ſignify unto you all, That my principal travail is for the reſtitution of this noble realm to the ancient nobility, and to declare unto you, that the ſee apoſtolic, from whence I come, hath a ſpecial reſpect to this realm above all other, and not without cauſe, ſeeing that God himſelf, as it were by providence, hath given this realm prerogative of nobility above other: which to make more plain to you, it is to be conſidered, that this iſland firſt of all iſlands received the light of Chriſt's religion. For as ſtories teſtify, it was Prima provinciarum quæ amplexa eſt fidem Chriſti.

For the Britons being firſt inhabitants of this realm (notwithſtanding the ſubjection of the emperors and heathen princes) did receive Chriſt's faith from the apoſtolic ſee univerſally, and not in parts as other countries, nor by one and one, as clocks increaſe their hours by diſtinction of times, but altogether at once, as it were in a moment. But after that their ill merits or forgetfulneſs of God had deſerved expulſion, and that ſtrangers being infidels, had poſſeſſed this land, yet God of his goodneſs, not leaving where he once loved, ſo illuminated the hearts of the Saxons, being heathen men, that they forſook the darkneſs of heathen errors, and embraced the light of Chriſt's religion; ſo that within a ſmall ſpace idolatry and heathen ſuperſtition was utterly abandoned in this iſland.

This was a great prerogative of nobility, the benefit whereof, though it be to be aſcribed to God, yet the mean occaſion of the ſame came from the church of Rome. In the faith of which church we have ever ſince continued and conſented with the reſt of the world in unity of religion. And to ſhew further the fervent devotion of the inhabitants of this iſland towards the church of Rome, we read that divers princes in the Saxons time, with great travail and expences, went perſonally to Rome, as Offa and Adulphus, which thought it not enough to ſhew themſelves obedient to the ſaid ſee, unleſs that in their own perſons they had gone to the ſame place from whence they had received ſo great a grace and benefit.

In the time of Carolus Magnus, who firſt founded the univerſity of Paris, he ſent into England for Alcuinus a great learned man, which firſt brought learning to that univerſity; whereby it ſeemeth, that the greateſt part of the world fetched the light of religion from England.

Adrian

Adrian the fourth, being an Engliſhman, converted Norway from infidelity; which Adrian afterwards, upon the great affection and love that he bare to this realm, being his native country, gave to Henry the ſecond, king of England, the right and ſeignory of the dominion of Ireland, which pertained to the ſee of Rome.

I will not rehearſe the manifold benefit that this realm hath received from the apoſtolic ſee, nor how ready the ſame hath been to relieve us all in our neceſſities. Nor will I rehearſe the manifold miſeries and calamities that this realm hath ſuffered by ſwerving from that unity. And even as in this realm, ſo alſo in all other countries which refuſing the unity of the catholic faith have followed fantaſtical doctrine, the like plagues have happened. Let Aſia and the empire of Greece be a ſpectacle unto the world, who by ſwerving from the unity of the church of Rome, are brought into captivity and ſubjection to the Turk. All ſtories be full of like examples: And to come unto the latter time, look upon our neighbours in Germany, who, by ſwerving from this unity, are miſerably afflicted with diverſities of ſects, and divided into factions.

What ſhall I rehearſe unto you the tumults and effuſion of blood that hath happened there of late days? or trouble you with the reheariſal of thoſe plagues that have happened ſince this innovation of religion, whereof you have felt the bitterneſs, and I have heard the report? of all which matters I can ſay no more, but ſuch was the miſery of the time. And ſee how far forth this fury went. For thoſe that live under the Turk may freely live after their conſcience, and ſo it was not lawful here.

If men examine well upon what grounds theſe innovations began, they will find that the root of many other miſchiefs, was avarice; and that the luſt and carnal affection of one man, confounded all laws both divine and human. And notwithſtanding all theſe devices and policies practiſed within this realm againſt the church of Rome, they needed not to have loſt you, but that they thought rather as friends to reconcile you, than as enemies to infeſt you. For they wanted not great offers of the moſt mighty potentates in all Europe to have aided the church in that quarrel. Then mark the ſequel: there ſeemed by theſe changes to riſe a great face of riches and gain, which in proof came to great miſery and lack. See how God then can confound the wiſdom of the wiſe, and turn unjuſt policy to mere folly; and that thing which ſeemed to be done for relief, was cauſe of plain ruin and decay. Yet ſee that goodneſs of God, which at no time failed us, but moſt benignly offered his grace, when it was of our parts leaſt ſought and worſe deſerved.

And when all light of true religion ſeemed utterly extinct, the churches defaced, the altars overthrown, the miniſters corrupted; even like as in a lamp the light being covered, yet it is not quenched, even ſo in a few remained the confeſſion of Chriſt's faith, namely in the breaſt of the queen's excellency, of whom, to ſpeak without adulation, the ſaying of the prophet may be verified, Ecce quaſi derelicta!

And ſee how miraculouſly God of his goodneſs preſerved her highneſs, contrary to the expectation of man, that when numbers conſpired againſt her, and policies were deviſed to diſinherit her, and armed power prepared to deſtroy her; yet ſhe being a virgin helpleſs, naked and unarmed, prevailed and had the victory of tyrants; which is not to be aſcribed to any policy of man, but to the almighty great goodneſs and providence of God, to whom the honour is to be given. And therefore it may be ſaid, Give glory to God. For in man's judgment, on her grace's part was nothing in appearance but deſpair.

And yet for all theſe practices and devices of ill men, here you ſee her grace eſtabliſhed in her eſtate, being your lawful queen and governeſs, born among you, whom God hath appointed to reign over you for the reſtitution of true religion, and extirpation of all errors and ſects. And to confirm her grace the more ſtrongly in this enterprize, lo! how the providence of God hath joined her in marriage with a prince of like religion; who being a king of great might, armor, and force, yet uſeth towards you neither armor nor force, but ſeeketh you by the way of love and amity: in which reſpect great cauſe you have to give thanks to almighty God, that hath ſent you ſuch a catholic governeſs. It ſhall be therefore your part again to love, obey, and ſerve them.

And as it was a ſingular favour of God to conjoin them in marriage, ſo it is not to be doubted but that he ſhall ſend them iſſue, for the comfort and ſurety of this commonwealth.

Of all princes in Europe, the emperor hath travailed moſt in the cauſe of religion, as it appeareth by his acts in Germany; yet happily, by ſome ſecret judgment of God, he hath not atchieved the end. With whom in my journey hitherwards I had conference touching my legation; whereof, when he had underſtanding, he ſhewed a great appearance of moſt earneſt joy and gladneſs, ſaying, That it rejoiced him no leſs of the reconcilement of this realm unto chriſtian unity, than that his ſon was placed by marriage in the kingdom; and moſt glad he was of all, that the occaſion thereof ſhould come by me being an Engliſhman born, which is (as it were) to call home ourſelves. I can well compare him to David, which though he were a man elect of God, yet, for that he was contaminate with blood and war, he could not build the temple of Jeruſalem, but left the finiſhing thereof to Solomon, which was Rex pacificus. So may it be thought, that the appeaſing of controverſies of religion in chriſtianity, is not appointed to this emperor, but rather to his ſon, who ſhall perform the building that his father had begun. Which church cannot be perfectly builded, unleſs univerſally in all realms we adhere to one head, and do acknowledge him to be the vicar of God, and to have power from above. For all power is of God, according to the ſaying, Non eſt poteſtas, niſi à Deo. And therefore I conſider that all power being in God, yet, for the conſervation of quiet and godly life in the world, he hath derived that power from above into the parts here in earth; which is, into the imperial and eccleſiaſtical. And theſe two powers, as they be ſeveral and diſtinct, ſo have they two ſeveral effects and operations. For ſecular princes, to whom the temporal ſword is committed, be miniſters of God to execute vengeance upon tranſgreſſors and evil livers, and to preſerve the well-doers and innocents from injury and violence. Which power is repreſented in theſe two moſt excellent perſons the king and queen's majeſty here preſent, who have this power committed unto them immediately from God, without any ſuperior in that behalf.

The other power is of miniſtration, which is the power of the keys, and order in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, which is by the authority of God's word, examples of the apoſtles, and of all old holy fathers from Chriſt hitherto, attributed and given to the apoſtolic ſee of Rome, by ſpecial prerogative. From which ſee I am here deputed legate and embaſſador, having full and ample commiſſion from thence, and have the keys committed to my hands: I confeſs to you that I have the keys, not as mine own keys, but as the keys of him that ſent me, and yet cannot open; not for want of power in me to give, but for certain impediments in you to receive, which muſt be taken away before my commiſſion can take effect. This I proteſt before you, my commiſſion is not of prejudice to any perſon. I come not to deſtroy, but to build; I come to reconcile, not to condemn; I am not come to compel, but to call again; I am not come to call any thing in queſtion already done, but my commiſſion is of grace and clemency to ſuch as will receive it. For as touching all matters that be paſt, they ſhall be as things caſt into the ſea of forgetfulneſs.

But the means whereby you ſhall receive this benefit, is to revoke and repeal thoſe laws and ſtatutes, which be

impediments, blocks and bars to the execution of my commiſſion. For like as I myſelf had neither place nor voice to ſpeak here among you, but was in all reſpects a baniſhed man, till ſuch time as ye had repealed thoſe laws that lay in my way, even ſo cannot you receive the benefits and grace offered from the apoſtolic ſee, until the abrogation of ſuch laws, whereby you have disjoined and diſſevered yourſelves from the unity of Chriſt's church.

It remaineth therefore that you, like true chriſtians, and provident men for the weal of your ſouls and bodies, ponder what is to be done in this ſo weighty a cauſe; and ſo to frame your acts and proceedings, as they may firſt tend to the glory of God, and next to the conſervation of your commonwealth, ſurety and quietneſs.

The next day after the three eſtates aſſembled again in the great chamber of the court at Weſtminſter: where the king, queen, and the cardinal being preſent, they did exhibit (all kneeling on their knees) a ſupplication to their highneſſes: the tenor whereof followeth.

The Supplication and Submiſſion exhibited to the King and Queen's Majeſties, by the Lords and Commons of the Parliament.

WE the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons of this preſent parliament aſſembled, repreſenting the whole body of the realm of England and dominions of the ſame, in our own names particularly, and alſo of the ſaid body univerſally, in this ſupplication directed to your majeſties with moſt humble ſuit, that it may, by your gracious interceſſion and means, be exhibited to the moſt reverend father in God, the lord cardinal Poole, legate, ſent ſpecially hither from our moſt holy father pope Julius III. and the ſee apoſtolic of Rome, do declare ourſelves very ſorry and repentant for the ſchiſm and diſobedience committed in this realm and dominions of the ſame, againſt the ſaid ſee apoſtolic, either by making, agreeing or executing any laws, ordinances or commandments againſt the ſupremacy of the ſaid ſee, or otherwiſe doing or ſpeaking that might impugn the ſame; offering ourſelves and promiſing by this our ſupplication, that for a token and knowledge of our ſaid repentance, we be, and ſhall be alway ready, under and with the authority of your majeſties, to the uttermoſt of our power, to do that which ſhall be in us for the abrogation and repealing of the ſaid laws and ordinances in this preſent parliament; as well for ourſelves, as for the whole body whom we repreſent.

Whereupon we moſt humbly beſeech your majeſties, as perſons undefiled in the offence of this body towards the ſaid ſee, which nevertheleſs God by his providence hath made ſubject unto your majeſties, ſo to ſet forth this our moſt humble ſuit, that we may obtain from the ſee apoſtolic, by the ſaid moſt reverend father, as well particularly as univerſally, abſolution, releaſe and diſcharge from all dangers of ſuch cenſures and ſentences, as by the laws of the church we be fallen in; and that we may as children repentant, be received into the boſom and unity of Chriſt's church; ſo as this noble realm, with all the members thereof, may in unity and perfect obedience to the ſee apoſtolic, and pope for the time being, ſerve God and your majeſties, to the furtherance and advancement of his honour and glory. Amen.

The ſupplication being read, the king and queen delivered the ſame unto the cardinal, who (perceiving the effects thereof to anſwer his expectation) did receive the ſame moſt gladly from their majeſties: and after he had in few words given thanks to God, and declared what great cauſe he had to rejoice above all others, that his coming from Rome into England had taken ſuch happy ſucceſs, he, by the pope's authority, did give them this abſolution following:

OUR Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which with his moſt precious blood hath redeemed and waſhed us from all our ſins and iniquities, that he might purchaſe unto himſelf a glorious ſpouſe without ſpot or wrinkle, and whom the Father hath appointed head over all his church, he by his mercy abſolve you. And we by apoſtolic authority given unto us (by the moſt holy lord pope Julius III. his vicegerent in earth) do abſolve and deliver you, and every of you, with the whole realm and dominions thereof, from all hereſy and ſchiſm, and from all and every judgment, cenſures and pains, for that cauſe incurred; and alſo we do reſtore you again unto the unity of our mother the holy church, as in our letters more plainly it ſhall appear: in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.

When all this was done, they went into the chapel, and there ſinging Te Deum, with great ſolemnity declared the joy and gladneſs that for this reconciliation was pretended.

The report of this was with great ſpeed ſent unto Rome; as well by the king and cardinal's letters, which hereafter follow, as alſo otherwiſe. Whereupon the pope cauſed three proceſſions to be made at Rome, and thanks to be given to God with great joy for the converſion of England to his church; and therefore praiſing the cardinal's diligence, and the devotion of the king and queen, on Chriſtmas-eve, by his bulls he ſet forth a general pardon to all ſuch as did truly rejoice for the ſame.

King Philip's Letter to Pope Julius.

MOST holy father, I wrote yeſterday unto Don John Maurique, that he ſhould declare by word of mouth, or elſe write to your holineſs, in what good ſtate the matter of religion ſtood in this realm, and of the ſubmiſſion to your holineſs, as to the chief. As this day, which is the feaſt of St. Andrew, late in the evening, we have done God that ſervice (to whoſe only goodneſs we muſt impute it, and to your holineſs, who have taken ſo great pains to gain theſe ſouls) that this realm with full and general conſent of all them that repreſent the ſtate, being very penitent for that was paſt, and well bent for that they come to do, ſubmitted themſelves to your holineſs, and to that holy ſee; whom, at the requeſt of the queen and me, your legate did abſolve. And foraſmuch as the ſaid Don John ſhall ſignify unto your holineſs all that paſſed in this matter, I will write no more thereof, but only that the queen and I, as moſt faithful and devout children of your holineſs, have received the greateſt joy and comfort thereof that may be expreſſed with tongue; conſidering that beſides the ſervice done to God hereby, it hath chanced in the time of your holineſs, to place as it were in the lap of the holy catholic church ſuch a kingdom as this is. And therefore I think I cannot be thankful enough for that it is done this day. And I truſt in him, that your holineſs ſhall alway underſtand, that the holy ſee hath not had a more obedient ſon than I, nor more deſirous to preſerve and increaſe the authority of the ſame. God guide and proſper the moſt holy perſonage of your holineſs as I deſire.

From London the 30th of November, 1554.

Your holineſs's moſt obedient ſon the king, &c.

Cardinal Poole's Letter to the ſaid Pope.

THOSE things which I wrote unto your holineſs of late, of that hope which I truſted would come to

paſs, that in ſhort ſpace this realm would be reduced to the unity of the church, and obedience of the apoſtolic ſee, though I did write then not without great cauſe; yet neverthelefs I could not be void of all fear, not only for that difficulty which the minds of our countymen did ſhew, being ſo long alienated from the ſee apoſtolic, and for the old hatred which they had borne ſo many years to that name: but much more I feared, leſt the firſt entry into the cauſe itſelf ſhould be put off by ſome other matter or convention coming betwixt.

For the avoiding whereof, I made great means to the king and queen, which little needed, for their own godlineſs, forwardneſs and earneſt deſire to bring the thing to paſs, far ſurmounted my great and earneſt expectation. This day in the evening, being St. Andrew's day (who firſt brought his brother Peter to Chriſt), it is come to paſs, by the providence of God, that this realm is reclaimed to give due obedience unto Peter's ſeat and your holineſs, by whoſe means it may be conjoined to Chriſt the head, and his body which is the church. The thing was done and concluded in parliament (the king and queen being preſent) with ſuch full conſent and great rejoicing, that incontinently after I had made my oration, and given the benediction, with a great joy and ſhout there was divers times ſaid, Amen, Amen. Which doth evidently declare, that that holy ſeed, although it hath been long oppreſſed, yet was not utterly quenched in them; which chiefly was declared in the nobility. Returning home to my houſe, theſe things I wrote unto your holineſs, upon the ſudden rejoicing that I had ſo luckily brought to paſs ſo weighty a matter by the divine providence, thinking to have ſent my letters by the king's poſt, who (as it was ſaid) ſhould have departed ſhortly: but afterwards changing my purpoſe, when I had determined to ſend one of mine own men, I thought good to add thus much to my letters, for the more ample gratulation and rejoicing at that good chance: which thing as it was right great gladneſs to me, through the event of the ſame (being itſelf very great and ſo holy, ſo profitable to the whole church, ſo healthful to this my country which brought me forth, ſo honourable to the ſame which received me): ſo likewiſe I took no leſs rejoicing of the princes themſelves, through whoſe virtue and godlineſs the matter did take ſucceſs and perfection. Of how many, and how great things may the church (which is the ſpouſe of Chriſt, and our mother) make her account through thoſe her children? Oh notable zeal of godlineſs! Oh ancient faith! which undoubtedly doth ſo manifeſtly appear in them both, that whoſo ſeeth them, muſt needs (whether he will or no) ſay the ſame which the prophet ſpake of the firſt children of the church: "Theſe are the ſeed which the "Lord hath bleſſed. This is the Lord's planting to "glory in." How holily did your holineſs with all your authority and earneſt affection favour this marriage? which truly ſeemeth to expreſs a great ſimilitude of the higheſt king, which being heir of the world, was ſent down by his Father from the regal ſeat, to be ſpouſe and ſon of the Virgin, and by this means to comfort all mankind: for even ſo this king himſelf, the greateſt heir of all men which are in the earth, leaving his Father's kingdoms that are moſt great, is come into this little kingdom, and is become both the ſpouſe and ſon of this Virgin (for he ſo behaveth himſelf as though he were a ſon, whereas indeed he is a huſband), that he might, as he hath in effect already performed, ſhew himſelf an aider and helper to reconcile this people to Chriſt and his body, which is the church. Which things ſeeing they are ſo, what may not our mother the church herſelf look for at his hands, that hath brought this to paſs, to convert the hearts of the fathers towards their ſons, and the unbelievers to the wiſdom of the righteous? which virtue truly doth wonderfully ſhine in him. But the queen, which at that time, when your holineſs ſent me legate unto her, did riſe up as a rod of incenſe ſpringing out of the trees of myrrh, and as frankincenſe out of the deſert: ſhe, I ſay, which a little before was forſaken of all men, how wonderfully doth ſhe now ſhine? What a ſavour of myrrh and frankincenſe doth ſhe give forth unto her people? which (as the prophet ſaith of the mother of Chriſt) brought forth before ſhe laboured; before ſhe was delivered brought forth a man-child: who ever heard of ſuch a thing? and who hath ſeen the like of this? Shall the earth bring forth in one day, or ſhall a whole nation be brought forth together? But ſhe now hath brought forth a whole nation before the time of that delivery, whereof we are in moſt great hope.

How great cauſe is given to us to rejoice? how great cauſe have we to give thanks to God's mercy, your holineſs, and the emperor's majeſty, which have been cauſers of ſo happy and ſo godly a marriage; by which we being reconciled, are joined to God the Father, to Chriſt, and to the church? of the which although I cannot comprehend in words the joy that I have taken, yet I cannot keep ſilence of it. And to this my rejoicing this alſo was joined (which when I had perceived by the letters of the reverend archbiſhop of Conſane, your holineſs's nuncio with the emperor's majeſty, brought me marvellous great gladneſs) that your ſaid holineſs began to reſtore to the ancient beauty thoſe things, which in the church of Rome, through the corruption of times, were deformed, which truly, when it ſhall be finiſhed, then indeed may we well cry out with the prophet, and ſpeak unto your holineſs with theſe words: "Put off the ſtole of ſorrow "and vexation, and put on comelineſs, which thou haſt "of God in everlaſting glory. For thy name ſhall be "named of God everlaſting, peace of righteouſneſs, and "honour of godlineſs; and then it ſhall be ſaid, Look "about and ſee thy ſons gathered together from the ſun-"riſing, to the going down of the ſame, rejoicing in the "holy word." There is nothing truly (to ſpeak of thy children gathered together in the Weſt, which prepare themſelves to meet their mother) which they had rather ſee, than her apparelled (that I may uſe the words of the prophet) in that garment of righteouſneſs wherewith God adorned her in times paſt. This one thing remaineth, that your holineſs's joy, and the joy of all the univerſal church may be perfected, which, together with us her unworthy children, ceaſeth not to pray to God for it. The Almighty God preſerve your holineſs long to continue in health for the profit of his church. From London the laſt of November, 1554.

Your moſt humble ſervant,
Reginald Poole, Cardinal.

On Sunday, December 2. the biſhop of Wincheſter, lord chancellor of England, preached at Paul's Croſs, at which ſermon the king and cardinal Poole were preſent. He took for his theme the 13th chapter of the epiſtle of St. Paul to the Romans, "This alſo we know the ſeaſon, "brethren, that we ſhould now awake out of ſleep, for "now is our ſalvation nearer than when we believed, &c." Some notes whereof, as they came to my hands faithfully gathered (as it appeareth by ſundry copies), I have thought good here to ſet forth.

Firſt, He ſhewed how the ſaying of St. Paul was verified upon the Gentiles who had a long time ſlept in dark ignorance, not knowing God: therefore St. Paul, quoth he, to ſtir up their heavy dulneſs, willed them to awake out of their long ſleep, becauſe their ſalvation was nearer, than when they believed. In amplifying this matter, and comparing our times with theirs, he took occaſion to declare what difference the Jewiſh ſacraments had from theſe of the chriſtians, wherein he uſed theſe words:

Even as the ſacrament of the Jews did declare Chriſt to come, ſo do our ſacraments declare Chriſt to be already come: But Chriſt to come, and Chriſt to be come, is not all one. For now that he is come, the Jews ſacraments be done away, and ours only remain, which declare that he is already come, and is nearer us, than he was to the fathers of the old law: for they had him but in

ſigns,

ſigns, but we have him in the ſacrament of the altar, even his very body. Wherefore now alſo it is time that we awake out of our ſleep, who have ſlept, or rather dreamed theſe twenty years paſt, as ſhall more eaſily appear by declaring at large ſome of the properties and effects of a ſleep or a dream. And firſt, As men intending to ſleep, do ſeparate themſelves from company, and deſire to be alone; even ſo have we ſeparated ourſelves from the ſee apoſtolic of Rome: and have been alone, no realm in Chriſtendom like us.

Secondly, As in ſleep men dream ſometime of killing, ſometime of maiming, ſometime of drowning, or burning, ſometime of ſuch beaſtlineſs as I dare not name, but will ſpare your ears: ſo we have in this our ſleep not only dreamed of beaſtlineſs, but we have done it indeed. For in this our ſleep hath not one brother deſtroyed another? hath not half our money been wiped away at one time? And again, thoſe that would defend their conſcience, were ſlain, and others alſo otherwiſe troubled; beſides infinite other things, which you all know as well as I, whereof I report me to your conſciences. Further, in a man's ſleep all his ſenſes are ſtopped, ſo that he can neither ſee, ſmell, nor hear: even ſo whereas the ceremonies of the church were inſtituted to move and ſtir up our ſenſes, they being taken away, were not our ſenſes (as ye would ſay) ſtopped, and we faſt aſleep? Moreover, when a man would gladly ſleep, he will put out the candle, leſt peradventure it may lett his ſleep, and awake him: ſo of late all ſuch writers as did hold any thing with the apoſtolic ſee, were condemned and forbidden to be read; and images (which were laymen's books) were caſt down and broken.

The ſleep hath continued with us theſe twenty years, and we all that while without a head. For when king Henry did firſt take upon him to be head of the church, it was then no church at all. After whoſe death, king Edward (having over him governors and protectors which ruled as them liſted) could not be heard of the church, but was only a ſhadow or ſign of a head, and at length it came to paſs, that we had no head at all: no, not ſo much as our two archbiſhops. For on the one ſide, the queen being a woman, could not be head of the church; and on the other ſide, they both were convicted of one crime, and ſo depoſed. Thus while we deſired to have a ſupreme head among us, it came to paſs, that we had no head at all. When the tumult was in the north in the time of king Henry VIII. (I am ſure) the king was determined to have given over the ſupremacy again to the pope; but the hour was not then come, and therefore it went not forward, leſt ſome would have ſaid, that he did it for fear.

After this, Mr. Knevet and I were ſent ambaſſadors unto the emperor, to deſire him that he would be a mean between the pope's holineſs and the king, to bring the king to the obedience of the ſee of Rome; but the time was not yet come. For it might have been ſaid, that it had been done for a civil policy. Again, in the beginning of king Edward's reign, the matter was moved, but the time was not yet; for it would have been ſaid, that the king (being but a child) had been bought and ſold. Neither in the beginning of the queen's reign was the hour come; for it would have been ſaid, that it was done in a time of weakneſs. Likewiſe when the king firſt came, if it had been done, they might have ſaid it had been by force and violence. But now, even now, the hour is come, when nothing can be objected, but that it is the mere mercy and providence of God. Now hath the pope's holineſs, pope Julius III. ſent unto us this moſt reverend father, Cardinal Poole, an ambaſſador from his ſide. What to do? not to revenge the injuries done by us againſt his holineſs, but to give his benediction to thoſe that defamed and perſecuted him.

And that we may be the more meet to receive the ſaid benediction, I ſhall deſire you that we may always acknowledge ourſelves offenders againſt his holineſs; I do not exclude myſelf forth of the number, I will "Weep "with them that weep, and rejoice with them that re- "joice." And I ſhall deſire you, that we may defer the matter no longer, for now the hour is come. The king and queen's majeſties have already reſtored our holy father the pope to his ſupremacy; and the three eſtates aſſembled in the parliament, repreſenting the whole body of the realm, have alſo ſubmitted themſelves to his holineſs, and his ſucceſſors for ever; wherefore let us not any longer ſtay. And even as St. Paul ſaid to the Corinthians, that he was their father, ſo may the pope ſay, that he is our father: for we received our doctrine firſt from Rome, therefore he may challenge us as his own. We have all cauſe to rejoice, for his holineſs hath ſent hither and prevented us, before we ſought him; ſuch care hath he for us. Therefore let us ſay, "This is the day "which the Lord hath made, we will rejoice and be glad "in it." Rejoice in this day, which is of the Lord's working, that ſuch a noble birth is come, yea, ſuch a holy father (I mean my lord cardinal Poole) which can ſpeak unto us as unto brethren, and not as unto ſtrangers, who hath a long time been abſent. And let us now awake, which ſo long have ſlept, and in our ſleep have done ſo much naughtineſs againſt the ſacraments of Chriſt, denying the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, and pulled down the altar, which thing Luther himſelf would not do, but rather reproved them that did, examining them of their belief in Chriſt.

This was the ſum of his ſermon before his prayers, wherein he prayed firſt for pope Julius the third, with all his college of cardinals, the biſhop of London, with the reſt of that order: then for the king and queen, and the nobility of this realm; and laſtly, for the commons of the ſame with the ſouls departed, lying in the pains of purgatory. This ended, the time being late, they began in Paul's to ring to their evening ſong, whereby the preacher could not be well heard, which cauſed him to make an end of his ſermon.

About this time a meſſenger was ſent from the whole parliament to the pope, to deſire him to confirm and eſtabliſh the ſale of abbey-lands and chauntry lands: for the lords and the parliament would grant nothing in the pope's behalf, before their purchaſes were fully confirmed.

On Thurſday, December 6. the whole convocation, both biſhops and others, were ſent for to Lambeth to the cardinal, who the ſame day forgave them all their perjurations, ſchiſms and hereſies, and they all there kneeled down and received his abſolution; and after an exhortation and gratulation for their converſion to the catholic church, made by the cardinal, they departed.

On Wedneſday, December 12. five of the eight men which lay in the Fleet, that were of Mr. Throgmorton's queſt, were diſcharged, and ſet at liberty upon paying their fine, which was 220 pound apiece; and the other three put up a ſupplication, therein declaring, that their goods did not amount to the ſum that they were appointed to pay; and ſo upon that declaration paying 40 pound apiece, they were delivered out of priſon on the 21ſt of December.

On Saturday, December 22. all the whole parliament had a ſtrict command, that none of them ſhould depart into the country this Chriſtmas, nor before the parliament were ended. Which command was very contrary to their expectations; for as well many of the lords, as alſo many of the commons, had ſent for their horſes, and had them brought hither.

On Friday, December 28. the prince of Piedmont came to the court at Weſtminſter.

On New-year's day at night, ſeveral honeſt men and women of the city, to the number of thirty, and Mr. Roſe, a miniſter, with them, were taken as they were in a houſe in Bow-church-yard at the communion, and the ſame night were all committed to priſon. And on the third of January following Mr. Roſe was before the biſhop

of Wincheſter, the lord chancellor, and from thence the ſame day committed to the Tower, after ſome communication between the biſhop and him.

The ſame day the act of ſupremacy paſſed in the parliament. Alſo the ſame day at night a great tumult was at Weſtminſter, between ſome Spaniards and Engliſhmen, whereof a great miſchief had like to have enſued, by means of a Spaniſh friar, who got into the church and rung the alarum. The occaſion was about two whores which were in the cloiſter at Weſtminſter with a ſort of Spaniards, whereof whilſt ſome played the knaves with them, others kept the entry of the cloiſter with dags in harneſs: In the mean time ſome of the dean's men came into the cloiſter, and the Spaniards diſcharged their dags, and hurt ſome of them. By and by the noiſe of this doing came into the ſtreets, ſo that the whole town was up almoſt, but never a ſtroke was ſtricken. Notwithſtanding the noiſe of this doing with the dean's men, and alſo the ringing of the alarum, made much ado, and a great number to be ſore afraid.

Yet heard a little before the council's letter ſent to biſhop Bonner, ſignifying the good news of queen Mary to be not only conceived, but alſo quick with child, which was the 28th of November. Of this child great talk at this time began to riſe in every man's mouth, eſpecially amongſt ſuch as ſeemed to carry Spaniſh hearts in Engliſh bodies. In which number here is not to be forgotten, nor defrauded of his condign commendation for his worthy affection toward his prince and her iſſue, one Sir Richard Southwell, who being the ſame time in the parliament-houſe, when as the lords were occupied in other affairs and matters of importance, ſuddenly ſtarting up, for fulneſs of joy burſt out in theſe words following: "Tuſh, my maſters, quoth he, what talk ye of theſe "matters? I would have you take ſome order for our "maſter that is now coming into the world apace, leſt "he find us unprovided, &c." By which words, and alſo by the aforeſaid letters of the council, and the common talk abroad, it may appear what an aſſured opinion was then conceived in men's heads, of queen Mary to be conceived and quick with child. Inſomuch that at the ſame time, and in the ſame parliament, there was a bill exhibited, and an act made upon the ſame, the words whereof, for the more evidence, I thought good here to exemplify, as followeth.

The Words of the Act.

ALbeit we the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, have him hope and confidence in the goodneſs of Almighty God, that like as he hath hitherto miraculouſly preſerved the queen's majeſty from many great imminent perils and dangers; even ſo he will of his infinite goodneſs give her highneſs ſtrength, the rather by our continual prayers, to paſs well the danger of deliverance of child, wherewith it hath pleaſed him (to all our great comforts) to bleſs her; yet foraſmuch as all things of this world be uncertain, and having before our eyes the dolorous experience of this inconſtant government, during the time of the reign of the late king Edward the ſixth, do plainly ſee the manifold inconveniences, great dangers and perils that may enſue in this whole realm, if foreſight be not uſed to prevent all evil chances, if they ſhould happen: For the eſchewing hereof, we the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, for and in conſideration of a moſt ſpecial truſt and confidence that we have and repoſe in the king's majeſty, for and concerning the politic government, order and adminiſtration of this realm in the time of the young years of the iſſue or iſſues of her majeſty's body to be born, if it ſhould pleaſe God to call the queen's highneſs out of this preſent life, during the tender years of ſuch iſſue or iſſues (which God forbid) according to ſuch order and manner, as hereafter in this preſent act his highneſs' moſt gracious pleaſure is, ſhould be declared and ſet forth, have made our humble ſuit, by the aſſent of the queen's highneſs, that his majeſty would vouchſafe to accept and take upon him the rule, order, education, and government of the ſaid iſſue or iſſues to be born, as is aforeſaid. Upon which our ſuit, being of his ſaid majeſty moſt graciouſly accepted, it hath pleaſed his highneſs not only to declare, that like as for the moſt part his majeſty verily truſteth that almighty God (who hath hitherto preſerved the queen's majeſty, to give this realm ſo good an hope of certain ſucceſſion in the blood royal of the ſame realm) will aſſiſt her highneſs with his graces and benedictions, to ſee the fruit of her body well brought forth, live, and able to govern (whereof neither all this realm, nay all the world beſides, ſhould or could receive more comfort than his majeſty ſhould and would) yet if ſuch chance ſhould happen, his majeſty at our humble deſires is pleaſed and contented, not only to accept and take upon him the cure and charge of the education, rule, order and government of ſuch iſſues as of this moſt happy marriage ſhall be born between the queen's highneſs and him; but alſo, during the time of ſuch government, would by all ways and means, ſtudy, travail, and imploy himſelf to advance the weal both public and private of this realm and dominion thereunto belonging, according to the ſaid truſt in his majeſty repoſed, with no leſs good will and affection, than if his highneſs had been naturally born among us. In conſideration whereof, be it enacted by the king and the queen's moſt excellent majeſties, by the aſſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, &c.

Thus much I thought fit to rehearſe out of the act and ſtatute, to the intent the reader may underſtand not ſo much how parliaments may ſometimes be deceived (as by this child of queen Mary may appear) as rather what cauſe we Engliſhmen have to render moſt earneſt thanks unto almighty God, who ſo mercifully, againſt the opinion, expectation, and working of our adverſaries, hath helped and delivered us in this caſe, which otherwiſe might have opened ſuch a window to the Spaniards to have entered and repleniſhed this land, that peradventure by this time Engliſhmen ſhould have enjoyed no great quiet in their own country: The Lord therefore make us perpetually mindful of his benefits. Amen.

Thus we ſee then how man doth purpoſe, but God diſpoſeth as pleaſeth him. For all this great labour, proviſion and order taken in the parliament-houſe for their young maſter long looked for, coming ſo ſurely into the world, in the end appeared neither young maſter, nor young miſtreſs, that any man yet to this day can hear of. Furthermore, as the labour of the lay ſort was herein deluded; ſo no leſs ridiculous it was to behold, what little effect the prayers of the papiſts had with almighty God, who travailed no leſs with their proceſſions, maſſes and collects, for the happy deliverance of this young maſter to come, as here followeth to be ſeen.

A Prayer made by Dr. Weſton, Dean of Weſtminſter, daily to be ſaid for the Queen's deliverance.

OMoſt righteous Lord God, which for the offence of the firſt woman, hath threatened unto all women a common, ſharp and inevitable malediction, and hath enjoined them that they ſhould conceive in ſin, and being conceived, ſhould be ſubject to many and grievous torments; and finally, be delivered with the danger and jeopardy of their lives: we beſeech thee for thine exceeding great goodneſs and bottomleſs mercy, to mitigate the ſtrictneſs of that law. Aſſuage thine anger for a while, and cheriſh in the boſom of thy favour and mercy our gracious queen Mary, being now at the point to be delivered.

livered. So help her, that without danger of her life ſhe may overcome the ſorrow, and in due ſeaſon bring forth a child, in body beautiful and comely, in mind noble and valiant. So that afterward, ſhe, forgetting the trouble, may with joy laud and praiſe the bountifulneſs of thy mercy, and, together with us, praiſe and bleſs both thee and thy holy name world without end. This, O Lord, we deſire thee, we beſeech thee, and moſt heartily crave of thee. Hear us, O Lord, and grant us our petition: let not the enemies of thy faith, and of thy church ſay, Where is their God?

A ſolemn Prayer made for King Philip and Queen Mary's Child, that it may be a Male-Child, well-favoured and witty, &c.

O Moſt mighty Lord God, which regardeſt the prayer of the humble, and deſpiſeſt not their requeſt; bow down from thine high habitation of the heavens, the eyes of thy mercy unto us wretched ſinners, bowing the knees of our hearts, and with many and deep ſighs bewailing our ſins and offences, humbly with eyes intent, and hands diſplayed, praying and beſeeching thee, with the ſhield of thy protection, to defend Mary thy ſervant, and our queen, who hath none other helper but thee, and whom, through thy grace, thou haſt willed to be conceived with child: and at the time of her travail graciouſly with the help of thy right hand deliver her, and from all danger, with the child in her conceived, mercifully preſerve.

It hath ſeemed good in thy ſight, merciful Father, by thy ſervant Mary to work theſe wonders; that is to ſay, in her hands to vanquiſh and overthrow the ſtout enemy, and to deliver us, thy people, out of the hands of heretics, infidels, enemies to thee, and to the croſs of thy beloved Son Jeſus Chriſt, that of thy ſervant thou mighteſt ſpeak in far countries. Therefore for theſe wonderful works, which thou doſt to thy ſervants, thou art magnified, Lord God, for ever; and we thy people bleſs thee the God of heaven, which hath brought upon us this great mercy, and hath excluded from us the heretic, the enemy of truth, the perſecutor of thy church. We know, we know, that we have grievouſly (Lord) ſinned, that we have been deceived by vanity, and that we have forſaken thee our God. Our iniquities be multiplied on our head, and our ſins be increaſed up to heaven: and we ourſelves having offended, and our princes and our prieſts, for theſe our ſins have deſerved an hypocrite to our prince, our ſins have deſerved a tyrant to our governor, that ſhould bring our life to bitterneſs. We be not worthy to have ſo gentle and merciful a queen, ſo godly a ruler, and finally, ſo virtuous a prince; at the very beginning of whoſe reign, a new light as it were, of God's religion, ſeemed to us for to ſpring and riſe. The Jews did bleſs the widow Judith with one voice, ſaying, "Thou art the glory of Jeruſalem, thou art the joy of "Iſrael, thou art the honour of our people, for that "thou haſt loved chaſtity, and thou ſhalt be bleſſed for "ever."

And we the Engliſh people with one agreeable conſent do cry, Thou Mary art the glory of England, our joy, the honour of thy people, for that thou haſt embraced chaſtity; thine heart is ſtrengthened, for the hand of our Lord hath comforted thee, and therefore thou ſhalt be bleſſed for ever. But bow down, O moſt merciful Father, thine ear, and open thine eyes, and behold our affliction, and our humble confeſſion. Thou knoweſt, Lord, that againſt Philip, not by human, but by thy ordinance our king, and againſt thy ſervant Mary, by thy providence our queen, the reſtorers, and maintainers of thy Teſtament of the faith, and moſt conſtant defenders of thy church: thou knoweſt, I ſay, that againſt theſe our two governors, the enemies of thy holy Teſtament, and of the church thy ſpouſe, be moſt rank rebels and ſpiteful murmurers, walking after their luſts, whoſe mouth ſpeaketh words of pride, to the end they may ſet up the kingdom of heretics and ſchiſmatics. By the power of their hands they would change thy promiſes, and deſtroy thine inheritance, and ſtop and ſhut up the mouths of them that praiſe thee, and extinguiſh the glory of thy catholic church and altar.

It is manifeſt and plain, how many contentions, how many conſpiracies and ſeditions, how great wars, what tumults, how many and how great troubleſome vexations, how many hereſies and ſchiſms (for theſe be the moſt ready devices, and evident tokens of heretics) for our ſins do hang over us, if thy ſervant be taken from this life: for we acknowledge that our Lord is omnipotent, who hath pitched his dwelling-place in the midſt of his people, to the intent to deliver us out of the hands of our enemies. Turn therefore thy countenance unto us, ſhew unto us, O Lord, thy face. Puniſh us for our ſins according to thy will and pleaſure, only now deliver us. We bowing the knees of our heart, beſeech thee, that thou wilt not reſerve unto us puniſhment for ever, and we ſhall praiſe thee all the days of our life. Hear our cry, and the prayer of thy people, and open to them the treaſure of thy mercy, thy gracious favour, the ſpring of lively water. Thou that haſt begun, make in the hand of thy ſervant a perfect work. Suffer not, we pray thee, the faithleſs rebels to ſay of thy ſervant and her counſellors, that they have deviſed matters which they cannot perform. And grant unto thy ſervant an happy and eaſy travail. For it is not impoſſible to thy power, nor indecent to thy juſtice, nor unwonted to thy mercy.

It is well known unto us, how marvellouſly thou didſt work in Sarah of the age of 90 years, and in Elizabeth the barren, and alſo far ſtricken in age: for thy counſel is not in the power of men. Thou, Lord, that art the ſearcher of hearts and thoughts, thou knoweſt that thy ſervant never luſted after man, never gave herſelf to wanton company, nor made herſelf partaker with them that walk in lightneſs: but ſhe conſented to take an huſband with thy fear, and not with her luſt. Thou knoweſt that thy ſervant took an huſband not for carnal pleaſure, but only for the deſire and love of poſterity, wherein thy name might be bleſſed for ever and ever. Give therefore unto thy ſervants, Philip our king, and Mary our queen, a male iſſue, which may ſit in the ſeat of thy kingdom. Give unto our queen thy ſervant a little infant, in faſhion and body comely and beautiful, in pregnant wit notable and excellent.

Grant the ſame to be in obedience like Abraham, in hoſpitality like Lot, in chaſtity and brotherly love like Joſeph, in meekneſs and mildneſs like Moſes, in ſtrength and valour like Sampſon. Let him be found faithful as David after thy heart. Let him be wiſe among kings as the moſt wiſe Solomon. Let him be like Job, a ſimple and an upright man, fearing God, and eſchewing evil. Let him finally be garniſhed with the comelineſs of all virtuous conditions, and in the ſame let him wax old and live, that he may ſee his childrens children to the third and fourth generation. And give unto our ſovereign lord and lady, king Philip and queen Mary, thy bleſſings and long life upon earth; and grant that of them may come kings and queens, which may ſtedfaſtly continue in faith, love and holineſs. And bleſſed be their ſeed of our God, that all nations may know, thou art only God in all the earth, which art bleſſed for ever and ever. Amen.

Another Prayer for Queen Mary, and her conceived Child.

O Almighty Father, which didſt ſanctify the bleſſed virgin and mother Mary in her conception, and in the birth of Chriſt our Saviour thine only Son: alſo by

thine omnipotent power didſt ſafely deliver the prophet Jonas out of the whale's belly: defend, O Lord, we beſeech thee, thy ſervant Mary, our queen, with child conceived, and ſo viſit her in and with thy godly gift of health, that not only the child thy creature, within her contained, may joyfully come from her into this world, and receive the bleſſed ſacraments of baptiſm and confirmation, enjoying therewith daily increaſe of all princely and gracious gifts both of body and ſoul; but that alſo ſhe the mother, through thy ſpecial grace and mercy, may in time of her travail avoid all exceſſive dolour and pain, and abide perfect and ſure from all peril and danger of death, with long and proſperous life, through Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

It followeth now further in proceſs of the ſtory, that upon Tueſday, January 10. nineteen of the lower houſe of the parliament, with the ſpeaker, came to Whitehall to the king, and offered him the government of the realm, and of the iſſue, if the queen ſhould fail, which was confirmed by act of parliament within ten days after.

On Wedneſday, January 26. the parliament was diſſolved. In this parliament the biſhop of Rome was eſtabliſhed, and all ſuch laws as were made againſt him ſince the twentieth year of king Henry VIII. were repealed, and alſo cardinal Poole, biſhop Pates, Lilly, and others were reſtored to their blood. Alſo there was an act made for ſpeaking of words; that whoever ſhould ſpeak any thing againſt the king or queen, or that might move any ſedition or rebellion, at the firſt time to have one of his ears cut off, or to forfeit an hundred marks; and at the ſecond time, to have both his ears cut off, or elſe to forfeit an hundred pound; and whoſoever ſhould write, cypher, or print any of the premiſes, to have their right hand cut off.

Alſo in this parliament three ſtatutes were revived for trial of hereſy: one made in the fifth year of Richard II. another in the ſecond year of Henry IV. and the third in the ſecond year of Henry V. Alſo the doing of Mr. Roſe, and the others that were with him, was communed of in this parliament, and upon that occaſion an act was made, That certain evil prayers ſhould be treaſon againſt the queen's highneſs. The prayers of theſe men were thus: "God turn the heart of queen Mary from idolatry, or elſe ſhorten her days."

At the taking of Mr. Roſe and his fellows, word was brought thereof to Mr. Hooper, being then in the Fleet; whereupon the ſaid Mr. Hooper ſendeth anſwer again, with a letter alſo of conſolation to the ſaid priſoners; the copy whereof I thought here not to overpaſs.

The anſwer of Mr. Hooper to a letter ſent unto him, concerning certain Priſoners taken in Bow-Church-yard.

THE grace of God be with you. Amen. I perceive by your letter, how that upon New-year's-day at night, there were taken a godly number of chriſtians whilſt they were praying. I do rejoice in that men can be ſo well occupied in this perilous time, and flee unto God for remedy by prayer, as well for their own lacks and neceſſities, as alſo charitably to pray for them that perſecute them. So doth the word of God command all men to pray charitably for them that hate them, and not to revile any magiſtrate with words, or to mean him evil by force or violence. They alſo may rejoice that in well-doing they were taken to the priſon. Wherefore I have thought it good to ſend them this little writing of conſolation; praying God to ſend them patience, charity, and conſtancy in the truth of his moſt holy word. Thus fare you well, and pray God to ſend his true word into this realm again amongſt us, which the ungodly biſhops have now baniſhed. Jan. 4. 1555.

Mr. Hooper's Letter of Conſolation to the aforeſaid Priſoners.

THE grace, favour, conſolation, and aid of the Holy Ghoſt, be with you now and ever. So be it.

Dearly beloved in the Lord, ever ſince your impriſonment I have been marvelloufly moved with great affections and paſſions, as well of mirth and gladneſs, as of heavineſs and ſorrow. Of gladneſs in this, that I perceived how ye be bent and given to prayer and invocation of God's help in theſe dark and wicked proceedings of men againſt God's glory. I have been ſorry to perceive the malice and wickedneſs of men to be ſo cruel, deviliſh, and tyrannical, to perſecute the people of God for ſerving of God, ſaying and hearing of the holy pſalms, and the word of eternal life. Theſe cruel doings do declare, that the papiſts church is more bloody and tyrannical, than ever was the ſword of the Ethnics and Gentiles.

When I heard of your taking, and what ye were doing, wherefore, and by whom ye were taken, I remembered how the chriſtians in the primitive church were uſed by the cruelty of unchriſtened heathens, in the time of Trajan the emperor, about 77 years after Chriſt's aſcenſion into heaven: and how the chriſtians were perſecuted very ſore, as though they had been traitors and movers of ſedition. Whereupon the gentle emperor Trajan required to know the true cauſe of chriſtian mens trouble. A great learned man called Pliny, wrote unto him, and ſaid, it was becauſe the chriſtians ſaid certain pſalms before day unto one called Chriſt, whom they worſhipped for God. When Trajan the emperor underſtood it was for nothing but for conſcience and religion, he cauſed by his commandments every where, that no man ſhould be perſecuted for ſerving of God. But the pope and his church hath caſt you in priſon, being taken even doing the work of God, and one of the excellenteſt works that is required of chriſtian men: that is to wit, whilſt ye were in prayer, and not in ſuch wicked and ſuperſtitious prayers as the papiſts uſe, but in the ſame prayer that Chriſt hath taught you to pray. And in his name only ye gave God thanks for that ye have received, and for his ſake ye aſked for ſuch things as ye want. O, glad may ye be that ever ye were born, to be apprehended whilſt ye were ſo virtuouſly occupied. Bleſſed be they that ſuffer for righteouſneſs ſake. For if God hath ſuffered them that took your bodies, then to have taken your life alſo, now had you been following the Lamb in perpetual joys, away from the company and aſſembly of wicked men. But the Lord would not have you ſuddenly ſo to depart, but reſerveth you, gloriouſly to ſpeak and maintain his truth to the world.

Be ye not careful what ye ſhall ſay, for God will go out and in with you, and will be preſent in your hearts, and in your mouths to ſpeak his wiſdom, although it ſeemeth fooliſhneſs to the world. He that hath begun this good work in you, continue you in the ſame unto the end; and pray unto him that ye may fear him only, that hath power to kill both body and ſoul, and to caſt them into hell-fire. Be of good comfort. All the hairs of your head are numbered, and there is not one of them can periſh, except your heavenly Father ſuffer it to periſh. Now be ye in the field, and placed in the fore front of Chriſt's battle. Doubtleſs it is a ſingular favour of God, and a ſpecial love of him towards you, to give you this foreward and preheminence, a ſign that he truſteth you before others of his people. Wherefore (dear brethren and ſiſters) continually fight this fight of the Lord. Your cauſe is moſt juſt and godly, ye ſtand for the true Chriſt (who is after the fleſh in heaven) and for his true religion and honour, which is amply, fully, ſuffiiciently and abundantly contained in the holy teſtament, ſealed with

Chriſt's

Chriſt's own blood. How much be ye bound to God, who puts you in truſt with ſo holy and juſt a cauſe?

Remember what lookers on you have to ſee and behold you in your fight, God and all his angels, who be ready always to take you up into heaven, if ye be ſlain in his fight. Alſo you have ſtanding at your backs all the multitude of the faithful, who ſhall take courage, ſtrength, and deſire to follow ſuch noble and valiant chriſtians as you be. Be not afraid of your adverſaries: for he that is in you, is ſtronger than he that is in them. Shrink not although it be pain to you, your pains be not now ſo great, as hereafter your joys ſhall be. Read the comfortable chapters to the Romans, 8, 10, 15. Hebrews 11, 12. And upon your knees thank God that ever ye were accounted worthy to ſuffer any thing for his name's ſake. Read the ſecond chapter of St. Luke's goſpel, and there you ſhall ſee how the ſhepherds that watched upon their ſheep all night, as ſoon as they heard that Chriſt was born in Bethlehem, by and by went to ſee him. They did not reaſon nor debate with themſelves, who ſhould keep the wolf from the ſheep in the mean time, but did as they were commanded, and committed their ſheep unto him whoſe pleaſure they obeyed. So let us do now we be called, commit all other things to him that calleth us. He will take heed that all things ſhall be well. He will help the huſband, he will comfort the wife, he will guide the ſervants, he will keep the houſe, he will preſerve the goods; yea, rather than it ſhould be undone, he will waſh the diſhes, and rock the cradle. Caſt therefore all your care upon God, for he careth for you.

Beſides this, you may perceive by your impriſonment, that your adverſaries weapons againſt you be nothing but fleſh, blood and tyranny. For if they were able, they would maintain their wicked religion by God's word; but for lack of that, they would violently compel us, as they cannot by holy ſcripture perſuade, becauſe the holy word of God, and all Chriſt's doings be contrary unto them. I pray you, pray for me, and I will pray for you. And although we be aſunder after the world, yet in Chriſt (I truſt) for ever joining in the Spirit, and ſo ſhall meet in the palace of the heavenly joys, after this ſhort and tranſitory life is ended. God's peace be with you. Amen. The 14th of January, 1555.

On Friday, January 18. all the council went unto the Tower, and there the ſame day ſet at liberty all the priſoners of the Tower, or the moſt part of them, namely, the late duke of Northumberland's ſons, Ambroſe, Robert and Henry; Sir Andrew Dudly, Sir John Rogers, Sir James Crofts, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir Nicholas Arnal, Sir George Harper, Sir Edward Warner, Sir William Sentlow, Sir Gawen Carew, Mr. Gibbes, Cuthbert Vaughan, with many others.

On Tueſday, January 22. all the preachers that were in priſon were called before the biſhop of Wincheſter lord chancellor, and certain others, at the biſhop's houſe at St. Mary Overy's. From whence (after communication, being aſked whether they would convert and enjoy the queen's pardon, or elſe ſtand to that they had taught; they all anſwered, that they would ſtand to that they had taught) they were committed to ſtraighter priſon than before, with charge that none ſhould ſpeak with them. Among which number, one James George the ſame time died in priſon, being there in bands for religion and righteouſneſs ſake; who therefore was exempted to be buried in the popiſh church-yard, and was buried in the fields.

Upon Wedneſday, January 23. all the biſhops with all the reſt of the convocation-houſe were before the cardinal at Lambeth, where he deſired them to repair every man where his cure and charge lay, exhorting them to intreat their flock with all gentleneſs, and to endeavour to win the people rather by gentleneſs than by extremity and rigour, and ſo let them depart.

Upon Friday, January 25. and the day of the converſion of St. Paul, there was a general and ſolemn proceſſion through London, to give God thanks for their converſion to the catholic church: wherein (to ſet out their glorious pomp) there were fourſcore and ten croſſes, 160 prieſts and clerks, who had every one of them copes upon their backs, ſinging very luſtily. There followed alſo for the better eſtimation of the ſight, eight biſhops, and laſt of all came Bonner the biſhop of London, carrying the popiſh pyx under a canopy.

Beſides, there was alſo preſent the mayor, aldermen, and all the livery of every occupation. Moreover the king alſo himſelf, and the cardinal, came to Paul's church the ſame day. From whence after maſs they returned to Weſtminſter again. As the king was entering the church, at the ſteps going up to the quire, all the gentlemen that of late were ſet at liberty out of the Tower, kneeled before the king, and offered unto him themſelves and their ſervices.

After the proceſſion there was alſo commandment given to make bonfires at night. Whereupon did riſe among the people a doubtful talk why all this was done. Some ſaid it was that the queen being (as they ſaid) with child, might have a ſafe delivery. Others thought that it was for joy that the realm was joined again to the ſee of Rome, which opinion, of both, ſeemed moſt true.

Upon Monday, January 28. the biſhop of Wincheſter, and the other biſhops, had commiſſion from the cardinal to ſit upon, and order, according to the laws, all ſuch preachers and heretics (as they termed them) as were in priſon; and according to this commiſſion, the ſame day the biſhop of Wincheſter, and the other biſhops, with certain of the council, ſate in St. Mary Overy's church, and called before them theſe three, Mr. Hooper, Mr. Rogers, and Mr. Cardmaker, who were brought thither by the ſheriffs; from whence after communication they were committed to priſon till the next day, but Cardmaker this day ſubmitted himſelf unto them.

Upon Tueſday, January 29. Hooper, Rogers, Dr. Taylor and Bradford were brought before them, where ſentence of excommunication, and judgment eccleſiaſtical was pronounced upon Mr. Hooper and Mr. Rogers, by the biſhop of Wincheſter, who ſate as judge in Caiaphas's ſeat, who drave them out of the church, according to their law and order. Dr. Taylor and Bradford were committed to priſon till the next day.

Upon Wedneſday, January 30. Dr. Taylor, Dr. Crome, Mr. Bradford, Mr. Saunders, and Dr. Ferrar, ſometime biſhop of St. David's, were before the ſaid biſhops, where three of them, Dr. Taylor, Mr. Saunders, and Mr. Bradford, were likewiſe excommunicated, and ſentence pronounced upon them, and ſo committed to the ſheriffs. Dr. Crome deſired two months reſpite, and it was granted him; and Mr. Ferrar was again committed to priſon till another time. All theſe men ſhewed themſelves to be learned, as indeed they were no leſs: but what availeth either learning, reaſon, or truth itſelf, where will beareth rule?

After the examination and condemnation of theſe good men and preachers above recited, commiſſions and inquiſitors were ſent abroad likewiſe into all parts of the realm: by reaſon whereof, a great number of moſt godly and true chriſtians (out of all the quarters of the realm, but eſpecially Kent, Eſſex, Norfolk, and Suffolk) were apprehended, brought up to London, caſt into priſon, and afterwards (moſt of them) either conſumed cruelly by fire, or elſe through evil handling died in priſons, and were buried on the dung-hills abroad in the fields, or in ſome backſide of the priſon. Of all which matters, concerning the tragical handling of the bleſſed martyrs and witneſſes of Jeſus Chriſt, of all the bloody perſecution of this time, now followeth (the Lord ſo granting) ſeverally and more particularly in this next book in order to be declared: after that I ſhall firſt recite a ge-

neral ſupplication, given up in the name of the preachers aforeſaid lying in priſon, unto the king and queen during the time of the parliament, as followeth.

Unto the King and Queen's moſt excellent Majeſties, and to their moſt Honourable High Court of Parliament.

IN moſt humble and lamentable wiſe complain unto your majeſties, and to your high court of parliament, your poor deſolate and obedient ſubjects: H. F. T. B. P. R. S. &c. That whereas your ſaid ſubjects, living under the laws of God, and of this realm in the days of the late moſt noble king Edward the ſixth, did in all things ſhew themſelves true, faithful and diligent ſubjects, according to their vocation, as well in the ſincere miniſtering of God's moſt holy word, as in due obedience to the higher powers, and in the daily practice of ſuch virtues and good demeanor, as the laws of God at all times, and the ſtatutes of the realm did then allow: your ſaid ſubjects nevertheleſs, contrary to all laws of juſtice, equity, and right, are in very extream manner, not only caſt into priſon (where they have remained, now theſe fifteen or ſixteen months) but their livings alſo, their houſes and poſſeſſions, their goods and books taken from them, and they ſlandered to be moſt heinous heretics, their enemies themſelves being both witneſſes, accuſers, and judges, belying, ſlandering, and miſreporting your ſaid ſubjects at their pleaſure; whereas your ſaid ſubjects, being ſtraitly kept in priſon, cannot yet be ſuffered to come forth, and make anſwer accordingly.

In conſideration whereof, it may pleaſe your moſt excellent majeſties, and this your high court of parliament, graciouſly to tender the preſent calamity of your ſaid poor ſubjects, and to call them before your preſence, granting them liberty, either by mouth or writing in the plain Engliſh tongue, to anſwer before you, or before indifferent arbiters to be appointed by your majeſties, unto ſuch articles of controverſy in religion as their ſaid adverſaries have already condemned them of, as of heinous hereſies: provided, that all things may be done with ſuch moderation and quiet behaviour, as becometh ſubjects and children of peace, and that your ſaid ſubjects may have the free uſe of all their own books, and conference together among themſelves.

Which thing being granted, your ſaid ſubjects doubt not but it ſhall plainly appear, that your ſaid ſubjects are true and faithful chriſtians, and neither heretics, neither teachers of hereſy, nor cut off from the true catholic univerſal church of Chriſt; yea, that rather their adverſaries themſelves be unto your majeſties as were the charmers of Egypt to Pharaoh, Zedechias and his adherents unto the king of Iſrael, and Barjeſus to the proconſul Sergius Paulus. And if your ſaid ſubjects be not able by the teſtimony of Chriſt, his prophets, apoſtles, and godly fathers of his church, to prove, that the doctrine of the church, homilies, and ſervice taught and ſet forth in the time of our late moſt godly prince and king, Edward the ſixth, is the true doctrine of Chriſt's catholic church, and moſt agreeable to the articles of the chriſtian faith; your ſaid ſubjects offer themſelves then to the moſt heavy puniſhment, that it ſhall pleaſe your majeſties to appoint.

Wherefore for the tender mercy of God in Chriſt (which you look for at the day of judgment) your ſaid poor ſubjects in bonds moſt humbly beſeech your moſt excellent majeſties, and this your high court of parliament, benignly and graciouſly to hear and grant this their petition, tending ſo greatly to the glory of God, to the edifying of his church, to the honour of your majeſties, to the commendation and maintenance of juſtice, right, and equity both before God and man. And your ſaid ſubjects, according to their bounden duty, ſhall not ceaſe to pray unto Almighty God for the gracious preſervation of your moſt excellent majeſties long to endure.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

An Account of the Sufferings and Death of the Proteſtants in the Reign of Queen MARY the Firſt.

BOOK II.

The Life and Martyrdom of Mr. John Rogers, Vicar of St. Sepulchre's, and Reader of St. Paul's in London.

JOHN ROGERS was brought up in the univerſity of Cambridge, where he profited much in good learning, and at length was choſe by the merchants adventurers to be their chaplain at Antwerp in Brabant, whom he ſerved many years to their great ſatisfaction. He chanced there to fall in company with that worthy ſervant and martyr of God, William Tindal, and with Miles Coverdale, both of whom, for the hatred they bare to popiſh ſuperſtition and idolatry, and love to true religion, had forſaken their native country. In conferring with them the ſcriptures, he came to great knowledge in the goſpel of God, inſomuch that he caſt off the heavy yoke of popery, perceiving it to be impure and filthy idolatry, and joined with them in that painful and moſt profitable labour of tranſlating the Bible into the Engliſh tongue, which is intituled, The tranſlation of Thomas Matthew. He knowing by the ſcriptures, that unlawful vows may lawfully be broken, and that matrimony is both honeſt and honourable among all men, joined himſelf in lawful matrimony, and ſo went to Wittenberg in Saxony, where he with much ſoberneſs of living did not only greatly increaſe in all good learning, but alſo ſo much profited in the knowledge of the Dutch tongue, that the charge of a congregation was orderly committed to his cure.

In which miniſtry he diligently and faithfully ſerved many years, until ſuch time as it pleaſed God, by the faithful travail of his choſen and dear ſervant, king Edward VI. utterly to baniſh all popery out of England, and to receive in true religion, ſetting God's goſpel at liberty.

liberty. He then being orderly called, having both a conſcience and a ready good will to help forward the work of the Lord in his native country, left his living in Saxony, and came into England to preach the goſpel, without certainty of any condition. In which office, after he had a while diligently and faithfully travailed, Nicholas Ridley, then biſhop of London, gave him a prebend in the cathedral church of Paul's; and the dean and chapter choſe him to be the reader of the divinity leſſon there, wherein he continued, until ſuch time as queen Mary obtaining the crown, baniſhed the goſpel and true religion, and brought in the Antichriſt of Rome, with his idolatry and ſuperſtition.

After the queen was come to the Tower of London, Mr. Rogers preached at Paul's croſs; confirming ſuch true doctrine as he and others had there taught in king Edward's days, exhorting the people conſtantly to remain in the ſame, and to beware of all peſtilent popery, idolatry, and ſuperſtition. The council being then overmatched with popiſh and bloody biſhops, called him to account for his ſermon: to whom he made a bold, wiſe, and pious anſwer, and yet in ſuch ſort handled himſelf, that at that time he was clearly diſmiſſed. But after that proclamation was ſet forth by the queen to prohibit true preaching, he was called again before the council; for the biſhops thirſted after his blood. The council quarrelled with him concerning his doctrine, and in concluſion commanded him, as priſoner, to keep his own houſe, and ſo he did: although by flying he might eaſily have eſcaped their cruel hands, and many things there were which might have moved him thereunto. He did ſee the recovery of religion in England, for that preſent, deſperate; he knew he could not want a living in Germany, and he could not forget his wife and ten children, and to ſeek means to ſuccour them. But all theſe things ſet apart, after he was called to anſwer in Chriſt's cauſe, he would not depart, but ſtoutly ſtood in defence of the ſame, and for the trial of that truth was content to hazard his life.

He remained a priſoner in his own houſe a long time, till at length, through the uncharitable procurement of Bonner biſhop of London, who could not abide ſuch honeſt neighbours to dwell by him, he was removed from his own houſe to the priſon of Newgate, where he was lodged a great while among thieves and murderers: during which time, what buſineſs he had with the adverſaries of Chriſt, all is not known, neither yet any certainty of his examinations, further than he himſelf did leave in writing, which God would not to be loſt, but to remain for a perpetual teſtimony in the cauſe of God's truth, as here followeth recorded and teſtified by his own writing.

The Examination and Anſwer of Mr. John Rogers, made to the Lord Cnancellor, and the reſt of the Council, January 22. 1555.

FIRST, the lord chancellor ſaid unto me thus: Sir, ye have heard the ſtate of the realm in which it ſtandeth now.

Rogers. No, my lord, I have been kept in cloſe priſon, and except there have been ſome general things ſaid at the table when I was at dinner or ſupper, I have heard nothing; and there have I heard nothing whereupon any ſpecial thing might be grounded.

Then ſaid the lord chancellor; General things? general things? mockingly: ye have heard of my lord cardinal's coming, and that the parliament hath received his bleſſing, not one reſiſting unto it, but one man which did ſpeak againſt it. Such an unity, and ſuch a miracle hath not been ſeen. And all they, of which there are eight ſcore in one houſe (ſaid one that was by, whoſe name I know not), have with one aſſent and conſent received pardon of their offences, for the ſchiſm that we have had in England, in refuſing the holy father of Rome to be head of the catholic church. How ſay ye? are you content to unite and knit yourſelf to the faith of the catholic church with us, in the ſtate in which it is now in England? will ye do that?

Rog. The catholic church I never did nor will diſſent from.

L. Chan. Nay, but I ſpeak of the ſtate of the catholic church, in that wiſe in which we ſtand now in England, having received the pope to be ſupreme head.

Rog. I know none other head but Chriſt of his catholic church, neither will I acknowledge the biſhop of Rome to have any more authority than any other biſhop hath by the word of God, and by the doctrine of the old and pure catholic church four hundred years after Chriſt.

L. Chan. Why didſt thou then acknowledge king Henry the eighth to be ſupreme head of the church, if Chriſt be the only head?

Rog. I never granted him to have any ſupremacy in ſpiritual things, as are the forgiveneſs of ſins; giving of the Holy Ghoſt; authority to be a judge above the word of God.

L. Chan. Yea, ſaid he, and Tonſtal biſhop of Durham, and N. biſhop of Worceſter, if thou hadſt ſaid ſo in his days (and they nodded the head at me with a laughter) thou hadſt not been alive now.

Rog. Which thing I denied, and would have told how he was ſaid and meant to be ſupreme head. But they looked and laughed one upon another, and made ſuch a buſineſs, that I was conſtrained to let it paſs. There lieth alſo no great weight thereupon; for all the world knoweth what the meaning was. The lord chancellor alſo ſaid to the lord William Haward, that there was no inconvenience therein, to have Chriſt to be ſupreme head and the biſhop of Rome alſo: and when I was ready to have anſwered, that there could not be two heads of one church, and have more plainly declared the vanity of that his reaſon, the lord chancellor ſaid, What ſay'ſt thou? make us a direct anſwer whether thou wilt be one of this catholic church or not, with us in that ſtate in which we are now.

Rog. My lord, without fail I cannot believe, that ye yourſelves do think in your hearts that he is ſupreme head in forgiving of ſin, &c. (as is before ſaid) ſeeing you, and all the biſhops of the realm, have now twenty years long preached, and ſome of you alſo written to the contrary, and the parliament hath ſo long agone condeſcended unto it. And there he interrupted me thus.

L. Chan. Tuſh, that parliament was with moſt great cruelty conſtrained to aboliſh and put away the primacy from the biſhop of Rome.

Rog. With cruelty? why then I perceive that you take a wrong way with cruelty to perſuade men's conſciences. For it ſhould appear by your doings now, that the cruelty then uſed hath not perſuaded your conſciences. How would you then have our conſciences perſuaded with cruelty?

L. Chan. I talk to thee of no cruelty, but that they were ſo often and ſo cruelly called upon in that parliament, to let the act go forward; yea, and even with force driven thereunto, whereas in this parliament it was ſo uniformly received, as is aforeſaid.

Rog. Here my lord Paget told me more plainly, what my lord chancellor meant. Unto whom I anſwered; My lord, what will ye conclude thereby; that the firſt parliament was of leſs authority, becauſe but few condeſcended unto it? and this laſt parliament was of great authority, becauſe more condeſcended unto it? it goeth not, my lord, by more or leſſer part, but by the wiſer, truer, and more godly part: and I would have ſa'd more, but the Lord chancellor interrupted me with his queſtion, willing me once again to anſwer him. For, ſaid he, we have more to ſpeak with than thou, which muſt come in after thee. And ſo there were indeed ten perſons more out of Newgate, beſides two that were not called. Of which ten,

one was a citizen of London, which granted unto them; and nine were contrary: which all came to priſon again, and refuſed the cardinal's bleſſing, and the authority of his holy father's church, ſaving that one of theſe nine was not aſked the queſtion, otherwiſe than thus, Whether he would be an honeſt man as his father was before him? and he anſwering yea, he was ſo diſcharged by the friendſhip of my lord William Haward, as I have underſtood. He bade me tell him what I would do; whether I would enter into the one church with the whole realm as it is now, or not? No, ſaid I, I will firſt ſee it proved by the ſcriptures. Let me have pen, ink, and books, &c. and I ſhall take upon me plainly to ſet out the matter, ſo that the contrary ſhould be proved to be true, and let any man that will, confer with me by writing.

L. Chan. Nay, that ſhall not be permitted thee; thou ſhalt never have ſo much proffered thee as thou haſt now, if thou refuſe it; and will not now condeſcend and agree to the catholic church. Here are two things, mercy and juſtice: if thou refuſe the queen's mercy now, then ſhalt thou have juſtice miniſtered unto thee.

Rog. I never offended nor was diſobedient unto her grace, and yet I will not refuſe her mercy. But if this ſhall be denied me to confer by writing, and to try out the truth, then it is not well, but too far out of the way. Ye yourſelves (all the biſhops of the realm) brought me to the knowledge of the pretended primacy of the biſhop of Rome, when I was a young man twenty years paſt; and will ye now without collation have me to ſay and do the contrary? I cannot be ſo perſuaded.

L. Chan. If thou wilt not receive the biſhop of Rome to be ſupreme head of the catholic church, then thou ſhalt never have her mercy thou mayeſt be ſure. And as touching conferring and trial, I am forbidden by the ſcriptures to uſe any conferring and trial with thee. For St. Paul teacheth me, that I ſhould ſhun and eſchew an heretic after one or two monitions, knowing that ſuch an one is overthrown, and is faulty, inſomuch as he is condemned by his own judgment.

Rog. My lord, I deny that I am an heretic: prove ye that firſt, and then alledge the aforeſaid text. But ſtill the lord chancellor played on one ſtring, ſaying:

L. Chan. If thou wilt enter into one church with us, &c. tell us that, or elſe thou ſhalt never have ſo much proffered thee again as thou haſt now.

Rog. I will find it firſt in the ſcripture, and ſee it tried thereby, before I receive him to be ſupreme head.

Wor. Why? do ye not know what is in your creed? "I believe the holy catholic church."

Rog. I find not the biſhop of Rome there. For (catholic) ſignifieth not the Romiſh church: it ſignifieth the conſent of all true teaching churches of all times, and all ages. But how ſhould the biſhop of Rome's church be one of them, which teacheth ſo many doctrines that are plainly and directly againſt the word of God? can that biſhop be the true head of the catholic church that doth ſo? that is not poſſible.

L. Chan. Shew me one of them, one, let me hear one.

Rog. I remembered myſelf, that amongſt ſo many I were baſt to ſhew one, and ſaid, I will ſhew you one.

L. Chan. Let me hear that, let me hear that.

Rog. The biſhop of Rome and his church, ſay, read, and ſing, all that they do in their congregations, in Latin, wich is directly and plainly againſt the firſt to the Corinthians, the fourteenth chapter.

L. Chan. I deny that, I deny that that is againſt the word of God. Let me ſee you prove that; how prove you that?

Rog. Thus I began to ſay the text from the beginning of the chapter, Qui loquitur lingua, &c. To ſpeak with tongue, ſaid I, is to ſpeak with a ſtrange tongue, as Latin or Greek, &c. and ſo to ſpeak, is not to ſpeak unto men, but to God. But ye ſpeak in Latin, which is a ſtrange tongue, wherefore ye ſpeak not unto men, but unto God (meaning God only at the moſt). This he granted, that they ſpeak not unto men, but unto God.

L. Chan. Well, then it is in vain unto men.

Rog. No, not in vain. For one man ſpeaketh in one tongue, and another in another tongue, and all well.

L. Chan. Nay, I will prove then, that he ſpeaketh neither to God nor to man, but unto the wind.

Rog. I was willing to have declared how and after what ſort theſe two texts do agree (for they muſt agree, they be both the ſayings of the Holy Ghoſt, ſpoken by the apoſtle Paul) as to wit, to ſpeak not to men, but unto God, and to ſpeak unto the wind: and ſo to have gone forward with the proof of my matter begun; but here aroſe a noiſe and a confuſion. Then ſaid the lord chancellor:

L. Chan. To ſpeak unto God, and not unto God, were impoſſible.

Rog. I will prove them poſſible.

L. Haward. No, ſaid my lord Haward to my lord chancellor: now will I bear you witneſs that he is out of the way: for he granted firſt, that they which ſpeak in a ſtrange ſpeech, ſpeak unto God: and now he ſaith the contrary, that they ſpeak neither to God nor to man.

Rog. I have not granted nor ſaid (turning me to my lord Haward) as you report. I have alledged the one text, and now I am come to the other. They muſt agree, and I can make them to agree. But as for you, you underſtand not the matter.

L. Haward. I underſtand ſo much, that that is not poſſible.

This is a point of ſophiſtry, quoth ſecretary Bourne.

Then the lord chancellor began to tell the lord Haward, that when he was in High Dutchland they at Hale, which had before prayed and uſed their ſervice all in Dutch, began then to turn part into Latin, and part into Dutch.

Worceſt. Yea, and at Wittenberg too.

Rog. Yea (but I could not be heard for the noiſe), in an univerſity, where men for the moſt part underſtand the Latin, and yet not all in Latin. And I would have told the order, and have gone forward both to have anſwered my lord, and to have proved the thing that I had taken in hand; but perceiving their talk and noiſe to be too noiſom, I was fain to think this in my heart, ſuffering them in the mean while to talk one of them one thing, and another another. Alas! neither will theſe men hear me if I ſpeak, neither yet will they ſuffer me to write. There is no remedy, but let them alone, and commit the matter to God. Yet I began to go forward, and ſaid, that I would make the texts to agree, and to prove my purpoſe well enough.

L. Chan. No, no, thou canſt prove nothing by the ſcripture. The ſcripture is dead: it muſt have a lively expoſitor.

Rog. No, the ſcripture is alive. But let me go forward with my purpoſe.

Wor. All heretics have alledged the ſcriptures for them, and therefore we muſt have a lively expoſitor for them.

Rog. Yea, all heretics have alledged the ſcripture for them: but they were confuted by the ſcriptures, and by none other expoſitor.

Wor. But they would not confeſs that they were overcome by the ſcriptures, I am ſure of that.

Rog. I believe that: and yet were they overcome by them, and in all councils they were diſputed with and overthrown by the ſcriptures. And here I would have declared how they ought to proceed in theſe days, and ſo have come again to my purpoſe, but it was impoſſible: for one aſked one thing, another ſaid another, ſo that I was fain to hold my peace, and let them talk. And even when I would have taken hold on my proof, the lord chancellor bade to priſon with me again; and Away, away, ſaid he, we have more to talk withal: if I would not be reformed (ſo he termed it) away, away. Then up I ſtood, for I had kneeled all the while.

Then

Then Sir Richard Southwell, who ſtood by in a window, ſaid to me, Thou wilt not burn in this gear when it cometh to the purpoſe, I know well that.

Rog. Sir, I cannot tell, but I truſt in my Lord God, yes, lifting up mine eyes unto heaven.

Then my lord of Ely told me much of the queen's majeſty's pleaſure and meaning, and ſet out with large words, ſaying, That ſhe took them that would not receive the pope's ſupremacy, to be unworthy to have her mercy, &c.

Rog. I ſaid I would not refuſe her mercy, and yet I never offended her in all my life: and that I beſought her grace, and all their honours, to be good to me, reſerving my conſcience.

Divers ſpake at once. No? (quoth they then, a great many of them, and eſpecially ſecretary Bourne) a married prieſt, and have not offended the law!

Rogers. I ſaid, I had not broken the queen's law, nor yet any point of the law of the realm therein: for I married where it was lawful.

Divers at once. Where was that? ſaid they, thinking that to be unlawful in all places.

Rogers. In Dutchland. And if ye had not here in England made an open law that prieſts might have had wives, I would never have come home again; for I brought a wife and eight children with me: which thing ye might be ſure that I would not have done, if the laws of the realm had not permitted it before.

Then there was a great noiſe, ſome ſaying that I was come too ſoon with ſuch a ſort; I ſhould find a ſour coming of it: and ſome one thing, and ſome another. And one ſaid (I could not well perceive who) that there was never a catholic man or country, that ever granted that a prieſt might have a wife.

Rogers. I ſaid, the catholic church never denied marriage to prieſts, nor yet to any other man; and therewith was I going out of the chamber, the ſerjeant which brought me thither having me by the arm.

Then the biſhop of Worceſter turned his face towards me, and ſaid, that I knew not where the church was or is.

Rogers. I ſaid, yes, that I could tell where it was, but therewith the ſerjeant went with me out of the door.

This was the very true effect of all that was ſpoken unto me, and ſo of all that I anſwered thereunto.

And here would I gladly make a more perfect anſwer to all the former objections, as alſo a due proof of that which I had taken in hand; but at this preſent I was informed, that I ſhould to-morrow come to further anſwer. Wherefore I am compelled to leave out that which I would moſt gladly have done, deſiring here the hearty and unfeigned help of the prayers of all Chriſt's true members, the offspring of the true unfeigned catholic church, that the Lord God of all conſolation will now be my comfort, aid, ſtrength, buckler and ſhield: as alſo of all my brethren that are in the ſame caſe and diſtreſs, that I and they all may deſpiſe all manner of threats and cruelty, and even the bitter burning fire, and the dreadful dart of death, and ſtick like true ſoldiers to our dear and loving captain, Chriſt, our only Redeemer and Saviour, and alſo the only true head of the church, that doth all in us all, which is the very property of an head (and is a thing that all the biſhops of Rome cannot do), and that we do not traiterouſly run out of his tents, or out of the plain field from him, in the moſt jeopardy of the battle, but that we may perſevere in the fight (if he will not otherwiſe deliver us) till we be moſt cruelly ſlain of his enemies. For this I moſt heartily, and at this preſent with weeping tears moſt inſtantly and earneſtly deſire and beſeech you all to pray: and alſo if I die, to be good to my poor and moſt honeſt wife, being a poor ſtranger, and all my little ſouls, hers and my children. Whom, with all the whole faithful and true catholic congregation of Chriſt, the Lord of life and death ſave, keep, and defend in all the troubles and aſſaults of this vain world, and bring at the laſt to everlaſting ſalvation, the true and ſure inheritance of all croſſed chriſtians. Amen, Amen.

January 27. at night.

The ſecond Examination of Mr. John Rogers, January 28, 29. 1555.

FIRST, being aſked again by the lord chancellor, whether I would come into one church with the biſhops and whole realm, as now was concluded by parliament (in which all the realm was converted to the catholic church of Rome) and ſo receive the mercy before proffered me, ariſing again with the whole realm out of the ſchiſm and error in which we had long been, with recantation of my errors; I anſwered, that before I could not tell what his mercy meant, but now I underſtand that it was a mercy of the antichriſtian church of Rome, which I utterly refuſed; and that the riſing which he ſpake of, was a very fall into error and falſe doctrine. Alſo that I had and would be able, by God's grace, to prove that all the doctrine which I had ever taught was true and catholic, and that by the ſcriptures and the authority of the fathers that lived 400 years after Chriſt's death. He anſwered, that ſhould not, might not, nor ought not to be granted me: for I was but a private man, and might not be heard againſt the determination of the whole realm. Should, quoth he, when a parliament had concluded a thing, one, or any private perſon, have authority to diſcuſs, whether they had done right or wrong? No, that may not be.

I anſwered ſhortly, That all the laws of men might not, neither could rule the word of God, but that they all muſt be diſcuſſed and judged thereby, and obey thereto: and neither my conſcience, nor any chriſtian man's, could be ſatisfied with ſuch laws as diſagreed from that word: and ſo was willing to have ſaid much more. But the lord chancellor began a long tale to very ſmall purpoſe, concerning mine anſwer, to have defaced me; that there was nothing in me wherefore I ſhould be heard, but arrogancy, pride, and vain-glory. I alſo granted mine ignorance to be greater than I could expreſs, or than he took it; but yet that I feared not, by God's aſſiſtance and ſtrength, to be able by writing to perform my word, neither was I (I thanked God) ſo utterly ignorant as he would make me; but all was of God, to whom be thanks rendered therefore. Proud man was I never, nor yet vain-glorious. All the world knew well, where and on which ſide pride, arrogancy, and vain-glory was. It was a poor pride that was or is in us, God it knoweth.

Then ſaid he, that I at the firſt daſh condemned the queen and the whole realm to be of the church of Antichriſt, and burdened me highly therewithal. I anſwered, That the queen's majeſty (God ſave her grace) would have done well enough, if it had not been for his council. He ſaid, the queen went before him, and it was her own motion. I ſaid, without fail I neither could, nor would I ever believe it.

Then ſaid Dr. Aldrife the biſhop of Carliſle, that they the biſhops would bear him witneſs. Yea, quoth I, that I believe well; and with that the people laughed: for that day there were many, but on the morrow they kept the doors ſhut, and would let none in, but the biſhops adherents and ſervants in a manner, yea, and the firſt day the thouſand man came not in. Then Mr. Comptroller and ſecretary Bourne would have ſtood up alſo to bear witneſs, and did.

I ſaid it was no great matter: and to ſay the truth, I thought they were good helpers thereunto themſelves: but I ceaſed to ſay any more therein, knowing that they were too ſtrong and mighty of power, and that they ſhould be believed before me, yea, and before our Saviour Chriſt, and all his prophets and apoſtles too, in theſe days.

Then

Then after many words, he aſked me what I thought concerning the bleſſed ſacrament, and ſtood up, and put off his cap, and all his fellow biſhops (of which there were a great number, new men, of whom I knew few), whether I believed in the ſacrament to be the very body and blood of our Saviour Chriſt, that was born of the virgin Mary, and hanged on the croſs, really and ſubſtantially.

I anſwered, I had often told him that it was a matter in which I was no meddler, and therefore ſuſpected of my brethren to be of a contrary opinion. Notwithſtanding, even as the moſt part of your doctrine in other points is falſe, and the defence thereof only by force and cruelty: ſo in this matter I think it to be as falſe as the reſt. For I cannot underſtand (really and ſubſtantially) to ſignify otherwiſe than corporally: but corporally Chriſt is only in heaven, and ſo cannot Chriſt be corporally alſo in your ſacrament. And here I ſomewhat ſet out his charity after this ſort: My lord, quoth I, ye have dealt with me moſt cruelly: for ye have put me in priſon without law, and kept me there now almoſt a year and a half. For I was almoſt half a year in my houſe, where I was obedient to you, God knoweth, and ſpake with no man. And now have I been a full year in Newgate at great coſts and charges, having a wife and ten children to find, and I had never a penny of my livings; which was againſt the law.

He anſwered, that Dr. Ridley which had given them me, was an uſurper; and therefore I was the unjuſt poſſeſſor of them.

Was the king then an uſurper, quoth I, which gave Dr. Ridley the biſhoprick?

Yea, quoth he, and began to ſet out the wrongs that the king had done to the biſhop of London, and to himſelf alſo. But yet I do miſuſe my terms, quoth he, to call the king uſurper. But the word was gone out of the abundance of the heart before: and I think that he was not very ſorry for it in heart. I might have ſaid more concerning that matter, but I did not.

I aſked him wherefore he put me in priſon. He ſaid, becauſe I preached againſt the queen.

I anſwered that it was not true: and I would be bound to prove it, and to ſtand to the trial of the law, that no man ſhould be able to diſprove it, and thereupon would ſet my life. I preached (quoth I) a ſermon at the croſs, after the queen came to the Tower; but therein was nothing ſaid againſt the queen, I take witneſs of all the audience, which was not ſmall. I alledged alſo that he had, after examination, let me go at liberty after the preaching of that ſermon.

Yea, but thou didſt read thy lectures after, quoth he, againſt the commandment of the council.

That I did not, quoth I; let that be proved, and let me die for it. Thus have you now againſt the law of God and man handled me, and never ſent for me, never conferred with me, never ſpoke of any learning, till now that ye have gotten a whip to whip me with, and a ſword to cut off my neck, if I will not condeſcend to your mind. This charity doth all the world underſtand.

I might and would have added, if I could have been ſuffered to ſpeak, that it had been time enough to take away men's livings, and thereto have impriſoned them, after that they had offended laws: for they be good citizens that break not laws, and worthy of praiſe, and not of puniſhment. But their purpoſe is to keep men in priſon, until they may catch them in their laws, and ſo kill them. I could and would have added the example of Daniel, which by a crafty deviſed law was caſt into the lion's den. Item, I might have declared, that I moſt humbly deſired to be ſet at liberty, ſending my wife to him with a ſupplication, being great with child, and with her eight honeſt women, or thereabouts, to Richmond, at Chriſtmas was a twelvemonth, while I was yet in my houſe.

Item, I wrote two ſupplications to him out of Newgate, and ſent my wife many times to him. Mr. Goſnold alſo, that worthy man, who is now departed in the Lord, laboured for me, and ſo did divers other worthy men alſo take pains in the matter. Theſe things declare my lord chancellor's antichriſtian charity, which is, that he hath and doth ſeek my blood, and the deſtruction of my poor wife and my ten children.

This is a ſhort ſum of the words which were ſpoken on the 28th of January in the afternoon, after that Mr. Hooper had been the firſt, and Mr. Cardmaker the ſecond in examination before me. The Lord grant us grace to ſtand together, fighting lawfully in his cauſe, till we be ſmitten down together, if the Lord's will be ſo to permit it. For there ſhall not a hair of our heads periſh againſt his will, but with his will. Whereunto the ſame Lord grant us to be obedient unto the end, and in the end, Amen: ſweet, mighty, and merciful Lord Jeſus, the ſon of David and of God: Amen, Amen, let every true chriſtian ſay and pray.

Then the clock being, as I gueſſed, about four, the lord chancellor ſaid, that he and the church muſt yet uſe charity with me (what manner of charity it is, all true chriſtians do well underſtand, as to wit, the ſame that the Fox doth with the Chickens, and the Wolf with the Lambs) and gave me reſpite till to-morrow, to ſee whether I would remember myſelf well to-morrow, and whether I would return to the catholic church (for ſo he called his antichriſtian falſe church) again, and repent, and they would receive me to mercy.

I ſaid that I was never out of the true catholic church, nor would be: but into his church would I, by God's grace, never come.

Well, quoth he, then is our church falſe and antichriſtian?

Yea, quoth I.

And what is the doctrine of the ſacrament?

Falſe, quoth I; and caſt my hands abroad.

Then ſaid one, that I was a player. To whom I anſwered not; for I paſſed not upon his mock.

Come again, quoth the lord chancellor, to-morrow between nine and ten.

I am ready to come again, whenſoever ye call, quoth I.

And thus was I brought by the ſheriffs to the Compter in Southwark, Mr. Hooper going before me, and a great multitude of people being preſent, ſo that we had much to do to go in the ſtreets. Thus much was done January 28.

The ſecond day, which was January 29. we were ſent for in the morning about nine of the clock, and by the ſheriffs fetched from the Compter in Southwark to the church again, as to wit, to St. Mary Overy's, where we were the day before in the afternoon, as is ſaid. And when Mr. Hooper was condemned, as I underſtood afterward, then ſent they for me. Then my lord chancellor ſaid unto me:

Rogers, quoth he, here thou waſt yeſterday, and we gave thee liberty to remember thyſelf this night, whether thou wouldſt come to the holy catholic church of Chriſt again or not. Tell us now what thou haſt determined, whether thou wilt be repentant and ſorry, and wilt return again and take mercy.

My lord, quoth I, I have remembered myſelf right well what you yeſterday ſaid to me, and deſire you to give me leave to declare my mind, what I have to ſay thereunto; and that done, I ſhall anſwer you to your demanded queſtion.

When I yeſterday deſired that I might be ſuffered by the ſcripture and authority of the firſt, beſt, and pureſt church to defend my doctrine by writing (meaning not only of the primacy, but alſo of all the doctrine that ever I had preached) ye anſwered me, that it might not, nor ought not to be granted me, for I was a private perſon; and that the parliament was above the authority of all private per-

perſons, and therefore the ſentence thereof might not be found faulty and valueleſs by me, being but a private perſon. And yet, my lord, quoth I, I am able to ſhew examples, that one man hath come into a general council, and after the whole had determined and agreed upon an act or article, ſome one man coming in afterward, hath by the word of God declared ſo pithily that the council had erred in decreeing the ſaid article, that he cauſed the whole council to change and alter their act or article before determined. And of theſe examples, ſaid I, I am able to ſhew two. I can alſo ſhew the authority of St. Auguſtine; that when he diſputed with an heretic, he would neither himſelf, nor yet have the heretic to lean unto the determination of two former councils, of which the one made for him, and the other for the heretic that diſputed againſt him: but ſaid, that he would have the ſcriptures to be their judge, which were common and indifferent for them both, and not proper to either of them.

Item, I could ſhew, ſaid I, the authority of a learned lawyer Panormitanus, which ſaith, That unto a ſimple lay-man that bringeth the word of God with him, there ought more credit to be given, than to a whole council gathered together. By theſe things will I prove that I ought not to be denied to ſay my mind, and to be heard againſt a whole parliament, bringing the word of God for me, and the authority of the old church four hundred years after Chriſt, albeit that every man in the parliament had willingly and without reſpect of fear and favour agreed thereunto, which thing I doubt not a little of; ſpecially ſeeing the like had been permitted in the old church, even in general councils, yea, and that in one of the chiefeſt councils that ever was, unto which neither any acts of this parliament, nor yet any of the late general councils of the biſhops of Rome ought to be compared. For, ſaid I, if Henry VIII. were alive, and ſhould call a parliament, and begin to determine a thing (and here I would have alledged the example of the act of making the queen a baſtard, and of making himſelf the ſuperior head; but I could not, being interrupted by one whom God forgive); then will ye (pointing to my lord chancellor) and ye, and ye, and ſo ye all (pointing to the reſt of the biſhops) ſay, Amen: yea, and it like your grace, it is meet that it be ſo enacted.

Here my lord chancellor would ſuffer me to ſpeak no more; but bade me ſit down mockingly, ſaying, That I was ſent for to be inſtructed of them, and I would take upon me to be their inſtructor.

My lord, quoth I, I ſtand, and ſit not: ſhall I not be ſuffered to ſpeak for my life?

Shall we ſuffer thee to tell a tale, and to prate, quoth he? And with that he ſtood up, and began to face me, after his old arrogant proud faſhion, for he perceived that I was in a way to have touched them ſomewhat, which he thought to hinder by daſhing me out of my tale, and ſo he did: for I could never be ſuffered to come to my tale again, no not to one word of it: but he had much like communication with me as he had the day before, and as his manner is, taunt upon taunt, and check upon check. For in that caſe, being God's cauſe, I told him he ſhould not make me afraid to ſpeak.

Lord Chan. See what a ſpirit this fellow hath, ſaid he; finding fault at mine accuſtomed earneſtneſs, and hearty manner of ſpeaking.

Rogers. I have a true ſpirit, quoth I, agreeing and obeying the word of God, and would further have ſaid, that I was never the worſe but the better, to be earneſt in a juſt and true cauſe, and in my maſter Chriſt's matters; but I could not be heard. And at length he proceeded towards his excommunication and condemnation, after that I had told him that his church of Rome was the church of Antichriſt, meaning the falſe doctrine and tyrannical laws, with the maintenance thereof by cruel perſecutions uſed by the biſhops of the ſaid church (of which the biſhop of Wincheſter, and the reſt of his fellow biſhops that are now in England, are the chief members): of laws I mean, quoth I, and not all men and women which are in the pope's church. Likewiſe when I was ſaid to have denied their ſacrament (whereof he made his wonted reverent mention, more to maintain his kingdom thereby, than for the true reverence of Chriſt's inſtitution; more fit for his own and his popiſh generation's ſake, than for religion or God's ſake: I told him after what order I did ſpeak of it (for the manner of his ſpeaking was not agreeing to my words, which are before recited in the communication that we had January 28.) wherewith he was not contented, but he aſked the audience, whether I had not ſimply denied the ſacrament. They would have ſaid, and did what he deſired, for moſt of them were of his own ſervants at that day, the 29th of January I mean. At laſt I ſaid, I will never deny that I ſaid, that is, that your doctrine of the ſacrament is falſe: but yet I tell you after what order I ſaid it. To be ſhort, he read my condemnation before me, particularly mentioning therein but two articles: firſt, that I affirmed the Romiſh catholic church to be the church of Antichriſt; and that I denied the reality of their ſacrament. He cauſed me to be degraded and condemned, and put into the hands of the laity, and ſo he gave me over into the ſheriff's hands, which were much better than his.

The copy of Mr. Rogers his condemnation I thought good here to inſert in Engliſh, to the intent that the ſame being here once expreſſed, may ſerve to be referred to for all condemnatory ſentences through the whole ſtory.

The Sentence condemnatory againſt Mr. Rogers.

IN the name of God, Amen. We Stephen, by the permiſſion of God, biſhop of Wincheſter, lawfully and rightly proceeding with all godly favour by authority and virtue of our office, againſt thee John Rogers, prieſt, otherwiſe called Matthew, before us perſonnally here preſent, being accuſed and detected, and notoriouſly ſlandered of hereſy, having heard, ſeen, and underſtood, and with all diligent deliberation weighed, diſcuſſed, and conſidered the merits of the cauſe, all things being obſerved, which by us in this behalf in order of law ought to be obſerved, ſitting in our judgment-ſeat, the name of Chriſt being firſt called upon, and having only God before our eyes, becauſe by the acts enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this matter, and by thine own confeſſion judicially made before us, we do find that thou haſt taught, holden and affirmed, and obſtinately defended divers errors, hereſies, and damnable opinions contrary to the doctrine and determination of the holy church, as namely theſe; "That the catholic church of Rome is the church of Antichriſt. Item, That in the ſacrament of the altar there is not ſubſtantially nor really the natural body and blood of Chriſt." The which aforeſaid hereſies and damnable opinions, being contrary to the law of God, and determination of the univerſal and apoſtolical church, thou haſt arrogantly, ſtubbornly and wittingly maintained, held and affirmed, and alſo defended before us, as well in this judgment, as alſo otherwiſe, and with the like obſtinacy, ſtubbornneſs, malice and blindneſs of heart, both wittingly and willingly haſt affirmed, that thou wilt believe, maintain and hold, affirm and declare the ſame: We therefore, S. Wincheſter, biſhop, ordinary and dioceſan aforeſaid, by the conſent and aſſent as well of our reverend brethren the lords biſhops here preſent and aſſiſting, as alſo by the counſel and judgment of divers worſhipful lawyers and profeſſors of divinity, with whom we have communicated in this behalf, do declare and pronounce thee the ſaid John Rogers, otherwiſe called Matthew, through thy demerits, tranſgreſſions, obſtinacies and wilfulneſs (which through manifold ways thou haſt incurred by thine own wicked and ſtubborn obſtinacy),

to have been and to be guilty of the deteſtable, horrible and wicked offences of heretical pravity and execrable doctrine, and that thou haſt before us ſundry times ſpoken, maintained, and wittingly and ſtubbornly defended the ſaid curſed and execrable doctrine in the ſundry confeſſions, aſſertions and recognitions here judicially before us oftentimes repeated, and yet ſtill doſt maintain, affirm and believe the ſame;" and that thou haſt been and art lawfully and ordinarily convicted in this behalf. We therefore, I ſay, albeit following the example of Chriſt, "which would not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he ſhould convert and live;" we have gone about oftentimes to correct thee, and by all lawful means that we could, and all wholeſome admonitions that we did know, to reduce thee again unto the true faith and unity of the univerſal catholic church, notwithſtanding have found thee obſtinate and ſtiff-necked, willingly continuing in thy damnable opinions and hereſies, and refuſing to return again unto the true faith and unity of the holy mother church; and as the child of wickedneſs and darkneſs ſo to have hardened thy heart, that thou wilt not underſtand the voice of thy ſhepherd, which with a fatherly affection doth ſeek after thee, nor wilt be allured with his fatherly and godly admonitions: We therefore, Stephen the biſhop aforeſaid, not willing that thou which art wicked ſhouldeſt now become more wicked, and infect the Lord's flock with thine hereſy (which we are greatly afraid of), with ſorrow of mind and bitterneſs of heart do judge thee, and definitively condemn thee the ſaid John Rogers, otherwiſe called Matthew, thy demerits and faults being aggravated through thy damnable obſtinacy, as guilty of moſt deteſtable hereſies, and as an obſtinate and impenitent ſinner, refuſing penitently to return to the lap and unity of the holy mother church, and that thou haſt been and art by law excommunicate, and do pronounce and declare thee to be an excommunicate perſon. Alſo we pronounce and declare thee, being an heretic, to be caſt out from the church, and left unto the judgment of the ſecular power, and now preſently ſo do leave thee as an obſtinate heretic, and a perſon wrapped in the ſentence of the great curſe, to be degraded worthily for thy demerits (requiring them notwithſtanding, in the bowels of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that this execution and puniſhment worthily to be done upon thee, may ſo be moderated, that the rigour thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentleneſs too much mitigated, but that it may be to the ſalvation of thy ſoul, to the extirpation, terror, and converſion of the heretics to the unity of the catholic faith) by this our ſentence definitive which we here lay upon and againſt thee, and do with ſorrow of heart promulgate in this form aforeſaid.

After this ſentence was read, he ſent us (Mr. Hooper, I mean, and me) to the Clink, there to remain till night; and when it was dark they carried us, Mr. Hooper going before with one ſheriff, and I coming after with the other, with bills and weapons enow, out of the Clink, and led us through the biſhop's houſe, and St. Mary Overy's church-yard, and ſo into Southwark, and over the bridge on proceſſion to Newgate through the city. But I muſt ſhew you this alſo, that when the biſhop had read the condemnation, he declared that I was in the great curſe, and what a dangerous matter it was to eat and drink with us that were accurſed, or to give us any thing; for all that did ſo ſhould be partakers of the ſame great curſe.

Well, my lord, quoth I, here I ſtand before God and you, and all this honourable audience, and take him to witneſs, that I never wittingly or willingly taught any falſe doctrine; and therefore have I a good conſcience before God and all good men: I am ſure that you and I ſhall come before a Judge that is righteous, before whom I ſhall be as good a man as you; and I nothing doubt but that I ſhall be found there a true member of the true catholic church of Chriſt, and everlaſtingly ſaved. And as for your falſe church, ye need not to excommunicate me forth of it, I have not been in it theſe twenty years, the Lord be thanked therefore. But now ye have done what ye can, my lord, I pray you yet grant me one thing.

What it that, quoth he?

That my poor wife, being a ſtranger, may come and ſpeak with me ſo long as I live: for ſhe hath ten children that are hers and mine, and ſomewhat I would counſel her, what were the beſt for her to do.

No, quoth he, ſhe is not thy wife.

Yes, my lord, quoth I, and hath been theſe eighteen years.

Should I grant her to be thy wife, quoth he?

Chuſe you, quoth I, whether ye will or not; ſhe ſhall be ſo nevertheleſs.

She ſhall not come at thee, quoth he.

Then I have tried out all your charity, ſaid I. You make yourſelf highly diſpleaſed with the matrimony of prieſts, but you maintain open whoredom: as in Wales, quoth I, where every prieſt hath his whore openly dwelling with, and lying by him: even as your holy father ſuffereth all the prieſts in Dutchland and in France to do the like. Thereto he anſwered not, but looked as it were aſquint at it: and thus I departed, and ſaw him laſt.

There was other good matter penned by Mr. Rogers in the priſon, which he intended to give in anſwer, if he might have been permitted: which is as followeth.

Hitherto, dearly beloved, ye have heard what was ſaid: now hear what I purpoſed the night before to have ſaid, if I could have been permitted. Two things I purpoſed to have touched. The one, how it was lawful for a private man to reaſon and write againſt a wicked act of parliament, or ungodly council, which the lord chancellor the day before denied me. The other was to prove that proſperity was not always a token of God's love.

And this I purpoſed to ſpeak of, becauſe the lord chancellor boaſted of himſelf, that he was delivered forth of priſon, as it were by miracle, and preſerved of God to reſtore true religion, and to puniſh me and ſuch others whom he termed heretics. Concerning theſe two points, in this matter I purpoſed to have proceeded. It is not unknown to you, that king Henry VIII. in his time made his daughter, the queen that now is, a baſtard: he aboliſhed the authority of the biſhop of Rome: he pulled down abbeys: and all this he did by the conſent of parliament.

King Edward VI. in his time made lawful the marriage of prieſts, turned the ſervice into Engliſh, aboliſhed the idolatrous maſs, with all like ſuperſtitious trumpery, ſet up the holy communion, and all by conſent of parliament.

The queen that now is, hath repealed the act that made her a baſtard, hath brought in the biſhop of Rome, and ſet him in his old authority, beginneth to ſet up abbeys again, hath made the marriage of prieſts unlawful, hath turned the Engliſh ſervice into Latin again, hath ſet up the maſs again, with like baggage, and pulled down the holy communion: and all this is done by conſent of parliament.

If the acts of parliament, made in king Henry's time, and in king Edward's, had their foundation upon God's word, whereupon all poſitive law ought to be grounded; then theſe which are eſtabliſhed in the queen's time, being clean contrary to the others, as they are not warranted by God's word, ſo are they wicked, and therefore to be both ſpoken and written againſt of all men, as well of private as of public perſons.

If your acts, my lord chancellor, which you have lately coined (I call them yours, becauſe ye only bear the ſway, deviſe, and decree what ye liſt, all other men are forced to follow), be good, and according to God's word, then the

the former acts were naught, which thing ye seem to say, in utterly taking of them away, and setting up of the contrary: if the former were naught, why then did ye consent unto them, and confirm them to be good by your voluntary and advised writing? as it appeareth, and will do to the world's end, in your book, De vera obedientia, where you prove the queen a bastard, and the bishop of Rome to be an usurper, and to have no authority in the realm of England.

Ye must needs confess, that the most part of your act of parliament in these latter days have been according to the fantasies of a few, King Henry in his time established by parliament in a manner what he listed, and many things that might well have been amended.

In king Edward's days the dukes of Somerset and Northumberland bare a great stroke in things, and did not all things sincerely. Even so since the queen that now is came to the government of the realm, all things are ordered by your device and head, and the whole parliament-house is led as you list; by reason whereof they are compelled to condescend to things both contrary to God's manifest word, and also to their own consciences; so great is your cruelty.

For to bring your wicked purposes to pass, and to establish your antichristian kingdom (which, I trust, the Lord with the breath of his mouth will speedily blow over), ye have called three parliaments in one year and a half, that what you could not compass by subtle persuasion, ye might bring to pass by tyrannical threatening: for if ye had not used cruel force in your doings, ye had never brought to pass such things as this day ye have, to the utter defacing and abolishing of God's true religion, and to the casting away and destruction of your natural country, so much as in you lieth.

And as it is most true, that acts of parliament have in these latter days been ruled by the fantasies of a few; and the whole parliament-house, contrary to their minds, was compelled to such things as a few have conceived: so it must needs be granted, that the papists at all times were most ready to apply themselves to the present world, and like men-pleasers to follow the fantasies of such as were in authority, and turn with the state, which way soever it turned. Yea, if the state should change ten times in one year, they would ever be ready at hand to change with it, and so follow the cry, and rather utterly forsake God, and be of no religion, than that they should forego lust or living, for God or for religion.

King Henry by parliament, according to God's word, put down the pope: the clergy consented, and all men openly by oath refused his usurped supremacy, knowing by God's word, Christ to be the head of the church, and every king in his realm to have, under and next unto Christ, the chief sovereignty.

King Edward also by parliament, according to God's word, set the marriage of priests at liberty, abolished the popish and idolatrous mass, changed the Latin service, and set up the holy communion; the whole clergy consented hereunto; many of them set it forth by their preaching; and they all by practising confirmed the same.

Notwithstanding, now when the state is altered, and the laws changed, the papistical clergy, with other like worldlings, as men neither fearing God, neither flying worldly shame, neither yet regarding their consciences, oaths or honesty, like wavering weather-cocks turn round about, and putting on harlots foreheads, sing a new song, and cry with an impudent mouth, Come again, come again to the catholic church, meaning the antichristian church of Rome, which is the synagogue of Satan, and the very sink of all superstition, heresy, and idolatry.

Of what force, I pray you, may a man think these parliaments to be, which scarcely stand a year in strength? Or what credit is to be given to these law-makers, who are not ashamed to establish contrary laws, and to condemn that for evil, which before (the thing itself and the circumstances remaining all one) they affirmed and decreed to be good? Truly ye are so ready, contrary to all right, to change and turn for the pleasure of man, that at length, I fear, God will use you like changelings, and both turn you forth of his kingdom, and out of your own country.

Ye charge the gospel-preachers with the undoing of this realm: nay, it is the turning papists, which have not only set to sale their country like traitors, but also troubled the simple people, so that they cannot tell what they may believe. For that which they affirmed, and preached to be true doctrine in King Edward's days, now they cry against it, as it were most abominable heresy. This fault, I trust, ye shall never find at our hands.

Therefore to conclude that which I purposed, forsomuch as the acts of parliament of these latter times are one contrary to another, and those which ye now have established in your time are contrary to God's most manifest word, as is the usurped supremacy of the bishop of Rome, the idolatrous mass, the Latin service, the prohibiting of lawful marriage (which St. Paul calleth the doctrine of devils), with many such other: I say, it is not only lawful for any private man, which bringeth God's word for him, and the authority of the primitive and best church, to speak and write against such unlawful laws; but it is his duty, and he is bound in very conscience to do it. Which thing I have proved by divers examples before, and now will add but one other, which is written in the fifth of the Acts, where it appeareth that the high-priests, the elders, scribes, and pharisees, decreed in their council, and gave the same commandments to the apostles, that they should not preach in the name of Christ, as ye have also forbidden us; notwithstanding when they were charged therewithal, they answered, "We ought more to obey God than man:" Even so we may, and do answer you; God is more to be obeyed than man; and your wicked laws cannot so tongue-tie us, but we will speak the truth.

The apostles were beaten for their boldness, and they rejoiced that they suffered for Christ's cause. Ye have also provided rods for us and bloody whips: yet when ye have done that which God's hand and council hath determined that ye shall do, be it life or death, I trust that God will so assist us by his holy Spirit and grace, that we shall patiently suffer it, and praise God for it: and whatsoever become of me and others, which now suffer for speaking and professing of the truth, yet be ye sure that God's word will prevail and have the upper hand, when your bloody laws and wicked decrees, for want of sure foundation, shall fall in the dust: and that which I have spoken of your acts of parliament, the same may be said of the general councils of these latter days, which have been within these five hundred years, where the Antichrist of Rome, by reason of his usurped authority, ruled the roast, and decreed such things as made for his gain, not regarding God's glory: and therefore are they to be spoken, written, and cried out against of all such as fear God and love his truth.

And thus much I purposed to have said concerning the first point.

Now touching the second point. That whereas my lord chancellor had the day before said his pleasure of them that ruled the realm while he was in prison, and also rejoiced as though God had made this alteration, even for his sake and his catholic church, as he called it, and to declare as it were by miracle, that we were before in a schism and heresy, and the realm was now brought unto an unity, and to a truth, and I cannot tell whereto: to which I was fully purposed to have spoken. Secondly, my lord, whereas ye yesterday so much dispraised the government of them that ruled in innocent king Edward's days, it may please your lordship to understand, that we poor preachers, whom ye so evil intreat, did most boldly and plainly rebuke their evil government in many things,

things, especially their covetousness, and neglect and small regard to live after the gospel, as also their negligence to occasion others to live thereafter, with more things than I can now rehearse. This all London can testify with us. I would also have told him, what I myself for my part did once at Paul's Cross, concerning the misuse of abbeys, and other church goods: and I am right well assured, that never a papist of them all did ever so much therein as I did, I thank the Lord therefore: I was also, as is well known, fain to answer therefore before all the council, and many of my brethren did the like, so that we for the not rebuking of their faults, shall not answer before God, nor be blameworthy before men. Therefore let the gentlemen and courtiers themselves, and all the citizens of London, testify what we did.

But, my lord, you could not abide them, for that which they did unto you, and for that they were of a contrary religion unto you. Wherefore in that you seem so inveterate against them, it is neither any just or public cause, but it is your own private hate that maketh you to report so evil of their governance. And ye may now say what ye list of them, when they be partly dead and gone, and partly by you put out of office.

But what shall be said of you when your fall shall follow, ye shall then hear. And I must say my conscience to you: I fear me, ye have and will with your governance bring England out of God's blessing into a warm sun. I pray God you do not.

I am an Englishman born, and, God knoweth, do naturally wish well to my country. And, my lord, I have often proved that the things, which I have much feared aforehand should come to pass, have indeed followed. I pray God I may fail of my guessing in this behalf: but truly, that will not be with expelling the true word of God out of the realm, and with the shedding of innocent blood.

And as touching your rejoicing, as though God had set you aloft to punish us by miracle (for so you report and brag openly of yourself) and to minister justice, if we will not receive your holy father's mercy, and thereby do declare your church to be true, and ours false, to that I answer thus: God's works be wonderful, and are not to be comprehended and perceived by man's wisdom, nor by the wit of the most wise and prudent. Yea, they are soonest deceived, and do most easily judge amiss of God's wonderful works, that are most worldly wise. God hath made all the wisdom of this world foolishness, first to the Corinthians, the first and second chapter.

"He that put his beloved and dear heart into the hands of the enemies thereof," Jeremiah 12. 7.

This thing doth God, which thing all wise men account to be the most foolish and unwise part that can be. Will the wise of the world, trow ye, put their most dear friends and tenderly beloved children into their enemies hands, to kill, slay, burn, &c. that is unto them a madness, above all madness. And yet doth God use this order, and this is an high and singular wisdom in his sight, which the world taketh to be the most extreme madness.

Can the world shew a cause why he suffered the great multitude of innocent children to be murdered of Herod of Ascalon? or why he put that most holy man, John Baptist, into the hands of Herod his son to be beheaded, and that in prison secretly without open judgment most tyrannously? why he suffered his beloved apostle James to be beheaded of another Herod? Acts 12. why he suffered his beloved seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to be four hundred years in thraldom and bondage, and under Pharaoh? and all the stock of Juda and Benjamin, his beloved children and church, to come under the power, sword, and tyranny of Nebuchadnezzar? No verily, but his true catholic church knoweth divers causes thereof, which are now too long to rehearse, and which I would right gladly shew, if I had time.

But this I am right sure of, that it was not because that the aforesaid godly men were in heresies, and subject to false gods services, and idolat[illegible], and that their adversaries were men of God, and beloved of God: the contrary was true: John Baptist was beloved of God, and Herod hated, and so forth of the rest: and John Baptist, the innocent children, James, the children of Israel in Egypt, and in Babylon, were the catholic members and people of God: and their adversaries, into whose hands they were put and delivered, and that of God by his good will and pleasure, were idolaters, and the people of the devil: but they would be called the chief members of God, and rejoiced that they had the true God, and that it was now declared by miracle, that the Israelites had but a false god, and a false religion, seeing they were delivered into the Babylonians hands. And all the other (the Herods and Pharaoh I mean) plainly determined, that if the men, which they killed and handled evil, had been God's people, God would never have suffered them to come into their hands, but rather have done the contrary, and have let John Baptist kill Herod, and the Israelites, Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar. Even the like is now to be seen in us, and in our most cruel adversaries.

They are not therefore the catholic church, because our merciful God hath at this present given our lives into their hands: neither are we therefore heretics, because we suffer punishment at their hands, as the lord chancellor by his rejoicing seemeth to gather: the contrary is hereby to be gathered, that we be the members of the true catholic church, because we suffer for the same doctrine which John Baptist, James, the Israelites, yea Christ, and the apostles did teach: of which none taught any thing of our adversaries doctrine, namely, that the rotten antichristian head of Rome should be head of Christ's church: but they have manifestly taught the contrary, specially Paul, 2 Thess. 2. John in the Revelations: Daniel 11. Which thing, if I might have life and books, I would so (by God's grace) set forth, that all the world should see it: and that our adversaries, with their antichristian head, are the members of the devil's church, as they undoubtedly are. And in like case, as the above-mentioned holy men, though they in their days were counted to be heretics, seditious, and disturbers of the whole world; for unto John Baptist it was said, John 1. "Wherefore baptizest thou, if thou be not Elias, nor that prophet, &c.?" As who should say, thou hast no such authority to begin a new ceremony in the church. For we be in ordinary possession of the church: and of us thou hast received no such power: we abide by our circumcision: and the like could I declare of James, and of all the apostles and prophets, and of our Saviour Christ himself, that we are all condemned as heretics, and blasphemers of God, and disturbers of the whole world. Paul and Silas, Acts 16. heard like words of the Philippians, "These men trouble our city, seeing they are Jews, and preach institutions which are not lawful for us to receive, seeing we be Romans." And in the seventeenth chapter, in Athens, the wise men of this world, and such as gave their endeavour to wisdom, said by St. Paul, What will this prater (as my lord chancellor said to me, Shall we suffer this fellow to prate, when I would fain have said that thing that I have here written), trifler, news-carrier or bringer, that telleth whatsoever men will have him for gain or advantage, that will for a piece of bread say what ye will have him, &c. And another said in the same place, He seemeth to be a preacher of new devils, &c. And Acts 21. the Jews say by Paul, laying hands on him, "Help, O ye Israelites, say they, this is the man that teacheth all men every where against the people (meaning the Jews) and the law of this place," (meaning Jerusalem) and yet was never a word of these true. And Acts 22. the same Jews said of Paul, "Out of the earth with that man, or away with him: for it is not lawful for him to live, or he is not worthy to live." And how many more of these examples are to be found in the Bible? Although I say these men were in their days taken for heretics of them that were then in authority,

and of the great multitude of the world, yet it is now well known, yea and very ſhortly after their deaths this was known, yea, and even in their lives alſo unto the true catholic church, that they were not only the chief and ſpecial members of the true catholic church, but alſo the founders and builders thereof (notwithſtanding the ſiniſter judgement that the wiſe and mighty men, and the great multitude of the world had of them), and in their conſciences they were always aſſuredly certified of the ſame. Even the ſame ſhall the world find true in us, ſhortly after our deaths, as alſo there be at this hour (the Lord be thanked therefore) not a few that already know it, as we ourſelves alſo are by God's grace aſſuredly certified in our conſciences, that we are not heretics, but members of the true catholic church, and that our adverſaries the biſhops and popiſh clergy, which will have that title, are the members of Satan's church, and their antichriſtian head of Rome with them.

But here they will cry out; Lo theſe men will be ſtill John Baptiſt, the apoſtles, and prophets, &c.

I anſwer, We make not ourſelves like unto them, in the ſingular virtues and gifts of God given unto them; as of doing miracles and of many other things. The ſimilitude and likeneſs of them and us conſiſteth not in all things, but only in this, that is, that we be like them in doctrine, and in the ſuffering of perſecution and infamy for the ſame,

We have preached their very doctrine, and none other thing: that we are able ſufficiently to declare by their writings; and by writing for my part, I have proffered to prove the ſame, as is now often ſaid. And for this cauſe we ſuffer the like reproach, ſhame, and rebuke of the world, and the like perſecution, loſing of our lives and goods, forſaking (as our maſter Chriſt commandeth) father, mother, ſiſter, brethren, wives, children, and all that there is, being aſſured of a joyful reſurrection, and to be crowned in glory with them, according to the infallible promiſes made unto us in Chriſt, our only and ſufficient mediator, reconciler, prieſt, and ſacrifice, which hath pleaſed the Father, and quieted and pacified his wrath againſt our ſins, and made us without ſpot or wrinkle in his ſight by imputation, although we, of and in ourſelves, are beſpotted, and be-blotted with many filthy ſins, which if the great mercy granted in Chriſt did not put away, by not imputing them unto us of his meaſureleſs unſpeakable mercy and love to ſave us, they would have brought us to everlaſting damnation, and death perpetual: herein, and in no other, do we affirm ourſelves to be like unto our head Chriſt, and all his apoſtles, prophets, martyrs, and ſaints. And herein ought all chriſtian men to be like them, and herein are all true chriſtian men and women like them: every one, according to the meaſure of the faith that God hath dealt unto them, and to the diverſity of the gifts of the Spirit given unto them. But let us now conſider, what if it be God's good will and pleaſure to give his own beloved heart, that is, his beloved church, and the members thereof, into the hands of their enemies, to chaſten, try and prove them, and to bring them to the true unfeigned acknowledging of their own natural ſtubbornneſs, diſobedience towards God and his commandments, as touching the love of God and of their brethren or neighbours, and their natural inclination, readineſs, and deſire to love creatures, to ſeek their own luſts, pleaſures and things forbidden of God, to obtain a true and earneſt repentance, and ſorrowfulneſs therefore, and to make them to ſigh and cry for the forgiveneſs of the ſame, and for the aid of the Spirit, daily to mortify and kill the ſaid evil deſires and luſts: yea, and often falling into groſs outward ſins, as did David, Peter, Magdalen, and others, to riſe again alſo thereout with a mighty crying for mercy, with many other cauſes; let us alſo conſider what he hereafter doth with the ſaid enemies, into whoſe hands he hath given his tender beloved dearlings to be chaſtened and tried. Forſooth, whereas he but chaſteneth his dearlings, and croſſeth them for a ſmall while, according to his good pleaſure, as all fathers do with their children, Heb. 12. Prov. 3. he utterly deſtroyeth, yea and everlaſtingly damneth the unrepentant enemies. Let Herod tell me what he won by killing James, and perſecuting Peter, and Chriſt's tender dearlings, and beloved ſpouſe and wife, his church. Verily God thought him not worthy to have death miniſtered unto him by men or angels, or any worthy creatures, but thoſe ſmall, and yet moſt vile vermin, lice and worms, muſt conſume and kill his beaſtly, vile, and tyrannous body. Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar, for all their pride and moſt mighty power, muſt at length let God's dearlings go freely away out of their land, yea out of their bands and tyranny. For when it could not be obtained at their hands that God's congregation might have true mercy miniſtered unto them, but the counterfeit mercy of theſe our days, that is to ſay, extreme cruelty, and even the very and that moſt horrible and cruel death, God aroſe and awoke out of his ſleep, and deſtroyed thoſe enemies of his flock with a mighty hand, and ſtretched out arm. Pharaoh did with moſt great and intolerable labours and burdens oppreſs and bring under the poor Iſraelites, and yet did the courtiers undoubtedly noiſe abroad, that the king was merciful unto them, to ſuffer them to live in the land, and to ſet them awork, that they might get them their livings. If he ſhould thruſt them out of his land, whither ſhould they go, like a ſort of vagabonds and runnagates? This title and name of mercy would that tyrant have, and ſo did his flattering falſe courtiers ſpread his vain praiſe abroad. Have not we the like example now-a-days? O that I had now time to write certain things pertaining to our Wincheſter's mercy! How merciful he hath been to me and my good brethren, I will not ſpeak of, neither yet unto the duke of Suffolk's moſt innocent daughter, and to her as innocent huſband. For although their fathers were faulty, yet had their youth and lack of experience deſerved a pardon by all true merciful men's judgments. O that I had time to paint out this matter aright! but there be many alive that can do it much better when I am dead. Pharaoh had his plagues, and his moſt flouriſhing land was by counterfeit mercy, which was indeed right cruelty and abominable tyranny, utterly deſtroyed. And think ye that bloody butcherly biſhop of Wincheſter, and his moſt bloody brethren, ſhall eſcape? or that England ſhall for their offences, and ſpecially for the maintenance of their idolatry, and wilful following of them, not abide as great brunts? Yes, undoubtedly.

After that John Rogers, as ye have heard, had been long and ſtraitly impriſoned, and lodged in Newgate among thieves, often examined, and very uncharitably intreated, and at length unjuſtly and moſt cruelly condemned by Stephen Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter; the fourth of February, in the year of our Lord 1555, being Monday in the morning, he was ſuddenly warned by the keeper of Newgate's wife, to prepare himſelf to the fire; who being then found aſleep, could ſcarce be awaked. At length being raiſed and awaked, and bid to make haſte, Then ſaid he, if it be ſo, I need not tie my points. And ſo was had down, firſt to biſhop Bonner to be degraded: which being done, he craved of Bonner but one petition: and Bonner aſking what that ſhould be? Mr. Rogers replied, that he might ſpeak a few words with his wife before his burning. But that could not be obtained of him. Then, ſaid he, you declare what your charity is: and ſo he was brought into Smithfield by Mr. Cheſter and Mr. Woodroofe, then ſheriffs of London, there to be burnt; where he ſhewed moſt conſtant patience, not uſing many words, for he could not be permitted, but only exhorting the people conſtantly to remain in that faith and true doctrine which he before had taught, and they had learned, and for the confirmation whereof he was not only content patiently to ſuffer and bear all ſuch bitterneſs and cruelty as had been ſhewed him, but

alſo moſt gladly to reſign up his life, and to give his fleſh to the conſuming fire, for the teſtimony of the ſame.

Briefly, and in few words to comprehend the whole order of his life, doings and martyrdom: Firſt, this good man, Mr. Rogers, was committed to priſon, as above-ſaid, and there continued a year and half. In priſon he was merry and earneſt in all he went about. He wrote much, his own examinations he penned with his own hand, which elſe had never come to light. Wherein it is to be noted, by the way, a memorable working of God's providence. Ye heard a little above, how Mr. Rogers craved of biſhop Bonner, going to his burning, that he might ſpeak a few words before with his wife, which could not be granted. What theſe words were which he had to ſay to his wife, it is for no man certainly to determine. It may be ſuppoſed, that his purpoſe was, amongſt other things, to ſignify unto her of the book of his examinations and anſwers, which he had written and privily hid in a ſecret corner of the priſon where he lay. But where man's power lacketh, ſee how God's providence worketh. For notwithſtanding that during the time of his impriſonment, there was ſtrict ſearch made to take away his letters and writings; yet after his death, his wife and one of her ſons called Daniel, coming into the place where he lay, to ſeek for his books and writings, and now ready to go away, it chanced her ſon aforenamed, caſting his eye aſide, to ſpy a black thing (for it had a black cover, belike becauſe it ſhould not be known), lying in a blind corner under a pair of ſtairs. Who deſiring his mother to ſee what it was, found it to be the book written with his own hand, containing theſe his examinations and anſwers, with other matters above ſpecified. In the latter end whereof, this alſo was contained; which becauſe it concerneth a prophetical forewarning of things pertaining to the church, I thought to place the ſame in his own words, as they be there written, which are theſe: If God look not mercifully upon England, the ſeeds of utter deſtruction are ſown in it already by theſe hypocritical tyrants, and antichriſtian prelates, popiſh papiſts, and double traitors to their natural country. And yet they ſpeak of mercy, of bleſſing, of the catholic church, of unity, of power, and ſtrengthening of the realm. This double diſſimulation will ſhew itſelf one day when the plague cometh, which undoubtedly will light upon theſe crown-ſhorn captains, and that ſhortly, whatſoever the godly and the poor realm ſuffer in the mean while by God's ſufferance and will.

Spite of Nebuchadonoſor's beard, and maugre his heart, the captive, thrall, and miſerable Jews muſt come home again, and have their city and temple built up again by Zorobabel, Eſdras, and Nehemias, &c. and the whole kingdom of Babylon muſt go to ruin and be taken of ſtrangers, the Perſians and Medes. So ſhall the diſperſed Engliſh flock of Chriſt be brought again into their former eſtate, or to a better, I truſt in the Lord God, than it was in innocent king Edward's days; and our bloody Babylonical biſhops, and the whole crown-ſhorn company brought to utter ſhame, rebuke, ruin, decay and deſtruction. For God cannot, and undoubtedly will not ſuffer for ever their abominable lying, falſe doctrine, their hypocriſy, blood-thirſt, whoredom, idleneſs, their peſtilent life, pampered in all kind of pleaſure, their thraſonical boaſting pride, their malicious, envious, and poiſoned ſtomachs, which they bear towards his poor and miſerable chriſtians. Peter truly warneth, that "if judgment beginneth in the houſe of God, what ſhall be the end of them that believe not the goſpel? If the righteous ſhall ſcarcely be ſaved, where ſhall the ungodly and ſinner appear?" Some ſhall have their puniſhment here in this world, and in the world to come; and they that do eſcape in this world, ſhall not eſcape everlaſting damnation. This ſhall be your ſauce, O ye wicked papiſts, make ye merry as long as ye may.

Furthermore, amongſt other words and ſayings, which may ſeem prophetically to be ſpoken by him, this alſo may be added, and is notoriouſly to be marked, that he ſpake, being then in priſon, to the printer of this preſent book, who then alſo was laid up for like cauſe of religion; Thou, ſaid he, ſhalt live to ſee the alteration of this religion, and the goſpel to be freely preached again: and therefore have me commended to my brethren, as well in exile as others, and bid them be circumſpect in diſplacing the papiſts, and putting good miniſters into churches, or elſe their end will be worſe than ours. And for lack of good miniſters to furniſh churches, his device was, (Mr. Hooper alſo agreeing to the ſame), that for every ten churches ſome one good and learned ſuperintendent ſhould be appointed, which ſhould have under him faithful readers, ſuch as might well be got, ſo that popiſh prieſts ſhould clean be put out, and the biſhop once a year to overſee the profiting of the pariſhes; and if the miniſter did not his duty, as well in profiting himſelf in his book, and his pariſhioners in good inſtructions, ſo that they may be trained by little and little to give a reckoning how they do profit, then he to be expelled, and another put in his place: And the biſhop to do the like with the ſuperintendent: This was his counſel and requeſt; ſhewing moreover, and proteſting in his commendations to his brethren by the printer aforeſaid, that if they would not ſo do, their end, he ſaid, would be worſe than theirs.

Over and beſides divers things touching Mr. Rogers, this is not to be forgotten, how in the days of king Edward VI. there was a controverſy among the biſhops and clergy, for wearing of prieſts caps, and other attire belonging to that order. Mr. Rogers being one of that number which never went otherwiſe than in a round cap, during all the time of king Edward, affirmed that he would not agree to that decreement of uniformity, but upon this condition, that if they would needs have ſuch an uniformity of wearing the cap, tippet, &c. then it ſhould alſo be decreed withal, that the papiſts, for a difference betwixt them and others, ſhould be conſtrained to wear upon their ſleeves a chalice with an hoſt upon it. Whereupon, if they would conſent, he would agree to the other; otherwiſe he would not, he ſaid, conſent to the ſetting forth of the ſame, nor ever wear the cap, as indeed he never did.

To proceed now further in deſcribing the doings of this man, during the time he remained priſoner in Newgate, he was to the priſoners beneficial and liberal; for whom he had thus deviſed, that he with his fellows ſhould have but one meal a day, the paying notwithſtanding for the charges of the whole; the other meal ſhould be given to them that lacked on the other ſide of the priſon. But Alexander their keeper, a ſtrait man, and a right Alexander, a copperſmith indeed, would in no caſe ſuffer that, of whoſe doings more ſhall be ſaid, God willing, hereafter. The Sunday before Mr. Rogers ſuffered, he drank to Mr. Hooper, being then underneath him, and bade them commend him unto him, and tell him, there was never little fellow better would ſtick to a man, than he would ſtick to him, preſuppoſing they ſhould both be burned together, although it happened otherwiſe, for Mr. Rogers was burnt alone. And thus much briefly concerning the life and ſuch acts of Mr. Rogers, as I thought worthy noting.

Now when the time came, that he being delivered to the ſheriffs ſhould be brought out of Newgate to Smithfield, the place of his execution, Mr. Woodroofe, one of the aforeſaid ſheriffs, firſt came to Mr. Rogers, and aſked him, if he would revoke his abominable doctrine, and his evil opinion of the ſacrament of the altar. Mr. Rogers anſwered, That which I have preached I will ſeal with my blood. Then Mr. Woodroofe ſaid, Thou art an heretic. That ſhall be known, quoth Mr. Rogers, at the day of judgment. Well, ſaid Mr. Woodroofe, I will never pray for thee. But I will pray for you, ſaid Mr. Rogers; and ſo was brought the ſame day, which

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The Burning of Maſter Lawrence Sanders *at* Coventry.

The Burning of Maſter John Rogers Vicar of S.t Sepulchres & Reader of S.t Pauls in London

Terry Sculp

Paternoſter Row

Publiſh'd as the Act directs

for H Trapp, Paternoſter Row.

was Monday the fourth of February, by the ſheriffs, towards Smithfield, ſaying the pſalm Miſerere by the way, all the people wonderfully rejoicing at his conſtancy with great praiſes and thanks to God for the ſame. And there, in the preſence of Mr. Rocheſter, comptroller of the queen's houſhold, Sir Richard Southwell, both the Sheriffs, and a great number of people, he was burnt to aſhes, waſhing his hands in the flame as he was burning. A little before his burning, his pardon was brought, if he would have recanted, but he utterly refuſed it. He was the firſt Martyr of all the bleſſed company that ſuffered in queen Mary's time, that gave the firſt adventure upon the fire. His wife and children, being eleven in number, ten able to go, and one ſucking at her breaſt, met him by the way as he went towards Smithfield: this ſorrowful ſight of his own fleſh and blood could nothing move him, but that he conſtantly and chearfully took his death with wonderful patience, in the defence and quarrel of the goſpel of Chriſt.

The Life and Martyrdom of Mr. Laurence Saunders, who was burnt at Coventry, February 8. 1552.

AFTER that queen Mary, by public proclamation in the firſt year of her reign, had inhibited the ſincere preaching of God's holy word, as is before declared, ſeveral pious miniſters, who had the cure and charge of ſouls committed to them, did, notwithſtanding, according to their bounden duty, feed their flock faithfully, not as preachers authoriſed by public authority (as the godly order of the realm was in the happy days of bleſſed king Edward), but as the private paſtors of particular flocks, among whom Laurence Saunders was one, a man of worſhipful parentage. His bringing up was in learning from his youth, in places meet for that purpoſe, as namely in the ſchool of Eton. From whence (according to the manner there uſed) he was choſen to go to the King's college in Cambridge, where he continued ſcholar of the college three whole years, and there profited in knowledge and learning very much for that time: ſhortly after that, he did forſake the univerſity, and went to his parents, upon whoſe advice he minded to become a merchant, for that his mother, who was a gentlewoman of good eſtimation, being left a widow, and having a good portion for him among his other brethren, ſhe thought to ſet him up wealthy, and ſo he coming up to London, was bound apprentice with a merchant, named Sir William Cheſter (who afterwards chanced to be ſheriff of London the ſame year that Saunders was burnt at Coventry). Thus by the mind of his friends, Laurence ſhould needs have been a merchant; but Almighty God, who hath his ſecret working in all things, ſaw better for his ſervant, as it fell out in the end: for although that Saunders was bound by faſt indenture to play the merchant, yet the Lord ſo wrought inwardly in his heart, that he could find no liking in that vocation: ſo that when his other fellows were buſily occupied about that kind of trade, he would ſecretly withdraw himſelf into ſome privy corner, and there fall into his ſolitary lamentations, as one not pleaſed with that kind and trade of life.

It happened that his maſter, being a good man, and hearing his 'prentice thus in his ſecret prayers inwardly to mourn by himſelf, called him unto him, to know what the cauſe was of that his ſolitarineſs and lamentation: who then perceiving him not to fanſy that kind of life (for ſo Saunders declared unto him), and perceiving alſo his whole purpoſe to be bent to the ſtudy of his book, and ſpiritual contemplation, like a good man, directed his letters incontinently unto his friends, and giving him his indenture, ſet him free: and thus Laurence Saunders being raviſhed with the love of learning, and eſpecially with the reading of God's word, tarried not long in the traffick of merchandize, but ſhortly returned to Cambridge again to his ſtudy, where he began to couple to the knowledge of the Latin, and the ſtudy of the Greek tongue, wherein he profited very much in a little time: therewith alſo he joined the ſtudy of the Hebrew. Then he gave himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of the Holy Scripture, to furniſh himſelf to the office of a preacher.

In ſtudy he was diligent and painful, in godly life he declared the fruits of a well exerciſed conſcience; he prayed often and with great fervor, and in his prayers, as alſo at other times, he had his part of ſpiritual exerciſes, which his hearty ſighing to God declared, in which when any ſpecial aſſault did come, by prayer he felt preſent relief: then was his company marvellous comfortable. For as his exerciſes were ſpecial teachings, ſo in the end they proved ſingular conſolations: wherein he became ſo expert, that within ſhort ſpace he was able to comfort others who were in affliction, by the conſolation wherewith the Lord did comfort him. Thus continued he in the univerſity, till he proceeded maſter of arts, and a long ſpace after.

In the beginning of king Edward's reign, when God's true religion was begun to be reſtored, after licence obtained, he began to preach, and was ſo well liked of them which then had authority, that they had appointed him to read a divinity lecture in the college of Fotheringa, where by doctrine and life he edified the pious, drew many ignorant to the true knowledge of God, and ſtopped the mouths of the adverſaries. He married about that time, and in the married eſtate led a life unblameable before all men. The college of Fotheringa being diſſolved, he was placed to be a reader in the minſter at Litchfield: where he ſo behaved himſelf in teaching and living, that his very adverſaries did give a full report as well of his learning, as of his piety. After a certain ſpace, he departed from Litchfield to a benefice in Leiceſterſhire, called Church-Langton, where he keeping reſidence, taught diligently, and kept a liberal houſe. From thence he was orderly called to take a benefice in the city of London, named Alhallows in Bread-ſtreet. Then he was minded to give over his cure in the country; and therefore after he had taken poſſeſſion of his benefice in London, he departed from thence into the country, clearly to diſcharge himſelf thereof. And even at that time began the broil about the claim that queen Mary made to the crown, by reaſon whereof he could not accompliſh his purpoſe.

In this trouble, and even among the beginners of it (ſuch I mean as were for the queen), he preached at Northampton, nothing meddling with the ſtate, but boldly uttered his conſcience againſt popiſh doctrine and Antichriſt's damnable errors, which were like to ſpring up again in England, as a juſt plague for the little love which the Engliſh nation did bear to the bleſſed word of God, which had been ſo plentifully offered unto them. The queen's men which were there and heard him, were highly diſpleaſed with him for this ſermon, and for it kept him among them as priſoner. But partly for love of his brethren and friends, who were chief doers for the queen among them, partly becauſe there was no law broken by his preaching, they diſmiſſed him. He, ſeeing the dreadful days at hand, inflamed with the fire of godly zeal, preached with diligence at both thoſe benefices, as time could ſerve him, ſeeing he could reſign neither of them now, but into the hand of a papiſt.

Thus paſſed he to and fro preaching, until that proclamation was put forth, of which mention is made in the beginning; at which time he was at his benefice in the country, where he (notwithſtanding the proclamation aforeſaid) taught diligently God's truth, confirming the people therein, and arming them againſt falſe doctrine, until he was not only commanded to ceaſe, but alſo with force reſiſted, ſo that he could not proceed there in preaching. Some of his friends, perceiving ſuch fearful menacing, counſelled him to fly out of the realm, which he refuſed to do. But ſeeing he was with violence kept from

from doing good in that place, he returned towards London to viſit the flock, of which he had there the charge.

On Saturday, October 14. as he was coming nigh to the city of London, Sir John Mordant, a counſellor to queen Mary, did overtake him, and aſked him whither he went. I have, ſaid Saunders, a cure in London, and now I go to inſtruct my people, according to my duty. If you will follow my counſel, quoth Mr. Mordant, let them alone, and come not at them. To this Saunders anſwered: How ſhall I then be diſcharged before God, if any be ſick, and deſire conſolation; if any want good counſel, and need inſtruction? or if any ſhould ſlip into error, and receive falſe doctrine? Did you not, quoth Mordant, preach ſuch a day, and named the day, in Bread-ſtreet in London? Yes verily, ſaid Saunders, that ſame is my cure. I heard you myſelf, quoth Mr. Mordant: and will you now preach there again? if it pleaſe you, ſaid Saunders, to-morrow you may hear me again in that ſame place, where I will confirm by the authority of God's word, all that I ſaid then, and whatſoever before that time I taught them.

I would counſel you, quoth the other, not to preach. If you can and will forbid me by lawful authority, then muſt I obey, ſaid Saunders. Nay, quoth he, I will not forbid you, but I do give you counſel. And thus entered they both the city, and departed each from other. Mr. Mordant, of an uncharitable mind, went to give warning to Bonner biſhop of London, that Saunders would preach in his cure the next day. Saunders reſorted to his lodging with a mind bent to do his duty. Where becauſe he ſeemed to be ſomewhat troubled, one who was there about him, aſked him how he did? In very deed, ſaid he, I am in priſon, till I be in priſon; meaning, that his mind was unquiet until he had preached, and that he ſhould have quietneſs of mind, though he were put in priſon.

The next day, which was Sunday in the forenoon, he made a ſermon in his pariſh, intreating on that place which Paul writeth to the Corinthians: "I have coupled you to one man, that ye ſhould make yourſelves a chaſte virgin unto Chriſt. But I fear leſt it come to paſs, that as the ſerpent beguiled Eve, even ſo your wits ſhould be corrupt from the ſingleneſs which ye had towards Chriſt." He recited a ſum of that true chriſtian doctrine, through which they were coupled to Chriſt, to receive of him free juſtification through faith in his blood. The papiſtical doctrine he compared to the ſerpent's deceiving: and leſt they ſhould be deceived by it, he made a compariſon between the voice of God, and the voice of the popiſh ſerpent; deſcending to more particular declaration thereof, as it were to let them plainly ſee the difference that is between the order of the church ſervice, ſet forth by king Edward in the Engliſh tongue, and comparing it with the popiſh ſervice then uſed in the Latin tongue.

The firſt he ſaid was good, becauſe it was according to the word of God, 1 Cor. 14. and the order of the primitive church. The other he ſaid was evil, and though in that evil be intermingled ſome good Latin words, yet was it but as a little honey or milk mingled with a great deal of poiſon, to make them drink up all. This was the ſum of his ſermon.

In the afternoon he was ready in his church to have given another exhortation to his people. But the biſhop of London interrupted him by ſending an officer for him. This officer charged him, upon pain of diſobedience and contumacy, forthwith to come to the biſhop his maſter. Thus, as the apoſtles were brought out of the temple, where they were teaching, unto the rulers of the prieſts, ſo was Laurence Saunders brought before the biſhop of London, who had in his company the aforenamed Sir John Mordant and ſome of his chaplains. The biſhop laid no more to Laurence Saunders's charge, but treaſon for breaking the queen's proclamation, hereſy and ſedition for his ſermon.

The treaſon and ſedition, his charity was content to let ſlip until another time. But an heretic he would now prove him, and all thoſe, he ſaid, who did teach and believe that the adminiſtration of the ſacraments, and all orders of the church are moſt pure, which do come moſt nigh to the order of the primitive church. For the church was then but in her infancy, and could not abide that perfection which was afterward to be furniſhed with ceremonies. And for this cauſe Chriſt himſelf, and after him the apoſtles, did in many things bear with the rudeneſs of that church. To this Laurence Saunders anſwered with the authority of St. Auguſtine, That ceremonies were even from the beginning invented and ordained for the rude infancy and weak infirmity of man, and therefore it was a token of the more perfection of the primitive church, that it had few ceremonies; and of the rudeneſs of the papiſtical church, becauſe it had ſo many ceremonies, partly blaſphemous, partly unſavoury and unprofitable.

After much talk concerning this matter, the biſhop deſired him to write what he believed of tranſubſtantiation. Laurence Saunders did ſo, ſaying, My lord, ye do ſeek my blood, and ye ſhall have it: I pray God that ye may be ſo baptized in it, that ye may hereafter loath bloodſucking, and become a better man. This writing the biſhop kept for his purpoſe, even to cut the writer's throat, as ſhall appear hereafter. The biſhop, when he had his will, ſent Laurence Saunders to the lord chancellor, as Annas ſent Chriſt to Caiaphas: and like favour found Saunders as Chriſt his maſter did before him. But the chancellor being not at home, Saunders was conſtrained to tarry for him the ſpace of four hours, in the outer chamber, where he found a chaplain of the biſhop's very merrily diſpoſed, with certain gentlemen playing at tables, with divers others of the ſame family or houſe occupied there in the ſame exerciſe.

All this time Saunders ſtood very modeſtly and ſoberly at the ſcreen or cupboard bare-headed, Sir John Mordant his guide or leader walking up and down by him: who (as I ſaid before) was then one of the council. At laſt the biſhop returned from the court, whom, as ſoon as he was entered, a great many ſuitors met and received; ſo that before he could get out of one houſe into another, half an hour was paſſed. At laſt he came into the chamber where Saunders was, and went through into another chamber: where in the mean time, Sir John Mordant gave him a writing, containing the cauſe, or rather the accuſation of the ſaid Saunders: which when he had peruſed, Where is the man, ſaid the biſhop? Then Saunders, being brought forth to the place of examination, firſt moſt lowly and meekly kneeled down, and made courteſy before the table where the biſhop did ſit; unto whom the biſhop ſpake on this wiſe:

How happened it, ſaid he, that notwithſtanding the queen's proclamation to the contrary, you have enterpriſed to preach?

Saunders denied not that he did preach; ſaying, that forſomuch as he ſaw the perilous times now at hand, he did but (according as he was admoniſhed, and warned by Ezekiel the prophet) exhort his flock and pariſhioners to perſevere and ſtand ſtedfaſtly in the doctrine which they had learned; ſaying alſo, that he was moved and pricked forward thereunto by the place of the apoſtle, wherein he was commanded rather to obey God than man; and moreover, that nothing more moved or ſtirred him thereunto, than his own conſcience.

A goodly conſcience ſurely, ſaid the biſhop. This your conſcience could make our queen a baſtard, or miſbegotten; would it not, I pray you?

Then ſaid Saunders, We, ſaid he, do not declare or ſay that the queen is baſe, or miſbegotten, neither go about any ſuch matter. But for that let them care whoſe writings are yet in the hands of men, witneſſing the ſame, not without the great reproach and ſhame of the author: privily taunting the biſhop himſelf, who had before

(to

(to get the favour of Henry VIII.) written and ſet forth in print, a book of true obedience, wherein he had openly declared queen Mary to be a baſtard. Now Mr. Saunders going forwards in his purpoſe, ſaid, We do only profeſs and teach the ſincerity and purity of the word; which, albeit it be now forbidden us to preach with our mouths, yet notwithſtanding, I do not doubt, but that our blood hereafter ſhall manifeſt the ſame. The biſhop being in this ſort prettily nipped and touched, ſaid; Carry away this frenzy fool to priſon. Unto whom Mr. Saunders anſwered, that he did give God thanks, which had given him at the laſt a place of reſt and quietneſs, where he might pray for the biſhop's converſion.

Furthermore, he that did lie with him afterwards in priſon, in the ſame bed, reported, that he heard him ſay, that even in the time of his examination he was wonderfully comforted, inſomuch as not only in ſpirit, but alſo in body, he received a certain taſte of that holy communion of ſaints, whilſt a moſt pleaſant refreſhing did iſſue from every part and member of the body unto the ſeat and place of the heart, and from thence did ebb and flow to and fro unto all the parts again.

Mr. Saunders continued in priſon a whole year and three months. In all which ſpace he ſent ſeveral letters to divers men; as one to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; another to his wife, and alſo to others, certifying them both of the public calamity of the time, and alſo of his private afflictions, and of his ſundry conflicts with his adverſaries; as in writing to his friend he ſpeaketh of Dr. Weſton conferring with him in the priſon, whereof ye ſhall hear anon (by God's leave) as followeth in the ſtory. In the mean time the chancellor, after this little talk with Mr. Saunders (as is aforeſaid), ſent him to the priſon of the Marſhalſea, &c. For the Caiaphas (Winchester I mean) did nothing but bait him with ſome of his curriſh eloquence, and ſo committed him to the priſon of the Marſhalſea, where he was kept priſoner one whole year and a quarter. But of his cauſe and eſtate thou ſhalt now ſee what Mr. Saunders himſelf did write.

Part of a Letter which Mr. Saunders ſent to biſhop Gardiner, anſwering certain Things laid to his Charge.

TOuching the cauſe of my impriſonment. I doubt whether I have broken any law or proclamation. In my doctrine I did not, foraſmuch as at that time it was permitted by the proclamation to uſe, according to our conſciences, ſuch ſervice as was then eſtabliſhed. My doctrine was then agreeable unto my conſcience and the ſame ſervice then uſed. The act which I did [he meaneth public teaching of God's word in his own pariſh, called Alhallows in Breadſtreet in the city of London] was ſuch as being indifferently weighed, ſounded to no breaking of the proclamation, or at leaſt no wilful breaking of it, foraſmuch as I cauſed no bell to be rung, neither occupied I any place in the pulpit, after the order of ſermons or lectures. But be it that I did break the proclamation, this long time of continuance in priſon may be thought to be more than a ſufficient puniſhment for ſuch a fault.

Touching the charging of me with my religion, I ſay with St. Paul; this I confeſs, "That after the way which they call hereſy, ſo worſhip I the God of my fore-fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and the prophets, and have hope towards God, &c." And herein ſtudy I to have always a clear conſcience towards God and towards men; ſo that God I call to witneſs, I have a conſcience. And this my conſcience is not grounded upon vain fantaſy, but upon the infallible verity of God's word, with the witneſſing of his choſen church agreeable unto the ſame.

It is an eaſy thing for them which take Chriſt for their true paſtor, and be the very ſheep of his paſture, to diſcern the voice of their true ſhepherd, from the voice of wolves, hirelings and ſtrangers: foraſmuch as Chriſt ſaith, "My ſheep hear my voice:" yea, and thereby they ſhall have the gift to know the right voice of the true ſhepherd, and ſo to follow him. and to avoid the contrary, as he alſo ſaith, "The ſheep follow the ſhepherd, for they know his voice: and a ſtranger they will not follow, but will fly from him, for they know not the voice of a ſtranger." Such inward inſpiration doth the Holy Ghoſt put into the children of God, being indeed taught of God, but otherwiſe unable to underſtand the true way of their ſalvation. And albeit that the wolf (as Chriſt ſaith) cometh in ſheeps cloathing, yet he ſaith, by their fruits ye ſhall know them. For there be certain fruits whereby the wolf is bewrayed, notwithſtanding that otherwiſe, in ſundry ſorts of devout holineſs in outward ſhew, he ſeemeth never ſo ſimple a ſheep. That the Romiſh religion is ravening and wolfiſh, it is apparent in three principal points.

Firſt, it robbeth God of his due and only honour.

Secondly, it taketh away the true comfort of conſcience, in obſcuring, or rather burying of Chriſt and his office of ſalvation.

Thirdly, it ſpoileth God of his true worſhip and ſervice in ſpirit and truth, appointed in his preſcript commandments, and driveth men unto that inconvenience, againſt which Chriſt with the prophet Iſaiah doth ſpeak ſharply; "This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. They worſhip me in vain, teaching the doctrine and precepts of men." And in another place, "Ye caſt aſide the commandments of God, to maintain your own traditions."

Wherefore I in conſcience weighing the Romiſh religion, and by indifferent diſcuſſing thereof, finding the foundation unſtedfaſt, and the building thereupon but vain: and on the other ſide, having my conſcience framed after a right and uncorrupt religion, ratified and fully eſtabliſhed by the word of God, and the conſent of his true church, I neither may, nor do intend, by God's gracious aſſiſtance, to be pulled one jot from the ſame; no, though an angel out of heaven ſhould preach another goſpel than that which I have received of the Lord.

And although that for lack either of ſuch deep knowledge and profound judgment, or of expedite uttering of that I do know and judge, as is required in an excellent clerk, I ſhall not be able ſufficiently to anſwer, for the convincing of the gainſayer: yet nevertheleſs this my proteſtation ſhall be of me premiſed, that for the reſpect of the grounds and cauſes before conſidered, albeit I cannot Explicita fide, as they call it, conceive all that is to be conceived, neither can diſcuſs all that is to be diſcuſſed, nor can effectually expreſs all that can be expreſſed in the diſcourſe of the doctrine of this moſt true religion, whereunto I am profeſſed: yet do I bind myſelf, as by my humble ſimplicity, ſo by my Fidem implicitam; that is, by faith in generality (as they call it) to wrap my belief in the credit of the ſame, that no authority of that Romiſh religion repugnant thereunto, ſhall by any means remove me from the ſame, though it may hap that our adverſaries will labour to beguile us with enticing words, and ſeek to ſpoil us through philoſophy and deceitful vanity, after the traditions of men, and after the ordinances of the world, and not after Chriſt, &c.

And thus much of Mr. Saunders's letter, ſo much as remained thereof; the remainder, becauſe it was rent away, I could not adjoin thereunto. Notwithſtanding by this already expreſſed, it is ſufficient to underſtand, how good was the cauſe and ſtate of this bleſſed child of God, being priſoner for Chriſt's cauſe. For the defence whereof he wholly beſtowed and reſigned himſelf in ſuch ſort, as he forbad his wife to ſue for his delivery: and when others of his friends had by ſuit almoſt obtained it, he diſcouraged them, ſo that they did not follow their ſuit, as by his letter following may appear.

A Letter of Mr. Saunders to his Wife.

GRACE, mercy, and peace in Chriſt our Lord. Entirely beloved wife, even as unto mine own ſoul and body, ſo do I daily in my hearty prayer with unto you; for I do daily, twice at the leaſt, in this ſort remember you. And I do not doubt, dear wife, but that both I and you, as we be written in the book of life, ſo we ſhall together enjoy the ſame everlaſtingly, through the grace and mercy of God our dear Father, in his Son our Chriſt. And for this preſent life, let us wholly appoint ourſelves to the will of our good God, to glorify him either by life or by death; and even that ſame merciful Lord make us worthy to honour him either way as pleaſeth him, Amen. I am merry, I thank my God and my Chriſt, in whom and through whom I ſhall (I know) be able to fight a good fight, and finiſh a good courſe, and then receive the crown which is laid up in ſtore for me, and all the true ſoldiers of Chriſt. Wherefore, wife, let us, in the name of our God, fight luſtily to overcome the fleſh, the devil, and the world. What our harneſs and weapons be in this kind of fight, look in the ſixth chapter unto the Epheſians, and pray, pray, pray. I would that you make no ſuit for me in any wiſe. Thank, you know whom, for her moſt ſweet and comfortable putting me in remembrance of my journey whither I am paſſing. God ſend us all good ſpeed, and a joyful meeting. I have too few ſuch friends to further me in that journey, which is indeed the greateſt friendſhip. The bleſſing of God be with you all, Amen.

A priſoner in the Lord. L. Saunders.

This his conſtancy is ſufficiently commended and declared by his valiant buckling with two mighty enemies, Antichriſt and death. To neither of theſe did he give place: but by ſuffering their malice got the victory over them both. One of the conflicts which he had with Antichriſt and his members, I have gathered out of a letter of his own hand-writing. It was with Dr. Weſton, a man whom though I ſhould praiſe, yet would all good men worthily diſpraiſe. Of this the ſaid Laurence Saunders thus writeth, in a letter which he ſent to one of his friends, who wrote to him to know what Dr. Weſton did at the Marſhalſea: whereunto he thus anſwered.

Dr. Weſton came to confer with Mr. Grimoald: what he hath concluded with him I know not: I wiſh it may be to God's glory, Amen, Amen. Mr. Weſton of his gentleneſs viſited me, and offered me friendſhip in his worldly wily ſort, &c. I had not ſo much good manners as to take it at his hand: for I ſaid, that I was well enough, and ready chearfully to abide the extremity, to keep thereby a good conſcience. Ye be aſleep in ſin, ſaid he. I would awake, quoth I, and do not forget Vigilate & Orate, that is, Watch and Pray. What church was there thirty years paſt, ſaid he? What church was there, quoth I, in Elias's time? Joan of Kent, ſaid he, was of your church. No, ſaid I, we did condemn her as an heretic. Who was of your church, ſaid he, thirty years paſt? Such, quoth I, as the Romiſh Antichriſt, and his rabble, have reputed and condemned as heretics. Wickliff, ſaid he, Thorp, Oldcaſtle, &c. Yea, quoth I, with many more, as ſtories do tell. The biſhop of Rome hath, ſaid he, a long time played a part in your railing ſermons; but now be ye ſure, he muſt play another manner of part. The more pity, ſaid I, and yet ſome comfort it is to ſee, how that the beſt learned, wiſeſt, and holieſt of you all, have heretfore had him to play a part likewiſe in your ſermons and writings; though now to pleaſe the world, you do turn with the weather-cock. Did you ever, ſaid he, hear me preach againſt the biſhop of Rome? No, ſaid I, for I never heard you preach. But I believe you have been no wiſer than others, &c. with more about the ſacrament. Pray, pray. God keep your family, and bleſs it.

What bleſſed taſte this good man had of God's Holy Spirit, may appear to him that is diſpoſed to peruſe the ſame by ſeveral of his letters; whereof ſome we have here thought good to inſert, beginning firſt with that which he wrote out of the Marſhalſea to Dr. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, priſoners for the like cauſe of Chriſt in Oxford.

To Archbiſhop Cranmer, Biſhop Ridley, and Mr. Latimer, being impriſoned in Oxford.

IN my moſt humble wiſe I ſalute you, moſt reverend fathers in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord. Immortal thanks and everlaſting praiſes be given unto that our Father of mercies, "Which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the ſaints in light, which hath delivered us from the power of darkneſs, and hath tranſlated us into the kingdom of his beloved Son, by whom we have redemption through his blood, &c." O moſt happy eſtate, that in an unſpeakable wiſe our life is hid with Chriſt in God: but whenſoever Chriſt which is our life ſhall ſhew himſelf, then ſhall we alſo appear with him in glory. In the mean ſeaſon as our ſight is but in a glaſs, even in a dark ſpeaking, ſo we walk in faith, not after outward appearance: which faith although for want of outward appearance, reaſon reputeth but as vain, yet the choſen of God do know the effect thereof, to bring a more ſubſtantial ſtate and lively fruition of very felicity and perfect bleſſedneſs than reaſon can reach, or ſenſes receive. By this faith we have in our poſſeſſion all good things, yea even them "Which the eye hath not ſeen, and the ear hath not heard, neither hath entered the heart of man, &c." Then if hereby we do enjoy all good things, it followeth, that we muſt needs poſſeſs, have and enjoy you, moſt reverend fathers, who be no ſmall part of our joy and good things given us of God.

We therefore have had the fruition of you by bodily preſence to our inexplicable benefit, prailed be that our moſt gracious God therefore. And now in ſpirit we have the experience of unſpeakable comfort by our reverend fatherhoods, for that in this ſo glorious ſort ye become a town ſet upon a hill, a candle upon a candleſtick, a ſpectacle unto the world, both to the angels and unto men. So that as we to our great comfort do feel, you alſo may aſſuredly with St. Paul, that the things which happen unto us, do chance unto the great furtherance of the goſpel; ſo that our bonds in Chriſt are manifeſt, not only throughout all the judgment-hall, but in all Europe; inſomuch that many of the brethren in the Lord, being encouraged through our bonds, dare more boldly ſpeak the word without fear. And herein as you have with St. Paul greatly to rejoice, ſo we rejoice with you, and we do indeed with you give thanks for this worthy excellent favour of our God towards you, that Chriſt is thus magnified in you, yea, and hereafter ſhall be magnified in your bodies, whether it be through life or death. Of which thing truly we are aſſured in our prayers for you, and miniſtering of the Spirit. And although for our own parts, Chriſt is unto you in life and death advantage, and that your deſire is (as indeed it were better for you) to be looſed, and to be with Chriſt, yet for the church of Chriſt were it much more neceſſary, that ye ſhould abide in the fleſh. Yea, that merciful God, even for his Chriſt's ſake, grant that ye may abide and continue for the furtherance of the church, and rejoicing of faith, that the rejoicing thereof may be the more abundant through Chriſt by your reſtoring, Amen, Amen.

But if it ſeem better otherwiſe unto the divine wiſdom, that by ſpeedy death he hath appointed you to glorify him, the Lord's will be done. Yea, even as we do rejoice both on your behalfs, and alſo on our own, that God is magnified by life, and ſhould be more abundantly glad for the continuance thereof; ſo we ſhall no leſs rejoice

joice to have the ſame wrought by death. We ſhall give thanks for this honour given unto you, rejoicing that ye are counted worthy to ſuffer for the name of Chriſt, and that "it is given to you of God, not only that ye ſhould believe in him, but alſo that ye ſhould ſuffer for his ſake." And herein we ſhall have to rejoice in the behalf of the church of Chriſt, whoſe faith may be the faſter fixed upon God's verity, being confirmed with three ſuch worthy witneſſes. O thanks be to God for this his unſpeakable gift!

And now, moſt reverend fathers, that you may underſtand the truth of us, and our eſtate how we ſtand in the Lord, I do aſſure your reverences, partly by that I perceive by ſuch of your brethren as be here in bonds with me, partly by that I hear of them which be in other places, and partly by that inward experience which I, moſt unworthy, have of God's good comfort (more abundance whereof I know there is in others), you may be aſſured (I ſay) by God's grace, that you ſhall not be fruſtrate of your hope, of our conſtant continuance in the chearful confeſſion of God's everlaſting verity. For even as we have received the word of truth, even the goſpel of our ſalvation, wherein we believing are ſealed with the Holy Spirit of promiſe, which is the earneſt of our inheritance (which Spirit certifieth our ſpirit, that we are the children of God, and therefore God hath ſent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father); ſo after ſuch portion as God meaſureth unto us, we with the whole church of Chriſt, and with you, reverend fathers, receiving the ſame Spirit of faith, according as it is written, "I believed, and therefore I have ſpoken:" we alſo believe, and therefore ſpeak. For which we in this dangerous bondage and other afflictions, having even ſuch a fight as we have ſeen in you, and have heard of you, are in no wiſe afraid of our adverſaries.

And foraſmuch as we have ſuch an office, even as God hath had mercy on us, we go not out of kind, but even with you, after our little power, we labour to maintain the faith of the goſpel, knowing moſt certainly, that though "we have this treaſure in earthen veſſels, that the excellency of this power might be God's, and not ours;" yet ſhall we not be daſhed in pieces: for the Lord will put his hand under us. When "we are troubled on every ſide, yet are we not without ſhift: when we are in poverty, we are not utterly without ſome thing; when we ſuffer perſecution, we are not forſaken therein: when we are caſt down, yet we ſhall not periſh:" but to communicate with our ſweet Saviour Chriſt in bearing the croſs, it is appointed unto us, that even with him alſo we ſhall be glorified: for it is a true ſaying, "If we be dead with him, we ſhall alſo live with him; if we be patient, we ſhall alſo reign with him; if we deny him, he ſhall alſo deny us." Wherefore be we of good cheer, "Always bearing about in our body the dying of the Lord Jeſus, that the life of Jeſus might appear alſo in our body: for we know, that he which raiſed up the Lord Jeſus, ſhall raiſe up us alſo by the means of Jeſus, and ſhall join us to himſelf together with you. Wherefore we are not wearied; but though our outward man periſh, yet the inward man is renewed day by day. For our tribulation which is momentary and light, prepareth an exceeding and eternal weight of glory unto us, while we look not on the things which are ſeen, but on the things which are not ſeen: for the things which are ſeen are temporal; but the things which are not ſeen, are eternal."

We teſtify unto you, reverend fathers, that we draw theſe matters with joy out of the wells of the Saviour. And I truſt we ſhall continually with you bleſs the Lord, and give thanks unto the Lord out of the wells of Iſrael; we truſt to be merry together at that great ſupper of the Lamb, whoſe ſpouſe we are by faith, and there to ſing that ſong of everlaſting Hallelujah, Amen. Yea, come Lord Jeſus. The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with you. Amen.

Mr. Saunders's Letter to his Wife.

GRACE and comfort in Chriſt Jeſus, our only comfort in all extreme aſſaults, Amen.

Fain would this fleſh make ſtrange of that which the ſpirit doth embrace: Oh! Lord, how loth is this loitering ſluggard to paſs forth in God's path? It phantaſieth forſooth much fear of fray-hugs: and were it not for the force of faith which pulleth it forward by the rein of God's moſt ſweet promiſe, and of hope which pricketh on behind, great adventures there were of fainting by the way. But bleſſed and everlaſtingly bleſſed be that heavenly Father of ours, who in his Chriſt, our ſufficient Saviour, hath vouchſafed to ſhine in our hearts, that he giveth us the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jeſus Chriſt: and having "this treaſure in our earthen veſſels, that the excellency of the power might be God's and not ours; we are (according to his good will) "troubled on every ſide, yet are we not without ſhift; we are in poverty, but yet not without that is ſufficient; we ſuffer perſecution, but are not forſaken therein; we are caſt down, nevertheleſs we periſh not; we bear in the body the dying of the Lord Jeſus, that the life of Jeſus might alſo appear in our body." Wherefore by the grace of our Chriſt we ſhall not be wearied, neither be diſmayed by this our probation through the fire of affliction, as though ſome ſtrange thing had happened unto us: but by his power we ſhall rejoice, inaſmuch as we are partakers of Chriſt's paſſion, that when he doth appear, we may be merry and glad, knowing that "our tribulation, which is momentary and light, prepareth an exceeding and eternal weight of glory unto us, while we look not on the things which are ſeen, but on the things which are not ſeen. They that ſow in tears, ſhall reap in joy. For he that goeth on his way weeping and ſcattering his good ſeed, ſhall doubtleſs come again with joy, and bring his whole ſheaves with him." Then, then ſhall the Lord wipe away all tears from our eyes. "Then, then ſhall be brought to paſs that ſaying which is written, Death is ſwallowed up in victory. Death, where is thy ſting? Hell, where is thy victory? yea, thanks be to God, which hath given us the victory through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Amen."

In the mean ſeaſon it remaineth for us to follow St. Peter's advice, "Let them (ſaith he) that are troubled, according to the will of God, commit their ſouls to him with well-doing, as a faithful creator and maker." He is our maker, we are his handy-work and creatures, whom now when he hath made, he doth not leave and forſake, as the ſhipwright doth the ſhip, leaving it at all adventures to be toſſed in the tempeſt, but he comforteth us his creatures, and in him we live, move, and have our being; yea, not only that, but now that he hath in his dear Chriſt repaired us, being before utterly decayed, and redeemed us, purging us unto himſelf as a peculiar people by the blood of his Son, he hath put on a moſt tender good will and fatherly affection towards us, never to forget us: unto whom by ſuch promiſes he hath plighted ſuch faith, that though it were poſſible that the mother could forget her infant, and not be tender-hearted to the child of her womb, yet may not it be, that his faithful believers ſhould be forgotten of him. He exhorteth us, to caſt our care on him, and ſaith, that aſſuredly he careth for us. And what though for a ſeaſon he doth ſuffer us to be turmoiled in the turbulent tempeſts of temptation, and ſeemeth as in much anger to have given us over, and forgotten us? let not us for all that leave off to put our truſt in him, but let us with godly Job conclude in ourſelves and ſay, "Even though he kill me, yet will I put my truſt in him." Let us with the bleſſed Abraham in hope, even contrary to hope, by belief lean unto that our loving Lord, who though for our probation he ſuffereth us to be afflicted, yet "will he not be always chiding,

ding, neither keepeth he his anger for ever: for he knoweth whereof we be made; he remembereth that we are but duſt. Wherefore, look how high the heaven is in compariſon of the earth, ſo great is his mercy towards them which fear him. Look how wide the Eaſt is from the Weſt, ſo far hath he ſet our ſins from us. Yea, like as a father pitieth his own children, even ſo is the Lord merciful unto them that fear him." Oh! what great cauſe of rejoicing have we in our moſt gracious God? We cannot but burſt forth in the praiſing of ſuch a bountiful benefactor, and ſay with the ſame Pſalmiſt, "Praiſe the Lord, O my ſoul, and all that is within me praiſe his holy name. Praiſe the Lord, O my ſoul, and forget not all his benefits."

Dear wife, riches I have none to leave behind me, wherewith to endow you after the worldly manner: but that treaſure of taſting how ſweet Chriſt is unto hungry conſciences, (whereof I thank my Chriſt, I do feel part, and would feel more) that I bequeath unto you, and to the reſt of my beloved in Chriſt, to retain the ſame in ſenſe of heart always. Pray, pray. I am merry, and I truſt I ſhall be merry, in ſpite of all the devils in hell. I utterly refuſe myſelf, and reſign myſelf unto my Chriſt, in whom I know I ſhall be ſtrong, as he ſeeth needful. Pray, pray, pray.

Laurence Saunders.

As the ſaid Mr. Saunders was in priſon, a ſtrict charge was given to the keeper that no perſon ſhould ſpeak with him. His wife yet came to the priſon gate with her young child in her arms, to viſit her huſband. The keeper, though for his charge he durſt not ſuffer her to come into the priſon, yet did he take the little babe out of her arms, and brought him unto his father: Laurence Saunders ſeeing him, rejoiced greatly, ſaying, that he rejoiced more to have ſuch a boy, than he ſhould if two thouſand pounds were given him. And unto the ſtanders by, which praiſed the goodlineſs of the child, he ſaid, What man fearing God, would not loſe this life preſent, rather than by prolonging it here, he ſhould adjudge this boy to be a baſtard, his wife a whore, and himſelf a whoremonger? yea, if there were no other cauſe, for which a man of my eſtate ſhould loſe his life, yet who would not give it, to vouch this child to be legitimate, and his marriage to be lawful and holy?

I do, good reader, recite this ſaying, not only to let thee ſee what he thought of prieſts marriage, but chiefly to let all married couples and parents learn to bear in their boſom true affections; natural, but yet ſeaſoned with the true ſalt of the Spirit, unfeignedly and throughly mortified to do the natural works and offices of married couples and parents, ſo long as with their doing they may keep Chriſt with a free confeſſing faith in a clear conſcience: otherwiſe both they and their own lives are ſo to be forſaken, as Chriſt required them to be denied, and given in his cauſe.

And now to come to the examination of this good man. After that the biſhops had kept him one whole year and a quarter in priſon, at length they called him, as they did the reſt of his fellows, openly to be examined. The effect and purport of his firſt examination here followeth.

The Examination of Mr. Saunders.

PRaiſed be our gracious God who preſerveth his from evil, and doth give them grace to avoid all ſuch offences as might hinder his honour, or hurt his church. Amen.

Being convened before the queen's moſt honourable council, ſundry biſhops being preſent, the lord chancellor began to ſpeak in ſuch form as followeth:

L. Chan. It is not unknown that you have been a priſoner, for ſuch abominable hereſies and falſe doctrine as hath been ſown by you; and now it is thought good that mercy be ſhowed to ſuch as ſeek for it. Wherefore if now you will ſhew yourſelf conformable, and come home again, mercy is ready. We muſt ſay that we have fallen in manner all; but now we be riſen again, and returned to the catholic church; you muſt riſe with us, and come home unto it. Give us forthwith a direct anſwer.

Saund. My lord, and my lords all, may it pleaſe your honours to give me leave to anſwer with deliberation.

Chan. Leave off your painting and pride of ſpeech: for ſuch is the faſhion of you all, to pleaſe yourſelves in your glorious words. Anſwer yea, or nay.

Saund. My lord, it is no time for me now to paint. And as for pride, there is no great cauſe why it ſhould be in me: my learning I confeſs to be but ſmall: and as for riches or worldly wealth I have none at all. Notwithſtanding, it ſtandeth me in hand to anſwer to your demand circumſpectly, conſidering that one of theſe two extreme perils are like to fall upon me: the loſing of a good conſcience, or the loſing of this my body and life. And I tell you truth, I love both life and liberty, if I could enjoy them without the hurt of my conſcience.

Chan. Conſcience? you have none at all, but pride and arrogancy, dividing yourſelves by ſingularity from the church.

Saund. The Lord is the knower of all men's conſciences. And where your lordſhip layeth to my charge this dividing myſelf from the church (as you do mean, and is now among you concluded upon, and I do underſtand) I do aſſure you that I live in the faith wherein I have been brought up ſince I was fourteen years old: being taught that the power of the biſhop of Rome is but uſurped, with many other abuſes ſpringing thereof. Yea, this I have received even at your hands that are here preſent, as a thing agreed upon by the catholic church and public authority.

Chan. Yea marry, but I pray you, have you received by conſent and authority all your hereſies of the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar?

Saund. My lord, it is leſs offence to cut off an arm, hand, or joint of man, than to cut off the head. For the man may live though he do lack an arm, hand, or joint, and ſo he cannot without his head. But you, all the whole ſort of you, have agreed to cut off the ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome, whom now you will have to be head of the church again.

Biſhop of London. And if it like your lordſhip, I have his hand againſt the bleſſed ſacrament. How ſay you to that?

Saund. What I have written, that I have written, and farther I will not accuſe myſelf. Nothing have you to burthened me withal, for breaking of your laws ſince they were in force.

Chan. Well, you be obſtinate, and refuſe liberty.

Saund. My lord, I may not buy liberty at ſuch a price: but I beſeech your honours to be means to the queen's majeſty for ſuch a pardon for us, that we may live and keep our conſciences unclogged, and we ſhall live as moſt obedient ſubjects. Otherwiſe, I muſt ſay for myſelf, that by God's grace I will abide the moſt extremity that man may do againſt me, rather than do againſt my conſcience.

Chan. Ah ſirrah, you will live as you liſt. The Donatiſts did deſire to live in ſingularity; but indeed they were not meet to live on earth: no more be you, and that ſhall you underſtand within theſe ſeven days; and therefore away with him.

Saund. Welcome be it, whatſoever the will of God ſhall be, either life or death. And I tell you truly, I have learned to die. But I exhort you to beware of ſhedding of innocent blood. Truly it will cry. The Spirit of God reſt upon all your honours, Amen. This is the ſum and form of my firſt examination, Pray, &c.

This examination being ended, the officers led him out of the place, and ſtaid until the reſt of his fellows were likewiſe examined, that they might have them altogether

gether in priſon. Laurence Saunders ſtanding among the officers, ſeeing there a great multitude of people, opened his mouth and ſpake freely, warning them all of that which by their falling from Chriſt to Antichriſt they deſerved; and therefore exhorting them by repentance to riſe again, and to embrace Chriſt with ſtronger faith, to confeſs him to the end, in the defiance of Antichriſt, ſin, death, and the devil: ſo ſhould they retain the Lord's favour and bleſſing.

The copies of his other examination and excommunication came to the hands of ſuch as do keep them ſtill in ſecret. But in them, as he defended Chriſt's cauſe ſtoutly, ſo warned he the phariſaical biſhops and papiſts of their hypocriſy and tyranny freely, and cleared himſelf of their unjuſt quarrellings truly. After he was excommunicated and delivered to the ſecular power, he was brought by the ſheriff of London to the priſon called the Compter, in his own pariſh in Bread-ſtreet: whereat he rejoiced greatly, both becauſe he found there a fellow-priſoner, Mr. Cardmaker, with whom he had chriſtian and comfortable conference, and alſo becauſe out of priſon, as before out of a pulpit, he might preach to his pariſhioners; as by his letter hereafter ſhall be declared.

The fourth day of February, the biſhop of London came to the priſon where he was, to degrade him: which when he had done, Laurence Saunders ſaid to him, I thank God I am none of your church.

The day following in the morning, the ſheriff of London delivered him to ſome of the queen's guard, who were appointed to carry him to the city of Coventry, there to be burned. The firſt night they came to St. Alban's, where Mr. Grimoald (a man who had more ſtore of good gifts, than of great conſtancy) did ſpeak with him.

After Mr. Saunders had given him a leſſon meet for his lightneſs, he took a cup in his hand, and aſked him if he would pledge him of that cup, of which he would begin to him. Grimoald, by his ſhrugging and ſhrinking ſhewing what he was, ſaid, Of that cup which is in your hand I will pledge you: but of that other which you mean, I will not promiſe you. Well, ſaid Mr. Saunders, my dear Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath begun to me of a more bitter cup than mine ſhall be, and ſhall I not pledge my moſt ſweet Saviour? yes, I hope.

After they were come to Coventry, the ſame night a poor ſhoemaker, who was wont to ſerve him with ſhoes, came to him after this manner, and ſaid: O my good maſter, God ſtrengthen and comfort you. Gramercies, good ſhoemaker, quoth Mr. Saunders, and I pray thee to pray for me; for I am the unmeeteſt man for this high office, that ever was appointed to it; but my gracious God and dear Father is able to make me ſtrong enough. That ſame night he was put in the common gaol among other priſoners, where he ſlept little, but ſpent the night in prayer, and inſtructing of others.

The next day, which was the eighth of February, he was led to the place of execution in the Park without the city, going in an old gown and a ſhirt, barefooted, and oftentimes fell flat on the ground and prayed. When he was come nigh to the place, the officer appointed to ſee the execution done, ſaid to Mr. Saunders, that he was one of them which corrupted the queen's realm with falſe doctrine and hereſy, for which, ſaid he, thou haſt deſerved death; but yet if thou wilt revoke thine hereſies, the queen hath pardoned thee; if not, yonder fire is prepared for thee. To whom Mr. Saunders anſwered, It is not I, nor my fellow-preachers of God's truth, that have hurt the queen's realm; but it is yourſelf, and ſuch as you are, which have always reſiſted God's holy word; it is you which have and do corrupt the queen's realm. I do hold no hereſies, but the doctrine of God, the bleſſed goſpel of Chriſt; that hold I, that believe I, that have I taught, and that will I never revoke. With that this tormentor cried, Away with him. And away from him Mr. Saunders went with a merry courage towards the fire. He fell to the ground, and prayed; he roſe up again, and took the ſtake to which he ſhould be chained in his arms, and kiſſed it, ſaying: Welcome the croſs of Chriſt, welcome everlaſting life: and being faſtened to the ſtake, and fire put to him, full ſweetly he ſlept in the Lord.

And thus have you the full hiſtory of Laurence Saunders, whom I may well compare to St. Laurence, or any other of the old martyrs of Chriſt's church; both in his fervent zeal for the truth and goſpel of Chriſt, and the moſt conſtant patience in his ſuffering, as alſo for the cruel torments that he in his patient body did ſuſtain in the flames. For his cruel enemies ſo handled him, that they burned him with green wood, and other ſmothering rather than burning fuel, which put him to much more pain, but that the grace and moſt plentiful conſolation of Chriſt, who never forſaketh his ſervants, and gave ſtrength to St. Laurence, gave alſo patience to this Laurence, above all that his torments could work againſt: which well appeared by his quiet ſtanding, and ſweet ſleeping in the fire, as is above declared.

And to the intent to give the reader to underſtand the better, what the grace of Chriſt worketh in his ſervants; and again, how feeble and weak man is of himſelf without this grace given from above, though otherwiſe he ſeem never ſo ſtout, we have here therefore added to the aforeſaid ſtory of Mr. Saunders, the communication between him and Dr. Pendleton, by the example whereof, ſuch as ſtand may learn to take heed with due fear, and not to brag; to rely on the grace of God, and not to preſume in themſelves.

A Communication between Mr. Saunders and Dr. Pendleton, in the Beginning of Queen Mary's Reign.

AT the change of religion in this realm, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, Dr. Pendleton and Mr. Saunders, men known to the world, not only to be learned, but alſo earneſt preachers of God's word in the time of bleſſed king Edward, met together in the country, where by occaſion they were at that time, and as the caſe required (by reaſon of the perſecution that was then at hand) fell to debate what was beſt for them to do in ſo dangerous a ſeaſon. Whereunto Mr. Saunders, whether through very frailty of his weak fleſh, that was loth to taſte the bitter cup, though his ſpirit were ready thereunto; or whether it were upon the miſtruſt of his own ſtrength, that he might receive the greater power from above: or whether it were not for any one of the ſaid cauſes alone, but for both together, or ſuch like; ſeemed ſo fearful and feeble ſpirited, that he ſhewed himſelf in appearance, like either to fall quite from God and his word, which he had taught, or at leaſt to betake him to his heels, and to fly the land, rather than to ſtick to his profeſſion and abide by his tackle; ſo as Dr. Pendleton (who on the contrary ſide appeared not ſo big of body, but as bold in courage, nor ſo earneſt before in pulpit, but as ready now to ſeal the ſame with his blood) took upon him to comfort Mr. Saunders all that he might, admoniſhing him, as he could do it very well, not to forſake cowardly his flock when he had moſt need to defend them from the wolf; neither having put his hand to God's plough, to ſtart now aſide and give it over, nor yet (that is worſt of all) having once forſaken Antichriſt, to fall either himſelf, or ſuffer others by his example to return to their vomit again.

After which and ſuch like perſuaſions bidding him be of good comfort, and to take a good heart unto him; What, man, quoth he, there is a great deal more cauſe in me to be afraid than in you, foraſmuch as you ſee, I carry a greater maſs of fleſh upon my back than you do, and being ſo laden with a heavier lump of this vile carcaſe, ought therefore of nature to be more frail than you: and yet, ſaid he, I will ſee the utmoſt drop of this greaſe of mine molten away, and the laſt gobbet of this fleſh

conſumed to aſhes, before I will forſake God and his truth. Whereunto the other anſwered but little, wiſhing that Almighty God would give him more ſtrength than he preſently felt in himſelf, acknowledging his own weakneſs; but conſented notwithſtanding, though it were ſomewhat faintly, to join with him in the profeſſion of the goſpel, and to go up to London, and ſet forth the ſame; whereupon they gave each other their hands.

Naw when they were come to London, Lord, what a great change was there between theſe two perſons! The poor, feeble, faint-hearted Saunders, by the goodneſs of Almighty God, taking heart of grace to him, ſeeking the ſame in humility, boldly and ſtoutly confirmed his flock out of the pulpit, where his charge lay, mightily beating down Antichriſt, and zealouſly preaching Chriſt his maſter, for which he afterward ſuffered moſt willingly, as is before declared. Whereas, on the other ſide, Dr. Pendleton the proud (who, as it appeared by the ſequel, had been more ſtout in words than conſtant in deeds, and a greater bragger than a good warrior) followed Peter ſo juſtly in cracks, howſoever he did in repentance (which God only knoweth) that he no ſooner came to London but he changed his mind, and played the apoſtate, preaching inſtead of ſound doctrine nothing almoſt but errors and lyes, advancing Antichriſt, and overthrowing Chriſt with all his main: ſo his former boldneſs came to nothing, unleſs it were a contrary key, becoming of a faithful paſtor, a falſe runnagate: and of a true preacher, a ſworn enemy to God's everlaſting teſtament; to the great offence of his brethren, the hurt of his flock, and the utter undoing, without God's greater mercy, of his own ſoul. Wherein are eſpecially to be conſidered the deep and marvellous judgment of God, who as he can and doth make ſtrong whom he pleaſeth, when he ſeeth his time, and moſt commonly ſuch as appear moſt feeble: ſo on the other hand, he throweth down others, ſeem they never ſo ſtout, ſtand they never ſo much in their own conceits. Wherefore let him that ſtandeth take heed he fall not, and let us pray continually to Almighty God, though we have faith, that he will help and increaſe our faith, that in him it may be made ſtrong, which of itſelf is ſo weak, that it is ſoon overthrown.

While this good man was confined in priſon, he did not paſs all his time in unfruitful idleneſs, but ſtill from time to time did viſit his friends (as is ſaid) and eſpecially his wife, with many letters full of godly inſtruction and conſolation. Some of which letters we thought not improper here to inſert.

Mr. Saunders's Letter to Mr. Ferrar, Biſhop of St. David's, &c.

GRace, mercy, and peace in Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, &c. Good fathers, and dear brethren, be thankful unto our moſt gracious God, which hath preſerved us, and ſhall (I doubt not) from blaſpheming his bleſſed name. yea, not only that, but alſo "out of the mouths of very babes and ſucklings ſhall be ſet forth his praiſe." They offer us (forſooth) our liberty and pardon, ſo that we will riſe with them into that faith which we with them were fallen from. Yea, or no, muſt be anſwered in haſte. They will not admit any needful circumſtances, but all (as heretofore) moſt deteſtable and abominable. Riſe with them we muſt into the unity. And pardon, I ſay, of me muſt not ſo dearly be purchaſed. A pardon I deſire, to live with an unclogged conſcience. The Donatiſts, ſay they, ſought for ſuch ſingularity, but they were not meet to live in a commonwealth, no more be you, as you ſhall ſhortly underſtand. Wherefore away with him; yea, the time was named within this ſeven-night. There be twelve hours in the day. Death ſhall be welcome, ſay I, as being looked for long ſince, and yet do juſtice ye were beſt, for Abel's blood cried, ye wot what. The Spirit of God be upon you, and God ſave your honours. Thus departed I from them. Pray, pray. Ah, ah, I am a child, I cannot ſpeak. My brother P. ſhall ſhew you more herein. By him ſend me word what you have done. Fare ye well, and pray, pray. I would gladly meet with my good brother Bradford on the backſide about eleven of the clock. Before that time I cannot ſtart out, we have ſuch out-walkers, but then will they be at dinner.

Yours as you know, Laurence Saunders.

Mr. Saunders's Letter to his wife, and others of his flock, after his condemnation, written the laſt of January, 1555. out of the Compter in Bread-ſtreet.

THE grace of Chriſt, with the conſolation of the Holy Ghoſt, to the keeping of the faith and a good conſcience, confirm and keep you for ever veſſels to God's glory, Amen.

Oh! what worthy thanks can be given to our gracious God for his unmeaſurable mercies plentifully poured upon us? And I moſt unworthy wretch cannot but pour forth at this preſent, even from the bottom of my heart, the bewailing of my great ingratitude and unkindneſs towards ſo gracious a good God and loving Father. I beſeech you all, as for my other many ſins, ſo eſpecially for that ſin of my unthankfulneſs; crave pardon for me in your earneſt prayers, commending me to God's great mercies in Chriſt.

To number theſe mercies in particular, were to number the drops of water which are in the ſea, the ſands on the ſhore, the ſtars in the ſky. O my dear wife, and ye the reſt of my friends, rejoice with me, I ſay rejoice with thankſgiving for this my preſent promotion, in that I am made worthy to magnify my God, not only in my life, by my ſlow mouth and uncircumciſed lips, bearing witneſs unto his truth, but alſo by my blood to ſeal the ſame, to the glory of my God, and confirming of his true church: and as yet I teſtify unto you, that the comfort of my ſweet Chriſt doth drive from my fantaſy the fear of death. But if my dear huſband Chriſt doth for my trial leave me alone a little to myſelf, alas, I know in what caſe I ſhall be then: but if for my proof he do ſo, yet I am ſure he will not be long or far from me. Though he ſtand behind the wall and hide himſelf (as Solomon ſaith in his myſtical ballad) yet will he peep in by a creſt to ſee how I do. He is a very tender-hearted Joſeph; though he ſpeak roughly to his brethren, and handle them hardly, yea, threaten grievous bondage to his beſt beloved brother Benjamin; yet can he not contain himſelf from weeping with us and upon us, with falling on our necks, and ſweetly kiſſing us. Such, ſuch a brother is our Chriſt unto all. Wherefore haſten to go unto him as Jacob did with his ſons and family, leaving their country and acquaintance. Yea, this our Joſeph hath obtained for us, that Pharaoh the infidel ſhall miniſter unto us chariots, wherein at eaſe we may be carried to come unto him: as we have experience how our adverſaries do help us unto our everlaſting bliſs by their ſpeedy diſpatch: yea, and how all things have been helpings hereunto; bleſſed be our God. Be not afraid of fray-bugs which lie in the way. Fear rather the everlaſting fire: fear the ſerpent which hath that deadly ſting, of which by bodily death they ſhall be brought to taſte which are not grafted in Chriſt, wanting faith and a good conſcience, and ſo are not acquainted with Chriſt the killer of death. But oh my dear wife and friends! we, we whom God hath delivered from the power of darkneſs, and hath tranſlated us into the kingdom of his dear Son, by putting off the old man, and by faith putting on the new, even our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, his wiſdom, holineſs, righteouſneſs and redemption; we, I ſay, have to triumph againſt the terrible ſpiteful ſerpent the devil, ſin, hell, death, and damnation. For Chriſt our brazen ſerpent hath pulled away the ſting of this ſerpent, ſo that now we may boldly, in beholding it ſpoiled of ſting, triumph, and with our

Chriſt, and all his elect, ſay, "Death, where is thy ſting? Hell, where is thy victory? Thanks be to God, who hath given (us) the victory, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt."

Wherefore be merry, my dear wife, and all my dear fellow heirs of the everlaſting kingdom, always remember the Lord. Rejoice in hope, be patient in tribulation, continue in prayer, and pray for us now appointed to the ſlaughter, that we may be unto our heavenly Father a fat offering, and an acceptable ſacrifice. I may hardly write to you. Wherefore let theſe few words be a witneſs of my commendations to you and all them which love us in the faith; and namely, unto my flock, among whom I am reſident by God's providence, but as a priſoner.

And although I am not ſo among them, as I have been to preach to them out of a pulpit, yet doth God now preach unto them by me, by this my impriſonment and captivity which now I ſuffer among them for Chriſt's goſpel ſake, bidding them beware of the Romiſh antichriſtian religion and kingdom, requiring and charging them to abide in the truth of Chriſt, which is ſhortly to be ſealed with the blood of their paſtor; who though he be unworthy of ſuch a miniſtry, yet Chriſt their high paſtor is to be regarded, whoſe truth hath been taught them by me, is witneſſed by my chains, and ſhall be by my death, through the power of that high paſtor. Be not careful, good wife, caſt your care upon the Lord, and commend me unto him in repentant prayer, as I do you and our Samuel; whom, even at the ſtake, I will offer as myſelf unto God. Fare ye well all in Chriſt, in hope to be joined with you in joy everlaſting. This hope is put in my boſom, Amen, Amen, Amen, pray, pray.

Another Letter to Mrs. Lucy Harrington, a godly Gentlewoman, and friendly to him in his Troubles.

YOUR moſt gentle commendations, whereof this meſſenger made remembrance unto me, was for two cauſes very comfortable: Firſt, for that thereby I underſtood of the ſtate of your health and bodily welfare, for which I give thanks unto God, who grant the long continuance thereof to his honour and fatherly good will, whereunto I will daily ſay, Amen. And further, I was refreſhed by the expreſſing of your mindful friendſhip towards me far unworthy thereof. Wherein I take occaſion of much rejoicing in our ſo gracious a God and merciful Father, who as he hath in his immeaſurable mercy by faith hand-faſted us his choſen children unto his dear Son our Chriſt, as the ſpiritual ſpouſe of ſuch an heavenly huſband; ſo he linketh us by love one unto another, being by that bond compact together with charitable readineſs to do good one to another: ſo that firſt to the glory of our God and his Chriſt, then to our own joying in the teſtimony of a good conſcience, and laſt of all to the ſtopping of the mouths and confuſion of our adverſaries, we bear the badge as the right ſpouſe of our Chriſt, which himſelf noted in this ſaying; "Herein ſhall all men know that ye be my diſciples, if ye love one another." Then further, by this bond of mutual love is ſet forth the fatherly providence of God towards us his children; that though it be he that careth for us, in whom we live, move, and be, who feedeth all fleſh with bodily ſuſtenance, yet hath he appointed us in theſe preſent neceſſities to ſtand in his ſtead one unto another. Wherein is not only ſet forth our dignity, but alſo that unſpeakable accord and unity among us, the many members of his myſtical body. And though that either for lack of ability, or elſe through diſtance of place, power and opportunity of helping one another do fail; yet wonderful is the working of God's children through the ſpirit of prayer, as whereby they fetch all heavenly influence from Chriſt their celeſtial head by his Spirit, to be meaſured ſeverally, as may ſerve to the maintenance of the whole body.

Thus doth our faithful prayer, which we make one for another, diſtribute and ſcatter God's bountiful bleſſings, both ghoſtly and bodily, when ordinary ability lacketh, and when the arm may not reach forth ſuch riches of God. According hereunto I well perceive and underſtand your readineſs to do good unto all, and eſpecially I have experience of your ready good will towards me, in your hearty deſire to ſtretch out your helping hand, to relieve my lack: and of your help to be extended to me in the other ſpiritual ſort, by your good prayer, I doubt not; as alſo therein aſſure you of my help, being all that I may do, and yet the ſame not ſo much as I would do.

My need concerning bodily neceſſaries is as yet furniſhed by God's proviſion, ſo that I am not driven to any extremity, wherefore to be burdenſome to you, as your gentle benevolence provoketh me, the Lord reward you therefore. If God make me worthy to be his witneſs at this preſent, in giving this corruptible body to burn for the teſtimony of his truth, it is enough for me to ſay to you, that I have a poor wife and child, whom I love in the Lord, and whom I know for my ſake you will tender when I am departed hence, &c.

Another Letter to Mrs. Lucy Harrington.

GRace and mercy, &c. It happeneth oftentimes that abundance of matter bringeth with it much vehemency of friendly affection, maketh men dumb; and even then chiefly when there is moſt eager purpoſe of ſpeaking, ſilence doth ſuppreſs, and cauſeth the party ſo affected imperfectly to expreſs that he goeth about to utter. Such impediment by much matter, mingled with fervency of affection, feel I ſometimes in myſelf, hindering the utterance, either by tongue or writing, of the abundance of the heart. The love of our moſt gracious God and heavenly Father, beſtowed upon us in the merits of Chriſt our Saviour, who may by conceit of mind comprehend, paſſing indeed all underſtanding? Much leſs may the ſame by any means be expreſly uttered. And as ſuch heavenly bleſſings, which by faith we fetch from above, be inexplicable, ſo is it hard to utter, when the faithful are ſet on fire by love, their readineſs to reach forth, and to give by charity, as by faith they have received. "But (alas!) we carry this treaſure in earthen veſſels." Many times faith is feeble, and then love loſeth her favour. Pray we therefore, Lord, increaſe our faith, and love forthwith will be on fire. And immortal thanks be given unto our God, who in our Chriſt hath beſtowed upon us the firſt fruits of his Spirit, who crieth in our hearts, Abba, Father. And, as St. Paul ſaith, "Seeing we have the ſame ſpirit of faith, according as it is written; I believed, and therefore have I ſpoken. we alſo believe, and therefore we ſpeak." Yea, God knoweth, this Spirit putteth us in a mind to ſpeak; but in attempting thereof we are driven with Moſes to ſay; "O Lord, I am ſlow mouthed and of uncircumciſed lips;" and with Jeremy, "O Lord, I cannot ſpeak."

Albeit that this infancy reſtraineth the opening of ſuch abundance of heart, in my tender chriſtian duty to be declared towards you, yet I beſeech you, let this be ſettled in your underſtanding; that as St. Paul expreſſeth unto his Corinthians, they were in his heart either to live or to die, with many other ſuch ſayings uttered unto them and the Galatians, expreſſing his vehement affection towards them: ſo in ſome part I would be like affected towards all God's children; and eſpecially towards you whom I know in Chriſt, and to whom I will not ſay how much I am indebted. I thank you for your great friendſhip and tender good will towards my wife: yea, that good gracious God recompenſe you, which may worthily with the more countervail the ſame, and fulfil that which lacketh of thankful duty in us. And becauſe of that which heretofore I have conceived of you, and of your more than natural love towards me and mine; I make

myſelf

myſelf thus bold to lay this burden upon you, even the care and charge of my ſaid poor wife; I mean to be unto her a mother and miſtreſs to rule and direct her by your diſcreet counſel. I know ſhe conceiveth of you the ſame that I do, and is thankful unto God with me for ſuch a friend; and therefore I beſeech you even for Chriſt's ſake, put never from you this friendly charge over her, whether I live longer, or ſhortly depart. But to charge you otherwiſe, thanks be to God, neither I, neither ſhe have any ſuch extreme need: if we had, I would be as bold with you as mine own mother. I beſeech you give my hearty ſalutation unto Mr. Fitz-Williams, and my good lady, with thanks alſo for my poor wife and child; the Lord recompenſe them.

L. Saunders.

Furthermore, as touching his fatherly care and affection to his wife and his little child, the ſame is lively ſet forth in another letter which he did write to his wife: wherein he admoniſhed her that ſhe would not reſort much to the priſon where he was, for fear of trouble that might enſue, the tenor of whoſe letter here followeth.

Another Letter to his Wife, with a certain Remembrance to Mr. Harrington, and Mr. Hurland.

GRace and comfort, &c. Wife, you ſhall do beſt not to come often unto the grate where the porter may ſee you. Put not yourſelf in danger where it needs not; you ſhall, I think, ſhortly come far enough into danger by keeping faith and a good conſcience: which, dear wife, I truſt you do not ſlack to make reckoning and account upon, by exerciſing your inward man in meditation of God's moſt holy word, being the ſuſtenance of the ſoul, and alſo by giving yourſelf to humble prayer, for theſe two things be the very means how to be made members of our Chriſt, meet to inherit his kingdom.

Do this, dear wife, in earneſt, and not leaving off, and ſo we two ſhall, with our Chriſt and all his choſen children, enjoy the merry world in that everlaſting immortality, whereas here will nothing elſe be found but extreme miſery, even of them which moſt greedily ſeek this worldly wealth: and ſo, if we two continue God's children grafted in our Chriſt, the ſame God's bleſſing which we receive ſhall alſo ſettle upon our Samuel. Though we do ſhortly depart hence and leave the poor infant (to our ſeeming) at all adventures, yet ſhall he have our gracious God to be his God: for ſo hath he ſaid, and he cannot lye; I will be thy God, ſaith he, and the God of thy ſeed. Yea, if you leave him in the wilderneſs deſtitute of all help, being called of God to do his will, either to die for the confeſſion of Chriſt, either any work of obedience: that God which heard the cry of the little poor infant of Agar, Sarah's handmaiden, and did ſuccour it, will do the like to your child, or any other fearing him, and putting your truſt in him.

And if we lack faith, as we do indeed many times, let us call for it, and we ſhall have the increaſe both of it and alſo of any other good grace needful for us; and be merry in God, in whom alſo I am very merry and joyful. O Lord, what great cauſe of rejoicing have we, to think upon that kingdom, which he vouchſafeth for his Chriſt's ſake freely to give us, forſaking ourſelves and following him? Dear wife, this is truly to follow him, even to take up our croſs and follow him; and then as we ſuffer with him, ſo ſhall we reign with him everlaſtingly, ſhortly, Amen.

Another Letter to his Wife, to Mr. Robert Harrington, &c.

GRace and comfort, &c. Dear wife, rejoice in our gracious God, and his and our Chriſt; and give thanks moſt humbly and heartily to him for this day's work, that in any part I moſt unworthy wretch ſhould be made worthy to bear witneſs unto his everlaſting verity, which Antichriſt with his main force, I perceive, and by moſt impudent pride and boaſting, will go about to ſuppreſs. Remember God alway, my dear wife, and ſo ſhall God's bleſſing light upon you and your Samuel. O remember always my words for Chriſt's ſake; be merry, and grudge not againſt God, and pray, pray. We be all merry here, thanks be unto our God, who in his Chriſt hath given us great cauſe to be merry, by whom he hath prepared for us ſuch a kingdom, and doth and will give unto us ſome little taſte thereof, even in this life, and to all ſuch as are deſirous to take it. "Bleſſed (ſaith our Chriſt) be they which hunger and thirſt after righteouſneſs, for ſuch ſhall be ſatisfied." Let us go, yea, let us run to ſeek ſuch treaſure, and that with whole purpoſe of heart to cleave unto the Lord, to find ſuch riches in his heavenly word through his Spirit, obtained by prayer. My dear friends and brethren, Mr. Harrington and Mr. Hurland, pray, pray. "The ſpirit is ready, but the fleſh is weak." When I look upon myſelf, being aſtoniſhed and confounded, what have I elſe to ſay but thoſe words of Peter, "Lord, go from me, for I am a ſinful man?" But then feel I that ſweet comfort, "The word of the Lord is a lanthorn unto my feet, and a light unto my path;" and this is my comfort in my trouble. Then wax I bold with the ſame Peter to ſay, "Lord, to whom ſhall we go? thou haſt the words of everlaſting life." This comfort have I when the giver thereof doth give it. But I look for battles, which the root of unfaithfulneſs, which I feel in me, will moſt eagerly give unto my conſcience, when we come once to the combat. We be (I think) within the ſound of the trump of our enemies. Play ye that be abroad the part of Moſes, "Praying in all places, lifting up pure hands;" and God's people ſhall prevail: yea, our blood ſhall be their perdition who do moſt triumphantly ſpill it, and we then being in the hands of our God, ſhall ſhine in his kingdom, and ſhall ſtand in great ſtedfaſtneſs againſt them which have dealt extremely with us: and when theſe our enemies ſhall thus ſee us, they ſhall be vexed with horrible fear, and ſhall wonder at the haſtineſs of the ſudden health; and ſhall ſay with themſelves, having inward ſorrow and mourning for very anguiſh of mind: "Theſe are they whom we ſometime had in deriſion and jeſted upon; we fools thought their lives to be very madneſs, and their end to be without honour, but lo how are they accounted among the children of God!" The bleſſing of God be with you all, &c.

Laurence Saunders.

To his Wife, a little before his burning.

GRace and comfort in Chriſt, Amen. Dear wife, be merry in the mercies of our Chriſt, and alſo ye my dear friends. Pray, pray for us every body. We be ſhortly to be diſpatched hence unto our good Chriſt, Amen, Amen. Wife, I would have you ſend me my ſhirt, which you know whereunto it is conſecrated. Let it be ſewed down on both ſides, and not open. O my heavenly Father, look upon me in the face of thy Chriſt, or elſe I ſhall not be able to abide thy countenance; ſuch is my filthineſs. He will do ſo, and therefore I will not be afraid what ſin, death, hell and damnation can do againſt me. O wife, always remember the Lord. God bleſs you, yea, he will bleſs thee, good wife, and thy poor boy alſo, only cleave thou unto him, and he will give thee all things. Pray, pray, pray.

Another Letter to Mr. Robert and John Glover, written the ſame Morning that he was burnt.

GRace and conſolation in our ſweet Saviour Chriſt. Oh my dear brethren, whom I love in the Lord, being

T SE75

Engraved for FOX's BOOK *of Martyrs.*

The Burning of JOHN HOOPER *at Gloucester.*

Dr TAYLOR, *Rebuking a Popish Priest who was about to say Mass in* Hadley Church.

Tovey Sculp *Paternoster Row*

Published as the Act directs. *for H. Trapp, Pater-noster Row.*

being loved of you alſo in the Lord, be merry and rejoice for me, now ready to go up to that mine inheritance, which I myſelf indeed am moſt unworthy of, but my dear Chriſt is worthy, who hath purchaſed the ſame for me with ſo dear a price. Make haſte, my dear brethren, to come unto me, that we may be merry, with that joy which no man ſhall take from us. O wretched ſinner, that I am not thankful unto this my Father, who hath vouchſafed me worthy to be a veſſel unto his honour. But, O Lord, now accept my thanks, though they proceed out of a not enough circumciſed heart. Salute my good ſiſters your wives; and good ſiſters fear the Lord. Salute all others that love us in the truth. God's bleſſing be with you always, Amen. Even now towards the offering of a burnt ſacrifice. O may Chriſt help, or elſe I periſh.

Laurence Saunders.

We will now conclude Mr. Saunders's ſtory with two other letters, not written by Mr. Saunders the martyr, but by Mr. Ed. Saunders the juſtice, his brother, ſent to this our Saunders in priſon, altho' containing no great matter worthy to be known, yet to this intent, that the reader may ſee in theſe two brethren ſo joined in nature, and ſo divided in religion, that word of the Lord verified, truly ſaying, "Brother ſhall be againſt brother, &c." as may appear by the contents of the two following letters.

A Letter of Juſtice Saunders to his Brother Laurence.

AFTER my moſt hearty commendations, theſe be to aſcertain you, that I have ſpoke with Mr. Baſſet, who hath ſhewed me, that four pounds (all deductions being allowed) is the whole that hath come to his hands of the profit of the prebendary at York, which you ſhall have, although, as he thinketh, it was not due unto you by reaſon of your deprivation before it was due. As concerning your conſcience in religion, I beſeech God it may be lightened by the Holy Ghoſt, and that you may alſo have the grace of the Holy Ghoſt to follow the counſel of St. Paul to Timothy, "To handle rightly the word of truth." Wherein you diſſenting from many holy and catholic men, eſpecially in the ſacrament, it maketh me in my conſcience to condemn yours. For although I have not hitherto fanſied to read Peter Martyr, and other ſuch, &c. yet have I had great deſire to ſee Theophylact, and ſeveral others of this ſort and opinion, both notable and holy fathers (if any credit be to be given to the writings of our ancient fathers before us) and ſurely the ſentences and judgments of two or three of them have more confirmed my conſcience, than three hundred of the Zuinglians, or as many of the Lutherans can or ſhould do. Thus in haſte willing to relieve you, to the end you might convert, if you ſhould need towards your finding, if you ſhall require it of me, you ſhall unfeignedly find my money ready, as knoweth our Lord, who ſends us all things good for us. Scribbled this Thurſday by your brother and petitioner to God,

Ed. Saunders.

Another Letter of Juſtice Saunders to his Brother, wherein he ſeeketh to win him to Popery.

AS nature and brotherly love with godly charity requireth, I ſend you by theſe letters (quantum licet) moſt hearty commendation, being ſorry for your fault and your diſobedient handling of yourſelf towards my lord chancellor, who, I aſſure you, mindeth your good and preſervation, if you can ſo conſider and take it. I would be glad to know whether you have not had with you of late ſome learned men to talk with you by my lord chancellor's appointment, and how you can frame yourſelf to reform your error in the opinion of the moſt bleſſed and our moſt comfortable ſacrament of the altar. Wherein I aſſure you, I was never in all my life better affected than I am at this preſent, uſing to my great comfort hearing of maſs, and ſomewhat before the ſacring time, the meditation of St. Bernard, ſet forth in the third leaf of this preſent book. The accuſtomable uſing whereof I am fully profeſſed unto, during my life, and to give more faith unto that confeſſion of holy Bernard, than to Luther, &c. or Latimer, &c. for that the antiquity, the univerſality of the open church, and the conſent of all ſaints and doctors do confirm the ſame, aſcertaining you, that I have been earneſtly moved in mine own conſcience theſe ten or twelve days paſt, and alſo between God and myſelf, to move you to the ſame, moſt earneſtly deſiring you, and as you tender my natural, godly, and friendly love towards you, that you would read over this book this holy time, at my requeſt, although you have already ſeen it, and let me know wherein you cannot ſatisfy your own conſcience. Thus fare you well for this time.

By yours, from Serjeant's-Inn,
Ed. Saunders.

The Life and Martyrdom of Mr. John Hooper, Biſhop of Worceſter and Glouceſter, who was burnt at Glouceſter, Febr. 9, 1555.

JOHN HOOPER, ſtudent and graduate in the univerſity of Oxford, after the ſtudy of the ſciences, wherein he had abundantly profited and proceeded, through God's ſecret vocation was ſtirred with fervent deſire to the love and knowledge of the ſcriptures. In the reading and ſearching whereof, as there lacked in him no diligence joined with earneſt prayer; ſo neither wanted unto him the grace of the Holy Ghoſt to ſatisfy his deſire, and to open unto him the light of true divinity.

Thus Mr. Hooper growing more and more, by God's grace, in ripeneſs of ſpiritual underſtanding, and ſhewing withal ſome ſparkles of his fervent ſpirit, being then about the beginning of the ſix articles, in the time of king Henry VIII. quickly fell into diſpleaſure and hatred of certain Rabbins in Oxford, who by and by began to ſtir coals againſt him, whereby, and eſpecially by the procurement of Dr. Smith, he was compelled to quit the univerſity; and removing from thence, was retained in the houſe of Sir Thomas Arundel, and there was his ſteward, till the time that Sir Thomas Arundel, having intelligence of his opinions and religion, which he in no caſe did favour, but yet exceedingly pleaſed with the perſon and conditions of the man, found means to ſend him in a meſſage to the biſhop of Wincheſter, writing his letter privily to the biſhop, by conference of learning to do ſome good upon him, but requiring him in any caſe to ſend home his ſervant to him again.

The biſhop of Wincheſter, after long conference with Mr. Hooper, four or five days together, when he at length perceived, that he neither could do that good which he thought to him, nor that he would take any good at his hand, according to Mr. Arundel's requeſt, he ſent home his ſervant again, right well commending his learning and wit, but yet bearing a grudge againſt Mr. Hooper.

It followed not long after this, as malice is always working miſchief, that intelligence was given to Mr. Hooper to provide for himſelf, for danger that was working againſt him. Whereupon Mr. Hooper leaving Mr. Arundel's houſe, and borrowing an horſe of a certain friend (whoſe life he had ſaved a little before from the gallows) took his journey to the ſea ſide to go to France, ſending back the horſe again by one, who indeed did not deliver him to the owner. Mr. Hooper being at Paris, did not tarry there long, but in ſhort time returned into England again, and was retained of Mr. Sentlow,

till the time that he was again moleſted and ſought for: whereby he was compelled (under the pretence of being captain of a ſhip going to Ireland) to take the ſeas, and ſo he eſcaped (although not without extreme peril of drowning) through France to the higher parts of Germany. Where he, entering acquaintance with the learned men, was by them friendly and lovingly entertained, both at Baſil, and eſpecially at Zurich by Mr. Bullinger his ſingular friend. Where alſo he married his wife, who was a Burgonian, and applied very ſtudiouſly the Hebrew tongue.

At length, when God ſaw it good to ſtay the bloody time of the ſix articles, and to give us king Edward to reign over this realm with ſome peace and reſt unto the goſpel, amongſt many other Engliſh exiles which then repaired homeward, Mr. Hooper alſo, moved in conſcience, thought not to abſent himſelf, but ſeeing ſuch a time and occaſion, offered to help forward the Lord's work, to the uttermoſt of his ability. And ſo coming to Mr. Bullinger, and others of his acquaintance in Zurich, (as duty required) to give them thanks for their ſingular kindneſs and humanity towards him many ways declared, with like humanity again purpoſed to take his leave of them at his departing, and ſo he did. Upon whom Mr. Bullinger (who had always a ſpecial favour to Mr. Hooper) ſpake on this wiſe; Mr. Hooper, ſaith he, although we are ſorry to part with your company for our own cauſe, ye tmuch greater cauſe have we to rejoice, both for your ſake, and eſpecially for the cauſe of Chriſt's true religion, that you ſhall now return out of long baniſhment into your native country again, where not only you may enjoy your own private liberty, but alſo the cauſe and ſtate of Chriſt's church by you may fare the better, as we doubt not but it ſhall. Another cauſe moreover why we rejoice with you and for you, is this; that you ſhall remove not only out of exile into liberty, but you ſhall leave here a barren, a ſour, and an unpleaſant country, rude and ſavage, and ſhall go into a land flowing with milk and honey, repleniſhed with all pleaſure and fertility. Notwithſtanding with this our rejoicing one fear and care we have, leſt you being abſent, and ſo far diſtant from us, or elſe coming to ſuch abundance of wealth and felicity, in your new welfare and plenty of all things, and in your flouriſhing honours, where ye ſhall come peradventure to be a biſhop, and where ye ſhall find ſo many new friends, you will forget us your old acquaintance and well-willers. Nevertheleſs, howſoever you ſhall forget and ſhake us off, yet this perſuade yourſelf, that we will not forget our old friend and fellow Mr. Hooper. And if you will pleaſe not to forget us, then I pray you let us hear from you.

Whereunto Mr. Hooper anſwering again, firſt gave to Mr. Bullinger and the reſt hearty thanks, for that their ſingular good will and undeſerved affection, appearing not only now, but at all times towards him; declaring moreover, that as the principal cauſe of his removing to his country was the matter of religion; ſo touching the unpleaſantneſs and barrenneſs of that country of theirs, there was no cauſe therein why he could not find in his heart to continue his life there, as ſoon as in any place in the world, and rather than in his own native country, if there were nothing elſe in his own conſcience that moved him ſo to do. And as touching the forgetting of his old friends, although, ſaid he, the remembrance of a man's country naturally doth delight him, neither could he deny but God had bleſſed his country of England with many great commodities; yet neither the nature of country, nor pleaſure of commodities, nor newneſs of friends, ſhould ever induce him to the oblivion of ſuch friends and benefactors, whom he was ſo intirely bound unto: and therefore you ſhall be ſure, ſaid he, from time to time to hear from me, and I will write unto you how it goeth with me. But the laſt news of all I ſhall not be able to write; for there, ſaid he, (taking Mr. Bullinger by the hand), where I ſhall take moſt pains, there ſhall you hear of me to be burned to aſhes; and that ſhall be the laſt news, which I ſhall not be able to write unto you, but you ſhall hear of me, &c.

To this alſo may be added another like prophetical demonſtration, foreſhewing before the manner of his martyrdom wherewith he ſhould glorify God, which was this: when Mr. Hooper being made biſhop of Worceſter and Glouceſter, ſhould have his arms given him by the herald, as the manner is here in England, every biſhop to have his arms aſſigned unto him (whether by the appointment of Mr. Hooper, or by the herald, I have not certainly to ſay), but the arms which were to him allotted was this, A lamb in a fiery buſh, and the ſunbeams from heaven deſcended down upon the lamb, rightly denoting, as it ſeemed, the order of his ſufferings, which afterward followed.

But to proceed in our ſtory. When Mr. Hooper had taken his farewel of Mr. Bullinger and his friends in Zurich, he made his repair again into England in the reign of king Edward VI. where coming to London he uſed continually to preach, moſt times twice, at leaſt once every day, and never failed.

In his ſermons, according to his accuſtomed manner, he corrected ſin, and ſharply inveighed againſt the iniquity of the world, and corrupt abuſes of the church; the people in great flocks and companies daily came to hear his voice, as the moſt melodious ſound and tune of Orpheus's harp, as the proverb ſaith; inſomuch that oftentimes when he was preaching, the church would be ſo full, that none could enter further than the doors thereof. In his doctrine he was earneſt, in tongue eloquent, in the ſcriptures perfect, in pains indefatigable.

Moreover, beſides his other gifts and qualities, this is in him to be marvelled, that even as he began, ſo he continued ſtill unto his life's end. For neither could his labour and pains-taking break him, neither promotion change him, neither dainty fare corrupt him. His life was ſo pure and good, that no kind of ſlander (although ſome went about to reprove it) could faſten any fault upon him. He was of body ſtrong, his health whole and ſound, his wit very pregnant, his invincible patience able to ſuſtain whatſoever ſiniſter fortune and adverſity could do. He was conſtant of judgment, a good juſtice, ſpare of diet, ſparer of words, and ſpareſt of time. In houſe-keeping very liberal, and ſometime more free than his living would extend unto. Briefly, of all thoſe virtues and qualities required of St. Paul in a good biſhop, in his epiſtle to Timothy, I know not one in this good biſhop lacking. He bare in countenance and talk always a certain reſerve and grave grace, which might peradventure be wiſhed ſome time to have been a little more popular and vulgar-like in him: but he knew what he had to do beſt himſelf.

This by the way I thought to note, for that there was once an honeſt citizen, and to me not unknown, which having in himſelf a certain conflict of conſcience, came to his door for counſel, but being abaſhed at his auſtere behaviour, durſt not come in, but departed, ſeeking remedy for his troubled mind at other mens hands, which he afterward, by the help of Almighty God, did find and obtain. Therefore, in my judgment, ſuch as are appointed and made governors over the flock of Chriſt, to teach and inſtruct them, ought ſo to frame their life, manners, countenance, and external behaviour, as neither they ſhew themſelves too familiar and light, whereby to be brought into contempt; nor on the other ſide again, that they appear not more lofty and rigorous, than appertaineth to the edifying of the ſimple flock of Chriſt. Nevertheleſs, as every man hath his peculiar gift wrought in him by nature, ſo this diſpoſition of fatherly gravity in this man neither was exceſſive, neither did he bear that perſonage that was in him, without great conſideration. For it ſeemed to him peradventure, that this licentious and unbridled life of the common ſort ought to be chaſtened,

tened, not only with words and diſcipline, but alſo with the grave and ſevere countenance of good men.

After he had thus practiſed himſelf in this popular and common kind of preaching; at length, and that not without the great profit of many, he was called to preach before the king's majeſty, and ſoon after made biſhop of Glouceſter by the king's commandment. In that office he continued two years, and behaved himſelf ſo well, that his very enemies (except it were for his good doings, and ſharp correcting of ſin) could find no fault with him, and after that he was made biſhop of Worceſter.

But I cannot tell what ſiniſter and unlucky contention concerning the ordering and conſecration of biſhops, and of their apparel, with ſuch other like trifles, began to diſturb the good and lucky beginning of this good biſhop. For notwithſtanding that godly reformation of religion that began in the church of England, beſides other ceremonies more ambitious than profitable, or tending to edification, they uſed to wear ſuch garments and apparel as the popiſh biſhops were wont to do: firſt a chymere, and under that a white rochet, then a mathematical cap with four angles, dividing the whole world into four parts. Theſe trifles, tending more to ſuperſtition than otherwiſe, as he could never abide, ſo in no wiſe could he be perſuaded to wear them. For this cauſe he made ſupplication to the king's majeſty, moſt humbly deſiring his highneſs, either to diſcharge him of the biſhoprick, or elſe to diſpenſe with him for ſuch ceremonial orders. Whoſe petition the king granted immediately, writing his letter to the archbiſhop after this tenor.

The King's Letter to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and other Biſhops.

RIGHT reverend father, and right truſty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we, by the advice of our council, have called and choſen our right well-beloved and well worthy, Mr. John Hooper, profeſſor of divinity, to be our biſhop of Glouceſter, as well for his great knowledge, deep judgment, and long ſtudy both in the ſcriptures, and prophane learning, as alſo for his good diſcretion, ready utterance, and honeſt life for that kind of vocation; to the intent all our loving ſubjects, which are in his ſaid charge, and elſewhere, might by his ſound and true doctrine learn the better their duty towards God, their obedience towards us, and love towards their neighbours: from conſecrating of whom we underſtand you do ſtay, becauſe he would have you omit and let paſs certain rites and ceremonies offenſive to his conſcience, whereby ye think ye ſhould fall in premunire of laws; we have thought good, by the advice aforeſaid, to diſpenſe and diſcharge you of all manner of dangers, penalties and forfeitures you ſhall run and be in any manner of way, by omitting any of the ſame. And theſe our letters ſhall be your ſufficient warrant and diſcharge therefore.

Given under our ſignet at our Caſtle of Windſor, the 5th of Auguſt, the 4th year of our reign.

Ed. Somerset.	W. Paget.
W. Wiltshire.	An. Wingfield.
W. North:	N. Wooton.

Beſides this letter of the king's, the earl of Warwick alſo (who was afterward duke of Northumberland) adjoined his letter to the aforeſaid archbiſhop of Canterbury, to this purpoſe and effect, that Mr. Hooper might not be burdened with the oath uſed then commonly in the conſecration of biſhops, which was againſt his conſcience, as by the purport of the letter here is to be ſeen, as followeth.

AFTER my moſt hearty commendations to your grace, theſe may be to deſire the ſame, that in ſuch reaſonable things, wherein this bearer, my lord elect of Glouceſter, craveth to be borne withal at your hands, you would vouchſafe to ſhew him your grace's favour, the rather at this my inſtance: which thing partly, I have taken in hand by the king's majeſty's own motion. The matter is weighed by his highneſs, none other but that your grace may eaſily condeſcend unto. The principal cauſe is, that you would not charge this ſaid bearer with an oath burdenous to his conſcience. And ſo for lack of time I commit your grace to the tuition of Almighty God. From Weſtminſter, July 23. 1550. Your grace's moſt aſſured loving friend,

J. Warwick.

But notwithſtanding this grant of the king, and alſo the earl's letter aforeſaid, the biſhops ſtill ſtood earneſtly in the defence of the aforeſaid ceremonies, ſaying, It was but a ſmall matter, and that the fault was in the abuſe of the things, and not in the things themſelves; adding moreover, that he ought not to be ſo ſtubborn in ſo light a matter, and that his wilfulneſs therein was not to be ſuffered.

To be ſhort, whilſt both parties thus contended about this matter more than reaſon would, in the mean time occaſion was given, as to the true chriſtians to lament, ſo to the adverſaries to rejoice. In concluſion, this theological contention came to this end, that the biſhops having the upper hand, Mr. Hooper was fain to agree to this condition, that ſometimes he ſhould in his ſermon ſhew himſelf apparelled as the other biſhops were. Wherefore, appointed to preach before the king, as a new player in a ſtrange apparel, he cometh forth on the ſtage. His upper garment was a long ſcarlet chymere down to the foot, and under that a white linen rochet that covered all his ſhoulders. Upon his head he had a geometrical, that is, a four-ſquared cap, albeit that his head was round. What cauſe of ſhame the ſtrangeneſs hereof was that day to that good preacher, every man may eaſily judge. But this private contumely and reproach, in reſpect of the public profit of the church, which he only ſought, he bare and ſuffered patiently. And I would to God in like manner, they which took upon them the other part of that tragedy, had yielded their private cauſe, whatſoever it was, to the public concord and edifying of the church, for no man in all the city was one hair the better for that hot contention.

I will name no body, partly for that his oppoſers being afterwards joined in the moſt ſtrict bond of friendſhip with him, in one and for one cauſe ſuffered martyrdom; and partly for that I commonly uſe, according to my accuſtomed manner, to keep my pen from preſumptuous judging of any perſon, yet I thought to note the thing for this conſideration, to admoniſh the reader hereby, how wholeſome and neceſſary the croſs of Chriſt is ſometimes in the church of Chriſt, as by the ſequel hereof did afterward appear. For as in a civil government and commonwealth, nothing is more occaſion of war than overmuch peace; ſo in the church and among churchmen, as nothing is more pernicious than too much quietneſs, ſo nothing cauſeth private contentions often riſing amongſt them ſooner to ceaſe, than the public croſs of perſecution.

Furthermore, I perſuaded myſelf that it was very expedient to have the examples of theſe good men remain on record: for as it does greatly add to our public conſolation and comfort when we read in the ſcriptures of the great diſſention between Paul and Barnabas, of the fall of Peter, and of David's murder and adultery; ſo likewiſe it may be no leſs profitable to our poſterity, to hear and know the falls of theſe godly martyrs, whereby we may the leſs deſpair in our infirmities, conſidering the ſame or greater have happened to the holy ſaints of God, both prophets, apoſtles and martyrs.

And thus by the way thou haſt heard, good reader, the frailties of theſe good men (plainly and ſimply as the

truth was) declared unto thee, to the end their fall may miniſter occaſion to us either of avoiding the like, or elſe to take heart and comfort in the frailties incident to us. Now again, on the other hand, it remaineth to record, after the aforeſaid diſpute, the godly reconciliations of theſe good men in time of perſecution, who afterwards were firmly reconciled when impriſoned for the truth's ſake, as appears by the following letter ſent by biſhop Ridley to the ſaid biſhop of Glouceſter. The copy whereof, as it was written with his own hand in Latin, here followeth tranſlated into Engliſh.

To my dear Brother and reverend fellow Elder in Chriſt, John Hooper, Grace and Peace.

MY dearly beloved brother and fellow-elder, whom I reverence in the Lord, pardon me, I beſeech you, that hitherto ſince your captivity and mine, I have not ſaluted you by my letters: whereas I do indeed confeſs, I have received from you (ſuch was your gentleneſs) two letters at ſundry times: but yet at ſuch time as I could not be ſuffered to write to you again; or if I might, yet was I in doubt how my letters might ſafely come into your hands. But now, my dear brother, foraſmuch as I underſtand by your works, which I have but ſuperficially ſeen, that we throughly agree and wholly conſent together in thoſe things which are the grounds and ſubſtantial points of our religion, againſt which the world ſo furiouſly rageth in theſe our days, howſoever in time paſt by certain by-matters and circumſtances of religion, your wiſdom and my ſimplicity (I grant) hath a little jarred, each of us following the abundance of his own ſenſe and judgment: now, I ſay, be you aſſured, that even with my whole heart, God is my witneſs, in the bowels of Chriſt, I love you in the truth and for the truth's ſake, which abideth in us, and, as I am perſuaded, ſhall, by the grace of God, abide in us for evermore.

And becauſe the world, as I perceive, brother, ceaſeth not to play his pageant, and buſily conſpireth againſt Chriſt our Saviour, with all poſſible force and power, exalting high things againſt the knowledge of God; let us join hands together in Chriſt, and if we cannot overthrow, yet to our power, and as much as in us lieth, let us ſhake thoſe high altitudes, not with carnal, but with ſpiritual weapons: and withal, brother, let us prepare ourſelves to the day of our diſſolution, by the which, after the ſhort time of this bodily affliction, by the grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, we ſhall triumph together with him in eternal glory.

I pray you, brother, ſalute in my name your reverend fellow priſoners, and venerable father D. C. by whom, ſince the firſt day that I heard of his moſt godly and fatherly conſtancy, in confeſſing the truth of the goſpel, I have conceived great conſolation and joy in the Lord. For the integrity and uprightneſs of that man, his gravity and innocency, all England, I think, hath known long ago. Bleſſed be God therefore, which in ſuch abundance of iniquity and decay of all godlineſs, hath given unto us, in this reverend old age, ſuch a witneſs for the truth of his goſpel. Miſerable and hard-hearted is he, whom the godlineſs and conſtant confeſſion of ſo worthy, ſo grave and innocent a man, will not move to acknowledge and confeſs the truth of God.

I do not now, brother, require you to write any thing to me again: for I ſtand much in fear, leſt your letters ſhould be intercepted before they can come to my hands. Nevertheleſs know you, that it ſhall be to me great joy to hear of your conſtancy and fortitude in the Lord's quarrel. And albeit I have not hitherto written unto you, yet have I twice, as I could, ſent you my mind touching the matter which in your letters you required to know. Neither can I yet, brother, be otherwiſe perſuaded: I ſee methinks ſo many perils, whereby I am earneſtly moved to counſel you not to haſten the publiſhing of your works, eſpecially under the title of your own name. For I fear greatly, leſt by this occaſion both your mouth ſhould be ſtopped hereafter, and all things taken away from the reſt of the priſoners, whereby otherwiſe, if it ſo pleaſe God, they may be able to do good to many. Farewel in the Lord, my moſt dear brother; and if there be any more in priſon with you for Chriſt's ſake, I beſeech you, as you may, ſalute them in my name. To whoſe prayers I do moſt humbly and heartily commend myſelf and my fellow priſoners and concaptives in the Lord, and yet once again, and for ever in Chriſt, my moſt dear brother, farewel.

N. Ridley.

Mr. Hooper, after he had ſuſtained all theſe troubles and vexations about his inveſting and princely veſtures, at length entered into his dioceſe, did employ his time under king Edward's reign with ſuch diligence, as may be a ſpectacle to all biſhops who ſhall ever hereafter ſucceed him, not only in that place, but in whatſoever dioceſe through the whole realm of England: ſo careful was he in his cure, that he left no pains untaken, nor ways unſought, how to train up the flock of Chriſt in the true word of ſalvation, continually labouring in the ſame. Other men commonly are wont, for lucre or promotion's ſake, to aſpire to biſhopricks, ſome hunting for them, and ſome purchaſing or buying them, as men uſe to purchaſe lordſhips; and when they have them are loth to leave them, and thereupon alſo loth to commit that thing by worldly laws, whereby to loſe them.

But Mr. Hooper was of a contrary mind, who abhorred nothing more than gain, labouring always to ſave and preſerve the ſouls of his flock. Who, being biſhop of two dioceſes, ſo ruled and guided either of them, and both together, as though he had in charge but one family. No father in his houſhold, no gardener in his garden, nor huſbandman in his vineyard, was more or better occupied, than he in his dioceſe amongſt his flock, going about his towns and villages in teaching and preaching to the people there.

The time that he had to ſpare from preaching, he beſtowed either in hearing public cauſes, or elſe in private ſtudy, prayer, and viſiting of ſchools: with his continual doctrine he adjoined due and diſcreet correction, not ſo much ſevere to any, as to them which for abundance of riches and wealthy ſtate thought they might do what they pleaſed. And doubtleſs he ſpared no kind of people, but was indifferent to all, as well rich as poor, to the great ſhame of many men now-a-days; whereof we ſee many ſo addicted to the pleaſing of great and rich men, that in the mean time they have no regard to the meaner ſort, whom Chriſt hath bought as dearly as the other.

But now again we will return to Mr. Hooper, all whoſe life, in fine, was ſuch, that to the church and all churchmen it might be a light and example, and to the reſt a perpetual leſſon and ſermon. Finally, how virtuous and good a biſhop he was, ye may conceive and know evidently by this, that even as he was hated by none but of them which were evil, yet the worſt of them all could not reprove his life in any one jot.

I have now declared his uſage and behaviour abroad in the public affairs of the church; and certainly there appeared in him at home no leſs example of a worthy prelate's life. For though he beſtowed and converted the moſt part of his care upon the public flock and congregation of Chriſt, for which alſo he ſpent his blood: yet nevertheleſs there was nothing wanting in him, to bring up his own children in learning and good manners; inſomuch that ye could not diſcern whether he deſerved more praiſe for his fatherly uſage at home, or for his biſhop-like doing abroad. For every where he kept one religion in one uniform doctrine and integrity. So that if you entered into the biſhop's palace, you would ſuppoſe yourſelf to have entered into ſome church or temple. In every corner thereof there was ſome ſmell of virtue, good example,

example, honeſt converſation, and reading of the holy ſcriptures. There was not to be ſeen in his houſe any courtly rioting or idleneſs; no pomp at all, no diſhoneſt word, no ſwearing could there be heard.

As for the revenues of both his biſhopricks, although they did not greatly exceed, as the matter was handled, yet if any thing ſurmounted thereof, he ſaved nothing, but beſtowed it in hoſpitality. Twice I was, as I remember, in his houſe in Worceſter, where, in his common hall, I ſaw a table ſpread with good ſtore of meat, and beſet full of beggars and poor people: and I aſking his ſervants what this meant, they told me, that every day their lord and maſter's manner was, to have at dinner a certain number of poor folks of the ſaid city by courſe, who were ſerved by four at a meſs, with wholeſome meats: and when they were ſerved (being before examined by him or his deputies, of the Lord's prayer, the articles of their faith, and ten commandments), then he himſelf ſate down to dinner, and not before.

After this manner Mr. Hooper executed the office of a moſt careful and vigilant paſtor, for the ſpace of two years and more, ſo long as the ſtate of religion in king Edward's time did ſafely flouriſh and take place: and would God that all other biſhops would uſe the like diligence, care, and obſervance in their function. After this, king Edward being dead, and Mary being crowned queen of England, religion being ſubverted and changed, this good biſhop was one of the firſt that was ſent for by a purſuivant to be at London; and that for two cauſes.

Firſt, To anſwer to Dr. Heath, then appointed biſhop of that dioceſe, who was deprived thereof in king Edward's days for being a papiſt.

Secondly, To render an account to Dr. Bonner biſhop of London, for that he in king Edward's time was one of his accuſers, in that he ſhewed himſelf not conformable to ſuch ordinances as were preſcribed to him by the king and his council, openly at Paul's croſs. And although the ſaid Mr. Hooper was not ignorant of the evils that ſhould happen towards him (for he was admoniſhed by certain of his friends to get him away, and ſhift for himſelf), yet he would not prevent them, but tarried ſtill, ſaying: Once I did flee, and take me to my feet; but now, becauſe I am called to this place and vocation, I am thoroughly perſuaded to tarry, and to live and die with my ſheep.

And when at the day of his appearance, which was the firſt of September, he was come to London, before he could come to the aforeſaid Dr. Heath and Dr. Bonner, he was intercepted, and commanded violently againſt his will to appear before the queen and her council, to anſwer to certain bonds and obligations, wherein they ſaid he was bound unto her. And when he came before them, the biſhop of Wincheſter received him very opprobrioufly, railing and rating of him, and accuſed him of his religion. He again freely and boldly told his tale, and cleared himſelf. But in fine it came to this concluſion, that by them he was commanded to ward (it being declared unto him at his departure, that the cauſe of his impriſonment was only for certain ſums of money, for which he was indebted to the queen, and not for religion). This, how falſe and untrue it was, ſhall in its place more plainly appear.

The next year, being 1554. March 19. he was called again to appear before Wincheſter, and others of the queen's commiſſioners: where, what for the biſhop, and what for the unruly multitude, when he could not be permitted to plead his cauſe, he was deprived of his biſhopricks. Which how, and in what order it was done, here now followeth to be ſeen by the teſtimony and report of one, who, being preſent at the doing, committed the ſame to writing.

A Letter or Report of a certain good Man, declaring the Order of Mr. Hooper's Deprivation from his Biſhopricks. March 19. 1554.

FOraſmuch as a rumour is ſpread abroad of the talk had at my lord chancellor's, between him with other commiſſioners there appointed, and Mr. Hooper, quite contrary to the verity and truth thereof indeed, and therefore to be judged rather to be riſen of malice, for the diſcrediting of the truth by falſe ſuggeſtions and evil reports, than otherwiſe: I thought it my duty, being preſent thereat myſelf, in writing to ſet forth the whole effect of the ſame; partly that the verity thereof may be known to the doubtful people; and partly alſo to advertiſe them, how uncharitably Mr. Hooper was handled at their hands, who with all humility uſed himſelf towards them, deſiring, that with patience he might have been permitted to ſpeak; aſſuring all men, that where I ſtood in a mammering and doubt, which of theſe two religions to have credited, either that ſet forth by the king's majeſty that is dead, or elſe that now maintained by the queen's majeſty; their unreverend behaviour towards Mr. Hooper doth move me the rather to credit his doctrine, than that which they with railing and cruel words defended, conſidering that Chriſt was ſo handled before. And that this which I have written here, was the effect of their talk, as I acknowledge it to be true myſelf: ſo I appeal to all the hearers conſciences that were then preſent (ſo they put affection away) for the witneſs of the ſame.

The Biſhops of Wincheſter, of London, of Durham, of Landaff, of Chicheſter, ſate as Commiſſioners.

AT Mr. Hooper's coming in, the lord chancellor aſked, whether he was married.

Hooper. Yea, my lord, and will not be unmarried, till death unmarry me.

Durham. That is matter enough to deprive you.

Hooper. That it is not, my lord, except ye do againſt the law.

The matter concerning marriage was no more talked of then for a great ſpace: but as well the commiſſioners, as ſuch as ſtood by, began to make ſuch outcries, and laughed, and uſed ſuch geſture as was unſeemly for the place, and for ſuch a matter. Dr. Day biſhop of Chicheſter called Mr. Hooper hypocrite, with vehement words, and ſcornful countenance. Biſhop Tonſtal called him beaſt; ſo did Smith, one of the clerks of the council, and ſeveral others that ſtood by. At length the biſhop of Wincheſter ſaid, that all men might live chaſte that would, and brought in this text, "There be that have gelded themſelves for the kingdom of heaven." Matt. 19. 12.

Mr. Hooper ſaid, that text proved not that all men could live chaſte, but ſuch to whom it was given; and read that which goeth before in the text. But there was a clamour and cry, mocking and ſcorning, with calling him beaſt, that the text could not be examined. Then Mr. Hooper ſaid, that it did not appear by the old canons, that marriage was forbidden unto prieſts, and named the decrees. But the biſhop of Wincheſter ſent for another part, namely the Clementines, or the Extravagants. But Biſhop Hooper ſaid, that book was not it which he named.

Then the biſhop of Wincheſter ſaid, You ſhall not have any other, until ye be judged by this. And then began ſuch a noiſe, tumult, and ſpeaking together of a great many that favoured not the cauſe, that nothing was done or ſpoke orderly or charitably. Afterwards judge Morgan began to rail at Mr. Hooper a long time, with many opprobrious and foul words, of his doing at Glouceſter, in puniſhing of men, and ſaid, there was never ſuch a tyrant as he was. After that Dr. Day biſhop of Chicheſter ſaid,

that the council of Ancyra, which was before the council of Nice, was againſt the marriage of prieſts.

Then the lord chancellor cried out, and many with him, that Mr. Hooper had never read the councils.

Yea, my lord, quoth Mr. Hooper, and my lord of Chicheſter, Dr. Day knoweth that the great council of Nice, by the means of one Paphnutius, decreed, That no miniſter ſhould be ſeparated from his wife. But ſuch clamours and cries were uſed, that the council of Nice was not ſeen.

After this long brutiſh talk, Tonſtal biſhop of Durham aſked Mr. Hooper, whether he believed the corporal preſence in the ſacrament. And Mr. Hooper ſaid plainly, that there was none ſuch, neither did he believe any ſuch thing.

Then the biſhop of Durham would have read out of a book, for his purpoſe belike (what book it was I cannot tell), but there was ſuch a noiſe and confuſed talk on every ſide, that he did not read it. Then the biſhop of Wincheſter aſked Mr. Hooper, What authority moved him not to believe the corporal preſence? He ſaid, the authority of God's word, and alledged this text, "Whom heaven muſt hold until the latter day."

Then the biſhop of Wincheſter would have made that text to ſerve nothing for his purpoſe, and ſaid, he might be in heaven, and in the ſacrament alſo.

Mr. Hooper would have ſaid more to have opened the text, but all thoſe that ſtood next about the biſhop, allowed his ſaying with clamour and cries, that Mr. Hooper was not permitted to ſay any more againſt the biſhop. Whereupon they bade the notaries write, That he was married, and ſaid that he would not go from his wife; and that he believed not the corporal preſence in the ſacrament; wherefore he was worthy to be deprived of his biſhoprick.

This is the truth of the matter (as far as I can truly remember) of the confuſed and troubleſome talk that was between them, and except it were haſty and uncharitable words, this is the whole of their diſcourſe at that time.

The true Report of Mr. Hooper's Entertainment in the Fleet, written with his own Hand, Jan. 7. 1554.

THE firſt of September 1553, I was committed unto the Fleet from Richmond, to have the liberty of the priſon; and within ſix days after I paid five pounds ſterling to the warden for fees, for my liberty; who immediately upon payment thereof, complained unto Stephen Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, and ſo I was committed to cloſe priſon one quarter of a year in the Tower-chamber of the Fleet, and uſed very extremely. Then by the means of a good gentlewoman, I had liberty to come down to dinner and ſupper, not ſuffered to ſpeak with any of my friends; but as ſoon as dinner and ſupper was done, to repair to my chamber again. Notwithſtanding whilſt I came down thus to dinner and ſupper, the warden and his wife picked quarrels with me, and complained untruly of me to their great friend the biſhop of Wincheſter.

After one quarter of a year and ſomewhat more, Babington the warden, and his wife, fell out with me for the wicked maſs: and thereupon the warden reſorted to the biſhop of Wincheſter, and obtained to put me into the wards, where I have continued a long time, having nothing appointed to me for my bed, but a little pad of ſtraw and a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers therein, the chamber being vile and ſtinking, until by God's means good people ſent me bedding to lie on. On one ſide of which priſon is the ſink and filth of the houſe, and on the other the town ditch, ſo that the ſtench of the houſe hath infected me with ſundry diſeaſes. During which time I have been ſick, and the doors, bars, haſps, and chains being all cloſed, and made faſt upon me, I have mourned, called and cried for help; but the warden, when he hath known me many times ready to die, when the poor men of the wards have called to help me, hath commanded the doors to be kept faſt, and charged that none of his men ſhould come at me, ſaying, Let him alone, it were a good riddance of him. And, amongſt many other times, he did thus October 18. 1553. as many can witneſs.

I paid always like a baron to the ſaid warden, as well in fees, as for my board, which was 20 ſhillings a week, beſides my man's table, until I was wrongfully deprived of my biſhopricks, and ſince that time I have paid him as the beſt gentleman doth in his houſe; yet hath he uſed me worſe, and more vilely, than the verieſt ſlave that ever came to the hall commons.

The ſaid warden hath alſo impriſoned my man William Downton, and ſtripped him out of his cloaths to ſearch for letters, and could find none only a little remembrance of good people's names, that gave me their alms to relieve me in priſon; and to undo them alſo, the warden delivered the ſame bill unto the ſaid Stephen Gardiner, God's enemy and mine.

I have ſuffered impriſonment almoſt eighteen months, my goods, livings, friends, and comfort taken from me; the queen owing me by juſt account fourſcore pounds or more. She hath put me in priſon, and giveth nothing to keep me, neither is there ſuffered any one to come at me, whereby I might have relief. I am with a wicked man and woman, ſo that I ſee no remedy (ſaving God's help) but I ſhall be caſt away in priſon before I come to judgment. But I commit my juſt cauſe to God, whoſe will be done, whether it be by life or death.

Thus much wrote he himſelf of this matter.

Another Examination of Mr. Hooper.

THE 22d of January, 1555. Babington the warden of the Fleet was commanded to bring Mr. Hooper before the biſhop of Wincheſter, with other biſhops and commiſſioners, at the ſaid Wincheſter's houſe at St. Mary Overy's: where the biſhop of Wincheſter, in the name of himſelf and the reſt, moved Mr. Hooper earneſtly to forſake the evil and corrupt doctrine (as he termed it) preached in the days of king Edward VI. and to return to the unity of the catholic church, and to acknowledge the pope's holineſs to be head of the ſame church, according to the determination of the whole parliament, promiſing, that as he himſelf, with other his brethren, had received the pope's bleſſing, and the queen's mercy; even ſo mercy was ready to be ſhewed to him and others, if he would ariſe with them, and condeſcend to the pope's holineſs.

Mr. Hooper anſwered, That foraſmuch as the pope taught doctrine altogether contrary to the doctrine of Chriſt, he was not worthy to be accounted as a member of Chriſt's church, much leſs to be head thereof; wherefore he would in no wiſe condeſcend to any ſuch uſurped juriſdiction, neither eſteemed he the church, whereof they call him head, to be the catholic church of Chriſt: for the church only heareth the voice of her ſpouſe Chriſt, and flieth the ſtrangers. Howbeit (ſaith he) if in any point to me unknown, I have offended the queen's majeſty, I ſhall moſt humbly ſubmit myſelf to her mercy, if mercy may be had with ſafety of conſcience, and without the diſpleaſure of God.

Anſwer was made, That the queen would ſhew no mercy to the pope's enemies. Whereupon Babington was commanded to carry him to the Fleet again: who did ſo, and ſhifted him from his former chamber into another, near to the warden's own chamber, where he remained ſix days: and in the mean time his former chamber was ſearched by Dr. Martin and others, for writings and books, which Mr. Hooper was thought to have made, but none was found.

Another

Another Examination of Mr. Hooper.

THE 28th of January, the biſhop of Wincheſter and other commiſſioners ſate in judgment at St. Mary Overy's, where Mr. Hooper appeared before them in the afternoon, and there, after much reaſoning and diſputation to and fro, he was commanded aſide, till Mr. Rogers (who was then come) had been likewiſe examined. Examinations being ended, the two ſheriffs of London were commanded, about four of the clock, to carry them to the Compter in Southwark, there to remain till the morrow at nine o'clock, to ſee whether they would relent and come home again to the catholic church. So Mr. Hooper went before with one of the ſheriffs, and Mr. Rogers came after with the other, and being out of the church door, Mr. Hooper looked back, and ſtayed a little till Mr. Rogers drew near, unto whom he ſaid, Come, brother Rogers, muſt we two take this matter firſt in hand, and begin to fry theſe faggots? Yea, Sir, ſaid Mr. Rogers, by God's grace. Doubt not, ſaid Mr. Hooper, but God will give ſtrength. So going forwards, there was ſuch a preſs of people in the ſtreets, who rejoiced at their conſtancy, that they had much ado to paſs.

By the way, the ſheriff ſaid to Mr. Hooper, I wonder that ye were ſo haſty and quick with my lord chancellor, and did uſe no more patience: he anſwered, Mr. Sheriff, I was nothing at all impatient, although I was earneſt in my maſter's cauſe, and it ſtandeth me ſo in hand, for it goeth upon life and death, not the life and death of this world only, but alſo of the world to come. Then were they committed to the keeper of the Compter, and appointed to ſeveral chambers, with command that they ſhould not be ſuffered to ſpeak one with another, neither any other permitted to come to them that night.

Upon the next day following, January 29. at the hour appointed they were brought again by the ſheriffs before the ſaid biſhop and commiſſioners in the church, where they were the day before. And after long and earneſt talk, when they perceived that Mr. Hooper would by no means condeſcend unto them, they condemned him to be degraded, and read unto him his condemnation. That done, Mr. Rogers was brought before them, and treated in like manner; and then were both delivered to the ſecular power, the two ſheriffs of London, who were ordered to carry them to the Clink, a priſon not far from the biſhop of Wincheſter's houſe, and there to remain till night.

When it was dark, Mr. Hooper was led by one of the ſheriffs, with many bills and weapons, through the biſhop of Wincheſter's houſe, and over London bridge, through the city to Newgate, and by the way ſome of the ſerjeants were ſent before, to put out the coſtermonger's candles, who uſed to ſit with lights in the ſtreets: either fearing, of likelihood, that the people would have made ſome attempt to have taken him away from them by force, if they had ſeen him go to that priſon, or elſe, being burdened with an evil conſcience, they thought darkneſs to be a moſt fit ſeaſon for ſuch a buſineſs.

But notwithſtanding this device, the people having ſome foreknowledge of his coming, many of them came forth of their doors with lights, and ſaluted him, praiſing God for his conſtancy in the true doctrine which he had taught them, and deſiring God to ſtrengthen him in the ſame to the end. Mr. Hooper paſſed by, and required the people to make their earneſt prayers to God for him, and ſo went through Cheapſide to the place appointed, and was delivered as cloſe priſoner to the keeper of Newgate, where he remained ſix days, no body being permitted to come to him, or talk with him, ſaving his keepers, and ſuch as ſhould be appointed thereto.

During this time, Bonner biſhop of London, and others at his appointment, as Fecknam, Chedſey and Harpsfield, &c. reſorted ſeveral times unto him, to try if by any means they could perſuade him to relent, and become a member of their antichriſtian church. All the ways they could deviſe, they attempted. For, beſides the diſputations and allegations of teſtimonies of the ſcriptures, and of ancient writers wreſted to a wrong ſenſe, according to their accuſtomed manner; they uſed alſo all outward gentleneſs and ſignifications of friendſhip, with many great promiſes of worldly wealth; not omitting alſo moſt grievous threatenings, if with gentleneſs they could not prevail; but they found him always the ſame man, ſtedfaſt and immoveable. When they perceived that they could by no means reclaim him to their purpoſe, with ſuch perſuaſions and offers as they uſed for his converſion, then went they by falſe rumours and reports of recantations (for it is well known that they and their ſervants did firſt ſpread it abroad) to bring him, and the doctrine of Chriſt which he profeſſed, in diſcredit with the people. Which being thus ſpread abroad, and believed by ſome of the weaker ſort, by reaſon of the often reſort of the biſhop of London and others, it increaſed more, and at laſt came to Mr. Hooper's ears, who was greatly grieved thereat, that the people ſhould give credit to ſuch falſe rumours, having ſo ſimple a ground; as may appear from the following letter, which he wrote upon that occaſion.

Mr. Hooper's Letter for preventing certain falſe Rumours ſpread abroad of his Recantation.

THE grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with all them that unfeignedly look for the coming of our Saviour Chriſt. Amen.

Dear brethren and ſiſters in the Lord, and my fellow-priſoners for the cauſe of God's goſpel, I do much rejoice and give thanks unto God for your conſtancy and perſeverance in affliction, unto whom I wiſh continuance unto the end. And as I do rejoice in your faith and conſtancy in afflictions that be in priſon; even ſo do I mourn and lament to hear of our dear brethren that yet have not felt ſuch dangers for God's truth, as we have and do feel, and be daily like to ſuffer more, yea, the very extreme and vile death of the fire: yet ſuch is the report abroad (as I am credibly informed) that I John Hooper, a condemned man for the cauſe of Chriſt, ſhould now after ſentence of death (being priſoner in Newgate, and looking daily for execution) recant and abjure that which heretofore I have preached. And this talk ariſeth from this, that the biſhop of London and his chaplains reſort unto me. Doubtleſs, if our brethren were as godly as I could wiſh them, they would think, that in caſe I did refuſe to talk with them, they might have juſt occaſion to ſay that I were unlearned, and durſt not ſpeak with learned men; or elſe proud, and diſdained to ſpeak with them. Therefore to avoid juſt ſuſpicion of both, I have, and do daily ſpeak with them when they come, not doubting but they report, that I am neither proud nor unlearned. And I would wiſh all men to do as I do in this point. For I fear not their arguments, neither is death terrible unto me, praying you to make true report of the ſame, as occaſion ſhall ſerve; and that I am more confirmed in the truth which I have heretofore preached, by their coming.

Therefore, ye that may ſend to the weak brethren, pray them that they trouble me not with ſuch reports of recantations as they do. For I have hitherto left all things of the world, and ſuffered great pains and impriſonment, and I thank God I am as ready to ſuffer death, as a mortal man can be. It were better for them to pray for us, than to credit or report ſuch rumours that be untrue. We have enemies enow of ſuch as know not God truly. But yet the falſe report of weak brethren is a double croſs. I wiſh you eternal ſalvation in Jeſus Chriſt, and alſo require your continual prayers, that he which hath begun in us, may continue it to the end.

I have taught the truth with my tongue, and with my

pen heretofore, and hereafter ſhall ſhortly confirm the ſame by God's grace with my blood. From Newgate, February 2. 1555.

Your brother in Chriſt,

John Hooper.

Upon Monday morning the biſhop of London came to Newgate, and degraded Mr. Hooper; the ſentence of his degradation here followeth.

The Degradation of Mr. Hooper.

IN the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, Amen. Whereas by a definitive ſentence from the reverend father in Chriſt, Stephen, by divine permiſſion, lord biſhop of Wincheſter, againſt you John Hooper, preſbyter of his juriſdiction, on account of hereſy and offence notoriouſly committed within his dioceſe of Wincheſter, and of late juſtly and legally proved; it plainly appears to us, Edmund biſhop of London, that you the aforeſaid John Hooper have been and ſtill continue to be an open, obſtinate, and incorrigible heretic, and it alſo appears by the aforeſaid ſentence that you have been declared and pronounced an heretic of this ſort, and have likewiſe incurred the ſentence of the greater excommunication; and it plainly and fully appears that you are to be depoſed and degraded from your order, and for theſe your demerits are to be delivered to the ſecular power, according to the tenour of the aforeſaid ſentence to which we refer ourſelves in this affair. We therefore the aforeſaid Edmund biſhop of London, as it concerns us and the univerſity to do our alternate endeavours, in whoſe dioceſe you John Hooper have committed the ſame hereſy then and oftentimes both before and after; for theſe I ſay and the aforeſaid conſiderations, and that we may execute the aforeſaid ſentence in a better and more efficacious manner, have thought fit to proceed to the actual degradation of you the aforeſaid John Hooper (your crime and juſtice ſo requiring), and ſo we do really proceed according to the direction of the law, and the laudable cuſtom of former times, that we may rightly and legally deliver you to the ſecular power, who are unwilling to continue in the pale of the church; and that this ought to be done, we do by theſe preſents declare and pronounce in this our ſentence.

After the ſentence of degradation thus declared, now let us ſee the form and manner of their degrading, which here alſo followeth. But firſt here is to be noted, that they, degrading this bleſſed biſhop, did not proceed againſt him as a biſhop, but only as againſt a prieſt, as they termed him; for ſuch as he was, theſe Baalamites accounted no biſhop.

The form and manner uſed in the Degrading of Biſhop Hooper.

THE fourth day of February, the year abovementioned, in the chapel of Newgate, the biſhop of London there ſitting with his notary and ſeveral other witneſſes, Alexander Andrew the gaoler came in, bringing with him Mr. Hooper and Mr. Rogers, being condemned before by the lord chancellor, where the ſaid biſhop of London, at the requeſt of the aforeſaid biſhop of Wincheſter, proceeded to the degradation of Mr. Hooper and Mr. Rogers, after this form and manner: firſt, he put upon him all the veſtures and ornaments belonging to a prieſt, with all other things to the ſame order appertaining, as though (being reveſted) they ſhould ſolemnly execute their office. They being thus apparelled and reveſted, the biſhop beginneth to pluck off, firſt the uttermoſt veſture, and ſo by degree and order coming down to the loweſt veſture, which they had only in taking Benet and Collet; and ſo being ſtript and depoſed, he deprived them of all order, benefit, and privilege belonging to the clergy; and conſequently that being done, pronounced, decreed, and declared the ſaid parties ſo degraded, to be given perſonally to the ſecular power, as the ſheriffs being for that year, Mr. Davy Woodrooffe, and Mr. William Cheſter; who receiving firſt the ſaid Mr. Rogers at the hands of the biſhop, had him away with them, bringing him to the place of execution where he ſuffered. The witneſſes there preſent were Mr. Harpsfield archdeacon of London, Robert Coſin, and Robert Willerton, canons of Paul's, Thomas Mountague, and George How, clerks, Triſtram Swadock, and Richard Clumney, Sumner, &c.

The ſame Monday at night, February 4. his keeper gave him an inkling that he ſhould be ſent to Glouceſter to ſuffer death, whereat he rejoiced very much, lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, and praiſing God that he ſaw it good to ſend him amongſt the people over whom he was paſtor, there to confirm with his death the truth which he had before taught them; not doubting but the Lord would give him ſtrength to perform the ſame to his glory: and immediately he ſent to his ſervant's houſe for his boots, ſpurs, and cloak, that he might be in readineſs to ride when he ſhould be called.

The next day following, about four of the clock in the morning before day, the keeper with others came to him and ſearched him, and the bed wherein he lay, to ſee if he had written any thing, and then he was led by the ſheriffs of London, and their officers, from Newgate to a place appointed, not far from St. Dunſtan's church in Fleet-ſtreet, where ſix of the queen's guard were appointed to receive him, to carry him to Glouceſter, there to be delivered unto the ſheriff, who with the Lord Shandois, Mr. Wicks, and other commiſſioners, were appointed to ſee execution done. Which guard brought him to the Angel, where he brake his faſt with them, eating his meat at that time more liberal than he uſed to do a good while before. About break of day he went to horſe, and leapt chearfully on horſeback without help, having a hood upon his head under his hat that he ſhould not be known, and ſo he took his journey joyful towards Glouceſter, and by the way the guard enquired of him where he was accuſtomed to bait or lodge, but always carried him to another inn.

Upon Thurſday following, he came to a town in his dioceſe called Cirenceſter, 15 miles from Glouceſter, about eleven of the clock, and there dined at a woman's houſe who had always hated the truth, and ſpoken all evil ſhe could of Mr. Hooper. This woman, perceiving the cauſe of his coming, ſhewed him all the friendſhip ſhe could, and lamented his caſe with tears, confeſſing that ſhe before had often reported, that if he were put to the trial, he would not ſtand to his doctrine.

After dinner he rode forwards, and came to Glouceſter about five of the clock, and a mile without the town was much people aſſembled, who cried and lamented his eſtate; inſomuch that one of the guard rode poſt into the town, to require aid of the mayor and ſheriffs, fearing leſt he ſhould have been taken from them. The officers and their retinue repaired to the gate with weapons, and commanded the people to keep their houſes, &c. but there was no man that once gave any ſignification of any ſuch reſcue or violence. He lodged at one Ingram's houſe in Glouceſter, and that night (as he had done all the way) he did eat his meat quietly, and ſlept his firſt ſleep ſoundly, as it was reported by them of the guard and others. After his firſt ſleep he continued all that night in prayer until the morning, and then deſired that he might go into the next chamber (for the guard were alſo in the chamber where he lay), that there being ſolitary, he might pray and talk with God: ſo that all the day, ſaving a little at meat, and when he talked any time

with

with ſuch as the guard licenſed to ſpeak with him, he beſtowed in prayer.

Amongſt others that ſpake with him, Sir Anthony Kingſton, knight, was one. Who, ſeeming in time paſt his true friend, was then appointed by the queen's letters to be one of the commiſſioners, to ſee execution done upon him. Mr. Kingſton being brought into the chamber, found him at his prayers: and as ſoon as he ſaw Mr. Hooper, he burſt forth in tears. Mr. Hooper at the firſt bluſh knew him not. Then ſaid Mr. Kingſton, Why, my lord, do you not know me an old friend of yours, Anthony Kingſton?

Yes, Mr. Kingſton, I do now know you well, and am glad to ſee you in health, and do praiſe God for the ſame.

But I am ſorry to ſee you in this caſe, ſaid Mr. Kingſton, for I underſtand you be come hither to die. But, alas, conſider that life is ſweet, and death is bitter. Therefore ſeeing life may be had, deſire to live; for life hereafter may do good.

Indeed it is true, Mr. Kingſton, I am come hither to end this life, and to ſuffer death here, becauſe I will not gainſay the former truth that I have heretofore taught amongſt you in this dioceſe, and elſewhere; and I thank you for your friendly counſel, although it be not ſo friendly as I could have wiſhed it. True it is, Mr. Kingſton, that death is bitter, and life is ſweet: but, alas, conſider that the death to come is more bitter, and the life to come is more ſweet. Therefore for the deſire and love I have to the one, and the terror and fear of the other, I do not ſo much regard this death, nor eſteem this life, but have ſettled myſelf, through the ſtrength of God's Holy Spirit, patiently to paſs through the torments and extremities of the fire now prepared for me, rather than to deny the truth of his word, deſiring you and others, in the mean time, to commend me to God's mercy in your prayers.

Well, my lord, then I perceive there is no remedy, and therefore I will take my leave of you: and I thank God that I ever knew you, for God did appoint you to call me, being a loſt child: and by your good inſtructions, where before I was both an adulterer and a fornicator, God hath brought me to the forſaking and deteſting of the ſame.

If you have had grace ſo to do, I do highly praiſe God for it: and if you have not, I pray God you may have, and that you may continually live in his fear. After theſe and many other words, the one took leave of the other, Mr. Kingſton with bitter tears, Mr. Hooper with tears alſo trickling down his cheeks. At his departure, Mr. Hooper told him, that all the troubles he had ſuſtained in priſon, had not cauſed him to utter ſo much ſorrow.

The ſame day in the afternoon, a blind boy, after long interceſſion made to the guard, obtained licenſe to be brought unto Mr. Hooper's ſpeech. The ſame boy not long before had ſuffered impriſonment at Glouceſter for confeſſing of the truth. Mr. Hooper, after he had examined him of his faith, and the cauſe of his impriſonment, beheld him ſtedfaſtly, and (the water appearing in his eyes) ſaid unto him, Ah poor boy, God hath taken from thee thy outward ſight, for what reaſon he beſt knoweth; but he hath given thee another ſight much more precious, for he hath endued thy ſoul with the eye of knowledge and faith. God give thee grace continually to pray unto him, that thou loſe not that ſight, for then ſhouldeſt thou be blind both in body and ſoul.

After that another came to him, whom he knew to be a papiſt, and a wicked man, who appeared to pity him, ſaying, Sir, I am ſorry to ſee you thus. To ſee me? Why, ſaid he, art thou ſorry? To ſee you, ſaid the other, in this caſe. For I hear ſay, you are come hither to die, for which I am ſorry. Be ſorry for thyſelf, man, ſaid Mr. Hooper, and lament thine own wickedneſs; for I am well, I thank God, and death to me for Chriſt's ſake, is welcome.

The ſame night he was committed by the guard, their commiſſion being then expired, unto the cuſtody of the ſheriffs of Glouceſter. The name of the one was Jenkins, the other Bond, who with the mayor and aldermen repaired to Mr. Hooper's lodging, and at the firſt meeting ſaluted him, and took him by the hand. Unto him Hooper ſpake on this manner. Mr. Mayor, I give moſt hearty thanks to you, and to the reſt of your brethren, that you have vouchſafed to take me a priſoner and condemned man by the hand; whereby to my rejoicing it is ſomewhat apparent that your old love and friendſhip towards me is not altogether extinguiſhed: and I truſt alſo that all the things I have taught you in times paſt are not utterly forgotten, when I was here, by the godly king that is dead, appointed to be your biſhop and paſtor. For which moſt true and ſincere doctrine, becauſe I will not now account it falſehood and hereſy, as many other men do, I am ſent hither (as I am ſure you know) by the queen's command, to die, and am come where I taught it, to confirm it with my blood. And now Mr. Sheriffs, I underſtand by theſe good men, and my very friends (meaning the guard) at whoſe hands I have found ſo much favour and gentleneſs by the way hitherward, as a priſoner could reaſonably require (for which alſo I moſt heartily thank them) that I am committed to your cuſtody, as unto them that muſt ſee me brought to-morrow to the place of execution. My requeſt therefore to you ſhall be only, that there may be a quick fire, ſhortly to make an end; and in the mean time I will be as obedient unto you, as yourſelves would wiſh. If you think I do amiſs in any thing, hold up your finger, and I have done. For I am not come hither as one inforced or compelled to die: for it is well known, I might have had my life with worldly gain; but as one willing to offer and give my life for the truth, rather than to conſent to the wicked papiſtical religion of the biſhop of Rome, received and ſet forth by the magiſtrates in England, to God's high diſpleaſure and diſhonour, and I truſt by God's grace tomorrow to die a faithful ſervant of God, and a true obedient ſubject to the queen.

Theſe and ſuch-like words in effect uſed Mr. Hooper to the mayor, ſheriffs, and aldermen, whereat many of them mourned and lamented. Notwithſtanding the two ſheriffs went aſide to conſult, and were determined to have lodged him in the common gaol of the town, called Northgate, if the guard had not made earneſt interceſſion for him: who declared at large, how quietly, mildly, and patiently he had behaved himſelf in the way, adding thereto, that any child might keep him well enough, and that they themſelves would rather take pains to watch with him, than that he ſhould be ſent to the common priſon. So it was determined at length that he ſhould ſtill remain in Robert Ingram's houſe; and the ſheriffs and ſerjeants and other officers did appoint to watch with him that night themſelves. His deſire was, that he might go to-bed that night betimes, ſaying, that he had many things to remember: and ſo he did at five of the clock, and ſlept one ſleep ſoundly, and beſtowed the reſt of the night in prayer. After he got up in the morning, he deſired that no man ſhould be ſuffered to come into the chamber, that he might be ſolitary till the hour of execution.

About eight of the clock came Sir John Bridges, lord Shandois, with a great band of men, Sir Anthony Kingſton, Sir Edmund Bridges, and other commiſſioners appointed to ſee execution done. At nine of the clock Mr. Hooper was ordered to prepare himſelf to be in a readineſs, for the time was at hand. Immediately he was brought down from his chamber by the ſheriffs, who were accompanied with bills, glieves, and weapons. When he ſaw the multitude of weapons, he ſpake to the ſheriffs on this wiſe; Mr. Sheriffs (ſaid he) I am no traytor, neither needed you to have made ſuch a buſineſs to bring

me to the place where I muſt ſuffer; for if ye had deſired me, I would have gone alone to the ſtake, and have troubled none of you all. Afterward looking upon the multitude of people that were aſſembled, being by eſtimation to the number of 7000 (for it was market day, and many alſo came to ſee his behaviour towards death) he ſpake unto thoſe that were about him, ſaying; Alas, why be theſe people aſſembled and come together? peradventure they think to hear ſomething of me now, as they have in times paſt, but alas ſpeech is prohibited me. Notwithſtanding the cauſe of my death is well known unto them. When I was appointed here to be their paſtor, I preached unto them true and ſincere doctrine, and that out of the word of God: becauſe I will not now account the ſame to be hereſy and untruth, this kind of death is prepared for me.

So he went forward, led between the two ſheriffs (as a lamb to the place of ſlaughter) in a gown of his hoſt's, his hat upon his head, and a ſtaff in his hand to ſtay himſelf withal. For the grief of the ſciatica, which he had taken in priſon, cauſed him ſomewhat to halt. All the way, being ſtraitly charged not to ſpeak, he could not be perceived once to open his mouth: but beholding the people all the way, who mourned bitterly for him, he would ſometimes lift up his eyes towards heaven, and look very chearfully upon ſuch as he knew: and he was never known, during the time of his being amongſt them, to look with ſo chearful and ruddy a countenance as he did at that preſent. When he came to the place appointed where he ſhould die, he ſmilingly beheld the ſtake and preparation made for him, which was near unto the great elm-tree over againſt the college of prieſts, where he was wont to preach. The place round about the houſes, and the boughs of the tree were filled with ſpectators; and in the chamber over the college-gate ſtood the prieſts of the college. Then he kneeled down (foraſmuch as he could not be ſuffered to ſpeak unto the people) to prayer, and beckoned ſix or ſeven times unto one whom he knew well, to hear the ſaid prayer, to make report thereof in time to come (pouring tears upon his ſhoulders and in his boſom) who gave attentive ears unto the ſame: which prayer he made upon the whole creed, wherein he continued the ſpace of half an hour. Now after he was ſomewhat entered into his prayer, a box was brought and laid before him upon a ſtool, with his pardon (or at leaſt-wiſe it was feigned to be his pardon) from the queen if he would turn. At th ſight whereof he cried, If you love my ſoul, away with it. The box being taken away, the lord Shandois ſaid, Seeing there is no remedy, diſpatch him quickly. Mr. Hooper replied, Good my lord, I truſt your lordſhip will give me leave to make an end of my prayer.

Then the lord Shandois ſaid to Sir Edmund Bridges ſon, who gave ear before to Mr. Hooper's prayer at his requeſt: Edmund, take heed that he do nothing elſe but pray: if he do, tell me, and I ſhall quickly diſpatch him. While this talk was, there ſtepped one or two uncalled, who heard him ſpeak theſe words following;

LORD, ſaid he, I am hell, but thou art heaven; I am ſwill and a ſink of ſin, but thou art a gracious God and a merciful redeemer. Have mercy therefore upon me moſt miſerable and wretched offender, after thy great mercy, and according to thine ineſtimable goodneſs. Thou art aſcended into heaven, receive me hence to be partaker of thy joys, where thou ſitteſt in equal glory with thy Father. For well knoweſt thou, Lord, wherefore I am come hither to ſuffer, and why the wicked do perſecute this thy poor ſervant; not for my ſins and tranſgreſſions committed againſt thee, but becauſe I will not allow their wicked doings, to the contaminating of thy blood, and to the denial of the knowledge of thy truth, wherewith it did pleaſe thee by thy Holy Spirit to inſtruct me: which, with as much diligence as a poor wretch might (being thereto called) I have ſet forth to thy glory. And well ſeeſt thou, my Lord and God, what terrible pains and cruel torments be prepared for thy creature: ſuch, Lord, as without thy ſtrength none is able to bear, or patiently to paſs. But all things that are impoſſible with man, are poſſible with thee. Therefore ſtrengthen me of thy goodneſs, that in the fire, I break not the rules of patience; or elſe aſſuage the terror of the pains, as ſhall ſeem moſt to thy glory.

As ſoon as the mayor had eſpied theſe men who made report of the foregoing words, they were commanded away, and could not be ſuffered to hear any more. Prayer being done, he prepared himſelf for the ſtake, and put off his hoſt's gown, and delivered it to the ſheriffs, requiring them to ſee it reſtored unto the owner, and put off the reſt of his apparel, unto his doublet and hoſe, wherein he would have burned. But the ſheriffs would not permit that (ſuch was their greedineſs), unto whoſe pleaſures, good man, he very obediently ſubmitted himſelf; and his doublet, hoſe, and waiſtcoat were taken off. Then being in his ſhirt, he took a point from his hoſe himſelf, and truſſed his ſhirt between his legs, where he had a pound of gun-powder in a bladder, and under each arm the like quantity delivered him by the guard. So deſiring the people to ſay the Lord's prayer with him, and to pray for him (who performed it with tears, during the time of his pains) he went up to the ſtake. Now when he was at the ſtake, three irons, made to bind him to the ſtake, were brought: one for his neck, another for his middle, and the third for his legs. But herefuſing them ſaid, Ye have no need thus to trouble yourſelves. For I doubt not but God will give ſtrength ſufficient to abide the extremity of the fire, without bands: notwithſtanding, ſuſpecting the frailty and weakneſs of the fleſh, but having aſſured confidence in God's ſtrength, I am content to do as ye ſhall think good.

So the hoop of iron prepared for his middle was brought, which being made ſomewhat too ſhort (for his belly was ſwollen with impriſonment) he ſhrank and put in his belly with his hand, until it was faſtened: and when they offered to have bound his neck and legs with the other two hoops of iron, he utterly refuſed them, and would have none, ſaying, I am well aſſured I ſhall not trouble you.

Thus being ready, he looked upon the people, of whom he might be well ſeen (for he was both tall, and ſtood alſo on an high ſtool) and beheld round about him: and in every corner there was nothing to be ſeen but weeping and ſorrowful people. Then lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, he prayed to himſelf. By-and-by, he that was appointed to make the fire, came to him, and did aſk him forgiveneſs. Of whom he aſked why he ſhould forgive him, ſaying, that he never knew any offence he had committed againſt him. O Sir, ſaid the man, I am appointed to make the fire. Therein, ſaid Mr. Hooper, thou doſt nothing offend me; God forgive thee thy ſins, and do thine office I pray thee. Then the reeds were caſt up, and he received two bundles of them in his own hands, embraced them, kiſſed them, and put one of them under each arm, and ſhewed with his hand how the reſt ſhould be beſtowed, and pointed to the place where any was wanting.

Then command was given that the fire ſhould be kindled, and ſo it was, but becauſe there were put to no fewer green faggots than two horſes could carry upon their backs, it kindled not ſpeedily, and was a pretty while alſo before it took the reeds upon the faggots. At length it burned about him, but the wind having full ſtrength in that place (it was a lowring and cold morning) it blew the flame from him, ſo that he was in manner little more than touched by the fire.

Within a ſpace after, a few dry faggots were brought, and a new fire kindled with faggots (for there were no more reeds) and that burned at the nether parts, but had ſmall power above, becauſe of the wind, ſaving that it did

burn

burn his hair, and ſcorch his ſkin a little. In the time of which fire, even as at the firſt flame, he prayed, ſaying mildly, and not very loud (but as one without pains), O Jeſus, the Son of David, have mercy upon me, and receive my ſoul. After the ſecond fire was ſpent, he wiped both his eyes with his hands, and beholding the people, he ſaid with an indifferent loud voice, For God's love, good people, let me have more fire: and all this while his nether parts did burn: for the faggots were ſo few, that the flame did not burn ſtrongly at his upper parts.

The third fire was kindled within a while after, which was more extreme than the other two: and then the bladders of gun-powder brake, which did him little good, they were ſo placed, and the wind had ſuch power. In which fire he prayed with a loud voice, Lord Jeſus have mercy upon me, Lord Jeſus have mercy upon me: Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit. And theſe were the laſt words he was heard to utter. But when he was black in the mouth, and his tongue ſwolen, that he could not ſpeak, yet his lips went till they were ſhrunk to the gums: and he knocked his breaſt with his hands, until one of his arms fell off, and then knocked ſtill with the other, while the fat, water, and blood dropped out at his fingers ends, until by renewing of the fire his ſtrength was gone, and his hand did cleave faſt in knocking to the iron upon his breaſt. So immediately, bowing forwards, he yielded up his ſpirit.

Thus was he three quarters of an hour or more in the fire. Even as a lamb, patiently bearing the extremity thereof, neither moving forwards, backwards, or to any ſide; but having his nether parts burned, and his bowels fallen out, he died as quietly as a child in his bed; and he now reigneth as a bleſſed martyr in the joys of heaven, prepared for the faithful in Chriſt before the foundations of the world: for whoſe conſtancy all chriſtians are bound to praiſe God.

A Poem made by Conrade Geſner, on the Martyrdom of Mr. John Hooper.

HOOPER, unvanquiſh'd by Rome's cruelties,
(Confeſſing Chriſt in his laſt moments) dies:
Whilſt flames his body rack, his ſoul doth fly,
Inflam'd with faith, to immortality:
His conſtancy on earth hath rais'd his name,
And gave him entrance at the gates of fame;
Which neither ſtorms, nor the cold north-wind's blaſt,
Nor all-devouring-time ſhall ever waſte:
For he whom God protects ſhall ſure attain
That happineſs, which worldlings ſeek in vain.
Example take by him, you who profeſs
Chriſt's holy doctrines; ne'er the world careſs
In hopes of riches; or if fortune frown
With inauſpicious looks, be not caſt down;
For man ne'er ſaw, nor can his heart conceive,
What God beſtows on them that righteous live.

Mr. Hooper's Letter to ſome of his Friends when he was in Priſon.

THE grace of God be with you, Amen. I did write unto you of late, and told you what extremity the parliament had concluded upon concerning religion, ſuppreſſing the truth, and ſetting forth the untruth, intending to cauſe all men by extremity to forſwear themſelves, and to take again, for the head of the church, him that is neither the head nor member of it, but a very enemy, as the word of God and all ancient writers do record: and for lack of law and authority, they will uſe force and extremity, which have been the arguments to defend the pope and popery, ſince their authority firſt began in the world. But now is the time of trial, to ſee whether we fear more God or man. It was an eaſy thing to hold with Chriſt whilſt the prince and world held with him: but now the world hateth him, it is the true trial who be is.

Wherefore in the name, and in the virtue, ſtrength and power of His holy Spirit, prepare yourſelves in any caſe to adverſity and conſtancy. Let us not run away when it is moſt time to fight; remember none ſhall be crowned but ſuch as fight manfully: and he that endureth to the end ſhall be ſaved. Ye muſt now turn all your cogitations from the peril you ſee, and mark the felicity that followeth the peril; either victory in this world of your enemies, or elſe a ſurrender of this life to inherit the everlaſting kingdom. Beware of beholding too much the felicity or miſery of this world, for the conſideration and too earneſt love or fear of either of them draweth from God.

Wherefore think with yourſelves as touching the felicity of the world, it is good: but yet no otherwiſe than it ſtandeth with the favour of God. It is to be kept; but yet ſo far forth as by keeping of it, we loſe not God. It is good abiding and tarrying ſtill among our friends here: but yet ſo, that we tarry not therewithal in God's diſpleaſure, and hereafter dwell with the devils in fire everlaſting. There is nothing under God but may be kept, ſo that God, being above all things we have, be not loſt.

Of adverſity judge the ſame. Impriſonment is painful, but yet liberty upon evil conditions is more painful. The priſons ſtink; but yet not ſo much as ſweet houſes, where the fear and true honour of God lacketh. I muſt be alone and ſolitary: it is better ſo to be and have God with me, than to be in company with the wicked. Loſs of goods is great; but the loſs of God's grace and favour is greater. I am a poor ſimple creature, and cannot tell how to anſwer before ſuch a great ſort of noble, learned, and wiſe men: it is better to make anſwer before the pomp and pride of wicked men, than to ſtand naked in the ſight of all heaven and earth before the juſt God at the latter day. I ſhall die then by the hands of the cruel man: he is bleſſed that loſeth his life full of miſeries, and findeth the life of eternal joys. It is pain and grief to depart from goods and friends: but yet not ſo much, as to depart from grace and heaven itſelf. Wherefore there is neither felicity nor adverſity of this world, that can appear to be great, if it be weighed with the joys or pains in the world to come.

I can do no more but pray for you; do the ſame for me, for God's ſake. For my part (I thank the heavenly Father) I have made mine accounts, and appointed myſelf unto the will of the heavenly Father: as he will, ſo I will by his grace. For God's ſake, as ſoon as ye can, ſend my poor wife and children ſome letter from you, and my letter alſo which I ſent of late to D. As it was told me ſhe never had a letter from me ſince the coming of M. S. unto her, the more to blame the meſſengers, for I have written divers times. The Lord comfort them, and provide for them; for I am able to do nothing in worldly things. She is a godly and wiſe woman. If my meaning had been accompliſhed, ſhe ſhould have had neceſſary things: but what I meant, God can perform, to whom I commend both her and you all. I am a precious jewel, now and daintily kept, never ſo daintily; for neither mine own man, nor any of the ſervants of the houſe may come to me, but my keeper alone, a ſimple rude man, God knoweth; but I am nothing careful thereof. Fare you well. January 21. 1555.

Your bounden,
John Hooper.

Amongſt many other memorable acts worthy to be noted in the hiſtory of Mr. Hooper, this alſo is not to be forgotten which happened between him and a bragging frier, in the beginning of his impriſonment: the ſtory whereof here followeth.

A frier came from France to England with great boasting, and asked, who was the greatest heretic in England? thinking belike to do some great act upon him. To whom answer was made, that Mr. Hooper had then the greatest name to be the chiefest ringleader, who was then in the Fleet. The frier coming to him, asked, why he was committed to prison? He said, for debt. Nay, said he, it was for heresy; which when the other had denied, What sayst thou, quoth he, to "This is my body?" Mr. Hooper, being partly moved at the sudden question, desired that he might ask of him another question, which was this; What remained after the consecration in the sacrament, any bread, or no? No bread at all, saith he. And when ye break it, what do you break; whether bread, or the body? said Mr. Hooper. No bread, said the frier, but the body only. If ye do so, said Mr. Hooper, ye do great injury, not only to the body of Christ, but also ye break the scriptures, which say, "Ye shall not break of him one bone, &c." With that the frier, having nothing belike to answer, recoiled back, and with his circles and his crosses began to use exorcism against Mr. Hooper, as though, &c.

This and more Mr. Hooper wrote to Mrs. Wilkinson in a letter, which letter was read unto her by John Kelke.

When I see and behold the great patience of these blessed martyrs in our days, in their sufferings so quietly and constantly abiding the torments that are ministered unto them: methinks I may well and worthily compare them to the old martyrs of the primitive church. In the number of whom, if comparison be to be made between saint and saint, martyr and martyr; with whom might I better match this blessed martyr John Hooper, through the whole catalogue of the old martyrs, than with Polycarp, the ancient bishop of Smyrna, of whom Eusebius maketh mention in the ecclesiastical history? For as both agreed together in one kind of punishment, being both put to the fire, so which of them shewed more patience and constancy in the time of their sufferings, it is hard to be said.

And though Polycarp being set in the flame (as the story saith) was kept by miracle from the torment of the fire, till he was stricken down with a weapon, and so dispatched: yet Hooper by no less miracle, armed with patience and fervent spirit of God's comfort, so quietly despised the violence thereof, as though he had felt little more than Polycarp did the fire flaming round about him.

Moreover, as it is written of Polycarp, when he should have been tied to the stake, he required to stand untied, saying these words, "Let me alone, I pray you, for he that gave me strength to come to this fire, will also give me patience to abide in the same without your tying." So likewise Hooper, with the like spirit, when he should have been tied with three chains to the stake, requiring them to have no such mistrust of him, was tied but with one; who, if he had not been tied at all, yet, no doubt, would have no less answered to that great patience of Polycarp.

And as the end of them both was much agreeing, so the life of them both was such, as might seem not far different. In teaching, both alike diligent, in zeal fervent, in life unspotted, in manners and conversation inculpable, both bishops and both martyrs. Briefly, in teaching so pithy and fruitful, that as they both were joined together in one spirit, so might they be joined in one name together, Πολυκαρπος, to wit, much fruitful; to which name also Ὀπωρος is not much unlike. In this the martyrdom of Mr. Hooper may seem in suffering to go before, though in time it followed the martyrdom of Polycarp, for that he was both longer in prison, and there also so cruelly handled by the malice of his keepers, as I think none of the old martyrs ever suffered the like. To this also add, how he was degraded by bishop Bonner with such contumelies and reproaches, as I think in Polycarp's time was not used to any.

And as we have hitherto compared these two good martyrs together, so now if we should compare the enemies and authors of their death one with the other, we should find no inequality betwixt them both, but that the adversaries of Mr. Hooper seemed to be more cruel and unmerciful. For they that put Polycarp to death, yet ministered to him a quick dispatch, moved belike by some compassion not to have him stand in the torment: where the tormentors of Mr. Hooper suffered him without any compassiion to stand three quarters of an hour in the fire. And as touching the chief doers and authors of his martyrdom, what consul or proconsul was there to be compared with the lord chancellor here, who brought this martyr to the stake? Let this suffice.

This good bishop, when in prison, wrote several books and treatises, to the number of 24, whereof some he wrote to the parliament in Latin, and one to Dr. Day bishop of Chichester: besides he wrote of the sacraments, of the Lord's prayer, and of the ten commandments, with divers others.

As you have heard the whole story of the life and martyrdom of this good man declared; so now let us adjoin some part of his letters, written in the time of his imprisonment, most fruitful and worthy to be read, especially in these dangerous days, by all true christians, who by true mortification seek to serve and follow the Lord through all the storms and tempests of this malignant world, as by the reading of the said letters you shall better feel and understand.

A Letter of Mr. Hooper's to certain godly Professors and Lovers of the Truth, instructing them how to behave themselves in that woful Alteration and Change of Religion.

THE grace, mercy, and peace of God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, be with you, my dear brethren, and with all those that unfeignedly love and embrace his holy gospel, Amen.

It is told me, that the wicked idol, the mass, is established again by law, and passed in the parliament-house. Learn the truth of it, I pray you, and what penalty is appointed in the act to such as speak against it: also whether there be any compulsion to constrain men to be at it. The statute thoroughly known, such as be abroad and at liberty may provide for themselves, and avoid the danger the better. Doubtless there hath not been seen before our time such a parliament as this is, that as many as were suspected to be favourers of God's word, should be banished out of both houses. But we must give God thanks for that truth he hath opened in the time of his blessed servant king Edward VI. and pray unto him that we deny it not, nor dishonour it with idolatry; but that we may have strength and patience rather to die ten times than deny him once. Blessed shall we be, if ever God make us worthy of that honour to shed our blood for his name's sake: and blessed then shall we think the parents which brought us into the world, that we should from this mortality be carried into immortality. If we follow the command of St. Paul, that saith, "If ye then be risen again with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God;" we shall neither depart from the vain transitory goods of this world, nor from this wretched and mortal life, with so great pain as others do.

Let us pray to our heavenly Father, that we may know and love his blessed will, and the glorious joy prepared for us in time to come, and that we may know and hate all things contrary to his blessed will, and also the pain prepared for the wicked in the world to come. There is no

no better way to be uſed in this troubleſome time for your conſolation, than many times to have aſſemblies together of ſuch men and women as be of your religion in Chriſt, and there to take and renew amongſt yourſelves the truth of your religion, to ſee what ye be by the word of God, and to remember what ye were before ye came to the knowledge thereof, to weigh and confer the dreams and falſe lyes of the preachers that now preach, with the word of God that retaineth all truth; and by ſuch talk and familiar reſorting together, ye ſhall the better find out all their lyes that now go about to deceive you, and alſo both know and love the truth that God hath opened to us. It is much requiſite that the members of Chriſt comfort one another, make prayers together, confer one with another; ſo ſhall ye be the ſtronger, and God's Spirit ſhall not be abſent from you, but in the midſt of you, to teach you, to comfort you, to make you wiſe in all godly things, patient in adverſity, and ſtrong in perſecution.

Ye ſee how the congregation of the wicked, by helping one another, make their wicked religion and themſelves ſtrong againſt God's truth and his people. If ye may have ſome learned man, that can out of the ſcriptures ſpeak unto you of faith, and true honouring of God, alſo that can ſhew you the deſcent of Chriſt's church from the beginning of it until this day, that ye may perceive by the life of our fore-fathers theſe two things: the one, that Chriſt's words, who ſaid that all his muſt ſuffer perſecution and trouble in the world, be true: the other, that none of all his, before our time, eſcaped trouble: then ſhall ye perceive, that it is but a folly for one that profeſſes Chriſt truly, to look for the love of the world.

Thus ſhall ye learn to bear trouble, and to exerciſe your religion, and feel indeed that Chriſt's words be true, "In the world ye ſhall ſuffer perſecution." And when ye ſhall feel your religion indeed, ſay, ye be no better than your fore-fathers; but be glad that ye may be counted ſoldiers for this war: and pray to God when ye come together, that he will uſe and order you and your doings in theſe three ends, which ye muſt take heed to: the firſt, that ye glorify God; the next, that ye edify the church and congregation; the third, that ye profit your own ſouls.

In all your doings beware ye be not deceived. For although this time be not ſo bloody and tyrannous as the time of our fore-fathers, that could not bear the name of Chriſt, without danger of life and goods; yet is our time more perilous both for body and ſoul. Therefore of us Chriſt ſaid, "Think ye when the Son of man cometh, he ſhall find faith upon the earth?" He ſaid not, Think ye, he ſhall find any man or woman chriſtened, and in name a chriſtian? but he ſpake of the faith that ſaved the chriſtian man in Chriſt: and doubtleſs the ſcarcity of faith is now more (and will, I fear, increaſe) than it was in the time of the greateſt tyrants that ever were; and no marvel why. Read the ſixth chapter of St. John's Revelation, and ye ſhall perceive amongſt other things, that at the opening of the fourth ſeal came out a pale horſe, and he that ſat upon him was called death, and hell followed him. This horſe is the time wherein hypocrites and diſſemblers entered into the church under the pretence of true religion, as monks, friers, nuns, maſſing-prieſts, with ſuch others, who have killed more ſouls with hereſy and ſuperſtition, than all the tyrants that ever were, killed bodies by fire, ſword, or baniſhment, as it appeareth by his name that ſitteth upon the horſe, who is called death: for all ſouls that love Chriſt, and truſt to theſe hypocrites, live to the devil in everlaſting pain, as is declared by him that followeth the pale horſe, which is hell.

Theſe pretended and pale hypocrites have ſtirred the earthquakes, that is to wit, the princes of the world, againſt Chriſt's church, and have alſo darkened the ſun, and made the moon bloody, and have cauſed the ſtars to fall from heaven, that is to ſay, have darkened with miſts, and daily do darken (as ye hear by their ſermons) the clear ſun of God's moſt pure word: the moon, which be God's true preachers, which fetch only light at the ſun of God's word, are turned into blood, priſons, and chains, that their light cannot ſhine unto the world as they would: whereupon it cometh to paſs, that the ſtars, that is to ſay, chriſtian people fall from heaven, that is to wit, God's moſt true word, to hypocriſy, moſt deviliſh ſuperſtition and idolatry. Let ſome learned man ſhew you all the articles of your belief and monument of chriſtian faith, from the time of Chriſt hitherto, and ye ſhall perceive that there was never mention of ſuch articles as theſe hypocrites teach. God bleſs you, and pray for me as I do for you. Out of the Fleet,

By your brother in Chriſt,
John Hooper.

To Mr. Ferrar, Biſhop of St. David's, Dr. Taylor, Mr. Bradford, and Mr. Philpot, Priſoners in the King's-Bench in Southwark.

THE grace of God be with you, Amen. I am advertiſed by divers, as well ſuch as love the truth, as alſo by ſuch as yet be not come unto it, that ye and I ſhall be carried ſhortly to Cambridge, there to diſpute for the faith, and for the religion of Chriſt (which is moſt true) that we have and do profeſs. I am (as I doubt not ye be) in Chriſt ready, not only to go to Cambridge, but alſo to ſuffer, by God's help, death itſelf in the maintenance thereof. Weſton and his accomplices have obtained forth the commiſſion already, and ſpeedily (moſt like) he will put it in execution. Wherefore, dear brethren, I do advertiſe you of the thing before for divers cauſes. The one, to comfort you in the Lord, that the time draweth near, and is at hand, that we ſhall teſtify before God's enemies, God's truth. The next, that ye ſhould prepare yourſelves the better for it. The third, to ſhew you what ways I think ourſelves were beſt to uſe in this matter, and alſo to hear of your better advice, if mine be not good. Ye know ſuch as ſhall be cenſors and judges over us, breathe and thirſt for our blood, and whether we, by God's help, overcome after the word of God, or by force and ſubtilty of our adverſaries be overcome, this will be the concluſion; our adverſaries will ſay, they overcome, and ye perceive how they report of thoſe great learned men and godly perſonages at Oxford.

Wherefore I mind never to anſwer them, except I have books preſent, becauſe they uſe not only falſe allegation of the doctors, but alſo a piece of the doctors againſt the whole courſe of the doctors mind. The next, that we may have ſworn notaries, to take things ſpoken indifferently: which will be very hard to have, for the adverſaries will have the overſight of all things, and then make theirs better than it was; and ours worſe than it was. Then if we ſee that two or three, or more will ſpeak together, or with ſcoffs and taunts illude and mock us: I ſuppoſe it were beſt to appeal, to be heard before the queen and the whole council, and that would much ſet forth the glory of God. For many of them know already the truth, many of them err rather of zeal than malice, and the others that be indurate ſhould be anſwered fully to their ſhame (I doubt not), although to our ſmart and blood-ſhedding. For of this I am aſſured, that the commiſſioners ap pointed to hear us and judge us mean nothing leſs than to hear the cauſe indifferently; for they be enemies unto us and our cauſe, and be at a point already to give ſentence againſt us: ſo that if it were poſſible with St. Stephen to ſpeak ſo that they could not reſiſt us, or to uſe ſuch ſilence and patience as Chriſt did, they will proceed to revenging.

Wherefore, my dear brethren, in the mercy of Jeſus Chriſt, I would be glad to know your advice this day or to-morrow: for ſhortly we ſhall be gone, and I verily ſuppoſe that we ſhall not company together, but be kept

one abroad from another. They will deny our appeal, yet let us challenge the appeal, and take witneſs thereof of ſuch as be preſent, and require for indifferency of hearing and judgment, to be heard either before the queen and the council, or elſe before all the parliament, as they were uſed in king Edward's days. Further, for my part I will require both books and time to anſwer. We have been priſoners now three quarters of a year, and have lacked our books; and our memories, by cloſe keeping and ingratitude of their parts, be not ſo preſent and quick as theirs be. I truſt God will be with us, yea, I doubt not but he will, and teach us to do all things in his cauſe godly and conſtantly. If our adverſaries, that ſhall be our judges, may have their purpoſe, we ſhall diſpute one day, be condemned the next day, and ſuffer the third day. And yet there is no law to condemn us (as far as I know), and ſo one of the convocation-houſe ſaid this week to Dr. Weſton. To whom Weſton made this anſwer, It forceth not, quoth he, for a law, we have commiſſion to proceed with them; when they be diſpatched, let their friends ſue the law.

Now how ſoon a man may have ſuch a commiſſion at my lord chancellor's hand, you know. It is as eaſy to be obtained as an indictment for Chriſt at Caiaphas's hand. Beſides that the biſhops having the queen ſo upon their ſides, may do all things both without the advice and alſo the knowledge of the reſt of the lords of the temporality, who at this preſent have found out the mark that the biſhops ſhot at, and doubtleſs be not pleaſed with their doings. I pray you help, that our brother Saunders and the reſt in the Marſhalſea may underſtand theſe things, and ſend me your anſwer betime. Judas ſleepeth not; neither know we the day nor the hour. The Lord Jeſus Chriſt with his Holy Spirit comfort and ſtrengthen us all. Amen. May 6. 1554.

Yours, and with you unto death in Chriſt,
John Hooper.

Mr. Hooper's Letter to his Wife Anne Hooper: whereby all the true Members of Chriſt may take Comfort and Courage to ſuffer Trouble and Affliction for the Profeſſion of his holy Goſpel.

OUR Saviour Jeſus Chriſt (dearly beloved and my godly wife) in St. Matthew's goſpel ſaid to his diſciples, "That it was neceſſary ſcandals ſhould come;" and that they could not be avoided, he perceived as well by the condition of thoſe that ſhould periſh and be loſt for ever in the world to come, as alſo by their affliction that ſhould be ſaved. For he ſaw the greateſt part of the people would contemn and neglect whatſoever true doctrine or godly ways ſhould be ſhewed to them, or elſe receive and uſe it as they thought good to ſerve their pleaſures, without any profit to their ſouls at all, not caring whether they lived as they were commanded by God's word or not; but would think it ſufficient to be counted to have the name of a chriſtian man, with ſuch works and fruits of his profeſſion and chriſtianity, as his fathers and elders, after their cuſtom and manner, eſteem and take to be good fruits and faithful works, and will not try them by the word of God at all. Theſe men, by the juſt judgment of God, be delivered unto the craft and ſubtilty of the devil, that they may be kept by one ſcandalous ſtumbling-block or other, that they never come unto Chriſt, who came to ſave thoſe that were loſt; as ye may ſee how God delivereth wicked men up unto their own luſts to do one miſchief after another, careleſs, until they come into a reprobate mind, that forgetteth itſelf, and cannot know what is expedient to be done, or to be left undone, becauſe they cloſe their eyes, and will not ſee the light of God's word offered unto them; and being thus blinded, they prefer their own vanities before the truth of God's word. Where ſuch corrupt minds be, there is alſo corrupt election and choice of God's honour: ſo that the mind of man taketh falſhood for truth, ſuperſtition for true religion, death for life, damnation for ſalvation, hell for heaven, and perſecution of Chriſt's members for God's ſervice and honour. And as theſe men wilfully and voluntarily reject the word of God; even ſo God moſt juſtly delivereth them into the blindneſs of mind and hardneſs of heart, that they cannot underſtand, nor yet conſent to any thing that God would have preached, and ſet forth to his glory, after his own will and word: wherefore they hate it mortally, and of all things moſt deteſt God's holy word. And as the devil hath entered into their hearts, that they themſelves cannot nor will not come to Chriſt, to be inſtructed by his holy word: even ſo can they not abide any other man to be a chriſtian man, and to lead his life after the word of God, but hate him, perſecute him, rob him, impriſon him, yea, and kill him, whether he be man or woman, if God ſuffer it. And ſo much are theſe wicked men blinded, that they mind no law, whether it be God's or man's, but perſecute ſuch as never offended, yea do evil to thoſe that have prayed daily for them, and wiſh them God's grace.

In their pharaonical and blind fury they have no reſpect to nature. For the brother perſecuteth the brother, the father the ſon; and moſt dear friends, in deviliſh ſlander and offence, are become moſt mortal enemies. And no marvel; for when they have choſen ſundry maſters, the one the devil, the other God, the one ſhall agree with the other, as God and the devil agree between themſelves. For this cauſe (that the more part of the world doth uſe to ſerve the devil under cloaked hypocriſy of God's title) Chriſt ſaid, "It is expedient and neceſſary that ſcandals ſhould come," and many means be deviſed to keep the little babes of Chriſt from the heavenly Father. But Chriſt ſaith, "Wo be unto him by whom the offence cometh:" yet is there no remedy, man being of ſuch corruption and hatred towards God but that the evil ſhall be deceived, and perſecute the good; and the good ſhall underſtand the truth, and ſuffer perſecution for it unto the world's end. "For as he that was born after the fleſh, perſecuted in times paſt him that was born after the Spirit, even ſo it is now." Therefore forſomuch as we live in this life amongſt ſo many great perils and dangers, we muſt be well aſſured by God's word how to bear them, and how patiently to take them as they be ſent to us from God. We muſt alſo aſſure ourſelves, that there is no other remedy for chriſtians in the time of trouble, than Chriſt himſelf hath appointed us. In St. Luke he giveth us this commandment, "Ye ſhall poſſeſs your lives in patience," ſaith he. In which words he giveth us both commandment what to do, and alſo great comfort and conſolation in all troubles. He ſheweth what is to be done, and what is to be hoped for in troubles: and, when troubles happen, he biddeth us be patient: and in no caſe violently nor ſeditiouſly to reſiſt our perſecutors, becauſe God hath ſuch care and charge of us, that he will keep in the midſt of all troubles the very hairs of our head, ſo that one of them ſhall not fall away without the will and pleaſure of our heavenly Father. Whether the hair therefore tarry on the head, or fall from the head, it is the will of the Father. And ſeeing he hath ſuch care for the hairs of our head, how much more doth he care for our life itſelf? Wherefore let God's adverſaries do what they liſt, whether they take life or take it not, they can do us no hurt: for their cruelty hath no further power than God permitteth them; and that which cometh unto us by the will of our heavenly Father, can be no harm, no loſs, neither deſtruction unto us, but rather gain, wealth, and felicity. For all troubles and adverſity that happen to ſuch as be of God, by the will of the heavenly Father, can be none other but gain and advantage.

That the ſpirit of man may feel theſe conſolations, the Giver of them the heavenly father muſt be prayed unto for the merits of Chriſt's paſſion: for it is not the nature of

of man that can be contented, until it be regenerated and poſſeſſed with God's Spirit, to bear patiently the troubles of the mind or of the body. When the mind and heart of a man ſeeth on every ſide ſorrow and heavineſs, and the worldly eye beholdeth nothing but ſuch things as be troubleſome and wholly bent to rob the poor of that he hath, and alſo to take from him his life: except the man weigh theſe brittle and uncertain treaſures that be taken from him, with the riches of the life to come, and this life of the body, with the life in Chriſt's blood, and ſo for the love and certainty of the heavenly joys contemn all things preſent, doubtleſs he ſhall never be able to bear the loſs of goods, life, or any other thing of this world.

Therefore St. Paul giveth a godly and neceſſary leſſon to all men in this ſhort and tranſitory life, and therein ſheweth how a man may beſt bear the iniquities and troubles of this world; "If ye be riſen again with Chriſt (ſaith he) ſeek the things which are above, where Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father." Wherefore the chriſtian man's faith muſt be always upon the reſurrection of Chriſt, when he is in trouble; and in that glorious reſurrection he ſhall not only ſee continual and perpetual joys and conſolation, but alſo the victory and triumph over all perſecution, trouble, ſin, death, hell, the devil, and all other tyrants and perſecutors of Chriſt, and of Chriſt's people, the tears and weeping of the faithful dried up, their wounds healed, their bodies made immortal in joy, their ſouls for ever praiſing the Lord, in conjunction and ſociety everlaſting with the bleſſed company of God's elect in perpetual joy. But the words of St. Paul in that place, if they be not marked, ſhall do little profit to the reader or hearer, and give him no patience at all in this impatient and cruel world.

In this firſt part St. Paul commandeth us, "To think or ſet our affections on things that are above." When he biddeth us ſeek the things that are above, he requireth that our minds never ceaſe from prayer and ſtudy in God's word, until we ſee, know, and underſtand the vanities of this world, the ſhortneſs and miſery of this life, and the treaſures of the world to come, the immortality thereof, the joys of that life, and ſo never ceaſe ſeeking, until ſuch time as we know certainly and be perſuaded, what a bleſſed man he is, that ſeeketh the one and findeth it, and careth not for the other though he loſe it; and in ſeeking, to have right judgment between the life preſent and the life to come, we ſhall find how little the pains, impriſonment, ſlanders, lyes, and death itſelf is in this world, in reſpect of pains everlaſting, the priſon infernal, and dungeon of hell, the ſentence of God's juſt judgment, and everlaſting death.

When a man hath, by ſeeking the word of God, found out what the things above be: then muſt he (as St. Paul ſaith) ſet his affections upon them. And this commandment is more hard than the other. For man's knowledge many times ſeeth the beſt, and knoweth that there is a life to come, better than this life preſent (as you may ſee how daily men and women can praiſe and commend, yea, and wiſh for heaven, and to be at reſt there), yet they ſet not their affection upon it: they do more affect and love indeed a trifle of nothing in this world that pleaſeth their affection, than the treaſure of all treaſures in heaven, which their own judgment ſaith is better than all worldly things. "Wherefore we muſt ſet our affections on the things that be above;" that is to ſay, when any thing worſe than heaven, upon the earth, offereth itſelf to be ours, if we will give our good wills to it, and love it in our hearts, then ought we to ſee by the judgment of God's word, whether we may have the world without offence of God, and ſuch things as be for this worldly life without his diſpleaſure. If we cannot, St. Paul's commandment muſt take place, "Set your affections on things that are above." If the riches of this world may not be gotten nor kept by God's law, neither our lives be continued without the denial of his honour, we muſt ſet our affection upon the riches and life that is above, and not upon things that be on the earth. Therefore this ſecond commandment of St. Paul requireth, that our minds judge heavenly things to be better than things upon the earth, and the life to come better than the life preſent; ſo we ſhould chuſe them before the other, and prefer them, and have ſuch affection to the beſt, that in no caſe we ſet the worſt before it, as the moſt part of the world doth and hath done, for they chuſe the beſt and prove it, and yet follow the worſt.

But theſe things, my godly wife, require rather cogitation, meditation, and prayer, than words or talk. They be eaſy to be ſpoken of, but not ſo eaſy to be uſed and practiſed. Wherefore ſeeing they be God's gifts, and none of ours, to have as our own when we would, we muſt ſeek them at our heavenly Father's hand, who ſeeth, and is privy how poor and wretched we be, and how naked, how ſpoiled, and deſtitute of all his bleſſed gifts we be by reaſon of ſin. He did command therefore his diſciples, when he ſhewed them that they ſhould take patiently the ſtate of this preſent life full of troubles and perſecution, to pray that they might well eſcape thoſe troubles that were to come, and be able to ſtand before the Son of man. When you find yourſelf too much oppreſſed (as every man ſhall be ſometimes with the fear of God's judgment), uſe the 77th Pſalm that beginneth, "I will cry unto God with my voice, and he ſhall hearken unto me." In which Pſalm is both godly doctrine and great conſolation unto the man or woman that is in anguiſh of mind.

Uſe alſo in ſuch trouble the 88th Pſalm, wherein is contained the prayer of a man, that was brought into extreme anguiſh and miſery, and being vexed with adverſaries and perſecutions, ſaw nothing but death and hell. And although he felt in himſelf, that he had not only man, but alſo God angry towards him: yet he by prayer humbly reſorted unto God, as the only port of conſolation, and, in the midſt of his deſperate ſtate of trouble, put the hope of his ſalvation in him, whom he felt his enemy. Howbeit, no man of himſelf can do this, but the Spirit of God, that ſtriketh the man's heart with fear, prayeth for the man ſtricken and feared, with unſpeakable groanings. And when you feel yourſelf, or know any other oppreſſed after ſuch ſort, be glad; for after that God hath made you to know what you be of yourſelf, he will doubtleſs ſhew you comfort, and declare unto you what you be in Chriſt his only Son; and uſe prayer often, for he is the means whereby God will be ſought unto for his gifts. Theſe Pſalms be for the purpoſe, when the mind can take no underſtanding, nor the heart any joy of God's promiſes: and therefore were the Pſalms alſo made, 6, 22, 30, 31, 38, 69. from the which you ſhall learn both patience and conſolation. Remember, that "Although your life (as all chriſtian mens be) be hid, and appeareth not what it is, yet it is ſafe (as St. Paul ſaith) with God in Chriſt: and when Chriſt ſhall appear, then ſhall our lives be made open with him in glory." But in the mean time, with ſeeking and ſetting our affections upon the things that be above, we muſt patiently ſuffer whatſoever God ſhall ſend unto us in this mortal life. Notwithſtanding, it might fortune ſome would ſay, Who is ſo perfect, that can let all things paſs as they come, and have no care of them; ſuffer all things, and feel nothing, be tempted of the devil, the world, and the fleſh, and be not troubled? verily no man living. But this I ſay, that, in the ſtrength of Jeſus Chriſt things that come may paſs with care, for we be worldly, and yet are we not carried with them from Chriſt, for we be in him godly. We may ſuffer things, and feel them as mortal men, yet bear them and overcome them as chriſtian men. We may be tempted of the devil, the fleſh, and the world: but yet although thoſe things pinch, they do not pierce, and although they work ſin in us, yet in Chriſt no damnation to thoſe that be grafted in him. Hereof may the chriſtian man learn both conſolation and patience. Conſolation, in that he is compelled both in his body and goods to feel pain and loſs, and in the ſoul heavineſs

heavineſs and anguiſh of mind: howbeit none of them both ſhall ſeparate him from the love that God beareth him in Chriſt. He may learn patience, foraſmuch as his enemies both of body and ſoul, and the pains alſo they vex us withal for the time, if they tarry with us as long as we live, yet when death cometh, they ſhall avoid, and give place to ſuch joys as be prepared for us in Chriſt: for no pains of the world be perpetual, and whether they ſhall afflict us for all the time of our mortal life, we know not; for they be ſervants of God to go and come, as he commandeth them. But we muſt take heed we meddle not forcibly nor ſeditiouſly to put away the perſecution appointed unto us by God: remember Chriſt's ſaying, "Poſſeſs yourſelves by your patience." And in this commandment God requireth of every man and woman this patient obedience. He ſaith not, It is ſufficient that other holy patriarchs, prophets, apoſtles, evangeliſts, and martyrs continued their lives in patience, and patient ſuffering the trouble of this world: but Chriſt ſaith to every one of his people, By your own patience ye ſhall continue your life: not that man hath patience in himſelf, but that he muſt have it for himſelf of God, the only giver of it, if he purpoſe to be a godly man. Now herefore as our profeſſion and religion requireth patience outwardly, without reſiſtance and force; ſo requireth it patience of the mind, and not to be angry with God, although he uſe us, that be his own creatures, as he pleaſeth.

We may not alſo murmur againſt God, but ſay always, his judgments be right and juſt, and rejoice that it pleaſeth him by troubles to uſe us, as he uſed heretofore ſuch as he moſt loved in this world, and have a ſingular care to this commandment: "Be glad and rejoice; for" he ſheweth great cauſe why, "Your reward (ſaith he) is great in heaven." Theſe promiſes of him, that is the truth itſelf, ſhall (by God's grace) work both conſolation and patience in the afflicted chriſtian perſon. And when our Saviour Chriſt hath willed men in trouble to be content and patient, becauſe God in the end of trouble in Chriſt hath ordained eternal conſolation; he uſeth alſo to take from us all ſhame and rebuke, as though it were not an honour to ſuffer for Chriſt, becauſe the wicked world doth curſe and abhor ſuch poor troubled chriſtians. Wherefore Chriſt placeth all his honourably, and ſaith, "Even ſo perſecuted they the prophets that were before you." We may alſo ſee with whom the afflicted for Chriſt's ſake be eſteemed by St. Paul to the Hebrews, where as the number of the bleſſed and glorious company of ſaints appear now to our faith in heaven, in joy: yet in the letter, for the time of this life, in ſuch pains and contempt as was never more. Let us therefore conſider both them and all other things of the world ſince the fall of man, and we ſhall perceive nothing to come to perfection, but with ſuch confuſion and diſorder to the eye of the world, as though things were rather loſt for ever, than like to come to any perfection at all. For of godly men, who ever came to heaven (no not Chriſt himſelf) until ſuch time as the world had thought verily, that both he and all his had been clean deſtroyed and caſt away: as the wiſe man ſaith of the wicked people, "We thought them to be fools. but they be in peace."

We may learn by things that nouriſh and maintain us, both meat and drink, what loathſomeneſs and (in a manner) abhorring they come unto, before they work their perfection in us. From life they are brought to the fire, and clean altered from what they were when they were alive; from the fire to the trencher and knife, and all hacked; from the trencher to the mouth, and as ſmall ground as the teeth can grind them; and from the mouth into the ſtomach, and there ſo boiled and digeſted before they nouriſh, that whoſoever ſaw the ſame, would loath and abhor his own nouriſhment, before it came to its perfection.

Is it then any marvel if ſuch chriſtians as God delighteth in, be ſo mangled and defaced in this world, which is the kitchen and mill to boil and grind the fleſh of God's people in, till they atchieve their perfection in the world to come? And as a man looketh for the nutriment of his meat when it is full digeſted, and not before: ſo muſt he look for his ſalvation when he hath paſſed this troublous world, and not before. Raw fleſh is not meat wholeſome for man: and unmortified men and women be not creatures meet for God. Therefore Chriſt ſaith, That his people muſt be broken, and all be torn in the mill of this world, and ſo ſhall they be moſt fine meal unto the heavenly Father. And it ſhall be a chriſtian man's part, and the duty of a mind repleniſhed with the Spirit of God, to mark the order of God in all his things, how he dealeth with them, and how they ſuffer, and be content to let God do his will upon them, as St. Paul ſaith, "They wait until the number of the elect be fulfilled, and never be at reſt, but look for the time when God's people ſhall appear in glory."

We muſt therefore patiently ſuffer, and willingly attend upon God's doings, although they ſeem clean contrary, after our judgment, to our wealth and ſalvation; as Abraham did, when he was bid to offer his ſon Iſaac, in whom God promiſed the bleſſing and multiplying of his ſeed. Joſeph at the laſt came to that which God promiſed him, although in the mean time, after the judgment of the world, he was never like to be (as God ſaid he ſhould be) lord over his brethren. When Chriſt would make the blind man to ſee, he put clay upon his eyes, which, after the judgment of man, was a means rather to make him double blind, than to give him his ſight; but he obeyed, and knew that God could work his deſire, what means ſoever he uſed contrary to man's reaſon: and as touching this world, he uſeth all his after the ſame ſort. If any ſmart, his people be the firſt; if any ſuffer ſhame, they begin; if any be ſubject to ſlander, it is thoſe that he loveth; ſo that he ſheweth no face or favour, nor love almoſt in this world outwardly to them, but layeth clay upon their ſore eyes that be ſorrowful: yet the patient man ſeeth (as St. Paul ſaith) life hid under theſe miſeries and adverſities, and ſight under foul clay; and in the mean time he hath the teſtimony of a good conſcience, and believeth God's promiſes to be his conſolation in the world to come, which is more worthy unto him, than all the world is worth beſides: and bleſſed is that man in whom God's Spirit beareth record that he is the ſon of God, whatſoever troubles he ſuffer in this troubleſome world.

And to judge things indifferently, my good wife, the troubles be not yet generally, as they were in our good fathers time, ſoon after the death and reſurrection of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whereof he ſpake in St. Matthew. Of which place you and I have taken many times great conſolation, and eſpecially of the latter part of the chapter, wherein is contained the laſt day and end of all troubles (I doubt not) both for you and me, and for ſuch as love the coming of our Saviour Chriſt to judgment. Remember therefore that place, and mark it again, and ye ſhall in this time ſee this great conſolation, and alſo learn much patience. Was there ever ſuch troubles, as Chriſt threatened upon Jeruſalem? was there ſince the beginning of the world ſuch affliction? who was then beſt at eaſe? The apoſtles that ſuffered in body perſecution, and gathered of it eaſe and quietneſs in the promiſes of God. And no marvel, for Chriſt ſaith, "Lift up your heads, for your redemption is at hand," that is to ſay, your eternal reſt approacheth and draweth near. The world is ſtark blind, and more fooliſh than fooliſhneſs itſelf, and ſo be the people of the world. For when God ſaith, trouble ſhall come, they will have eaſe. And when God ſaith, be merry and rejoice in trouble, we lament and mourn, as though we were caſt-aways. But this our fleſh (which is never merry with virtue, nor ſorry with vice; never laughed with grace, nor ever weepeth with ſin) holdeth faſt with the world, and letteth God ſlip. But, my dearly beloved wife, you know how to perceive and to beware of the vanity and crafts of the devil well enough

in Christ. And that ye may the better have patience in the Spirit of God, read again the 24th of St. Matthew, and mark what difference is between the destruction of Jerusalem, and the destruction of the whole world, and you shall see, that then here were left alive many offenders to repent: but at the latter day there shall be absolute judgment, and sentence (never to be revoked) of eternal life and eternal death upon all men: and yet towards the end of the world we have nothing so much extremity as they had then, but even as we be able to bear. So doth the merciful Father lay upon us now imprisonment (and I suppose for my part shortly, death) now spoil of goods, loss of friends, and the greatest loss of all, the knowledge of God's word. God's will be done. I wish in Christ Jesus our only Mediator and Saviour, your constancy and consolation, that you may live for ever and ever, whereof in Christ I doubt not; to whom, for his most blessed and painful passion, I commit you. Amen. Octob. 13. 1553.

Mr. Hooper's Letter to a pious Widow, how to behave herself in the time of her Widowhood.

THE grace of God, and the comfort of his Holy Spirit be with you, and all them that unfeignedly love his holy gospel, Amen. I thank you, dear sister, for your most loving remembrance: and although I cannot recompense the same, yet do I wish with all my heart, that God would do it, requiring you not to forget your duty towards God, in these perilous days, in the which the Lord will try us. I trust you do increase by reading of the scriptures, the knowledge you have of God, and that you diligently apply yourself to follow the same: for the knowledge helpeth not, except the life be according thereunto. Further, I do heartily pray you, to consider the state of your widowhood, and if God shall put in your mind to change it, remember the saying of St. Paul, 1 Cor. 7. "It is lawful for the widow or maiden to marry to whom they list, so it be in the Lord;" that is to say, to such an one as is of Christ's religion. Dearly beloved in Christ, remember these words, for you shall find thereby great joy and comfort, if you change your state. Whereof I will, when I have better leisure (as now I have none at all) further advertise you. In the mean time I commend you to God, and the guiding of his good Spirit, who establish and confirm you in all well-doing, and keep you blameless to the day of the Lord. Watch and pray, for this day is at hand.

Yours assured in Christ,
John Hooper.

To all my Brethren, my Relievers, and Helpers in the City of London.

THE grace of God be with you; Amen. I have received from you (dearly beloved in our Saviour Jesus Christ) by the hands of my servant William Downton, your liberality, for the which I most heartily thank you, and I praise God highly in you for you, who hath moved your hearts to shew this kindness towards me, praying him to preserve you from all famine, scarcity, and lack of the truth of his word, which is the lively food of your souls, as you preserve my body from hunger, and other necessities which should happen unto me; were it not cared for by the benevolence and charity of godly people. Such as have taken all worldly goods and lands from me, and spoiled me of all that I had, have imprisoned my body, and appointed not one half-penny to feed or relieve me withal: but I do forgive them and pray for them daily in my poor prayer unto God, and from my heart I wish their salvation, and quietly and patiently bear their injuries, wishing no farther extremity to be used towards us. Yet if the contrary seem best unto our heavenly Father, I have made my reckoning, and fully resolved myself to suffer the uttermost that they are able to do against me, yea, death itself, by the aid of Christ Jesus, who died the most vile death of the cross for us wretches and miserable sinners. But of this I am assured, that the wicked world, with all its force and power, shall not touch one of the hairs of our heads without leave and licence from our heavenly Father, whose will be done in all things. If he will life, life be it: if he will death, death be it. Only we pray, that our wills may be subject unto his will, and then although both we and all the world see none other thing but death, yet if he think life best, we shall not die, no, although the sword be drawn over our heads: as Abraham thought to kill his son Isaac, yet when God perceived that Abraham had surrendered his will to God's will, and was content to kill his son, God then saved his son.

Dearly beloved, if we be contented to obey God's will, and for his commandments sake to surrender our goods and our lives to be at his pleasure, it is no matter whether we keep goods and life, or lose them. Nothing can hurt us that is taken from us for God's cause, nor can any thing at length do us good, that is preserved contrary to God's commandment. Let us wholly suffer God to use us and ours after his holy wisdom, and beware we neither use nor govern ourselves contrary to his will by our own wisdom: for if we do, our wisdom will at length prove foolishness. It is kept to no good purpose, that we keep contrary unto his commandments. That can be by no means taken from us, which he would should tarry with us. He is no good christian that ruleth himself and his, as worldly means serveth: for he that so doth shall have as many changes as chanceth in the world. To day with the world he shall like and praise the truth of God, to-morrow as the world will, so will he like and praise the falshood of man; to-day with Christ, and to-morrow with Antichrist. Wherefore, dear brethren, as touching your behaviour towards God, use both your inward spirits and your outward bodies, your inward and your outward man, I say, not after the manners of men, but after the infallible word of God.

Restrain from evil in both; and glorify your heavenly Father in both. For if ye think ye can inwardly in the heart serve him, and yet outwardly serve with the world in external service the thing that is not God, ye deceive yourselves; for both the body and the soul must concur together in the honour of God, as St. Paul plainly teaches, 1 Cor. 6. For if an honest wife be bound to give both heart and body to faith and service in marriage, and if an honest wife's faith in the heart cannot stand with a whorish or defiled body outwardly; much less can the true faith of a christian, in the service of christianity, stand with the bodily service of external idolatry: for the mystery of marriage is not so honourable between man and wife, as it is between Christ and every christian man, as St. Paul saith.

Therefore, dear brethren, pray to the heavenly Father, that as he spared not the soul nor the body of his dearly beloved Son, but applied both of them with extreme pain to work our salvation both of body and soul; so he will give us all grace to apply our bodies and souls to be servants unto him: for doubtless he requireth as well the one as the other, and cannot be discontented with the one and well pleased with the other. Either he hateth both, or loveth both; he divideth not his love to one, and his hatred to the other. Let not us therefore, good brethren, divide ourselves, and say, our souls serve him, whatsoever our bodies do to the contrary for civil order and policy.

But, alas, I know by myself what troubleth you, that is, the great danger of the world, that will revenge (ye think) your service to God with sword and fire, with loss of goods and lands. But, dear brethren, weigh on the other side, that your enemies and God's enemies shall not do so much as they would, but as much as God shall suffer them, who can trap them in their own counsels, and destroy them in the midst of their furies. Remem-

ber ye be the workmen of the Lord, and called into his vineyard, there to labour till evening-tide, that you may receive your penny, which is more worth than all the kingdoms of the earth. But he that calleth us into his vineyard, hath not told us how ſore and how fervently the ſun ſhall trouble us in our labour: but hath bid us labour: and commit the bitterneſs thereof unto him; who can and will ſo moderate all afflictions, that no man ſhall have more laid upon him, than in Chriſt he ſhall be able to bear. Unto whoſe merciful tuition and defence I commend both your ſouls and bodies. Septemb. 2. 1554.

Yours with my poor prayer,
John Hooper.

To a Merchant of London, by whoſe means he had received much Comfort in his great Neceſſity in the Fleet.

GRACE, mercy, and peace in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord. I thank God and you for the great help and conſolation I have received in the time of adverſity by your charitable means; but moſt rejoice that you be not altered from truth, although falſhood cruelly ſeeketh to diſtain her. Judge not, my brother, truth by outward appearance; for truth now worſe appeareth, and more vilely is rejected than falſhood. Leave the outward ſhew, and ſee by the word of God what truth is, and accept truth, and diſlike her not, though man call her falſhood. As it is now, ſo it hath been heretofore, the truth rejected and falſhood received. Such as have profeſſed truth, for truth have ſmarted, and the friends of falſhood laughed them to ſcorn. The trial of both hath been by contrary ſucceſs: the one having the commendation of truth by man, but the condemnation of falſhood by God, flouriſhing for a time, with endleſs deſtruction; the other afflicted a little ſeaſon, but ending with immortal joys. Wherefore, dear brother, aſk and demand of your book, the teſtament of Jeſus Chriſt, in thoſe woful and wretched days, what you ſhould think, and what you ſhould ſtay upon for a certain truth, and whatſoever you hear taught, try it by your book, whether it be true or falſe. The days be dangerous and full of peril, not only for the world and worldly things, but for heaven and heavenly things. It is a trouble to loſe the treaſure of this life, but yet a very pain, if it be kept with the offence of God. Cry, call, pray, and in Chriſt daily require help, ſuccour, mercy, wiſdom, grace and defence, that the wickedneſs of this world prevail not againſt us. We began well, God preſerve us until the end. I would write more often unto you, but I do perceive you be at ſo much charges with me, that I fear you would think when I write, I crave. Send me nothing till I ſend to you for it; and ſo tell the good men your partners: and when I need, I will be bold with you. December 3. 1554.

Yours with my prayer,
John Hooper.

To Mrs. Wilkinſon, a Woman hearty in God's Cauſe, and comfortable to his afflicted Members.

THE grace of God, and the comfort of his Holy Spirit be with you. Amen.

I am very glad to hear of your health, and do thank you for your loving tokens. But I am a great deal more glad to hear how chriſtianly you avoid idolatry, and prepare yourſelf to ſuffer the extremity of the world, rather than to endanger yourſelf to God. You do as you ought to do in this behalf; and in ſuffering of tranſitory pains, you ſhall avoid permanent torments in the world to come. Uſe your life, and keep it with as much quietneſs as you can, ſo that you offend not God. The eaſe that cometh of his diſpleaſure, turneth at length to unſpeakable pains; and the gains of the world, with the loſs of his favour, is beggary and wretchedneſs. Reaſon is to be amended in this cauſe of religion: for it will chuſe and follow an error with the multitude, if it may be allowed, rather than turn to faith and follow the truth with the people of God. Moſes found the ſame fault in himſelf, and did amend it, chuſing rather to be afflicted with the people of God, than to uſe the liberty of the king's daughter, that accounted him as her ſon. Pray for contentation and peace of the Spirit, and rejoice in ſuch troubles as ſhall happen to you for the truth's ſake: for in that part Chriſt ſaith, you be happy. Pray alſo for me, I pray you, that I may do in all things the will of our heavenly Father: to whoſe tuition and defence I commend you.

To my dear Friends in God, Mr. John Hall, and his Wife.

THE grace of God be with you, Amen. I thank you for your loving and gentle friendſhip at all times, praying to God to ſhew unto you ſuch favour, that whatſoever trouble and adverſity happen, ye go not back from him. Theſe days be dangerous and full of peril; but yet let us comfort ourſelves in calling to remembrance the days of our forefathers, upon whom the Lord ſent ſuch troubles, that many hundreds, yea, many thouſands died for the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, both men and women, ſuffering with patience and conſtancy as much cruelty as tyrants could deviſe, and ſo departed out of this miſerable world to the bliſs everlaſting, whereas now they remain for ever, looking always for the end of this ſinful world, when they ſhall receive their bodies again in immortality, and ſee the number of the elect aſſociated with them in full and conſummate joys: and as virtuous men ſuffering martyrdom, and tarrying a little while in this world with pains, by and by reſted in joys everlaſting; and as their pains ended their ſorrows, and began eaſe; ſo did their conſtancy and ſtedfaſtneſs animate and confirm all good people in the truth, and gave them encouragement and luſt to ſuffer the like, rather than to fall with the world to conſent unto wickedneſs and idolatry. Wherefore, my dear friends, ſeeing God of his part hath illuminated you with the ſame gift and knowledge of true faith, wherein the apoſtles and evangeliſts, and all martyrs ſuffered moſt cruel death; thank him for his grace in knowledge, and pray unto him for ſtrength and perſeverance, that through your own fault ye be not aſhamed or afraid to confeſs it. Yet ye be in the truth, and the gates of hell ſhall never prevail againſt it, nor Antichriſt with all his imps can prove it to be falſe. They may kill and perſecute, but never overcome. Be of good comfort, and fear God more than man. This life is ſhort and miſerable: happy be they that can ſpend it to the glory of God. Pray for me, as I do for you, and commend me to all good men and women. December 22. 1554.

Your brother in Chriſt,
John Hooper.

To my dearly beloved Siſter in the Lord, Mrs. Ann Warcop.

THE grace of God be with you, Amen, I thank you for your loving token. I pray you burthen not yourſelf too much. It were meet for me rather to bear a pain, than to be a hindrance to many. I did rejoice at the coming of this bearer, to underſtand of your conſtancy, and how that ye be fully reſolved, by God's grace, rather to ſuffer extremity, than to go from the truth of God which you have poſſeſſed. He that gave you grace to begin ſo infallible a truth, will follow you in the ſame unto the end. But, my loving ſiſter, as you be travelling this perilous journey, take this leſſon with you, practiſed by

by wiſe men; whereof you may read in the ſecond of St. Matthew's goſpel. Such as travelled to find Chriſt, followed only the ſtar, and as long as they ſaw it, they were aſſured they were in the right way, and had great mirth in their journey. But when they entered into Jeruſalem, whereas the ſtar led them not thither, but unto Bethlehem, and there aſked the citizens the thing that the ſtar ſhewed before; as long as they tarried in Jeruſalem, and would be inſtructed where Chriſt was born, they were not only ignorant of Bethlehem, but alſo loſt the ſight of the ſtar that led them before. Whereof we learn, in any caſe, whilſt we be going in this life to ſeek Chriſt that is above, to beware that we loſe not the ſtar of God's word, that only is the mark that ſheweth us where Chriſt is, and which way we may come unto him. But as Jeruſalem ſtood in the way, and was an impediment to theſe wiſe men: ſo doth the ſynagogue of Antichriſt, that beareth the name of Jeruſalem, which by interpretation is called the viſion of peace, and amongſt the people now is called the catholic church, ſtand in the way that pilgrims muſt go by through this world to Bethlehem, the houſe of ſaturity and plentifulneſs, and is an impediment to all chriſtian travellers; yea, and except the more grace of God be, will keep the pilgrims ſtill in her, that they ſhall not come where Chriſt is at all. And to ſtay them indeed, they take away the ſtar of light, which is God's word, that it cannot be ſeen: as you may ſee how the celeſtial ſtar was hid from the wiſe men, when they aſked of the phariſees at Jeruſalem, where Chriſt was born. Ye may ſee what great dangers happened unto theſe wiſe men, whilſt they were learning of lyars, where Chriſt was. Firſt, they were out of their way, and next they loſt their guide and conductor, the heavenly ſtar. Chriſt is mounted from us into heaven, and there we ſeek him (as we ſay), and let us go thitherward by the ſtar of his word, beware we happen not to come into Jeruſalem, the church of men, and aſk for him. If we do, we go out of the way, and loſe alſo our conductor and guide that only leadeth us ſtraight thither.

The poets write in fables, that Jaſon, when he fought with the dragon in the iſle of Colchis, was preſerved by the medicines of Medea, and ſo wan the golden fleece. And they write alſo that Phaeton, whom they fain to be the ſon and heir of the high god Jupiter, would needs upon a day have the conduction of the ſun round about the world; but, as they feigned, he miſſed of the accuſtomed courſe: whereupon when he went too high, he burned heaven; and when he went too low, he burned the earth and the water. Theſe prophane hiſtories do ſhame us that be chriſtian men. Jaſon againſt the poiſon of the dragon uſed only the medicine of Medea. What a ſhame is it for a chriſtian man againſt the poiſon of the devil, hereſy, and ſin, to uſe any other remedy than Chriſt and his word? Phaeton, for lack of knowledge, was afraid of every ſign of the zodiac, that the ſun paſſeth by: wherefore he went now too low, and now too high, and at length fell down and drowned himſelf in the ſea. Chriſtian men for lack of knowledge, and for fear of ſuch dangers as chriſtian men muſt needs paſs by, go clean out of order, and at length fall into the pit of hell.

Siſter, take heed; you ſhall in your journey towards heaven meet with many a monſtrous beaſt: have ſalve of God's word therefore ready. You ſhall meet huſband, children, lovers, and friends, that ſhall, if God be not with them (as God be praiſed he is, I would it were with all other alike), be very lets and impediments to your purpoſe. You ſhall meet with ſlander and contempt of the world, and be accounted ungracious and ungodly; you ſhall hear and meet with cruel tyranny to do you all extremities; you ſhall now and then ſee the troubles of your own conſcience, and feel your own weakneſs; you ſhall hear that you be curſed by the ſentence of the catholic church, with ſuch like terrors: but pray to God, and follow the ſtar of his word, and you ſhall arrive at the port of eternal ſalvation, by the merits only of Jeſus Chriſt: to whom I commend you and all yours moſt heartily.

Yours in Chriſt, John Hooper.

Unto theſe letters of Mr. Hooper before recited, we thought not inconvenient to annex another epiſtle, written to him by a famous learned man Henry Bullinger, chief ſuperintendent of the city of Zurich. Of whoſe ſingular love and tender affection towards Mr. Hooper, ye heard before in the beginning of Mr. Hooper's life. Now how loving he writeth to him, ye ſhall hear by this preſent letter, as followeth.

To the moſt reverend Father Mr. John Hooper, Biſhop of Worceſter and Glouceſter, and now priſoner for the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, my Fellow-Elder, and moſt dear Brother in England.

THE heavenly Father grant unto you, and to all thoſe which are in bands and captivity for his name's ſake, grace and peace through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, with wiſdom, patience, and fortitude of the Holy Ghoſt.

I have received from you two letters, my moſt dear brother, the former in the month of September of the year paſt, the latter in the month of May in this preſent year, both written out of priſon. But I doubting leſt I ſhould make anſwer to you in vain, whilſt I feared that my letters ſhould never come into your hands, or elſe increaſe and double your ſorrow, did refrain from the duty of writing. In the which thing I doubt not but you will have me excuſed, eſpecially ſeeing you did not vouchſafe, no not once in a whole year, to anſwer to my whole libels rather than letters, whereas I continued ſtill notwithſtanding in writing unto you: as alſo at this preſent, after I heard you were caſt in priſon, I did not refrain from continual prayer, beſeeching our heavenly Father, through our only mediator Jeſus Chriſt, to grant unto you and to your fellow-priſoners faith and conſtancy unto the end. Now is that thing happened unto you, my brother, which we did oftentimes propheſy unto ourſelves, at your being with us, ſhould come to paſs, eſpecially when we did talk of the power of Antichriſt, and of his felicity and victories. For you know the ſaying of Daniel, His power ſhall be mighty, but not his ſtrength, and he ſhall wonderfully deſtroy and make havock of all things, and ſhall proſper and practiſe, and he ſhall deſtroy the mighty and the holy people after his own will. You know what the Lord warned us of beforehand by Matthew, in chap. 10. by John in chap. 15. 16. and alſo what that choſen veſſel St. Paul hath written in the ſecond of Timothy and third chapter. Wherefore I do nothing doubt (by God's grace) of your faith and patience, whilſt you know that thoſe things which you ſuffer are not looked for, or come by chance; but that you ſuffer them in the beſt, trueſt, and moſt holy quarrel: for what can be more true and holy than our doctrine, which the papiſts, thoſe worſhippers of Antichriſt, do perſecute? All things touching ſalvation we attribute unto Chriſt alone, and to his holy inſtitutions, as we have been taught of him and his diſciples: but they would have even the ſame things to be communicated as well to their Antichriſt, and to his inſtitutions. Such we ought no leſs to withſtand than we read that Elias withſtood the Baallites; for if Jeſus be Chriſt, then let them know, that he is the fulneſs of his church, and that perfectly: but if Antichriſt be king and prieſt, then let them exhibit unto him that honour. How long do they halt on both ſides? can they give unto us any one that is better than Chriſt? or who ſhall be equal with Chriſt, that may be compared with him, except it be he whom the apoſtle calleth the adverſary? But if Chriſt be ſufficient for his church, what needeth this patching and piecing? But I know well enough, I need not to uſe theſe diſputations with you which are ſincerely taught,

and

and have taken root in Chriſt, being perſuaded that you have all things in him, and that we in him are made perfect.

Go forwards therefore conſtantly to confeſs Chriſt, and to defy Antichriſt, being mindful of this moſt holy and moſt true ſaying of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; "He that overcometh ſhall poſſeſs all things, and I will be his God, and he ſhall be my ſon: but the fearful, and the unbelieving, and the murderers, and whoremongers, and ſorcerers, and idolaters, and all lyars, ſhall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimſtone, which is the ſecond death." The firſt death is ſoon overcome, although a man muſt burn for the Lord's ſake: for they ſay well that do affirm this our fire to be ſcarcely a ſhadow of that which is prepared for unbelievers, and them that fall from the truth. Moreover, the Lord granteth unto us, that we may eaſily overcome by his power the firſt death, which he himſelf did taſte and overcome; promiſing withal ſuch joys as never ſhall have end, unſpeakable, and paſſing all underſtanding, which we ſhall poſſeſs ſo ſoon as ever we do depart hence. For ſo again ſaith the angel of the Lord: "If any man worſhip the beaſt and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or on his hand, the ſame ſhall drink of the wrath of God; yea, of the wine which is poured into the cup of his wrath, and he ſhall be tormented in fire and brimſtone before the holy angels, and before the Lamb: and the ſmoak of their torment ſhall aſcend evermore, and they ſhall have no reſt day nor night which worſhip the beaſt and his image, and whoſoever receiveth the print of his name." Here is the patience of ſaints; here are they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jeſus. To this he addeth by and by; "I heard a voice ſaying to me, write, bleſſed are the dead that die in the Lord, from henceforth, or ſpeedily, they be bleſſed, John 5. even ſo ſaith the Spirit; for they reſt from their labours, but their works follow them: for our labour ſhall not be fruſtrate or in vain."

Therefore ſeeing you have ſuch a large promiſe, be ſtrong in the Lord, fight a good fight, be faithful to the Lord unto the end: conſider that Chriſt the Son of God is your captain, and fighteth for you, and that all the prophets, apoſtles, and martyrs, are your fellow-ſoldiers. They that perſecute and trouble us, are men ſinful and mortal, whoſe favour a wiſe man would not buy with the value of a farthing: and beſides that our life is frail, ſhort, brittle and tranſitory. Happy are we if we depart in the Lord, who grant unto you, and to all your fellow-priſoners, faith and conſtancy. Commend me to the moſt reverend fathers and holy confeſſors of Chriſt, Dr. Cranmer biſhop of Canterbury, Dr. Ridley biſhop of London, and the good old father Dr. Latimer. Them and all the reſt of the priſoners with you for the Lord's cauſe, ſalute in my name, and in the name of all my fellow miniſters, the which do ſpeak unto you the grace of God, and conſtancy in the truth.

Concerning the ſtate of our church, it remaineth even as it was when you departed from us into your country. God grant we may be thankful to him, and that we do not only profeſs the faith with words, but alſo expreſs the ſame effectually with good works, to the praiſe of our Lord. The word of God increaſeth daily in that part of Italy that is near unto us, and in France.

In the mean while the godly ſuſtain grievous perſecutions, and with great conſtancy and glory, through torments they go unto the Lord. I and all my houſhold, with my ſon-in-law and kinſmen, are in good health in the Lord. They do ſalute you, and pray for your conſtancy, being ſorrowful for you and the reſt of the priſoners. There came to us Engliſhmen ſtudents, both godly and learned. They be received of our magiſtrate. Ten of them dwell together, the reſt remain here and there with good men. Amongſt others, Mr. Thomas Lever is dear unto me, and familiar. If there be any thing wherein I may do any pleaſure to your wife and children, they ſhall have me wholly at commandment: whereof I will write alſo to your wife, for I underſtand ſhe abideth at Frankfort. Be ſtrong and merry in Chriſt, waiting for his deliverance, when, and in what ſort it ſhall ſeem good unto him. The Lord Jeſus ſhew pity upon the realm of England, and illuminate the ſame with his Holy Spirit, to the glory of his name, and the ſalvation of ſouls. The Lord Jeſus preſerve and deliver you from all evil, with all them that call upon his name. Farewel, and farewel eternally. October 10. 1554. From Zurich.

You know the hand, H. B.

The Life and Acts of Dr. Rowland Taylor, who ſuffered Martyrdom February 9. 1555.

THE town of Hadley was one of the firſt that received the word of God in all England, at the preaching of Mr. Thomas Bilney; by whoſe induſtry the goſpel of Chriſt had ſuch good ſucceſs, and took ſuch root there, that a great number in that pariſh became exceeding well learned in the holy ſcriptures, as well women as men, ſo that a man might have found among them many, that had often read the whole Bible through, and that could have ſaid a great part of St. Paul's epiſtles by heart, and very well and readily have given a godly learned ſentence in any matter of controverſy. Their children and ſervants were alſo brought up and trained ſo diligently in the right knowledge of God's word, that the whole town ſeemed rather an univerſity of the learned, than a town of cloth-making or labouring people. And what is moſt to be commended, they were for the more part faithful followers of God's word in their living.

In this town Doctor Rowland Taylor, Doctor in both the civil and canon laws, and a right perfect divine, was miniſter. Who at his firſt entering into his benefice, did not, as the common ſort of beneficed men do, let out his benefice to a farmer, that ſhall gather up the profits, and ſet in an ignorant unlearned prieſt to ſerve the cure, and ſo they have the fleece, little or nothing care for feeding the flock: But on the contrary, he left Thomas Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in whoſe family he before lived, and made his perſonal abode and dwelling in Hadley among the people committed to his charge. Where he, as a good ſhepherd, abiding and dwelling among his ſheep, gave himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures, moſt faithfully endeavouring himſelf to fulfil that charge which the Lord gave unto Peter, ſaying; "Peter, loveſt thou me? Feed my lambs, feed my ſheep, feed my ſheep." This love of Chriſt ſo wrought in him, that no Sunday or Holy-day paſſed, nor other time when he might get the people together, but he preached to them the word of God, the doctrine of their ſalvation.

Not only was his word a preaching unto them, but all his life and converſation was an example of unfeigned chriſtian life and true holineſs. He was void of all pride, humble and meek as any child; ſo that none were ſo poor but they might boldly, as unto their father, reſort unto him: neither was his lowlineſs childiſh or fearful, but as occaſion, time and place required, he would be ſtout in rebuking the ſinful and evil doers; ſo that none was ſo rich but he would tell him plainly his fault, with ſuch earneſt and grave rebukes as became a good curate and paſtor. He was a man very mild, void of all rancour, grudge or evil will, ready to do good to all men, readily forgiving his enemies, and never ſought to do evil to any.

To the poor that were blind, lame, ſick, bed-rid, or that had many children, he was a very father, a careful patron and diligent provider; inſomuch that he cauſed the pariſhoners to make a general proviſion for them: and he himſelf (beſides the continual relief that they always found at his houſe) gave an honeſt portion yearly to the common alms-box. His wife alſo an honeſt, diſcreet

creet, and ſober matron, and his children well nurtured, brought up in the fear of God and good learning.

To conclude, he was a right and lively image or patron of all thoſe virtuous qualities deſcribed by St. Paul in a true biſhop, a good ſalt of the earth, ſavourly, biting the corrupt manners of evil men; a light in God's houſe ſet upon a candleſtick for all good men to imitate and follow.

Thus continued this good ſhepherd among his flock, governing and leading them through the wilderneſs of this wicked world, all the days of the moſt innocent and pious king of bleſſed memory, Edward VI. But after it pleaſed God to take king Edward from this vale of miſery unto his moſt bleſſed reſt, the papiſts, who ever diſſembled, both with king Henry VIII. and king Edward his ſon, now ſeeing the time convenient for their purpoſe, uttered their falſe hypocriſy, openly refuſing all good reformation made by the ſaid two kings: and contrary to what they had in theſe two kings days preached, taught, written, and ſworn, they violently overthrew the true doctrine of the goſpel, and perſecuted with ſword and fire all thoſe that would not agree to receive again the Roman biſhop as ſupreme head of the univerſal church, and allow all the errors, ſuperſtitions, and idolatries, that before by God's word were diſproved, and juſtly condemned, as though now they were good doctrine, virtuous, and true religion.

In the beginning of this rage of Antichriſt, a certain petty gentleman, after the ſort of a lawyer, called Foſter, being a ſteward and keeper of courts, a man of no great ſkill, but a bitter perſecutor in thoſe days, with one John Clerk of Hadley, which Foſter had ever been a ſecret favourer of all Romiſh idolatry, conſpired with the ſaid Clerk, to bring in the pope and his idolatry again into Hadley church. For as yet Dr. Taylor, as a good ſhepherd, had retained and kept in his church the godly church-ſervice and reformation made by king Edward, and moſt faithfully and earneſtly preached againſt the popiſh corruptions, which had infected the whole country round about.

Therefore the aforeſaid Foſter and Clerk hired one John Averth, parſon of Aldam, a very money mammoniſt, a blind leader of the blind, a popiſh idolater, and an open whoremonger, a very fit miniſter for their purpoſe, to come to Hadley, and there to give the onſet to begin again the popiſh maſs.

To this purpoſe they built up the altar with all haſte poſſible, intending to bring in their maſs about Palm Monday. But this their device took no effect; for in the night the altar was beaten down. Wherefore they built it up again the ſecond time, and ſet a diligent watch leſt any ſhould again break it down.

On the day following came Foſter and John Clerk, bringing with them their popiſh ſacrificer, who brought with him all his implements and garments to play the popiſh pageant, whom they and their men guarded with ſwords and bucklers, leſt any man ſhould diſturb him in his miſſal ſacrifice.

When Dr. Taylor, who (according to his cuſtom) ſate at his book, ſtudying the word of God, heard the bells ring, he aroſe and went into the church, ſuppoſing ſomething had been there to be done, according to his paſtoral office: and coming to the church, he found the church doors ſhut and faſt barred, ſaving the chancel door, which was only latched. Where he entering in, and coming in the chancel, ſaw a popiſh ſacrificer in his robes, with a broad new ſhaven crown, ready to begin his popiſh ſacrifice, beſet round with drawn ſwords and bucklers, leſt any man ſhould approach to diſturb him.

Then ſaid Dr. Taylor, Thou devil, who made thee ſo bold to enter into this church of Chriſt, to prophane and defile it with this abominable idolatry? With that Foſter ſtarts up, and with an angry and furious countenance ſaid to Dr. Taylor; Thou traitor, what doeſt thou here, to hinder and diſturb the queen's proceedings? Dr. Taylor anſwered, I am no traitor, but I am the ſhepherd that God my Lord Chriſt hath appointed to feed this his flock; wherefore I have good authority to be here: and I command thee, thou popiſh wolf, in the name of God, to avoid hence, and not to preſume here with ſuch popiſh idolatry to poiſon Chriſt's flock.

Then ſaid Foſter, Wilt thou traiterouſly, heretic, make a commotion, and reſiſt violently the queen's proceedings?

Dr. Taylor anſwered, I make no commotion, but it is you papiſts that make commotions and tumults. I reſiſt only with God's word, againſt your popiſh idolatries, which are againſt God's word, the queen's honour, and tend to the utter ſubverſion of this realm of England. And further, thou doſt againſt the law, which commandeth, that no maſs be ſaid but at a conſecrate altar.

When the parſon of Aldam heard that, he began to ſhrink back, and would have left his ſaying of maſs: then ſtarts up John Clerk, and ſaid, Maſter Averth, be not afraid, you have a Super-altare, go forth with your buſineſs, man.

Then Foſter, with his armed men, took Dr. Taylor, and led him with ſtrong hand out of the church, and the popiſh prieſt proceeded in his Romiſh idolatry. Dr. Taylor's wife, who followed her huſband into the church, when ſhe ſaw her huſband thus violently thruſt out, kneeled down and held up her hands, and with a loud voice ſaid; "I beſeech God the righteous Judge to avenge the injury that this popiſh idolater this day doth to the blood of Chriſt." Then they thruſt her out of the church alſo, and ſhut the doors; for they feared that the people would have rent their ſacrificer in pieces. Notwithſtanding one or two threw in great ſtones at the windows, and miſſed very little the popiſh maſſer.

Thus you ſee, how without conſent of the people the popiſh maſs was again ſet up with battle array, with ſwords and bucklers, with violence and tyranny: which practice the papiſts have ever yet uſed. As for reaſon, law, or ſcripture, they have none on their part. Therefore they are the ſame that ſay: The law of unrighteouſneſs is our ſtrength: come, let us oppreſs the righteous without any fear, &c.

Within a day or two after, with all haſte poſſible, this Foſter and Clerk made a complaint of Dr. Taylor, by a letter written to Stephen Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, and lord chancellor.

When the biſhop heard this, he ſent a letter miſſive to Dr. Taylor, commanding him within certain days to come and to appear before him upon his allegiance, to anſwer ſuch complaints as were made againſt him.

When Dr. Taylor's friends heard of this, they were exceeding ſorry and grieved in mind: foreſeeing to what end the ſame matter would come, ſeeing that all truth and juſtice were trodden under foot, and falſhood with cruel tyranny were ſet aloft and bore the ſway: his friends, I ſay, came to him, and earneſtly counſelled him to depart and fly, alledging and declaring unto him, that he could neither be indifferently heard to ſpeak his conſcience and mind, nor yet look for juſtice or favour from the ſaid chancellor, who, as it is well known, was moſt fierce and cruel; but muſt needs (if he went up to him) wait for impriſonment and cruel death at his hands.

Then ſaid Dr. Taylor to his friends, Dear friends, I moſt heartily thank you, for that you have ſo tender a care over me. And although I know that there is neither juſtice nor truth to be looked for at my adverſaries hands, but rather impriſonment and cruel death; yet know I my cauſe to be ſo good and righteous, and the truth ſo ſtrong upon my ſide, that I will by God's grace go and appear before them, and to their beards reſiſt their falſe doing.

Then ſaid his friends, Maſter Doctor, we think it not beſt ſo to do. You have ſufficiently done your duty, and

teſtified the truth both by your godly ſermons, and alſo in reſiſting the parſon of Aldam, with others that came hither to bring again the popiſh maſs. And foraſmuch as our Saviour Chriſt willeth and biddeth us, that when they perſecute us in one city, we ſhould fly into another; we think in flying at this time ye would do beſt, keeping yourſelf againſt another time, when the church ſhall have great need of ſuch diligent teachers, and godly paſtors.

Oh, quoth Dr. Taylor, what will ye have me to do? I am old, and have already lived too long to ſee theſe terrible and moſt wicked days. Fly you, and do as your conſcience leadeth you; I am fully determined, with God's grace, to go to the biſhop, and tell him to his face that he doth naught: God ſhall well hereafter raiſe up teachers of his people, who ſhall with much more diligence and fruit teach them than I have done. For God will not forſake his church, though now for a time he trieth and correcteth us, and not without a juſt cauſe. As for me, I believe before God, I ſhall be never able to do God ſo good ſervice, as I may do now; nor ſhall I ever have ſo glorious a calling as I now have, nor ſo great mercy of God proffered me, as is now at this preſent. For what chriſtian man would not gladly die againſt the pope and his adherents? I know that the papacy is the kingdom of Antichriſt, altogether full of lyes, altogether full of falſhood; ſo that all their doctrine, even from Chriſt's croſs be my ſpeed, and St. Nicholas unto the end of their apocalypſe, is nothing but idolatry, ſuperſtition, errors, hypocriſy, and lyes. Wherefore I beſeech you, and all other my friends, to pray for me, and I doubt not but God will give me ſtrength and his Holy Spirit, that all mine adverſaries ſhall have ſhame of their doings.

When his friends ſaw him ſo conſtant, and fully determined to go, they, with weeping eyes, commended him to God; and he within a day or two prepared himſelf to his journey, leaving his cure with a godly old prieſt, named Sir Richard Yeoman, who afterwards for God's truth was burnt at Norwich.

There was alſo in Hadley one Alcock, a very pious man, well learned in the holy ſcriptures, who after Sir Richard Yeoman was driven away, uſed daily to read a chapter, and to ſay the Engliſh Litany in Hadley church: but him they fetched up to London, and caſt him in priſon in Newgate; where after a year's impriſonment he died.

But let us return to Dr. Taylor again, who being accompanied with a ſervant of his own, named John Hull, took his journey towards London. By the way, this John Hull laboured to counſel and perſuade him very earneſtly to fly, and not come to the biſhop, and proffered himſelf to go with him to ſerve him, and in all perils to venture his life for him and with him.

But in no wiſe would Dr. Taylor conſent or agree thereunto, but ſaid, Oh John, ſhall I give place to this thy counſel and worldly perſuaſion, and leave my flock in this danger? Remember the good ſhepherd Chriſt, who not only fed his flock, but alſo died for his flock. Him muſt I follow, and with God's grace will do. Therefore good John, pray for me, and if thou ſeeſt me weak at any time, comfort me, and diſcourage me not in this my godly enterpriſe and purpoſe. Thus they came up to London, and ſhortly after Dr. Taylor preſented himſelf to Stephen Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, then lord chancellor of England.

For this hath been one great abuſe in England theſe many years, that ſuch offices as have been of moſt importance and weight have commonly been committed to biſhops and other ſpiritual men, whereby three deviliſh miſchiefs and inconveniencies have happened in this realm, to the great diſhonour of God, and utterly neglecting of the flock of Chriſt: which three be theſe:

Firſt, they have had ſmall leiſure to attend to their paſtoral cures, which thereby have been utterly neglected and undone.

Secondly, it hath alſo puft up many biſhops and other ſpiritual perſons, into ſuch haughtineſs and pride, that they have thought no nobleman in the realm worthy to be their equal and fellow.

Thirdly, where they by this means knew the very ſecrets of princes, they being in ſuch high offices, have cauſed the ſame to be known in Rome before the kings could accompliſh and bring their intents to paſs in England. By this means hath the papacy been ſo maintained, and things ordered after their wills and pleaſures, that much miſchief hath happened in this realm and others, ſometimes to the deſtruction of princes, and ſometimes to the utter undoing of many commonwealths.

Now when biſhop Gardiner ſaw Dr. Taylor, he, according to his common cuſtom, reviled him, calling him knave, traytor, heretic, with many other villainous reproaches, which Dr. Taylor heard patiently, and at laſt ſaid unto him:

My lord, quoth he, I am neither traitor nor heretic, but a true ſubject, and a faithful chriſtian man, and am come, according to your commandment, to know what is the cauſe that your lordſhip hath ſent for me.

Then, ſaid the biſhop, art thou come, thou villain? how dareſt thou look me in the face for ſhame? knoweſt thou not who I am?

Yes, quoth Dr. Taylor, I know who you are. Ye are Dr. Stephen Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, and lord chancellor, and yet but a mortal man I trow. But if I ſhould be afraid of your lordly looks, why fear you not God, the Lord of us all? how dare ye for ſhame look any chriſtian man in the face, ſeeing ye have forſaken the truth, denied our Saviour Chriſt and his word, and done contrary to your own oath and writing? with what countenance will ye appear before the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt, and anſwer to your oath made firſt unto king Henry VIII. and afterwards to king Edward VI. his ſon?

The biſhop anſwered, Tuſh, tuſh, that was Herod's oath, unlawful; and therefore worthy to be broken: I have done well in breaking it; and I thank God, I am come home again to our mother, the catholic church of Rome, and ſo I would thou ſhouldeſt do.

Dr. Taylor anſwered, ſhould I forſake the church of Chriſt, which is founded upon the true foundation of the apoſtles and prophets, to approve thoſe lyes, errors, ſuperſtition, and idolatries, that the popes and their company at this day ſo blaſphemouſly do approve? nay, God forbid. Let the pope and his return to our Saviour Chriſt and his word, and thruſt out of the church ſuch abominable idolatries as he maintaineth, and then will chriſtian men turn unto him. You wrote truly againſt him, and were ſworn againſt him.

I tell thee, quoth the biſhop of Wincheſter, it was Herod's oath, unlawful; and therefore ought to be broken, and not kept: and our holy father the pope hath diſcharged me of it.

Then ſaid Dr. Taylor, But you ſhall not ſo be diſcharged before Chriſt, who doubtleſs will require it at your hands, as a lawful oath made to our liege and ſovereign lord the king, from whoſe obedience no man can quit you, neither the pope nor any of his.

I ſee, quoth the biſhop, thou art an arrogant knave, and a very fool.

My lord, quoth Dr. Taylor, leave your unſeemly railing at me, which is not ſeemly for ſuch an one in authority as you are. For I am a chriſtian man, and you know, that "He that ſaith to his brother, Racha, is in danger of a council; and he that ſaith, Thou fool, is in danger of hell fire."

The biſhop anſwered, Ye are falſe, and lyars all the ſort of you. Nay, quoth Dr. Taylor, we are true men, and know that it is written, "The mouth that lyeth, ſlayeth the ſoul:" And again, "Lord God, thou ſhalt deſtroy all that ſpeak lyes." And therefore we abide by the truth of God's word, which ye, contrary to your own conſciences, deny and forſake.

Thou

Thou art married, ſaid the biſhop. Yea, quoth Dr. Taylor, that I thank God I am, and have had nine children, and all in lawful matrimony; and bleſſed be God that ordained matrimony, aud commanded that every man that hath not the gift of continency, ſhould marry a wife of his own, and not live in adultery or whoredom.

Then ſaid the biſhop, Thou haſt reſiſted the queen's proceedings, and wouldeſt not ſuffer the parſon of Aldam, a very virtuous and devout prieſt, to ſay maſs in Hadley. Dr. Taylor anſwered, My lord, I am parſon of Hadley, and it is againſt all right, conſcience, and laws, that any man ſhould come into my charge, and preſume to infect the flock committed unto me, with venom of the popiſh idolatrous maſs.

With that the biſhop waxed very angry, and ſaid, Thou art a blaſphemous heretic indeed, that blaſphemeſt the bleſſed ſacrament (and put off his cap) and ſpeakeſt againſt the holy maſs, which is made a ſacrifice for the quick and the dead. Dr. Taylor anſwered, Nay, I blaſpheme not the bleſſed ſacrament which Chriſt inſtituted, but I reverence it as a true chriſtian man ought to do, and confeſs, that Chriſt ordained the holy communion in the remembrance of his death and paſſion, which when we keep according to his ordinance, we, through faith, eat the body of Chriſt, and drink his blood, giving thanks for our redemption; and this is our ſacrifice for the quick and the dead, to give thanks for his merciful goodneſs ſhewed to us, in that he gave his Son Chriſt unto the death for us.

Thou ſayeſt well, ſaid the biſhop. It is all that thou haſt ſaid, and more too; for it is a propitiatory ſacrifice for the quick and the dead. Then anſwered Dr. Taylor, Chriſt gave himſelf to die for our redemption upon the croſs, whoſe body there offered was the propitiatory ſacrifice, full, perfect, and ſufficient unto ſalvation for all them that believe in him. And this ſacrifice did our Saviour Chriſt offer in his own perſon himſelf once for all, neither can any prieſt any more offer him, nor need we any more propitiatory ſacrifice: and therefore I ſay with Chryſoſtom, and all the doctors; Our ſacrifice is only memorative, in the remembrance of Chriſt's death and paſſion, a ſacrifice of thankſgiving; and therefore the fathers called it Euchariſtia: and no other ſacrifice hath the church of God.

It is true, quoth the biſhop, the ſacrament is called Euchariſtia, a thankſgiving, becauſe we there give thanks for our redemption, and it is alſo a ſacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead, which thou ſhalt confeſs ere thou and I have done. Then the biſhop called his men, and ſaid, Have this fellow hence, and carry him to the King's Bench, and charge the keeper he be ſtraitly kept.

Then Dr. Taylor kneeled down, and held up both his hands, and ſaid, Good Lord, I thank thee; and from the tyranny of the biſhop of Rome, and all his deteſtable errors, idolatries, and abominations, good Lord deliver us: and God be praiſed for good king Edward. So they carried him to priſon to the King's Bench, where he lay priſoner almoſt two years.

This is the ſum of their firſt talk, as I ſaw it mentioned in a letter that Dr. Taylor wrote to a friend of his, thanking God for his grace, that he had confeſſed his truth, and was found worthy for truth to ſuffer priſon and bands, beſeeching his friends to pray for him, that he might perſevere conſtant unto the end.

Being in priſon, Dr. Taylor ſpent all his time in prayer, reading the holy ſcriptures, writing, preaching, and exhorting the priſoners, and ſuch as reſorted to him, to repentance and amendment of life.

Within a few days after, ſeveral other learned and godly men in ſundry counties of England were committed to priſon for religion, that almoſt all the priſons in England were become right chriſtian ſchools and churches; ſo that there was no greater comfort for chriſtian hearts, than to come to the priſons to behold their virtuous converſation, and to hear their prayers, preachings, moſt godly exhortations, and conſolations.

Now were placed in churches blind and ignorant maſsmongers, with their Latin babblings and apiſh ceremonies; who like cruel wolves ſpared not to murder all ſuch as did but whiſper againſt their popery. As for the godly preachers who were in king Edward's time, they were either fled the realm, or elſe, as the prophets did in king Ahab's days, they were privily kept in corners. As many as the papiſts could lay hold on, they were ſent into priſon, there as lambs waiting when the butchers would call them to the ſlaughter.

When Dr. Taylor was come into the priſon of the King's Bench, he found therein the virtuous and vigilant preacher of God's word, Mr. Bradford; which man for his innocent and pious living, his devout and virtuous preaching, was worthily counted a miracle of our time, as even his adverſaries muſt needs confeſs. Finding this man in priſon, he began to exhort him to faith, ſtrength, and patience, and to perſevere conſtant unto the end. Mr. Bradford hearing this, thanked God that he had provided him ſuch a comfortable priſon-fellow; and ſo they both together praiſed God, and continued in prayer, reading, and exhorting one another: inſomuch that Dr. Taylor told his friends that came to viſit him, that God had moſt graciouſly provided for him, to ſend him to that priſon where he found ſuch an angel of God, to be in his company to comfort him.

After that Dr. Taylor had lain ſome time in priſon, he was cited to appear in the arches at Bow church, to anſwer unto ſuch matter as ſhould be there objected againſt him. At the day appointed he was led thither, his keeper waiting upon him. Where when he came, he ſtoutly and ſtrongly defended his marriage, affirming by the ſcriptures of God, by the doctors of the primitive church, by both laws civil and canon, that it is lawful for prieſts to marry, and that ſuch as have not the gift of continency are bound in pain of damnation to marry. This he did ſo plainly prove, that the judge could give no ſentence of divorce againſt him, but gave ſentence he ſhould be deprived of his benefice, becauſe he was married.

You do me wrong then, quoth Dr. Taylor, and alledged many laws and conſtitutions for himſelf; but all prevailed not. For he was again carried to priſon, and his livings taken away, and given to another. As for Hadley benefice, it was given or ſold, I know not which, to one Mr. Newealle, whoſe great virtues were altogether unlike to Dr. Taylor his predeceſſor, as the poor pariſhioners full well have found.

After a year and three quarters, or thereabouts, in which time the papiſts got certain old tyrannous laws which were put down by king Henry VIII. and by king Edward, to be again revived by parliament; ſo that now they might, Ex officio, cite whom they would, upon their own ſuſpicion, and charge him with what articles they pleaſed, and except they in all things agreed to their purpoſe, burn them: when theſe laws were once eſtabliſhed, they ſent for Dr. Taylor with ſeveral other priſoners, who were again convented before the chancellor and other commiſſioners about January. The purport and effect of which talk between them, becauſe it is ſufficiently deſcribed by himſelf in his own letter written to a friend of his, I have annexed the ſaid letter as followeth.

A Letter of Dr. Taylor, containing the Diſcourſe had between him and the Lord Chancellor, and other Commiſſioners, January 22.

WHereas you would have me to write the talk between the king and queen's moſt honourable council and me on Tueſday January 22. ſo far as I remember. Firſt my lord chancellor ſaid, You among others are at this

this preſent time ſent for, to enjoy the king's and queen's majeſties favour and mercy, if you will now riſe again with us from the fall which we generally have received in this realm, from which (God be praiſed) we are now clearly delivered, miraculouſly. If you will not riſe with us now, and receive mercy now offered, you ſhall have judgment according to your demerit. To this I anſwered, That ſo to riſe, ſhould be the greateſt fall that ever I could receive; for I ſhould ſo fall from my dear Saviour Chriſt to Antichriſt: for I do believe, that the religion ſet forth in king Edward's days, was according to the vein of the holy ſcripture, which containeth fully all the rules of our chriſtian religion, from which I do not intend to decline ſo long as I live, by God's grace.

Then Mr. Secretary Bourne ſaid; Which of the religions mean ye of in king Edward's days? For ye know there were divers books of religion ſet forth in his days. There was a religion ſet forth in a catechiſm by my lord of Canterbury. Do you mean that you will ſtick to that?

I anſwered, My lord of Canterbury made a catechiſm to be tranſlated into Engliſh, which book was not of his own making; yet he ſet it forth in his own name: and truly that book for the time did much good. But there was after that ſet forth by the moſt innocent king Edward (for whom God be praiſed everlaſtingly) the whole church-ſervice, with great deliberation, and the advice of the beſt learned men in the realm, and authoriſed by the whole parliament, and received and publiſhed gladly by the whole realm: which book was never reformed but once, and yet by that one reformation it was ſo fully perfected, according to the rules of our chriſtian religion in every behalf, that no chriſtian conſcience could be offended with any thing therein contained; I mean of that book reformed.

Then my lord chancellor ſaid, Didſt thou never read the book that I ſet forth of the ſacrament?

I anſwered, that I had read it.

Then he ſaid, How likeſt thou that book? With that one of the council (whoſe name I know not) ſaid, My lord, that is a good queſtion; for I am ſure that book ſtoppeth all their mouths. Then ſaid I, My lord, I think many things be far wide from the truth of God's word in that book.

Then my lord ſaid, Thou art a very varlet. To that I anſwered, That is as ill as Racha, or Fool.

Then my lord ſaid, Thou art an ignorant beetle-brow. To that I anſwered, I have read over and over again the holy ſcriptures, and St. Auguſtine's works through, St. Cyprian, Euſebius, Origen, Gregory Nazianzen, with ſeveral other books through: once therefore, I thank God, I am not utterly ignorant. Beſides theſe, my lord, I profeſſed the civil laws, as your lordſhip did, and I have read over the canon law alſo.

Then my lord ſaid, With a corrupt judgment thou readeſt all things: touching my profeſſion, it is divinity, in which I have written ſeveral books. Then ſaid I, My lord, ye did write one book, De vera obedientia; I would you had been conſtant in that: for indeed you never did declare a good conſcience that I heard of but in that one book.

Then my lord ſaid, Tut, tut, tut, I wrote againſt Bucer in prieſts marriages: but ſuch books pleaſe not ſuch wretches as thou art, who haſt been married many years.

To that I anſwered, I am married indeed, and I have had nine children in holy matrimony, I thank God: and this I am ſure of, that your proceedings now at this time againſt prieſts marriages, is the maintenance of the doctrine of devils, againſt natural law, civil law, canon law, general councils, canons of the apoſtles, ancient doctors, and God's laws.

Then my lord of Durham ſpake, ſaying, You have profeſſed the civil law, as you ſay. Then you know that Juſtinian writeth, That prieſts ſhould at their taking of orders, ſwear that they were never married; and he bringeth in to prove that, Canones Apoſtolorum.

To that I anſwered, That I did not remember any ſuch law of Juſtinian. But I am ſure, that Juſtinian writeth in Titulo de indicta viduitate, in God. That if one would bequeath to his wife in his teſtament a legacy, under a condition that ſhe ſhould never marry again, and take an oath of her for accompliſhing the ſame, yet ſhe may marry again if he die, notwithſtanding the aforeſaid conditions, and oath taken and made againſt marriage: and an oath is another manner of obligation made to God, than is a papiſtical vow made to man.

Moreover, in the Pandects it is contained, that if a man doth ſet free his handmaid, under a condition that ſhe ſhall never marry; yet ſhe may marry, and her patron ſhall loſe Jus Patronatus, for his adding of the unnatural and unlawful condition againſt matrimony.

Then my lord chancellor ſaid, Thou ſayeſt that prieſts may be married by God's law. How proveſt thou that?

I anſwered, By the plain words and ſentences of St. Paul both to Timothy and to Titus, where he ſpeaks moſt evidently of the marriage of prieſts, deacons, and biſhops. And St. Chryſoſtom writing upon the epiſtle to Timothy, ſaith, It is an hereſy to ſay that a biſhop may not be married.

Then ſaid my lord chancellor, Thou lyeſt of Chryſoſtom. But thou doſt as all thy companions do, bely ever without ſhame both the ſcriptures and the doctors. Didſt thou not alſo ſay, that by the canon law, prieſts may be married? which is moſt untrue, and the contrary is moſt true.

I anſwered, We read in the decrees, that the four general councils, Nicene, Conſtantinopolitan, Epheſine, Chalcedon, have the ſame authority that the four evangeliſts have. And we read in the ſame decrees (which is one of the chief books of the canon law) that the council of Nice, by the means of one Paphnutius, did allow prieſts and biſhops marriages: therefore by the beſt part of the canon law prieſts may be married.

Then my lord chancellor ſaid, Thou falſifieſt the general council. For there is expreſs mention in the ſaid decree, That prieſts ſhould be divorced from their wives, which be married.

Then ſaid I, If thoſe words be there, as you ſay, then am I content to loſe this great head of mine; let the book be fetched.

Then ſpake my lord of Durham; Though they be not there, yet they may be in Eccleſiaſtica Hiſtoria, which Euſebius wrote, out of which book the decree was taken.

To that ſaid I, It is not like that the pope would leave out any ſuch ſentence, having ſuch authority, and making ſo much for his purpoſe.

Then my lord chancellor ſaid, Gratian was but a patcher, and thou art glad to ſnatch up ſuch a patch as maketh for thy purpoſe.

I anſwered, My lord, I cannot but marvel that you do call one of the chief papiſts that ever was, but a patcher.

Then my lord chancellor ſaid, Nay I call thee a ſnatcher and patcher. To make an end, wilt thou not return again with us to the catholic church? And with that he roſe.

And I ſaid, By God's grace I will never depart from Chriſt's church. Then I required that I might have ſome of my friends to come to me in priſon; and my lord chancellor ſaid, Thou ſhalt have judgment within this week: and ſo was I delivered again unto my keeper. My lord of Durham would that I ſhould believe as my father and my mother did. I alledged St. Auguſtine, that we ought to prefer God's word before all men.

And thus much was contained in the aforeſaid letter of Dr. Taylor for that matter.

Beſides this letter, he moreover directed another writing in like manner to another friend of his, concerning the cauſes wherefore he was condemned, which we thought proper here to inſert as followeth.

The Copy of another Letter to his Friend, touching his Aſſertions of the Marriage of Prieſts, and other Cauſes for which he was condemned.

IT is hereſy to defend any doctrine againſt the holy Scripture. Therefore the lord chancellor and biſhops conſenting to his ſentence againſt me, be heretics. For they have given ſentence againſt the marriage of prieſts, knowing that St. Paul to Timothy and Titus writeth plainly, that biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, may be married; knowing alſo that, by St. Paul's doctrine, it is the doctrine of devils to inhibit matrimony. And St. Paul willeth every faithful miniſter to teach the people ſo, leſt they be deceived by the marked merchants, 1 Tim. 4.

Theſe biſhops are not ignorant, that it is not only St. Paul's counſel, and lawful, but God's commandment alſo to marry, for ſuch as cannot otherwiſe live chaſte, neither avoid fornication.

They know that ſuch as do marry do not ſin.

They know that God, before ſin was, ordained matrimony, and that in paradiſe, between two of his principal creatures, man and woman.

They know what ſpirit they have, which ſay it is evil to marry (ſeeing God ſaid, It is not good for man to be alone without a wife), having no ſpecial gift, contrary to the general commandment and ordinance, divers times repeated in the book of Geneſis, which is, To increaſe and multiply.

They know that Abraham carried into the land of Canaan his old and yet barren wife, the virtuous woman Sarah, with him, leaving his father, mother, and country, at God's command. For though father and mother and other friends are dear and near, yet none are ſo dearly and nearly joined together, as man and wife in matrimony, which muſt needs be holy, for that is a figure and ſimilitude of Chriſt and his church.

They know that St. Paul giveth a great praiſe to matrimony, calling it honourable, and that not only to and among many, but to and among all men without exception, whoſoever have need of that God's remedy, for man's and woman's infirmity.

They know that if there were any ſin in matrimony, it were chiefly to be thought to be in the bed-company. But St. Paul ſaith, That the bed-company is undefiled.

They know that the having of a wife was not an impediment for Abraham, Moſes, Iſaac, Jacob, David, &c. to talk with God, neither to the levites, biſhops, and prieſts office in the time of the Old Teſtament or the New.

They know that Chriſt would not be conceived, or born of his bleſſed mother, the virgin Mary, before ſhe was eſpouſed in marriage, his own ordinance.

They know, by St. Cyprian and St. Auguſtine, that a vow is not an impediment ſufficient to hinder matrimony, or to divorce the ſame.

They know that St. Chryſoſtom ſaith, It is hereſy to affirm, that a biſhop may not have a wife.

They know that Ambroſe will have no commandment, but counſel only to be given, touching the obſerving of virginity.

They know that Chriſt with his bleſſed mother and the apoſtles were at a marriage, and beatified and honoured the ſame with his preſence, and firſt miracle.

To be ſhort, they know that all that I have here written touching the marriage of prieſts, is true: and they know that the papiſts themſelves do not obſerve, touching that matter, their own laws and canons, and yet they continue marked in conſcience with an hot iron, as deteſtable heretics in this behalf. The Lord give them grace to repent, if it be his good will, Amen.

My ſecond cauſe why I was condemned an heretic is, that I denied tranſubſtantiation and concomitation, two juggling words of the papiſts, by which they do believe, and will compel all others to believe, that Chriſt's natural body is made of bread, and the Godhead by and by to be joined thereunto, ſo that immediately after the words (called the words of conſecration) there is no more bread and wine in the ſacrament, but the ſubſtance only of the body and blood of Chriſt together with his Godhead: ſo that the ſame being now Chriſt, both God and man, ought to be worſhipped with godly honour, and to be offered to God, both for the quick and the dead, as a ſacrifice propitiatory and ſatisfactory for the ſame. This matter was not long debated in words; but becauſe I denied the foreſaid papiſtical doctrine (yea rather, plain, moſt wicked idolatry, blaſphemy, and hereſy), I was judged an heretic.

I did alſo affirm the pope to be Antichriſt, and popery antichriſtianity.

And I confeſſed the doctrine of the Bible to be ſufficient doctrine, touching all and ſingular matters of chriſtian religion, and of ſalvation.

I alſo alledged, that the oath againſt the ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome, was a lawful oath, and ſo was the oath made by us all, touching the king's or queen's preheminence. For Chryſoſtom ſaith, That apoſtles, evangeliſts, and all men in every realm were ever, and ought to be ever, touching both body and goods, in ſubjection to the kingly authority, who hath the ſword in his hand, as God's principal officer and governor in every realm. I deſired the biſhops to repent for bringing the realm from Chriſt to Antichriſt, from lightneſs to darkneſs, from verity to vanity.

Thus you know the ſum of my laſt examination and condemnation. Pray for me, and I will pray for you.

God be praiſed, ſince my condemnation I was never afraid to die; God's will be done. If I ſhrink from God's truth, I am ſure of another manner of death than had judge Hales. But God be praiſed, even from the bottom of my heart, I am unmoveably ſettled upon the rock, nothing doubting, but that my dear God will perform and finiſh the work that he hath begun in me and others. To him be all honour both now and ever, thro' Chriſt our only and whole Saviour, Amen.

And thus much wrote Dr. Taylor, concerning this matter to his friend.

You heard in the former anſwers a little before, certain allegations out of St. Cyprian, Auguſtine, Chryſoſtom, and Ambroſe, mentioned by Dr. Taylor, touching the lawfulneſs of prieſts marriage. Now ye ſhall hear the places of the ſaid doctors cited and produced out of their own books, as here enſueth.

THIS queſtion was aſked of St. Cyprian, What ſhould be done with thoſe religious perſons, that could not keep their chaſtity as they had vowed? He anſwered thus, Thou doſt aſk what we do judge of virgins, which, after they had decreed to live chaſtely, are afterward found in bed with a man; of which thou ſayeſt, that one of them was a deacon? We do with great ſorrow ſee the great ruin of many perſons, which cometh by the reaſon of ſuch unlawful and perilous companying together. Wherefore, if they have dedicated themſelves unto Chriſt in faith, to live purely and chaſtely, then let them ſo remain without any fable, and ſtrongly and ſtedfaſtly abide the reward of virginity. But if they will not abide, or elſe cannot abide; then it is better to marry, than to fall into the fire of concupiſcence: and let them give to them, to the brethren and ſiſters, none occaſion of ſlander, &c. Cyprian in his eleventh epiſtle, lib. 1.

CErtain men do affirm, Thoſe men to be adulterers, that do marry after that they have vowed chaſtity. But I do affirm, That thoſe men do grievouſly ſin, which do ſeparate them, &c. Auguſtine in his book, De bono conjugali, ad Julianum.

CHaſtity of the body ought to be deſired of us: which thing I do give for a counſel, and do not command it imperiouſly. For virginity is a thing which only ought to be counſelled, but not to be commanded: it is rather a thing of voluntary will, and not a precept. Ambroſe, 32. Queſt. 1. cap. Integritas.

A brief Recapitulation out of Dr. Taylor's Cauſes beforementioned, for the Reader more evidently to ſee how the Papiſts act againſt their own Knowledge in forbidding Prieſts Marriage.

THE pope's clergy, forbidding eccleſiaſtical perſons to marry, do againſt their conſcience and knowledge, as may well be proved by theſe cauſes hereunder following.

1. They know that matrimony in the Old Teſtament, De jure inſtitutionis, is indifferently permitted to all men without any exception.

2. They know that in the Old Teſtament, De facto, both prieſts, levites, prophets, patriarchs, and all others, had their wives.

3. They know that matrimony was permitted and inſtituted by God for two principal ends; to wit, for procreation, and avoiding of ſin.

4. They know that in the Old Teſtament, God not only inſtituted and permitted matrimony to be free, but alſo induceth and appointeth men to marry and take wives, in theſe words, "It is not good for man to be alone," &c.

5. They know that in the New Teſtament St. Paul permitteth the ſtate of matrimony free to all men, having not the gift of continency, and forbiddeth none.

6. They know that in the New Teſtament the ſaid St. Paul not only permitteth, but alſo expreſly willeth and chargeth men, having not the gift, to marry, ſaying, "For avoiding fornication, let every man have his wife," &c.

7. They know that in the New Teſtament the ſaid St. Paul not only permitteth and commandeth, but alſo commendeth and praiſeth the ſtate of matrimony, calling it "honourable, and the bed-company to be undefiled," &c.

8. They know that in the New Teſtament Chriſt himſelf not only was not conceived nor born of the virgin before ſhe was eſpouſed in matrimony, but alſo that both he and his bleſſed mother did beatify and honour the ſtate of matrimony with their preſence: yea, in the ſame began his firſt miracle.

9. They know both by the Old Teſtament and New, that marriage is no impediment to walk in the obedience of God's commandments; for both Abraham carried into the land of Canaan his old, yea and barren wife, the virtuous woman Sarah, with him: and alſo to Iſaac, Jacob, Moſes, David, and others, their marriage was no impediment to them to talk with God; neither to other levites, biſhops, and prieſts, in the time of both the Old Teſtament, and of the New. Again, neither was it an hindrance to Peter, Philip, and others, both to have their wives with them, and alſo to ſupply the office of apoſtleſhip.

10. They know both by the Old Teſtament and New, that ſinful fornication and adultery depriveth man of God's favour and graces of the Holy Ghoſt, which graces eſpecially be requiſite in the men of the church.

11. They know in their own ſecret conſcience, and by experience, that neither they which enjoin this vow of chaſtity, nor they which take it, do obſerve the vow of chaſtity. Whereupon riſe inconveniences more than can be expreſſed: but the Lord above knoweth all, beſides the ſecret murders, peradventure, of many a poor infant, &c.

12. They know by St. Cyprian, Epiſt. 11. and St. Auguſtine, lib. De bono conjugali, ad Julianum, that a vow is no impediment ſufficient to hinder matrimony, or to divorce the ſame.

13. They know that Chryſoſtom affirmeth it to be an hereſy to ſay, that a biſhop may not have a wife.

14. They know that St. Ambroſe, 32. q. 1. Integritas, will have no commandment, but counſel only to be given touching the obſerving of virginity.

15 They know that before the time of pope Hildebrand, that is, during the time of 1000 years after Chriſt, marriage was never reſtrained, by any forcible neceſſity of vow, from men of the church.

16. They know that St. Paul calleth it the doctrine of devils, to forbid meats and marriage, which God hath left free, with thankſgiving, for neceſſity of man and woman.

After that Dr. Taylor had thus with great ſpirit and courage anſwered for himſelf, and ſtoutly rebuked his adverſaries for breaking their oath made before to king Henry, and to king Edward his ſon, and for betraying the realm into the power of the Roman biſhop: they perceiving that in no caſe he could be ſtirred to their wills and purpoſe, that is, to turn with them from Chriſt to Antichriſt, committed him thereupon to priſon again, where he remained till the laſt of January.

Dr. Taylor the fourth Time with Mr. Bradford and Mr. Saunders, brought before the Biſhop of Wincheſter and other Biſhops.

UPON which day and year aforeſaid, Dr. Taylor, Mr. Bradford, and Mr. Saunders, were again called to appear before the biſhop of Wincheſter, the biſhops of Norwich, London, Saliſbury, and Durham, and there were again charged with hereſy and ſchiſm, and therefore a determinate anſwer was required, Whether they would ſubmit themſelves to the Roman biſhop, and abjure their errors, or elſe they would according to their laws proceed to their condemnation.

When Dr. Taylor and his fellows, Mr. Bradford and Mr. Saunders, heard this, they anſwered ſtoutly and boldly, that they would not depart from the truth which they had preached in king Edward's days, neither would they ſubmit themſelves to the Romiſh Antichriſt; but they thanked God for ſo great mercy, that he would call them to be worthy to ſuffer for his word and truth.

When the biſhops ſaw them ſo boldly, conſtantly, and unmoveably fixed in the truth, they read the ſentence of death upon them, which when they had heard, they moſt joyfully gave God thanks, and ſtoutly ſaid unto the biſhops: "We doubt not but God the righteous judge will require our blood at your hands; and the proudeſt of you all ſhall repent this receiving again of Antichriſt, and your tyranny that ye now ſhew againſt the flock of Chriſt."

Dr. Taylor being condemned, was committed to the Clink, and the keepers were charged to keep him ſtraitly: for ye have now another manner of charge, quoth the lord chancellor, than ye had before; therefore look ye, take heed to it.

When the keeper brought him toward the priſon, the people flocked about to gaze upon him; unto whom he ſaid, God be praiſed, good people, I am come away from them undefiled, and will confirm the truth with my blood. He was confined in the Clink till it was towards night, and then he was removed to the Compter by the Poultry.

When

When Dr. Taylor had lain in the ſaid Compter in the Poultry a ſeven-night or thereabouts priſoner, the fourth of February 1555. Edmund Bonner biſhop of London, with others, came to the ſaid Compter to degrade him, bringing with them ſuch ornaments as do appertain to their maſſing-mummery. Now being come, he called for the ſaid Dr. Taylor to be brought unto him; the biſhop being then in the chamber where the keeper of the Compter and his wife lay. So Dr. Taylor was brought down from the chamber above that, to the ſaid Bonner. And at his coming the biſhop ſaid, Maſter Doctor, I wiſh you would remember yourſelf, and turn to your mother holy church, ſo may ye do well enough, and I will ſue for your pardon. Whereunto Dr. Taylor anſwered, I wiſh you and your fellows would turn to Chriſt. As for me, I will not turn to Antichriſt. Well, ſaid the biſhop, I am come to degrade you: wherefore put on theſe veſtures. No, ſaid Dr. Taylor, I will not. Wilt thou not, ſaid the biſhop? I ſhall make thee ere I go. Quoth Dr. Taylor, You ſhall not, by the grace of God. Then he charged him upon his obedience to do it, but he would not.

So he ordered another to put them upon his back, and when he was thoroughly furniſhed therewith, he ſet his hands to his ſide, walking up and down, and ſaid; How ſay you, my lord, am not I a goodly fool? How ſay you, my maſters? If I were in Cheapſide, ſhould I not have boys enow to laugh at theſe apiſh toys, and toying trumpery? So the biſhop ſcraped his fingers, thumbs, and the crown of his head, and did the reſt of ſuch like deviliſh obſervances.

At the laſt, when he ſhould have given Dr. Taylor a ſtroke on the breaſt with his croſier-ſtaff, the biſhop's chaplain ſaid, My lord, ſtrike him not, for he will ſure ſtrike again. Yea, by St. Peter will I, quoth Dr. Taylor. The cauſe is Chriſt's, and I were no good chriſtian, if I would not fight in my maſter's quarrel. So the biſhop laid his curſe upon him, but ſtruck him not. Then Dr. Taylor ſaid, Though you do curſe me, yet God doth bleſs me. I have the witneſs of my conſcience, that ye have done me wrong and violence, and yet I pray God, if it be his will, forgive you. But from the tyranny of the biſhop of Rome, and his deteſtable enormities, good Lord deliver us. And in going up to his chamber, he ſtill ſaid, God deliver me from you, God deliver me from you. And when he came up, he told Mr. Bradford (for they both lay in one chamber) that he had made the biſhop of London afraid; for, ſaith he, laughingly, his chaplain gave him counſel not to ſtrike me with his croſier-ſtaff, for that I would ſtrike again; and by my troth, ſaid he, rubbing his hands, I made him believe I would do ſo indeed.

The night after he was degraded, his wife and his ſon Thomas reſorted unto him, and were by the gentleneſs of the keepers permitted to ſup with him. For this difference was ever found between the keepers of the biſhops priſons, and the keepers of the king's priſons: that the biſhops keepers were ever cruel, blaſphemous, and tyrannous like their maſters; but the keepers of the king's priſons ſhewed, for the moſt part, as much favour as they poſſibly might.

So came Dr. Taylor's wife, his ſon, and John Hull his ſervant, to ſup with him: and at their coming in afore ſupper, they kneeled down and prayed, ſaying the Litany.

After ſupper walking up and down, he gave God thanks for his grace, that had ſo called him, and given him ſtrength to abide by his word: and turning to his ſon Thomas, "My dear ſon, ſaid he, Almighty God bleſs thee, and give thee his holy Spirit, to be a true ſervant of Chriſt, to learn his word, and conſtantly to ſtand by his truth all thy life long. And, my ſon, ſee that thou fear God always. Flee from all ſin, and wicked living: be virtuous, ſerve God with daily prayer, and apply thy book. In any wiſe ſee that thou be obedient to thy mother, love her and ſerve her: be ruled by her now in thy youth, and follow her good counſel in all things. Beware of lewd company of young men that fear not God; but follow their lewd luſts and vain appetites. Fly from whoredom, and hate all filthy living, remembering, that I thy father do die in the defence of holy marriage. Another day, when God ſhall bleſs thee, love and cheriſh the poor people, and count that thy chief riches is, to be rich in alms: and when thy mother is waxed old, forſake her not; but provide for her to thy power, and ſee that ſhe lack nothing: for ſo will God bleſs thee, and give thee long life upon earth and proſperity: which I pray God to grant thee."

Then turning to his wife, "My dear wife, quoth he, continue ſtedfaſt in the fear and love of God; keep yourſelf undefiled from their popiſh idolatries and ſuperſtitions. I have been unto you a faithful yoke-fellow, and ſo have you been unto me; for which I pray God to reward you, and doubt not, dear wife, but God will reward it. Now the time is come that I ſhall be taken from you, and you diſcharged of the wedlock bond towards me: therefore I will give you my counſel what I think moſt expedient for you. You are yet a child-bearing woman, and therefore it will be moſt convenient for you to marry. For doubtleſs you ſhall never be at a convenient ſtay for yourſelf and our poor children, nor out of trouble, till you be married. Therefore as ſoon as God will provide it, marry with ſome honeſt faithful man that feareth God. Doubt you not, God will provide an honeſt huſband for you, and he will be a merciful father to your and my children: whom I pray you bring up in the fear of God, and in learning, to the utmoſt of your power, and keep them from this Romiſh idolatry." When he had thus ſaid, they with weeping tears prayed together, and kiſſed one another: and he gave to his wife a book of the church-ſervice, ſet out by king Edward, which he in the time of his impriſonment daily uſed. And unto his ſon Thomas he gave a Latin book, containing the notable ſayings of the old martyrs, gathered out of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; and in the end of that book he wrote his teſtament and laſt farewel, as hereafter followeth.

The laſt Will and Teſtament of Dr. Rowland Taylor, Parſon of Hadley.

I Say to my wife, and to my children; the Lord gave you unto me, and the Lord hath taken me from you, and you from me: bleſſed be the name of the Lord. I believe they are bleſſed which die in the Lord. God careth for ſparrows, and for the hairs of our heads. I have ever found him more faithful and favourable, than is any father or huſband. Truſt ye therefore in him by the means of our dear Saviour Chriſt's merits: believe, love, fear, and obey him: pray to him, for he hath promiſed to help. Count me not dead, for I ſhall certainly live, and never die. I go before, and you follow after, to our long home. I go to the reſt of my children, Suſan, George, Ellen, Robert, and Zachary: I have bequeathed you to the only Omnipotent.

I ſay to my dear friends of Hadley, and to all others which have heard me preach; that I depart hence with a quiet conſcience, as touching my doctrine, for which I pray you thank God with me. For I have after my little talent, declared to others thoſe leſſons that I gathered out of God's book, the bleſſed Bible. Therefore if I, or an angel from heaven ſhould preach to you any other goſpel than that ye have received, God's great curſe upon that preacher.

Beware for God's ſake that ye deny not God, neither decline from the word of faith, leſt God decline from you, and ſo ye do everlaſtingly periſh. For God's ſake beware of popery, for though it appear to have in it unity, yet the ſame is vanity and antichriſtianity, and not in Chriſt's faith and verity.

Beware

Beware of the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, now after ſuch a light opened ſo plainly and ſimply, truly, thoroughly and generally to all England.

The Lord grant all men his good and Holy Spirit, increaſe of his wiſdom, contemning the wicked world, hearty deſire to be with God and the heavenly company, through Jeſus Chriſt, our only mediator, advocate, righteouſneſs, life, ſanctification, and hope, Amen, Amen. Pray, Pray.

Rowland Taylor departing hence in ſure hope, without all doubting of eternal ſalvation, I thank God my heavenly Father, through Jeſus Chriſt my certain Saviour, Amen.

February 5. 1555.

"The Lord is my light and my ſalvation: whom then ſhall I fear? Pſalm 27. 1.

"God is he that juſtifieth: who is he that can condemn? Rom. 8. 33, 34.

"In thee, O Lord, have I truſted, let me never be confounded. Pſalm 31. 1."

On the next morning, after that Dr. Taylor had ſupped with his wife in the Compter, as is before expreſſed, which was the fifth day of February, the ſheriff of London with his officers came to the Compter by two of the clock in the morning, and ſo brought forth Dr. Taylor, and without any light led him to the Woolpack, an inn without Aldgate. Dr. Taylor's wife, ſuſpecting that her huſband would that night be carried away, watched all night in St. Botolph's church-porch without Aldgate, having with her two children, the one named Elizabeth, of thirteen years of age (who being left without father or mother, Dr. Taylor had charitably brought up from three years old), the other named Mary, Dr. Taylor's own daughter.

Now when the ſheriff and his company came againſt St. Botolph's church, Elizabeth cried, ſaying, O my dear father; Mother, mother, here is my father led away. Then his wife ſaid, Rowland, Rowland, where art thou? For it was a very dark morning, that the one could not ſee the other. Dr. Taylor anſwered, Dear wife, I am here, and ſtaid. The ſheriffs men would have led him forth; but the ſheriff ſaid, Stay a little, maſters, I pray you, and let him ſpeak to his wife, and ſo they ſtaid.

Then ſhe came to him, and he took his daughter Mary in his arms; and he, his wife, and Elizabeth, kneeled down and ſaid the Lord's prayer. At which ſight the ſheriff wept apace, and ſo did ſeveral others of the company. After they had prayed, he roſe up and kiſſed his wife, and ſhook her by the hand, and ſaid, Farewel my dear wife, be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conſcience. God ſhall ſtir up a father for my children. And then he kiſſed his daughter Mary, and ſaid, God bleſs thee, and make thee his ſervant: and kiſſing Elizabeth, he ſaid, God bleſs thee. I pray you all ſtand ſtrong and ſtedfaſt unto Chriſt and his word, and keep you from idolatry. Then ſaid his wife, God be with thee, dear Rowland, I will with God's grace meet thee at Hadley.

And ſo he was led forth to the Woolpack, and his wife followed him. As ſoon as they came to the Woolpack, he was put into a chamber, wherein he was kept with four yeomen of the guard, and the ſheriffs men. Dr. Taylor as ſoon as he was come into the chamber, fell down on his knees, and gave himſelf wholly to prayer. The ſheriff then ſeeing Dr. Taylor's wife there, would in no caſe grant her to ſpeak any more with her huſband, but gently deſired her to go to his houſe and take it as her own, and promiſed her ſhe ſhould lack nothing, and ſent two officers to conduct her thither. Notwithſtanding ſhe deſired to go to her mother's, whither the officers led her, and charged her mother to keep her there till they came again.

Dr. Taylor remained at the Woolpack, kept by the ſheriff and his company, till eleven of the clock; at which time the ſheriff of Eſſex was ready to receive him: and ſo they ſet him on horſeback within the inn, the gates being ſhut.

At coming out of the gates, John Hull before ſpoken of, ſtood at the rails with Thomas, Dr. Taylor's ſon. When Dr. Taylor ſaw them, he called them, ſaying, Come hither, my ſon Thomas. And John Hull lifted the child up, and ſet him on the horſe before his father: and Dr. Taylor put off his hat, and ſaid to the people that ſtood there looking on him, Good people, this is mine own ſon, begotten of my body in lawful matrimony; and God be bleſſed for lawful matrimony. Then he lifted up his eyes towards heaven and prayed for his ſon, laid his hat upon his child's head and bleſſed him, and ſo delivered the child to John Hull, whom he took by the hand, and ſaid, Farewel, John Hull, the faithfulleſt ſervant that ever man had. And ſo they rode forth, the ſheriff of Eſſex, with four yeomen of the guard, and the ſheriffs men leading them.

When they were come almoſt at Burntwood, one Arthur Fayſy, a man of Hadley, who before time had been Dr. Taylor's ſervant, met with them, and he, ſuppoſing him to have been at liberty, ſaid, Maſter Doctor, I am glad to ſee you again at liberty, and came to him, and took him by the hand. Soft Sir, quoth the ſheriff, he is a priſoner; what haſt thou to do with him? I cry you mercy, ſaid Arthur, I knew not ſo much, and I thought it no offence to talk to a true man. The ſheriff was very angry with this, and threatened to carry Arthur with him to priſon; notwithſtanding he bade him get quickly away, and ſo they rode forth to Burntwood: where they cauſed to be made for Dr. Taylor a cloſe hood, with two holes for his eyes to look out at, and a ſlit for his mouth to breathe at. This they did, that no man ſhould know him, nor he ſpeak to any man. Which practice they uſed alſo with others. Their own conſciences told them, that they led innocent lambs to the ſlaughter. Wherefore they feared, leſt if the people ſhould have heard them ſpeak, or have ſeen them, they might have been much more ſtrengthened by their pious exhortations, to ſtand ſtedfaſt in God's word, and to fly the ſuperſtitions and idolatries of the papacy.

All the way Dr. Taylor was joyful and merry, as one that accounted himſelf going to a moſt pleaſant banquet or marriage. He ſpake many notable things to the ſheriff and yeomen of the guard that conducted him, and often moved them to weep through his much earneſt calling upon them to repent, and to amend their evil and wicked living. Oftentimes alſo he cauſed them to wonder and rejoice, to ſee him ſo conſtant and ſtedfaſt, void of all fear, joyful in heart, and glad to die. Of theſe yeomen of the guard, three uſed Dr. Taylor friendly, but the fourth (whoſe name was Homes), uſed him very homely, unkindly, and churliſhly.

At Chelmsford the ſheriff of Suffolk met them, there to receive him, and to carry him forth into Suffolk. And being at ſupper, the ſheriff of Eſſex very earneſtly perſuaded him to return to the popiſh religion, thinking with fair words to perſuade him, and ſaid, Good maſter Doctor, we are right ſorry for you, conſidering what the loſs is of ſuch a one as ye might be, if ye would: God hath given you great learning and wiſdom, wherefore ye have been in great favour and reputation in times paſt with the council and higheſt of this realm. Beſides this, ye are a man of goodly perſonage, in your beſt ſtrength, and by nature like to live many years, and without doubt, ye ſhould in time to come be in as good reputation as ever ye were, or rather better: for ye are well beloved of all men, as well for your virtues as for your learning: and methinks it were great pity you ſhould caſt away yourſelf willingly, and ſo come to ſuch a painful and ſhameful death. Ye ſhould do much better to revoke your opinions, and return to the catholic univerſal church of Rome, acknowledge the pope's holineſs to be the ſupreme head of the church, and reconcile yourſelf to him. You

may do well yet, if you will: doubt ye not but ye ſhall find favour at the queen's hands; I and all theſe your friends will be ſuitors for your pardon: which, no doubt, ye ſhall obtain. This counſel I give you, good Mr. Doctor, of a good heart, and good will towards you: and thereupon I drink to you. In like manner ſaid all the yeomen of the guard; Upon that condition, Mr. Doctor, we will all drink to you.

When they had all drank to him, and the cup was come to him, he ſtayed a little, as one ſtudying what anſwer he might give. At laſt he thus anſwered and ſaid, Mr. Sheriff, and my maſters all, I heartily thank you for your good will; I have hearkened to your words, and marked well your counſels. And to be plain with you, I do perceive that I have been deceived myſelf, and am like to deceive a great many of Hadley of their expectation. With that word they all rejoiced. Yea, good maſter Doctor, quoth the ſheriff, God's bleſſing on your heart: hold you there ſtill. It is the comfortableſt word that we heard you ſpeak yet. What ſhould ye caſt away yourſelf in vain? Play a wiſe man's part, and I dare warrant it, ye ſhall find favour. Thus they rejoiced very much at the word, and were very merry.

At laſt, Good Mr. Doctor, quoth the ſheriff, what meant ye by this, that ye ſay ye think ye have been deceived yourſelf, and think ye ſhall deceive many one in Hadley? Would ye know my meaning plainly, quoth he? Yea, quoth the ſheriff, good Mr. Doctor, tell it us plainly.

Then ſaid Dr. Taylor, I will tell you how I have been deceived, and, as I think, I ſhall deceive a great many. I am, as you ſee, a man that hath a very great carcaſe, which I thought ſhould have been buried in Hadley church-yard, if I had died in my bed, as I well hoped I ſhould have done; but herein I ſee I was deceived: and there are a great number of worms in Hadley church-yard, which ſhould have had jolly feeding upon this carrion, which they have looked for many a day. But now I know we be deceived, both I and they; for this carcaſe muſt be burnt to aſhes, and ſo ſhall they loſe their bait and feeding, that they looked to have had of it.

When the ſheriff and his company heard him ſay ſo, they were amazed and looked at one another, marvelling at the man's conſtant mind, that thus without all fear made but a jeſt at the cruel torment and death now at hand prepared for him. Thus was their expectation clean diſappointed. And in this appeareth what was his meditation in his chiefeſt wealth and proſperity; namely, that he ſhould ſhortly die, and feed worms in his grave: which meditation if all biſhops and ſpiritual men had uſed, they had not for a little worldly glory forſaken the word of God and truth, which they in king Edward's days had preached and ſet forth; nor yet, to maintain the biſhop of Rome's authority, have committed ſo many to the fire as they did.

But let us return to Dr. Taylor, who at Chelmsford was delivered to the ſheriff of Suffolk, and by him conducted to Hadley, where he ſuffered. When they were come to Lanham, the ſheriff ſtaid there two days; and thither came to him a great number of gentlemen and juſtices upon great horſes, which all were appointed to aid the ſheriff. Theſe gentlemen laboured earneſtly with Dr. Taylor, to reduce him to the Romiſh religion, promiſing him his pardon, which, ſaid they, we have here for you. They promiſed him great promotions, yea, a biſhoprick, if he would take it: but all their labour and flattering words were in vain. For he had not built his houſe upon the ſand in peril of falling at every puff of wind, but upon the ſure and unmoveable rock Chriſt. Wherefore he abode conſtant and unmoveable unto the end.

After two days, the ſheriff and his company led Dr. Taylor towards Hadley, and coming within two miles of Hadley, he deſired to alight off his horſe to make water; which done, he leapt, and ſet a friſk or twain, as men commonly do in dancing. Why maſter Doctor, quoth the ſheriff, how do you now? He anſwered, Well, God be praiſed, good maſter Sheriff. Never better: for now I know I am almoſt at home. I lack not paſt two ſtiles to go over, and I am even at my father's houſe. But maſter Sheriff, ſaid he, ſhall we not go through Hadley? Yes, ſaid the ſheriff, you ſhall go through Hadley. Then ſaid he, O good Lord, I thank thee, I ſhall yet once ere I die ſee my flock, whom thou, Lord, knoweſt I have moſt heartily loved, and truly taught. Good Lord, bleſs them, and keep them ſtedfaſt in thy word and truth.

When they were now come to Hadley, and came riding over the bridge, at the bridge-foot waited a poor man with five ſmall children; who when he ſaw Dr. Taylor, he and his children fell down upon their knees, and held up their hands, and cried with a loud voice, and ſaid, O dear father and good ſhepherd, Dr. Taylor, God help and ſuccour thee, as thou haſt many a time ſuccoured me and my poor children. Such witneſs had this ſervant of God of his virtuous and charitable alms given in his life time. For God would now the poor ſhould teſtify of his good deeds to his ſingular comfort, to the example of others, and confuſion of his perſecutors and tyrannous adverſaries. For the ſheriff and others that led him to death, were wonderfully aſtoniſhed at this: and the ſheriff rebuked the poor man for ſo crying. The ſtreets of Hadley were beſet on both ſides the way with men and women of the town and country, who waited to ſee him: whom when they beheld ſo led to death, with weeping eyes and lamentable voices they cried, ſaying one to another, Ah good Lord! there goeth our good ſhepherd from us, that ſo faithfully hath taught us, ſo fatherly hath cared for us, and ſo godly hath governed us: O merciful God! what ſhall we poor ſcattered lambs do? What ſhall come of this moſt wicked world? Good Lord ſtrengthen him, and comfort him: with ſuch other moſt lamentable and piteous voices. Wherefore the people were ſore rebuked by the ſheriff and catchpoles his men, that led him. And Dr. Taylor always ſaid to the people; I have preached to you God's word and truth, and am come this day to ſeal it with my blood.

Coming againſt the alms-houſes, which he well knew, he caſt money to the poor people, which remained of what had been given him in the time of his impriſonment: as for his living, they took it from him at his firſt going to priſon, ſo that he was ſuſtained all the time of his impriſonment by the charitable alms of good people that viſited him.

Therefore the money that now remained he put in a glove, ready for the ſame purpoſe, and as is ſaid gave it to the poor almſmen ſtanding at their doors to ſee him. And coming to the laſt of the alms-houſes, and not ſeeing the poor that dwelt there, ready at their doors, as the others were, he aſked; Is the blind man and blind woman that dwelt here, alive? It was anſwered, Yea, they are within. Then he threw the glove and all in at the window, and ſo rode forth.

Thus this good father and provider for the poor now took his leave of thoſe, for whom all his life he had a ſingular care and ſtudy. For this was his cuſtom, once in a fortnight at leaſt, to call upon Sir Anthony Doyl, and others of the rich cloth-makers, to go with him to the alms-houſes, and there to ſee how the poor lived; what they lacked in meat, drink, clothing, bedding, or any other neceſſaries. The like did he alſo to other poor men that had many children, or were ſick. Then would he exhort and comfort them, and, where he found cauſe, rebuke the unruly; and what they wanted, that gave he after his power: and what he was not able, he cauſed the rich and wealthy men to miniſter unto them. Thus ſhewed he himſelf in all things an example to his flock, worthy to be followed; and taught by his deeds, what a great treaſure alms is to all ſuch as chearfully for Chriſt's ſake do it.

At laſt, coming to Aldham Common, the place aſſigned where he ſhould ſuffer, and ſeeing a great multitude of people gathered thither, he aſked, What place is this, and what meaneth it that ſo much people are gathered hither? It was anſwered, It is Aldham Common, the place where you muſt ſuffer: and the people are come to look upon you. Then ſaid he, Thanked be God, I am even at home, and ſo alighted from his horſe, and with both his hands rent the hood from his head.

Now was his head knotted evil favourably, and clipped much like a man would clip a fool's head; which coſt the good biſhop Bonner had beſtowed upon him, when he degraded him. But when the people ſaw his reverend and ancient face, with a long white beard, they burſt out with weeping tears, and cried, ſaying, God ſave thee, good Dr. Taylor; Jeſus Chriſt ſtrengthen thee, and help thee; the Holy Ghoſt comfort thee; with ſuch other like good wiſhes. Then would he have ſpoken to the people; but the yeomen of the guard were ſo buſy about him, that as ſoon as he opened his mouth, one or other thruſt a tipſtaff into his mouth, and would in no wiſe permit him to ſpeak.

Then he deſired licence of the ſheriff to ſpeak; but the ſheriff denied it to him, and bad him remember his promiſe to the council.

Well, quoth Dr. Taylor, promiſe muſt be kept. What this promiſe was, is unknown: but the common fame was, that after he and others were condemned, the council ſent for them, and threatened them they would cut their tongues out of their heads, except they would promiſe, that at their deaths they would keep ſilence, and not ſpeak to the people. Wherefore they, deſirous to have the uſe of their tongues, to call upon God as long as they might live, promiſed ſilence. For the papiſts feared much, leſt this change of religion, from truth to lyes, from Chriſt's ordinance to the popiſh traditions, ſhould not ſo quietly have been received as it was, eſpecially this burning of the preachers: but they, meaſuring others minds by their own, feared leſt any tumult or uproar might have been ſtirred, the people having ſo juſt a cauſe not to be contented with their doings, or elſe (as they moſt feared) that the people ſhould more have been confirmed by their pious exhortations to ſtand ſtedfaſt againſt their vain popiſh doctrine and idolatry. But thanks be to God, which gave to his witneſſes faith and patience, with ſtout and manly hearts to deſpiſe all torments: neither was there ſo much as any one man that once ſhewed any ſign of diſobedience towards the magiſtrates. They ſhed their blood gladly in the defence of the truth, ſo leaving example unto all men of true and perfect obedience: which is to obey God more than men, and, if need require it, to ſhed their own blood rather than to depart from God's truth.

Dr. Taylor perceiving that he could not be ſuffered to ſpeak, ſat down, and ſeeing one named Soyce, he called him, and ſaid, Soyce, I pray thee come and pull off my boots, and take them for thy labour: thou haſt long looked for them, now take them. Then he roſe up, and put off his clothes unto his ſhirt, and gave them away. Which done, he ſaid with a loud voice, Good people, I have taught you nothing but God's holy word, and thoſe leſſons that I have taken out of God's bleſſed book, the Holy Bible: and I am come hither this day to ſeal it with my blood. With that word, Homes, yeoman of the guard aforeſaid, who had uſed Dr. Taylor very cruelly all the way, gave him a great ſtroke upon the head with a waſter, and ſaid, Is that the keeping of thy promiſe, thou heretic? Then he, ſeeing they would not permit him to ſpeak, kneeled down and prayed, and a poor woman that was among the people ſtepped in and prayed with him; but her they thruſt away, and threatened to tread her down with their horſes: notwithſtanding ſhe would not remove, but abode and prayed with him. When he had prayed, he went to the ſtake, and kiſſed it, and ſet himſelf into a pitch-barrel, which they had ſet for him to ſtand in, and ſo ſtood with his back upright againſt the ſtake, with his hands folded together, and his eyes towards heaven, and ſo he continually prayed.

Then they bound him with chains, and the ſheriff called one Richard Donningham a butcher, and commanded him to ſet up the faggots: but he refuſed to do it, and ſaid, I am lame, Sir, and not able to lift a faggot. The ſheriff threatened to ſend him to priſon; notwithſtanding he would not do it.

Then he appointed one Molleine of Carſey, a man for his virtues fit to be a hangman, and Soyce a very drunkard, and Warwick, who in the commotion-time in king Edward's days, loſt one of his ears for his ſeditious talk; amongſt whom alſo was one Robert King, a deviſer of interludes, who was there preſent and had doing there with the gunpowder; what he meant and did therein (he himſelf ſaid he did it for the beſt and for quick diſpatch) the Lord knoweth, who ſhall judge all; more of this I have not to ſay.

Theſe four were appointed to ſet up the faggots, and to make the fire, which they moſt diligently did; and this Warwick cruelly caſt a faggot at him, which ſtruck him on his head, and brake his face, that the blood ran down. Then ſaid Dr. Taylor, O friend, I have harm enough, what needed that?

Furthermore, Sir John Shelton there ſtanding by as Dr. Taylor was ſpeaking, and ſaying the Pſalm Miſerere in Engliſh, ſtruck him on the lips; Ye knave, ſaid he, ſpeak Latin, I will make thee. At laſt they kindled the fire; and Dr. Taylor, holding up both his hands, called upon God, and ſaid, Merciful Father of heaven, for Jeſus Chriſt my Saviour's ſake, receive my ſoul into thy hands. So ſtood he ſtill without either crying or moving, with his hands folded together, till Soyce with an halberd ſtruck him on the head that the brains fell out, and the corps fell down into the fire.

Thus rendered the man of God his bleſſed ſoul into the hands of his merciful Father, and to his moſt dear and certain Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whom he moſt intirely loved, faithfully and earneſtly preached, obediently followed in living, and conſtantly glorified in death.

They that were preſent and familiarly converſant with this Dr. Taylor, reported of him, that they never did ſee in him any fear of death, but eſpecially and above all the reſt which beſides him ſuffered at the ſame time, always ſhewed himſelf merry and chearful in the time of his impriſonment, as well before his condemnation, as after: he kept one countenance and like behaviour. Whereunto he was the rather confirmed by the company and preſence of Mr. John Bradford, who was in the ſame priſon and chamber with him.

The morning when he was called up by the ſheriff to his burning, being ſuddenly awaked out of his ſound ſleep, he ſat up in his bed, and putting on his ſhirt, had theſe words, ſpeaking ſomewhat thick after his accuſtomed manner, Ah horſon thieves, ah horſon thieves, rob God of his honour, rob God of his honour? Afterwards being riſen and tying his points, he caſt his arms about a great beam which was in the chamber between Mr. Bradford's bed and his; and there hanging by the hands, ſaid to Mr. Bradford, O Mr. Bradford, quoth he, what a notable ſway ſhould I give if I were hanged? meaning for that he was a corpulent and big man. Theſe things I thought good here to note, to ſet forth and declare to thoſe that ſhall read this hiſtory, what a notable and ſingular gift of ſpirit and courage God had given to this bleſſed martyr.

About the time Dr. Taylor was deprived of his benefice of Hadley, there was one called Sir Robert Bracher, a pretended proteſtant in king Edward's days, and afterwards a deadly enemy to the ſame religion; who was alſo one of them that ſo unmercifully thruſt Dr. Taylor's wife and children out of the doors, as ſhe herſelf yet can teſtify: and notwithſtanding the ſame now ſince became a

proteſtant again. This Sir Robert Bracher aforeſaid, coming to Hadley to the burial of a certain friend of his, and God's great enemy, one Walter Clark, albeit he came ſomewhat too late to the market, as he ſaid, yet deſirous to utter ſuch popiſh pelf and pack-ware as he brought with him, he opened there his baggage of peſtilent doctrine, preaching in the ſame town of Hadley againſt juſtification by faith, of the corporal preſence, of praying for the dead, and auricular confeſſion. Whereof Dr. Taylor having underſtanding by letters, writeth again to them of Hadley, directing his letter to his wife, in confutation of the ſaid popiſh poiſoned ſermon; the copy of which letter we thought not unworthy here to annex in the end of this ſtory.

Dr. Taylor's Letter to his Wife.

DEAR wife, I pray God be ever with us, through Chriſt our only Mediator, Amen.

I thank you for my cap; I am ſomewhat proud of it; for it is one ſtep from the clergy in theſe days. I thank God, my heart is clean divided from their proceedings: for I know that no man can ſerve two maſters, eſpecially if they agree no better than Chriſt and Antichriſt do. I am glad that Hadley can ſkill of ſuch packing-ware as was brought thither the firſt day of May laſt. Chriſt's ſheep can diſcern Chriſt's voice from the voice of ſtrangers, thieves, or hirelings. The pack-bringer was ſorry that he came too late to the funeral market of his faithful friend. But here I will leave them both to God's judgment, and ſomething touch the matter whereof the packer made mention on his opening day. At firſt he called the ſcripture, as I hear, full of dark ſentences, but indeed it is called by David, "A candle to our feet, and a light to our paths." Our Saviour Chriſt calleth his word, the light which evil doers do flee from and hate, leſt their deeds ſhould be reproved thereby. St. Paul would have us to walk as children of light, and in any wiſe not to continue in ignorance or darkneſs. But all we in the world pertain to two princes, either to the Father of light and truth, or elſe to the prince of darkneſs and lyes.

In theſe days preachers declare evidently by whom they are ſent, and with what ſpirit they ſpeak, and to what prince they belong. For they cry out againſt God's lights, ſun, moon, ſtars, torches, lamps, lanthorns, creſſets and candles in the Holy Bible, provided by God's great goodneſs and mercy to avoid all foul darkneſs, clouds and miſts, or dangerous doubtful ways in this our journey to our heavenly Father, long home, manſion houſes, and dearly purchaſed heritage. Iſaiah, God's faithful meſſenger, ſaith, "Wo be unto them that call ſweet ſour, good evil, and light darkneſs. Therefore cometh my people into captivity, becauſe they have no underſtanding." Our Saviour Chriſt pronounceth error and hereſies to remain among the people, ſo long as ignorance of the ſcriptures remaineth. And hereby it appeareth to all good conſciences what they mean, which defame or accuſe God's bleſſed word being full of light, as though it were full of darkneſs. Theſe owls would have all day lights ſcraped out of books, hearts and churches. O Lord, turn their hearts and tongues; bow them from the way of darkneſs, leſt they go to the prince of darkneſs, and be caſt into the pit of utter darkneſs, where is weeping and gnaſhing of teeth.

Now touching the packs of wool, and the packs of cloth, I fear they were as all other wares be, tranſubſtantiate into flocks, even his very fineſt packing ſtuff againſt only faith juſtifying, and for the corporal preſence of Chriſt's body in the ſacrament, for praying for ſouls departed, and for auricular confeſſion. Abraham's juſtification by faith, by grace, by promiſe, and not by works, is plainly ſet forth both in the epiſtle to the Romans, chap. 4. and to the Galatians, chap. 3. and Abraham's works of obedience, in offering up his ſon ſo long after his juſtification, muſt needs be taken as a fruit of a good tree juſtifying before men, and not of juſtification before God; for then had man to glory in, then did Chriſt die in vain.

And whereas the ſixth chapter of John was alledged, to prove that Chriſt did give his body corporally in his ſupper, even as he had promiſed in the ſaid chapter, it is moſt untrue. For he only gave his body ſacramentally, ſpiritually, and effectually in his ſupper to the faithful apoſtles, and corporally he gave it in a bloody ſacrifice for the life of the world upon the croſs once for all. There in his own perſon, in his own natural body, he bare our ſins. By whoſe ſtripes we are healed, as St. Peter proceedeth, 1 Pet. 2. and Iſaiah 53. Indeed receiving Chriſt's ſacrament according as it was inſtituted, we receive Chriſt's body and his blood, even as I ſaid before the apoſtles did.

But the popiſh maſs is another matter. The maſs, as it is now, is but one of Antichriſt's youngeſt daughters, in which the devil is rather preſent and received, than our Saviour, the ſecond perſon in the Trinity, God and man. O Lord God, heavenly Father, for Chriſt's ſake, we beſeech thee to turn England again to the right way it was in king Edward's time, from this babylonical, Jewiſh, ſpiritual whoredom, conſpiracy, tyranny, deteſtable enormities, falſe doctrine, hereſy, hardneſs of heart, and contempt of thy word and commandments, from this evident and open idolatry, ſacrilege, ſimony, blaſphemy, ſuperſtition, hypocriſy, tranſubſtantiate angel of light, and day-devil, kingdom of lyes, foul vain ſchiſms, ſects, ſedition, apoſtacy, gay ſweet poiſon, honied and ſugared viperous venom, wily wolfiſhneſs, ſatanical ſubtilty, and abomination in the ſight of God, and all ſuch as put on the true ſpectacles of the holy ſcripture. I am the more plain now in this matter, becauſe I fear greatly, that many will be too ready to go from Chriſt to Antichriſt, from the Bible, God's true ſervice and religion, to Latin lying legends, maſs books, and ſuperſtition. They ſay their church cannot err in any point, when indeed they be not of God's church, and therefore they can do nothing but err, even as they do almoſt in all caſes of true faith.

But to come again to the packer rather than preacher, he bringeth St. Chryſoſtom, writing to the people of Antioch, where he maketh a compariſon between Chriſt's fleſh and Elias cloak caſt down to Elizeus, when Elias was taken up in the fiery chariot; at length he ſaith, that Chriſt, aſcending up to heaven, took his fleſh with him, and alſo left his fleſh behind him in earth.

The meaning of it is, he did aſcend with his fleſh, and left a memorial cloak of the ſame body and fleſh, which he calleth his fleſh, as he in the ſacramental phraſe calleth bread his body, becauſe it repreſenteth his body: and as in like manner of ſacramental ſpeech, a lamb was called the paſſover, the circumciſion, God's covenant. He took up his fleſh corporally, and left his fleſh in myſtery and ſacrament ſpiritually. Or it may be ſaid, that he left his fleſh upon earth, that is, his myſtical body, his faithful people; whom St. Paul calleth the members of his body, of his fleſh, of his bones, Epheſ. 5. In the forty-ninth chapter of Geneſis, there is no word of Chriſt's ſacrament, but there is a prophecy of Chriſt's paſſion wherein his foal was bound, that is, his body. And where he ſpeaketh there of grapes and wine, it is as that is ſpoken of Chriſt in another place, where he ſaith, I alone did tread the wine-preſs, meaning thereby, that Chriſt alone ſuffered painful paſſion for the remiſſion of ſins, and for the conſolation of his faithful ſoldiers.

It is not true that the packer ſaid, that Chriſt's infinite power may make his body to be in a thouſand places at once, as a loaf to be in a thouſand bellies; for then may Chriſt divide the parts of his body, as a loaf is divided, and ſo conſumed, and then might ſcripture be falſe, appointing Chriſt's body to be but in one place. Acts 3. Phil. 3. Heb. 3. The articles of our faith tell us ſufficiently

ciently where Chriſt's body is. It was never in two places at once, neither ever ſhall be, neither ever can be corporally and naturally, neither ever was, is, can, or ſhall be eaten ſo with any corporal mouths, as the Capernaites and the papiſts moſt erroneouſly and heretically do judge. If our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt hath no other body natural than is made of the ſubſtance of bread, and is in a thouſand places at once, as I have often ſaid in Hadley, we are not yet redeemed, neither ſhall our bodies riſe again, and be made like unto his glorious body. We are ſure that our Saviour Chriſt's body is made of none other ſubſtance than of his mother the bleſſed virgin Mary's ſubſtance. We are ſure that he taketh not the nature of angels, much leſs of bread. Only he taketh on him the ſeed of Abraham, Heb. 2. In all things like unto us, ſin only excepted. And this is a comfortable doctrine to us chriſtians, believing ſtedfaſtly, as the true catholic faith is, that Chriſt hath but two natures; perfect God, and perfect man. Upon this rock, Chriſt's church is built, and the gates of hell ſhall never prevail againſt it, Matt. 16.

I ſpeak nothing now of auricular confeſſion, and praying for ſouls departed, becauſe I do not hear what authors the packer brought in for this purpoſe. Sure I am that he can bring no authentical and canonical warrant for ſuch his pack-ware. He may ſay what he will of Hebricians and Grecians, and fleſh under forms, and not above forms, or above the board. He may conjure and convey, paſs and repaſs, even what he will in ſuch clouds and miſts. He reproved the ſcriptures as full of darkneſs, and yet is full of darkneſs himſelf. He did wittily, to bring proofs out of Jewry, Turkey, and other ſtrange places for his round white cake, for that ſuch his pedlary pelf-pack is contrary to the plain ſimplicity of Chriſt's ſupper. He glanced at prieſts marriage. He might againſt that have brought as ancient a doctor as any be alledged out of Hebrew, for his maſs and water cake, that is Dr. Devil, 1 Tim. 4.

I marvel that he did not confute and confound St. Paul for the ſentences written above the altar, of which he made mention in the pulpit. For he and his fellows of Oxford be ſo profound, ſo excellent, ſo glorious, and triumphant clerks, that they can eaſily prove a man an aſs, and writers in the Bible, ignorant, ſimple, full of errors, full of hereſies, and beggarly fools. Yet they will be called catholics, faithful and true chriſtian people, defenders of the holy mother the church; but truly they take part with the prince of darkneſs, with Antichriſt, with Jezebel, Rev. 2. They will not be called Papiſts, Phariſees, Jews, Turks, Heretics, and ſo forth; but whatſoever they will be called, God's religion had never more evident adverſaries, and that in all the chief points of it; no not then, when our Saviour Chriſt whipt ſuch merchants out of the temple, calling them a company of thieves, Matt. 21. God give them grace to repent. God be thanked that the nobility ſomething of late hath eſpied and ſtopped their tyranny. O unhappy England! O more ungrateful people! ſooner bewitched than the fooliſh Galatians. We have now no excuſe.

We have undoubtedly ſeen the true trace of the prophetical, apoſtolical, primitive catholic church. We are warned to beware, leſt we be led out of that way. ſociety, and rule of religion. Now we ſhall ſhew what countrymen we be, whether ſpiritual and heavenly, or carnal and worldly. We had as true knowledge as ever was in any country, or at any time, ſince the beginning of the world, God be praiſed therefore. If Hadley, being ſo many years perſuaded in ſuch truth, will now willingly and wittingly forſake the ſame, and defile itſelf with the cake-god, idolatry, and other antichriſtianity thereunto belonging, let it ſurely look for many and wonderful plagues of God ſhortly. Though another have the benefice, yet as God knoweth, I cannot but be careful for my dear Hadley. And therefore as I could not but ſpeak, after the firſt abominable maſs begun there, I being preſent no more, I cannot but write now being abſent, hearing of the wicked prophanation of my late pulpit by ſuch a wily wolf. God's love, mercy, goodneſs, and favour hath been unſpeakable, in teaching us the right way of ſalvation and juſtification; let us all have ſome zeal, ſome care how to ſerve him according to his good will written. The God of love and peace be ever in Hadley, through Chriſt our only advocate. Amen.

Rowland Taylor.

After that Stephen Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter had got the laws, and the ſecular arm on his ſide, as ye have heard, with full power and authority to reign and rule as he pleaſed, and had brought theſe pious biſhops and reverend preachers aforeſaid under foot, namely, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, Dr. Ridley biſhop of London, Mr. Latimer, Mr. Hooper biſhop of Worceſter and Glouceſter, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Saunders, Dr. Taylor, and Mr. Bradford, all which he had now preſently condemned, and ſome alſo burned; he ſuppoſed now all had been cock-ſure, and that Chriſt had been conquered for ever, ſo that the people, being terrified with the example of theſe great learned men condemned, never would, nor durſt once ſpeak againſt their violent religion: not much unlike in this behalf, to the manner of the Turks, who when they cannot maintain their ſect by good learning and truth of God's word, think by violence of ſword to force whom they can to their belief; and that done, afterward make laws, no man under pain of hereſy to diſpute, or once to call in queſtion any of their proceedings. Even ſo Stephen Gardiner and his fellows, when they ſee they cannot prevail by trial of God's word, and diſcourſe of learning, neither are diſpoſed ſimply to ſeek for truth where it is to be found, they take exception againſt God's word, affirming it to be intricate, obſcure, and inſufficient to be its own judge, and therefore that of neceſſity it muſt be judged by the pope's church; and ſo having kings and queens on their ſide, they ſeek not to perſuade by the word of God, nor to win by charity, but inſtead of the law of God, they compel men by death, fire, and ſword (as the Turks do), to believe that in very deed they think not. And indeed after fleſh and blood this ſeemeth to be a ſure way. Neither peradventure are they ignorant how this way thriveth with the Turks: and therefore they think to practiſe the ſame, at leaſtwiſe ſo they do, upon what example ſoever they do it. And thus condemned they theſe pious learned preachers and biſhops aforeſaid, ſuppoſing, as I ſaid, that all the reſt would ſoon be quelled by their example. But they were deceived: for within eight or nine days after that Stephen Gardiner had given ſentence againſt Mr. Hooper, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Saunders, Dr. Taylor, and Mr. Bradford, being the eighth of February, ſix other good men were brought likewiſe before the biſhops for the ſame cauſe of religion, to be examined, whoſe names were, William Pigot butcher, Stephen Knight barber, Thomas Tomkins weaver, Thomas Haukes gentleman, John Laurence prieſt, William Hunter apprentice.

Stephen Gardiner ſeeing thus his device diſappointed, and that cruelty in this caſe would not ſerve to his expectation, gave over the matter as utterly diſcouraged, and from that day meddled no more in ſuch kind of condemnations, but referred the whole doing thereof to Bonner biſhop of London; who cruelly ſupplied that part, as in the further proceſs of this hiſtory will evidently appear. Thus biſhop Bonner, taking the matter in hand, called before him in his conſiſtory at St. Paul's (the lord mayor, and ſeveral aldermen ſitting with him) the ſix perſons aforenamed, upon the eighth day of February in the year aforeſaid, and on the next day, being the ninth of February, read the ſentence of condemnation upon them, as appeareth in Bonner's own regiſters; ſuch quick ſpeed theſe men could make in diſpatching their buſineſs at once. Notwithſtanding, becauſe the death of theſe condemned martyrs did not follow incontinently before the

next month of March, I will defer the profecution of this matter, till I come to the time and day of their ſuffering.

In the mean time, what was the cauſe that their execution was ſo long deferred after their condemnation, I have not preciſely to ſay, unleſs peradventure the ſermon of Alphonſus the Spaniſh frier, and the king's confeſſor, did ſome good. For ſo I find, that when thoſe ſix perſons aforeſaid were caſt upon Saturday the ninth of February, upon Sunday following, which was the tenth of February, the ſaid Alphonſus, a grey frier, preached before the king; in which ſermon he did earneſtly inveigh againſt the biſhops for burning of men, ſaying that they learned it not in ſcripture, to burn any for his conſcience; but the contrary, that they ſhould live and be converted: with many other things more to the ſame purport. But touching the lingering of theſe mens deaths, as I have not certainly to affirm, ſo let it paſs.

Upon February 14. Mr. Robert Ferrar, biſhop of St. David's, was ſent towards St. David's, there to be condemned and executed. Touching whoſe martyrdom, foraſmuch as it fell not before the month of March, we will defer the hiſtory thereof till we come to the day and time of his ſuffering.

Furthermore the 14th day of February aforeſaid, the lord chancellor, and other biſhops, cauſed the image of Thomas Becket, the old Romiſh traytor, to be ſet up over the Mercers chapel door in Cheapſide in London, in the form and ſhape of a biſhop, with mitre and croſier. Howbeit within two days after his erection, his two bleſſing fingers were firſt broken away, and on the next day (being the 17th of February) his head alſo was ſtricken off: whereupon aroſe great trouble, and many were ſuſpected: among whom one John Barnes mercer, dwelling over againſt the ſame chapel, was vehemently by the lord chancellor charged withal, as the doer thereof, and the rather, for that he was a profeſſor of the truth. Wherefore he and three of his ſervants were committed to priſon; and at his delivery (although it could not be proved upon him) he was bound in a great ſum of money, as well to build it up again as often as it ſhould be broke down, as alſo to watch and keep the ſame. And therefore at this his compelled charges the image was again ſet up the ſecond day of March then next enſuing; but (for lack belike of careful watching) the 14th day of the ſame month in the night, the head was again the ſecond time broke off: which thing was ſo heinouſly taken, that the next day, being the 15th day, there was a proclamation made in London, that whoſoever would tell who did ſtrike off his head (though he were of counſel, and not the principal doer) he ſhould have not only his pardon, but alſo one hundred crowns of gold, with hearty thanks. But it was not known who did it.

The 18th of February, queen Mary at length, after long delay, made full anſwer to the king of Denmark's letters, who had written before two letters to the ſaid queen, in the behalf of Mr. Coverdale for his deliverance, who at that time went under ſureties, and was in great danger, had he not been refcued by the great ſuit and letters of the ſaid king of Denmark.

The matter and copy of which his ſuit and letters, as they came to our hands, we have here ſet forth and expreſt, whereby the ſingular love of this good king, towards the truth of God's word, and the profeſſors thereof, might the better appear to the world.

Firſt, This virtuous and pious king Chriſtianus, hearing of the captivity of Miles Coverdale, of whom he had had ſome knowledge before (being there in Denmark in king Henry the eighth's time), and lamenting his dangerous caſe, and partly through the interceſſion of Mr. Machabæus, ſuperintendant in Denmark, who was partly kin to Mr. Coverdale's wife, made interceſſion by letters to queen Mary, deſiring and requeſting the ſaid Miles Coverdale to be ſent unto him. The date of which his letters was about the kalends of May, 1554. The copy whereof, now tranſlated into Engliſh, here followeth.

Christianus by the Grace of God King of Denmark, Norway, &c. To the moſt noble and moſt mighty Princeſs and Lady Mary, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, our moſt dearly beloved Couſin, wiſheth Proſperity.

MOST noble Princeſs, and dearly beloved Couſin, conſidering the mutual affinity and alliance, not only of our royal name, but alſo of our kindred, eſpecially for that it has for a long continuance of time been propagated and preſerved on both ſides in theſe our realms, as well as for the mutual commerce and faithfulneſs which has been kept up by us in all kind offices; We cannot but write to your majeſty in regard to the piety and excellent literature of the truly reverend Mr. John Machabæus, doctor and egregious profeſſor of divinity, our well-beloved ſubject and miniſter, being moved hereto by his humble ſupplications and intreaties; who has declared to us, that in the late diſorder and commotion of the kingdom of England (which that it has happened we are heartily ſorry, and now hope it will prove for the better) one Miles Coverdale, late of the dioceſe of Exon, of pious and laudable memory, conſtituted biſhop by the authority of the laſt King your Majeſty's Brother, and our dearly beloved Couſin, that he [the ſaid Miles Coverdale] is now involved in moſt dreadful calamity, in priſon, and danger of his life, for no heinous offence committed, but by reaſon of the fatal deſtruction of the times. Which things this our truly ſubject Machabæus, being akin to him, and (which is more grievous) like him in piety, learning and morality, as a kind brother, reckons to appertain to himſelf. And therefore he implores our aſſiſtance to beſtow upon him that favour and kindneſs he deſerves, by endeavouring to rid him from his afflictions, becauſe he is innocent. We are indeed (and not without reaſon) moved with compaſſion on the man, whom for his merit we greatly reſpect, and chiefly for the teſtimony he gives of the innocence and integrity of the impriſoned prelate: Of which indeed there's ſo much the more reaſon to hope, becauſe though many guilty perſons have ſuffered death, you have ſtill preſerved him alive. Wherefore we have been eaſily perſuaded earneſtly to beſeech your Majeſty for our ſake to deal gently with your priſoner Mr. Coverdale, and that it may pleaſe you to deliver him as well from the imputation of villainy, as from the fierceneſs of puniſhment; and that the offences of the times, whereat it's likely he is alſo troubled, through our intreaty, eſpecially this being the firſt time, may be by you graciouſly forgiven: ſo far at leaſt, that if peradventure in this ſtate of affairs his preſence ſeem grievous to you, he may with his friends be ſafely diſmiſſed to our dominions. The granting of which will be taken as a very great favour by us, and will redound to the praiſe of your Majeſty's clemency throughout your flouriſhing kingdoms: which that they may be always proſperous, and profitable to your Majeſty, we heartily pray: and will do our endeavour, when we have underſtood what regard you pay to our royal amity and friendſhip, the more earneſtly to labour to retaliate thoſe favours, by expreſſing our gratitude in all kind offices to your Majeſty and your whole realm.

God grant that for his glory and the public ſafety, your Majeſty may be crowned with proſperous ſucceſs in all things, and may yourſelf be in perpetual ſecurity.

Given at our Tower at Colding.

May 25. 1554.

Your Couſin, Brother and Friend,

Christianus R.

To this letter of the king, queen Mary anſwered again, declaring that the ſaid Miles Coverdale was not impriſoned

for religion, but for a certain debt; ſo neither plainly granting, or expreſly denying his requeſt, but uſing a colourable excuſe for ſhifting off the matter, as appeareth by his ſecond letter ſent to the queen, dated September 24, as followeth.

CHRISTIANUS by the Grace of God King of Denmark, Norway, &c. To the moſt noble Princeſs and Lady MARY, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, our moſt dearly beloved Siſter and Couſin, wiſheth Proſperity, with good and lucky Succeſs of all things.

WE have received your Majeſty's letter, whereby anſwer is rendered, and that very graciouſly, unto our petition which we made for the ſafeguard of Mr. Coverdale, late called biſhop of Exon. So that we perceive, though he be in danger for another cauſe than was ſignified unto us before, yet your Majeſty will ſo regard our interceſſion, that Coverdale himſelf ſhall underſtand it to have done him good. To which real promiſe, ſeeing we (as reaſon would we ſhould do) attribute ſo much, that truſting unto the ſame, we doubt not, whereas he being in captivity, his friends, whom we ſpecially tender, are therefore in heavineſs and care, your good promiſe doth call them from ſuch ſorrow and ſolicitude, to the hope and expectation of his aſſured welfare: we could not do otherwiſe, but render thanks unto your Majeſty for ſuch your ready and gracious good will, not only in reſpect of this benefit, but alſo of the converſation and keeping of perpetual amity between us and our realms, and ſo, as much as in us lieth, to omit nothing that might conduce to the nouriſhing and continuance of theſe fortunate beginnings. Neither had we ever any doubt concerning the clemency and moderation of your goodneſs, whom we heartily beſeech Almighty God ever more and more to proſper, unto the glory of his name, and profit of the commonwealth. Wherefore ſeeing your Majeſty writeth, that Mr. Coverdale is in danger for certain accompts of money, and not for any other more grievous offence, we have cauſe on his behalf to rejoice: and therefore we doubt ſo much the leſs, that at our requeſt he ſhall graciouſly have his deliverance given him, and be out of danger. For as touching the biſhoprick, by reaſon whereof he came in debt, we underſtand he yielded it up, that no payment might thereof be required, ſpecially ſeeing he is reputed neither to have enjoyed it long, neither to have had at any time ſo great commodity of it. Moreover, though it be poſſible to find ſome perplexity in the account, or haply ſome other cauſe, yet your Majeſty's letters, offering ſuch favour and benignity, have taken from us all carefulneſs and doubt: inſomuch that we think your Majeſty, as much as may be, will have more reſpect unto our honour, than to that which might of him be required. And therefore we purpoſe not to trouble your Majeſty by repeating of our petition, but to declare how greatly we eſteem it, that your Majeſty would gratify us herein: whereof we plainly hope for an end, that Coverdale himſelf ſhall ſhortly in our preſence make declaration concerning the benefit of his welfare obtained of your Majeſty. And of this we deſire your Majeſty to be ſpecially aſſured again, that we will not only omit no occaſion or opportunity to requite this benefit, but alſo to eſtabliſh and amplify our mutual love and amity between us and our realms on either ſide. Almighty God preſerve your Majeſty in proſperous health and felicity.

Given at our City of Otton, Sept. 24. 1554.
Your Brother and Couſin,
CHRISTIANUS R.

It was a great while before the queen made anſwer to theſe letters. At length after great ſuit made, the next year, February 18. ſhe anſwered again in this wiſe.

To the moſt ſerene Prince CHRISTIAN, by the Grace of God King of Denmark, &c. Duke of Sleſwick, &c. Earl of Oldenburgh, &c. our moſt dear Brother and Friend.

MARY, by the grace of God, queen of England, France, Naples, Jeruſalem, and Ireland, &c. To the moſt ſerene prince CHRISTIAN by the ſame grace of God, king of Denmark, Norway, and of the Vandals; duke of Sleſwick, Holſton, Stormar, and Detmarſh; earl of Oldenburgh and Delmenhorſt, &c. our moſt dear friend and brother, wiſheth health and increaſe of proſperity. When we underſtood by your letters (which this meſſenger has brought us) your deſire of obtaining leave of Mr. Coverdale to depart from our kingdom into yours, we readily granted your deſire; and although he is our born ſubject, and is not as yet diſcharged from a debt which he lawfully owes to our Exchequer, yet we have regarded your deſire before our own debt, and ſhall for our mutual friendſhip at all times when opportunity ſerves, endeavour to gratify your Majeſty; may God long preſerve your ſerene highneſs in health.

Given at our Court at Weſtminſter, Feb. 18. 1555.

On February 19. there was a certain intimation ſet forth and printed in the name of biſhop Bonner, wherein was contained a general monition, and ſtrict charge given to every man and woman within his dioceſe, to prepare themſelves againſt Lent then near approaching, to receive the glad tidings of peace and reconciliation ſent from the pope Julius III. by Poole, his cardinal and legate de Latere, and to receive alſo the joyful benefit of abſolution, being ſent firſt from the cardinal to Bonner, and from him to every of his archdeacons, to be miniſtered to every private perſon within his dioceſe, that would come the ſaid holy time of Lent to his paſtor or curate to be confeſſed, and to receive of him wholeſome counſel, penance, and abſolution: ſignifying moreover, that as he was authoriſed by the aforeſaid cardinal, ſo he for the ſame purpoſe had indued with the like authority all and ſingular paſtors and curates within his dioceſe, to reconcile and abſoil from their former hereſy and ſchiſm, and from the cenſures of the church, ſuch as would reſort unto them. And leſt any ſcruple or doubt, riſing peradventure in their conſciences, ſhould be any ſtay or hindrance in this behalf, he hath aſſigned and deputed therefore through his dioceſe certain learned men, to whom they might reſort, or elſe might open their griefs to any of his archdeacons, or elſe come to his own perſon, and ſo ſhould be reſolved.

And therefore all manner of doubts and obſtacles ſet aſide, he ſtraitly willed and commanded every man and woman to come to confeſſion, and to enjoy this benefit of reconciliation, and abſolution, againſt the firſt Sunday next after Eaſter enſuing, and not to fail. For which purpoſe he had ſpecially commanded the paſtors and curates of every pariſh to certify up in writing the names of every man and woman ſo reconciled, and ſo forth. The copy of which intimation here followeth.

The declaration of the Biſhop of London to be publiſhed to the Lay People of his Dioceſe, concerning their Reconciliation.

EDMUND, by the permiſſion of God, biſhop of London, unto all and ſingular the lay people of his dioceſe, doth ſend greeting in our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

Whereas this noble realm of England, dividing itſelf from the unity of the catholic church, and from the agreement in religion with all other chriſtian realms, hath been, beſides many other miſeries and plagues, which God's indignation hath poured upon it, grievouſly alſo vexed, and

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fore infected with many and ſundry ſorts of ſects of heretics, as Arians, Anabaptiſts, Libertines, Zuinglians, Lutherans, and many others, all which ſects be moſt repugnant and contrary one againſt another, and all againſt God's truth, and Chriſt's catholic faith; whereupon hath grown ſuch ſlander to the realm, ſuch malice and diſagreement among ourſelves, the inhabitants thereof, ſuch treaſons, tumults, and inſurrections againſt our prince, ſuch blaſphemy and diſhonour unto God, as no man's tongue or pen is able to expreſs: it hath pleaſed the goodneſs of God to caſt his eye of mercy and clemency upon us, and to move the pope's holineſs to ſend his moſt godly meſſenger, the moſt reverend father in God, the lord cardinal Poole, legate de Latere, to bring us the glad tidings of peace and reconciliation, and to reduce and bring home unto the fold the loſt ſheep that were gone aſtray: whoſe meſſage, as it hath been honourably received of the king and queen's majeſties, even ſo the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons at the laſt parliament have received it, revoking all laws which in the time of ſchiſm were promulgate againſt the authority of the pope's holineſs, and reſtoring the ſame, and the church of Rome to all that power which they had in this realm before the ſaid ſchiſm, which reconciliation was alſo moſt gladly and joyfully embraced, as well of all the clergy and convocation of the province of Canterbury, as alſo of many other perſons, and being ſo great and neceſſary to be extended to every perſon of the realm, it hath pleaſed the ſaid lord legate's grace to give and impart unto me the ſaid biſhop of London, for my ſaid dioceſe, and to all ſuch as I ſhall appoint in that behalf, power and authority to abſolve and reconcile all and every perſon thereof, as well of the clergy as of the laity, and as well men as women, who will renounce their errors, and, being penitent, will humbly require to be reſtored to the unity of the catholic church, as by the letters of the ſaid lord legate's grace ſent unto me, and from me ſent unto every of the archdeacons within my dioceſe, more at large may and doth appear. And foraſmuch as in mine own perſon, as well for the multitude of people, as diſtance of places, I cannot miniſter this benefit unto every private perſon myſelf, and for that alſo the holy time of Lent is now at hand, in which every true chriſtian man ought to come unto his own paſtor and curate, to be of him confeſſed, and to receive at his hand wholeſome counſel, penance, and abſolution; theſe are therefore as well to give knowledge unto every one of you, as alſo to ſignify and declare, that for that purpoſe, I have by the ſaid authority choſen, named, and deputed, and ſo by theſe preſents do chuſe and depute all and ſingular paſtors and curates, having cure of ſouls within my dioceſe, and being themſelves reconciled herein, that they and every of them by authority hereof, ſhall have full power and authority to abſolve all ſuch as be lay-perſons of their pariſhes from hereſy and ſchiſm, and from the cenſures of the church, into which they be fallen by occaſion thereof alſo, and to reconcile to the church all ſuch who ſhall declare themſelves penitent, and deſirous to enjoy the benefit of the ſaid reconciliation. And whereas divers paſtors and curates in ſundry pariſhes peradventure be not able to ſatisfy the minds, and to appeaſe the conſciences of ſome of their pariſhioners in caſes that ſhall trouble them, I have therefore given alſo authority to every archdeacon of my dioceſe with his archdeaconry, to name and appoint certain of the beſt learned in every deanery of their archdeaconry, to ſupply that lack, ſo that every man ſo troubled may repair to any one of them within the ſaid deanery, whom he ſhall like beſt, to be inſtructed and appeaſed in that behalf. And alſo I have appointed, that if this being done, there ſhall yet remain any ſcruple in the party's conſcience, and himſelf not ſatisfied, then the ſaid party ſhall repair unto one of mine archdeacons or chaplains, unto whom his mind ſhall be moſt inclined, or elſe to repair unto mine own ſelf, to be reſolved in his ſaid ſcruple or doubt, and to receive and take ſuch order therein, as to one of the ſaid archdeacons, or unto me, ſhall therein appear to be moſt expedient.

Further certifying and declaring unto you, that I have given commandment herein to all my archdeacons, that they admoniſh and command every paſtor and curate within their archdeaconries, that they, having knowledge hereof, do on the firſt holiday next then following, at the maſs-time, when the multitude of people is preſent, declare all theſe things unto their pariſhioners, and exhort them that they eſteem this grace accordingly, and reconcile themſelves to the church before the firſt Sunday after Eaſter next enſuing: which thing I alſo do command by the tenor hereof, with intimation that the ſaid time being once paſt, and they not reconciled, every one of them ſhall have proceſs made againſt him, according to the canons, as the cauſe ſhall require: for which purpoſe the paſtors and curates of every pariſh ſhall be commanded by their archdeacon, to certify me in writing of every man and woman's name that is not ſo reconciled.

Further, herewith I do ſignify and declare unto you, that our holy father the pope Julius III. of that name, like a moſt tender and natural father, hearing of the return and recovery of his prodigal child, this realm of England, hath himſelf made joy and gladneſs hereat, and alſo all other true chriſtian realms have done the like. Exhorting you therefore in our Lord not to be unthankful yourſelves, or negligent in this behalf, but diligently to ſeek for it, joyfully to embrace it, and fruitfully to uſe it, remembering withal the monition and charge which came from me the laſt year, concerning your coming to confeſſion in Lent, and receiving the ſacrament at Eaſter: which monition to all effects and purpoſes I have now here repeated and renewed, charging you, and alſo all your curates therewith. And becauſe all our duties is earneſtly and devoutly to pray for the proſperous eſtate of our ſovereigns, the king and the queen of this realm, I do finally require and pray you, as heartily as I can, to pray for their majeſties accordingly; and eſpecially that it may pleaſe Almighty God to ſend unto her grace a good time, and to make her a glad mother, which cannot be but unto us all great joy, much comfort and ineſtimable profit.

Given at London the nineteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord God, after the computation of the church of England, 1554. and of my tranſlation the ſixteenth.

The Form of Abſolution to be kept by the Paſtors and Curates in private Confeſſions, concerning this Reconciliation.

OUR Lord Jeſus Chriſt abſolve you, and by the apoſtolic authority to me granted and committed, I abſolve you from the ſentences of excommunication, and from all other cenſures and pains, into which you be fallen by reaſon of hereſy, or ſchiſm, or any other ways: and I reſtore you unto the unity of our holy mother the church, and the communion of all ſacraments, diſpenſing with you for all manner of irregularity; and by the ſame authority I abſolve you from all your ſins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt. Amen.

The lamentable Hiſtory of Mr. James Hales, Judge.

IN the life of Mr. Hooper mention was made of judge Hales, of whom we will more particularly ſpeak in this place; beginning with the communication between the biſhop of Wincheſter and him, declaring withal how falſe and untrue the excuſe is of the papiſts, who ſo preciſely by the law defend themſelves, and ſay, that in all

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their doings they did nothing but by the law, to bear them out. Which if it be ſo, how did they then to Anne Aſkew? What law had they, when they had condemned her firſt for a dead woman, then afterwards to rack her? By what law did they call up Mr. Hooper, and impriſon him for the queen's debt, when the queen in very deed did owe him fourſcore pounds, and kept him a year and a half in priſon, and gave him never a penny? By what law did biſhop Bonner condemn and burn Richard Mekins, a lad of 15 years, when the firſt jury had acquitted him, and he at the ſtake revoked all hereſies, and praiſed the ſaid Bonner to be a good man: and alſo having him in priſon, would not ſuffer his father and mother to come to him, to comfort their own child? What law had they to put Mr. Rogers in priſon, when he did neither preach nor read lecture after the time of the queen's inhibition, and when they had kept him in his own houſe half a year, being not deprived of his living, yet would not let him have an half penny of his own livings to relieve him, his wife, and eleven children? By what law was Thomas Tomkins's hand burnt, and afterwards his body conſumed to aſhes? What good law or honeſty was there to burn the three poor women at Guernſey, with the infant child falling out of the mother's womb, when as they all before their death recanted their words and opinions, and were never abjured before? So here likewiſe in this caſe, what order or right of laws did Stephen Gardiner follow in troubling and impriſoning judge Hales, when he had done nothing neither againſt God's law nor man's, in proceeding by order of law againſt certain preſumptuous perſons, who both before the law, and againſt the law then in force, took upon them to ſay their maſs? as ye ſhall hear in theſe his anſwers and communication had with Stephen Gardiner hereunder enſuing.

The Communication between the Lord Chancellor and Judge Hales, in Weſtminſter-Hall, being there among other Judges, to take his Oath, Oct. 6. 1553.

Lord Chan. MR. Hales, ye ſhall underſtand, that like as the queen's highneſs hath heretofore conceived good opinion of you, eſpecially for that ye ſtood both faithfully and lawfully in her cauſe of juſt ſucceſſion, refuſing to ſet your hand to the book among others that were againſt her grace in that behalf; ſo now, through your own late deſerts againſt ſome of her highneſs's proceedings, ye ſtand not well in her grace's favour; and therefore before you take any oath it will be neceſſary for you to clear yourſelf.

Hales. I pray you, my lord, for what cauſe?

L. Chan. Information is given, that ye have indicted ſeveral prieſts in Kent for ſaying maſs.

Hales. My lord, it is not ſo, I indicted none; but indeed certain indictments of the like nature were brought before me at the laſt aſſizes there held, and I gave order therein as the law required. For I have profeſſed the law, againſt which, in caſes of juſtice, I will never, God willing, proceed, nor in any wiſe diſſemble, but with the ſame ſhew forth my conſcience; and if it were to do again, I would do no leſs than I did.

L. Chan. Yea, Mr. Hales, your conſcience is known well enough, I know you lack no conſcience.

Hales. My lord, you may do well to ſearch your own conſcience, for mine is better known to myſelf than to you: and to be plain, I did as well uſe juſtice in your ſaid maſs-caſe by my conſcience, as by law, wherein I am fully bent to ſtand in trial to the uttermoſt that can be objected. And if I have therein done any injury or wrong, let me be judged by the law; for I will ſeek no better defence, conſidering chiefly that it is my profeſſion.

L. Chan. Why Mr. Hales, although you had the rigour of the law on your ſide, yet ye might have had regard to the queen's highneſs' preſent doings in that caſe. And further, although ye ſeem to be more than preciſe in the law, yet I think ye would be very loth to yield to the extremity of ſuch advantage as might be gathered againſt your proceedings in the law, as ye have ſome time taken upon you in place of juſtice; and if it were well tried, I believe ye ſhould not well be able to ſtand honeſtly thereto.

Hales. My lord, I am not ſo perfect, but I may err for lack of knowledge. But both in conſcience, and ſuch knowledge of the law as God hath given me, I will do nothing but I will maintain it, and abide in it: and if my goods and all that I have be not able to counterpoiſe the caſe, my body ſhall be ready to ſerve the turn; for they be all at the queen's highneſs's pleaſure.

Chan. Ah Sir, ye be very quick and ſtout in your anſwers. But as it ſhould ſeem, that which you did was more of a will favouring the opinion of your religion againſt the ſervice now uſed, than for any occaſion or zeal for juſtice, ſeeing the queen's highneſs doth ſet it forth as yet, wiſhing all her faithful ſubjects to embrace it accordingly: and where you offer both body and goods in your trial, there is no ſuch matter required at your hands, and yet ye ſhall not have your own will neither.

Hales. My lord, I ſeek not wilful will, but to ſhew myſelf as I am bound in love to God and obedience to the queen's majeſty, in whoſe cauſe willingly for juſtice ſake, all other reſpects ſet apart, I did of late, as your lordſhip knoweth, adventure as much as I had. And as for my religion, I truſt it be ſuch as pleaſeth God, wherein I am ready to adventure as well my life as my ſubſtance, if I be called thereunto. And ſo in lack of mine own power and will, the Lord's will be fulfilled.

Chan. Seeing you be at this point, Mr. Hales, I will preſently make an end with you. The queen's highneſs ſhall be informed of your opinion and declaration. And as her grace ſhall thereupon determine, ye ſhall have knowledge. Until ſuch time ye may depart as ye came, without your oath, for as it appeareth, ye are ſcarce worthy the place appointed.

Hales. I thank your lordſhip: and as for my vocation, being both a burden and a charge more than ever I deſired to take upon me; whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe the queen's highneſs to eaſe me thereof, I ſhall moſt humbly with due contentation obey the ſame; and ſo he departed from the bar.

A few days after this communication in Weſtminſter-hall, which was Oct. 6. 1553. Mr. Hales, at the command of the biſhop, was committed to the King's Bench, where he remained conſtant until Lent; then he was removed to the Compter in Breadſtreet, and from thence to the Fleet.

Being in the Fleet, what it was that he had granted to the biſhops, by their fraudulent aſſaults and perſuaſions (namely, of Dr. Day biſhop of Chicheſter, and of judge Portman, as it is thought, overcome at laſt) I have not to ſay.

This is certain, that ſhortly after, calling himſelf better to remembrance, he was brought to great repentance and terror of conſcience: inſomuch, that for very anguiſh of heart he was ready to kill himſelf with his penkniſe when he was in priſon, and, doubtleſs, had done ſo, had not the merciful providence of God miraculouſly prevented him, as ye ſhall hear.

It happened when ſupper-time came that he ſhould be called down, but he having little or no ſtomach to eat or drink, went immediately to bed, where he lay all night ſobbing and groaning, and took (God knoweth) little reſt or ſleep. At length when morning came, about ſix of the clock he ſent his ſervant for a cup of beer, under pretence as though he were thirſty and deſirous to drink; whether this cauſe were true or feigned it is unknown; but this followed, his man was ſcarce got out of the chamber, when he with his penknife had wounded himſelf in divers places of his body, and, no doubt, intended to deſtroy himſelf, had not the goodneſs of God given

preſent help in time of opportunity. Whereby it is evident for all men to underſtand, that God's favour was not abſent from him, although he thought himſelf utterly forſaken for his denial, as by the ſequel may appear.

For as ſoon as he had ſent his man out of his chamber (ſee what God would have done) even before the chamber door the butler met him; who being deſired to fill the drink, and taking the cup, the other returned again unto his maſter, at the very time when he was working his own deſtruction; whereby Mr. Hales at that time was hindered of his purpoſe. When the biſhop of Wincheſter had knowledge of it, he ſtraitway took occaſion thereby to blaſpheme the doctrine of the goſpel, which he openly in the ſtar-chamber called doctrine of deſperation. Mr. Hales being within a while after recovered of thoſe wounds, and delivered out of priſon, returned home to his houſe; where, he either for the greatneſs of his ſorrow, or want of good counſel, or for that he would avoid the neceſſity of hearing maſs, having all things ſet in order, a good while before that, pertaining to his laſt will and teſtament, caſting himſelf into a ſhallow river, was drowned therein.

The unhappy chance of this worthy judge was the cauſe of great ſorrow and grief to all good men, and it likewiſe gave occaſion to ſome divines to doubt with themſelves, whether he were reprobate or ſaved, about which matter it is not for me to determine; for he that is our judge, the ſame ſhall be his judge; and he it is that will lay all things open when the time cometh. This in the mean time is certain, that the deed of the man in my mind ought in no wiſe to be allowed: which if he did wittingly, then do I diſcommend the man's reaſon; but if he did it in frenzy, and as being out of his ſenſes, then do I greatly pity his caſe.

Yet notwithſtanding, ſeeing God's judgments be ſecret, and we likewiſe in doubt upon what intent he did thus puniſh himſelf; neither again is any man certain, whether he did repent or no before the laſt breath went out of his body; I think their opinion is more indifferent herein, who do rather diſallow the example of the deed, than deſpair of his ſalvation.

Otherwiſe, if we will judge all thoſe to hell that have departed the world after this ſort, how many examples have we in the firſt perſecutions of the church, of thoſe men and women, who being regiſtered in the works of worthy writers, have notwithſtanding their praiſe and commendation? For what ſhall I think of thoſe young men, who being ſought for to do ſacrifice to idols, did caſt themſelves down headlong, and break their own necks, to avoid ſuch horrible pollution of themſelves? What ſhall I ſay of thoſe virgins of Antioch, who, to the end they might not defile themſelves with uncleanneſs and idolatry, through the perſuaſion of their mother, caſting themſelves headlong into a river together with their mother, did foredo themſelves, although not in the ſame water, yet after the ſame manner of drowning as this Mr. Hales did? What ſhall I ſay of the other two ſiſters, who for the ſame reaſon did violently throw themſelves into the ſea, as Euſebius doth record? In whom though perchance there was no leſs confidence to bear out the pains which ſhould be miniſtered unto them by the wicked, yet that their good deſire to keep their faith and religion unſpotted was commended and praiſed.

Another like example is mentioned by Nicephorus, and that in another virgin likewiſe, whoſe name is expreſſed in Jerom to be Braſilia Dyrrachina, who, to keep her virginity, feigned herſelf to be a witch, telling the young man who went about to raviſh her, that ſhe would give him an herb which ſhould preſerve him from all kind of weapons; and ſo to prove it in herſelf, laid the herb upon her own throat, bidding him ſmite, whereby ſhe was ſlain, and ſo with the loſs of her life her virginity was ſaved.

No. 12.

Hereunto may be joined the like death of Sophronia, a matron of Rome, who when ſhe was required of Maxentius the tyrant to be defiled, and ſaw her huſband more ſlack than he ought to have been in ſaving her honeſty, ſhe bade them that were ſent for her to tarry while ſhe made herſelf ready, and going into her chamber, ſhe with a weapon thruſt herſelf through the breaſt, and died. Now who is he that would reprehend the worthy act of Achetes, who biting off his own tongue ſpit it out into the harlot's face?

Theſe examples I do not here infer, as going about either to excuſe, or to maintain the heinous act of Mr. Hales, which I would rather by ſilence might be drowned in oblivion; but yet notwithſtanding as touching the perſon of the man, whatſoever his fact was, becauſe we are not ſure whether he at the laſt breath repented: again, becauſe we do not know, nor are able to comprehend the bottomleſs depth of the graces and mercies which are in Chriſt Jeſus our Saviour, we will leave therefore the final judgment of him to the determination of him who is appointed judge both of the quick and dead.

A VERSE on J. Hales.

HAD Faith with Piety ſincere conjoin'd,
Adorn'd the moral virtues of thy mind,
The body ſound and ſtrong would yet remain,
And thou 'mongſt ſaints the chiefeſt place would gain.
But who ſo leads his life from ſin ſo free,
That all his actions unpolluted be?
Then ſeeing blemiſhes deform the beſt,
Thy own endeavour do, commit to God the reſt.

The Hiſtory of Thomas Tomkins, who having firſt his Hand burned by Biſhop Bonner, was afterwards burnt in Smithfield.

MEntion was made before of ſix priſoners, brought and examined before biſhop Bonner, the eighth of February, whoſe names were, Tomkins, Pigot, Knight, Haukes, Laurence, and Hunter. All which, though they received their condemnation together the ninth of February, yet becauſe the time of their execution was put off from February till the month of March, I did therefore refer the ſtory of them to this place, wherein now remaineth particularly to treat of the martyrdom of theſe ſix perſons, as the order and time of their ſufferings do require. Of which ſix, Thomas Tomkins was burned in Smithfield, the ſixteenth of March 1555.

This Thomas Tomkins, a weaver by his occupation, dwelling in Shoreditch, and of the dioceſe of London, was of ſuch a pious converſation and diſpoſition, that if any woman had come to him with her web, as ſometimes they did three or four in a day, he would always begin with prayer. Or if any other had come to talk of any matter, he would likewiſe firſt begin with prayer. And if any had fought unto him to borrow money, he would ſhew what money he had in his purſe, and bid him take it. And when they came to repay it again, ſo far was he from ſeeking any uſury at their hand, or from ſtrict exaction of his due, that he would bid them keep it longer till they were better able to pay. And theſe were the conditions of Thomas Tomkins, teſtified yet to this preſent day by moſt of his neighbours, and almoſt all his pariſh which knew him, as Mr. Skinner, Mr. Leeke, and ſeveral others. Of whom more than half a dozen at once came to me, diſcreet and ſubſtantial men, recording moreover as followeth: That Dr. Bonner biſhop of London, kept the ſaid Tomkins with him in priſon half a year, during which time the ſaid biſhop was ſo rigorous

to him, that he beat him bitterly about the face, whereby his face was ſwelled. Whereupon the biſhop cauſed his beard to be ſhaven, and gave the barber twelve-pence.

Touching which ſhaving of Thomas Tomkins's beard, this is more to be added: biſhop Bonner having Tomkins priſoner at Fulham, in the month of July, did ſet him with his other work-folks to make hay. And ſeeing him to labour hard, the biſhop ſitting down, ſaid, Well, I like thee well, for thou laboureſt well: I truſt thou wilt be a good catholic. My lord, ſaid he, St. Paul ſaith, "He that doth not labour, is not worthy to eat." Bonner ſaid, Ah, St. Paul is a great man with thee. And ſo after ſuch other talk, the biſhop wiſhed that Tomkins's beard was off, ſaying, That ſo he would look like a catholic. My Lord, ſaid Tomkins, before my beard grew, I was, I truſt, a good chriſtian, and ſo I truſt to be, my beard being on. But Bonner in fine ſent for the barber, and cauſed his beard to be ſhaved off. The very cauſe was, becauſe Bonner had plucked off a piece of his beard before.

The rage of this biſhop was not ſo great againſt him, but his conſtancy was much greater with patience to bear it: who although he had not the learning as others have, yet he was ſo indued with God's mighty Spirit, and ſo conſtantly planted in the perfect knowledge of God's truth, that by no means could he be removed from the confeſſion of truth to impiety and error. Whereupon biſhop Bonner being greatly vexed againſt the poor man, when he ſaw that by no perſuaſions he could prevail with him, deviſed another practice not ſo ſtrange as cruel, further to try his conſtancy, to the intent that, ſeeing he could not by argument convince him, yet he might overcome him by ſome fore-feeling and terror of death. So having with him Mr. Harpsfield, Mr. Pembleton, Dr. Chedſey, Mr. Willerton, and others ſtanding by, he called for Thomas Tomkins, who coming before the biſhop, and ſtanding as he was wont in defence of his faith, the biſhop fell from beating to burning. Who having there a taper or wax candle of three or four wicks ſtanding upon the table, thought there to repreſent unto us as it were the old image of king Porſenna; for as he burned the hand of Scævola, ſo this catholic biſhop took Tomkins by the fingers, and held his hand directly over the flame, ſuppoſing that being terrified by the ſmart and pain of the fire he would leave off the defence of the doctrine which he had received.

Tomkins thinking no otherwiſe, but there preſently to die, began to commend himſelf unto the Lord, ſaying, O Lord, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit, &c. In the mean time that his hand was burning, the ſame Tomkins afterward reported to one James Hinſe, that his ſpirit was ſo wrapt, that he felt no pain. In which burning he never ſhrunk, till the veins ſhrunk, and the ſinews burſt, and the water did ſpirt in Mr. Harpsfield's face: inſomuch that the ſaid Mr. Harpsfield, moved with pity, deſired the biſhop to ſtay, ſaying, that he had tried him enough. This burning was in the hall at Fulham.

And where the biſhop thought by that means to drive him from his opinions, it proved much otherwiſe: for this chriſtian Scævola ſo valiantly did deſpiſe, abide, and endure that burning, that we have leſs cauſe hereafter to marvel at the manfulneſs of the Roman Scævola: I would to God the other had as well followed the example of that Hetruſcan tyrant. For he, after the left hand of Scævola was half burned, either ſatisfied with his puniſhment, or overcome by his manhood, or driven away by fear, ſent him home ſafe unto his people: whereas Bonner, not contented with the burning of his hand, reſted not until he had conſumed his whole body into aſhes in Smithfield.

But before we come to his ſuffering, we will firſt treat of ſome part of his examination and articles, with his anſwers and confeſſion thereunto annexed, as it is credibly recorded in regiſter.

The firſt Examination of Thomas Tomkins.

AFTER that Thomas Tomkins had been half a year in priſon, about the eighth of February he was brought with ſeveral others before biſhop Bonner ſitting in his conſiſtory, to be examined. To whom firſt was brought forth a certain bill or ſchedule ſubſcribed (as appeareth) with his own hand, the fifth day of the ſame month, containing theſe words following:

"Thomas Tomkins of Shoreditch, and of the dioceſe of London, hath believed and doth believe, that in the ſacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt in ſubſtance, but only a token and remembrance thereof, the very body and blood of Chriſt being only in heaven, and no where elſe.

By me Thomas Tomkins."

Whereupon he was aſked, whether he did acknowledge the ſame ſubſcription to be of his own hand. To which he granted, confeſſing it ſo to be. This being done, the biſhop went about to perſuade him, with words, rather than with reaſons, to relinquiſh his opinions, and to return again to the unity of the catholic church, promiſing if he would do ſo, to remit all that was paſt. But he conſtantly denied ſo to do. When the biſhop ſaw he could not ſo convince him, he brought forth and read to him another writing, containing articles and interrogatories, whereunto he ſhould come the next day and anſwer; in the mean time he ſhould deliberate with himſelf what to do: and ſo the next day, being the ninth day of February, at eight of the clock in the morning, to be preſent in the ſame place again, to give his determinate anſwer what he would do in the premiſes, and then either to revoke and reclaim himſelf, or elſe in the afternoon the ſame day to come again and have juſtice (as he called it) adminiſtered unto him. The copy of which articles here followeth.

Articles objected and adminiſtered the eighth Day of February againſt Thomas Tomkins, with his own Hand ſubſcribing to the ſame.

THOU doſt believe, that in the ſacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word, really, truly, and in very deed, the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, as touching the ſubſtance thereof, which was conceived in the womb of the virgin Mary, and hanged upon the croſs, ſuffering paſſion and death there for the life of the world.

I do ſo believe.

Thou doſt believe, that after the conſecration of the bread and wine prepared for the uſe of the ſacrament of the altar, there doth remain the ſubſtance of material bread and material wine, not changed nor altered in ſubſtance by the power of Almighty God, but remaining as it did before.

I do ſo believe.

Thou doſt believe, that it is an untrue doctrine, and a falſe belief, to think or ſay, that in the ſacrament of the altar there is, after conſecration of the bread and wine, the ſubſtance of Chriſt's natural body and blood, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word.

I do ſo believe.

Thou doſt believe, that thy parents, kinsfolks, friends, and

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The Burning of William Hunter.

The Burning of Thomas Tomkins.

The Burning of Thomas Tomkins Hand by BISHOP BONNER.

G.Terry Sculp N° 62

Pater noster Row.

Publish'd as the Act directs, Oct.r 26.th 1776, for H. Trapp, Pater-noster Row.

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Dr Cranmer plucked down from the Stage by Fryars, & Papists, for y.e true Confession of his Faith in S.t Mary's Church in Oxford

G. Terry Sculp. Pater-noster Row.

Published as the Act directs. for H. Trapp. Pater-noster Row.

and acquaintance, and alſo thy godfathers and godmothers, and all people did err, and were deceived, if they did believe, that in the ſacrament of the altar there was, after conſecration, the body and blood of Chriſt, and that there did not remain the ſubſtance of material bread and wine.

I do ſo believe.
By me Thomas Tomkins.

The ſecond Examination of Thomas Tomkins.

THE next day, being the ninth of February, at eight of the clock before noon, the ſaid Thomas Tomkins (according to the former commandment) was brought again into the place aforenamed, before the biſhop and his other aſſiſtants, where the aforeſaid articles were propounded unto him: whereunto he anſwered as followeth:

To the firſt he ſaid, that he did ſo believe, as in the ſame is contained.

To the ſecond he ſaid, that it was only bread and a participation of Chriſt's death and paſſion, and ſo do the ſcriptures teach.

To the third he ſaid and did believe, it was a falſe doctrine, to believe and think as is contained in this article.

To the fourth, he did alſo believe the ſame.

After this anſwer, he did alſo ſubſcribe his name to the ſaid articles. Whereupon, the biſhop drawing out of his boſom another confeſſion ſubſcribed with Tomkins's own hand, and alſo that article that was the firſt day objected againſt him, cauſed the ſame to be openly read, and then willed him to revoke and deny his ſaid opinions; which he utterly refuſed to do; and therefore he was commanded to appear before the biſhop again in the ſame place at two of the clock in the afternoon.

The Biſhop repeateth again the Confeſſion of Thomas Tomkins, written before the ſaid Biſhop of London, and ſubſcribed by the ſaid Tomkins, September 26. 1554. which is this.

I Thomas Tomkins, of the pariſh of Shoreditch, in the dioceſe of London, having confeſſed and declared openly heretofore to Edmund biſhop of London mine ordinary, that my belief hath been many years paſt, and is at this preſent, that the body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt is not truly and in very deeed in the ſacrament of the altar, but only in heaven, and ſo in heaven, that it cannot now indeed be really and truly in the ſacrament of the altar.

And moreover, having likewiſe confeſſed and declared to my ſaid ordinary openly many times, that although the church, called the catholic church, hath allowed, and doth allow the maſs and ſacrifice made and done therein, as a wholeſome, profitable, and a godly thing; yet my belief hath been many years paſt, and is at preſent, that the ſaid maſs is full of ſuperſtition, plain idolatry, and unprofitable for my ſoul, and ſo have I called it many times, and take it at this preſent.

Having alſo likewiſe confeſſed and declared to my ſaid ordinary, that the ſacrament of baptiſm ought to be only in the vulgar tongue, and not otherwiſe miniſtered, and alſo without any ſuch ceremonies as accuſtomably are uſed in the Latin church, and otherwiſe not to be allowed.

Finally, being many times and oft called openly before my ſaid ordinary, and talked withal touching all my ſaid confeſſions and declarations, both by the ſaid mine ordinary and divers other learned men, as well his chaplains as others, and counſelled by all them to embrace the truth, and to recant mine error in the premiſes, which they told me was plain hereſy and manifeſt error; do teſtify and declare hereby, that I do and will continually ſtand to my ſaid confeſſion, declaration and belief, in all the premiſes, and every part thereof, and in no wiſe recant or go from any part of the ſame. In witneſs whereof I have ſubſcribed and paſſed this writing, the 26th day of September, the year aforeſaid.

By me Thomas Tomkins.

The names of them that ſate upon Thomas Tomkins at this ſeſſion were theſe; Edmund Bonner biſhop of London, John Fecknam dean of St. Paul's, John Harpſfield archdeacon of London, John Morven Maſter of Arts, Thomas Morton Parſon of Fulham, Triſtram Swadell, Thomas More, Thomas Bekinſaw, James Cline, Clerks.

The Laſt Appearance of Thomas Tomkins before Biſhop Bonner and the Commiſſioners.

THE ſame day and place, at two of the clock in the afternoon, he was the laſt time brought before the biſhops of London, Bath, and St. David's, with others; where he was earneſtly exhorted by the ſaid biſhop of Bath to revoke and leave off his opinions. Unto whom he anſwered, My lord, I was born and brought up in ignorance until now of late years, and now I know the truth I will continue therein unto death.

Then Bonner cauſed all his articles and confeſſion to be again openly read, and ſo in his accuſtomed manner perſuaded him to recant. To whom he finally ſaid, My lord, I cannot ſee but that you would have me forſake the truth, and to fall into error and hereſy. The biſhop ſeeing he would not recant, did proceed in his law, and ſo gave ſentence of condemnation upon him.

Then he delivered him to the ſheriff of London, who ſtraightway carried him to Newgate, where he remained moſt joyful and conſtant until the 16th of March following: on which day he was conveyed by the ſaid ſheriff into Smithfield, and there ſealed up his faith in the flaming fire, to the glory of God's holy name, and confirmation of the weak.

The Hiſtory of William Hunter, a young Man of Nineteen Years, worthy to be read by all young Men and Parents.

THE 26th of March, the year aforeſaid, followed the martyrdom of William Hunter, a pious young man, nineteen years of age, born of good parents; by whom he was not only inſtructed in true religion and piety, but alſo confirmed by them unto death, after a rare and ſtrange example, worthy to be noted and had in admiration by all parents. Wherein may appear a ſingular ſpectacle, not only of marvellous fortitude in the party ſo young, but alſo in his parents, to behold nature in them ſtriving with religion, and overcome of the ſame. Whereby chriſtian parents may learn what is to be done not only in their children, but alſo in themſelves, if need at any time do require, or piety ſhould demand the duty of a chriſtian man againſt natural affection. Example whereof in the ſequel of this hiſtory we have here preſented before our eyes. Which hiſtory, as it was faithfully drawn out by Robert Hunter his own brother (who being preſent with his brother William, and never left him till his death, ſent the true report unto us); we have here with like faithfulneſs placed and recorded the ſame, as followeth.

William Hunter, being an apprentice in London in the firſt year of queen Mary, was commanded at the Eaſter next following to receive the communion at a maſs, by the prieſt of the pariſh where he dwelt, called Coleman-ſtreet; which becauſe he refuſed to do, he was very much

much threatened that he ſhould be therefore brought before the biſhop of London. Wherefore William Hunter's maſter, one Thomas Taylor a ſilk-weaver, required William Hunter to go and depart from him, leſt that he ſhould come in danger becauſe of him, if he continued in his houſe. For which cauſe, William Hunter took leave of his ſaid maſter, and went to Burntwood where his father dwelt, with whom he afterward remained about the ſpace of half a quarter of a year.

After this it happened within five or ſix weeks, that William going into the chapel of Burntwood, and finding there a Bible lying on a deſk, did read therein. In the mean time there came in one father Atwell, a ſumner, who hearing William read in the Bible, ſaid to him, Why meddleſt thou with the Bible? Knoweſt thou what thou readeſt? and canſt thou expound the ſcriptures?

To whom William anſwered and ſaid, Father Atwell, I take not upon me to expound the ſcriptures, except I were diſpenſed withal; but I, finding the Bible here when I came, read in it to my comfort. To whom father Atwell ſaid, It was never merry world ſince the Bible came abroad in Engliſh.

To which words William anſwered, ſaying, Father Atwell, ſay not ſo for God's ſake: for it is God's book, out of which every one that hath grace may learn to know both what things pleaſe God, and alſo what diſpleaſeth him. Then ſaid father Atwell, Could we not tell before this time as well as now, how God was ſerved? William anſwered, No, father Atwell, nothing ſo well, as we may now, if that we might have his bleſſed word amongſt us ſtill as we have had. It is true, ſaid father Atwell, if it be as you ſay.

Well, ſaid William Hunter, it pleaſeth me very well, and I pray God that we may have the bleſſed Bible amongſt us continually. To which words father Atwell ſaid, I perceive your mind well enough, you are one of them that miſliketh the queen's laws; and therefore you came from London, I hear ſay: you learned theſe ways at London. But for all that, ſaid father Atwell, you muſt turn another leaf, or elſe you, and a great many more heretics will broil for it, I warrant you. To which words William ſaid, God give me grace, that I may believe his word, and confeſs his name, whatſoever come thereof. Confeſs his name! quoth old Atwell; No, no, ye will go to the devil all of you, and confeſs his name.

What! ſaid William, you ſay not well, father Atwell: at which words he went out of the chapel in a great fury, ſaying, I am not able to reaſon with thee: but I will fetch one ſtraightway ſhall talk with thee, I warrant thee, thou heretic. And he leaving William Hunter reading in the Bible, immediately brought one Thomas Wood, who was then vicar of Southwell, which was at an alehouſe over-againſt the ſaid chapel; who hearing old Atwell ſay, that William Hunter was reading of the Bible in the chapel, came by and by to him, and finding him reading in the Bible, took the matter very heinouſly, ſaying; Sirrah, who gave thee leave to read in the Bible, and to expound it?

Then William anſwered, I expound not the ſcriptures, Sir, but read them for my comfort. What meddleſt thou with them at all, ſaid the vicar; It becometh not thee, nor none ſuch, to meddle with the ſcriptures.

But William anſwered, I will read the ſcriptures, God willing, while I live; and you ought, maſter Vicar, not to diſcourage any man for that matter, but rather exhort men diligently to read the ſcriptures for your diſcharge and their own.

Unto which the vicar replied, It becometh thee well to tell me what I have to do. I ſee thou art an heretic by thy words. William ſaid, I am no heretic for ſpeaking the truth. But the vicar ſaid, It is a merry world when ſuch as thou art ſhall teach us what is the truth. Thou art meddling, father Atwell tells me, with the ſixth of John, wherein thou mayeſt perceive how Chriſt ſaith, "Except that ye eat the fleſh of Chriſt, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you." William ſaid, I read the ſixth of John indeed; howbeit, I made no expoſition on it.

Then ſaid father Atwell, When you read it, I ſaid, that you there might underſtand how that in the ſacrament of the altar is Chriſt's very natural body and blood; unto which you anſwered, how that you would take the ſcriptures as they are, and that you would meddle with no great expoſition, except that ye were diſpenſed withal.

Ah, ſaid the vicar, What ſay you to the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar? Believeſt thou not in it, and that the bread and wine is tranſubſtantiated into the very body and blood of Chriſt? William anſwered, I learn no ſuch thing in the ſixth of John, as you ſpeak of. Why, ſaid the vicar, doſt thou not believe in the ſacrament of the altar? I believe, ſaid William Hunter, all that God's word teacheth. Why, ſaid the vicar, thou mayeſt learn this which I ſay, plainly in the ſixth of John.

Then ſaid William, You underſtand Chriſt's words much like the carnal Capernaites, which thought, that Chriſt would have given them his fleſh to feed upon: which opinion our Saviour Chriſt corrected, when he ſaid, "The words which I ſpeak to you, are ſpirit and life."

Now, quoth the vicar, I have found you out: now I ſee that thou art an heretic indeed, and that thou doſt not believe in the ſacrament of the altar.

Then ſaid William Hunter, whereas you doubt my belief, I would it were tried whether that you or I would ſtand faſter in our faith. Yea, thou heretic, ſaid the vicar, wouldeſt thou have it ſo tried? William Hunter anſwered, That which you call hereſy, I ſerve my Lord God withal.

Then ſaid the vicar, Canſt thou ſerve God with hereſy? But William anſwered, I would that you and I were even now faſt tied to a ſtake, to prove whether that I or you would ſtand ſtrongeſt to our faith. But the vicar anſwered, It ſhall not be ſo tried. No, quoth William, I think ſo; for if I might, I think I know who would ſooneſt recant; for I durſt ſet my foot againſt yours, even to death. That we ſhall ſee, quoth the vicar; and ſo they departed; the vicar threatening William much, how that he would complain of him; with other communication which they had together.

Immediately after, this vicar of Welde told Mr. Brown of the communication which William Hunter and he had together. Which when Mr. Brown underſtood, immediately he ſent for William's father and the conſtable, one Robert Salmon. For immediately after William Hunter and the vicar had reaſoned together, he took his leave of his father and fled, becauſe Wood the vicar threatened him. Now when the conſtable and William's father were come, and were before Mr. Brown, he aſked where William Hunter was. His father anſwered, ſaying, If it pleaſe you, Sir, I know not where he is gone. No, quoth maſter Brown? I will make thee tell where he is, and fetch him forth alſo ere I have done with thee. Sir, ſaid William's father, I know not where he is, nor where to ſeek for him.

Then ſaid Mr. Brown, Why didſt thou not bring him when thou hadſt him? I promiſe thee if thou wilt not fetch him, I will ſend thee to priſon, till I ſhall get him. Wherefore ſee that thou promiſe me to fetch him, or elſe it is not beſt to look me in the face any more, nor ye to reſt in Burntwood. Well, quoth Mr. Brown to William's father, ſee that thou ſeek him forth, and bring him to me.

William's father anſwered, Sir, would you have me ſeek my ſon to be burned? If thou bring him to me, quoth Mr. Brown, I will deal well enough for that matter, thou ſhalt not need to care for the matter. Fetch him, and thou ſhalt ſee what I will do for him. Moreover, if thou lackeſt money, quoth he, thou ſhalt have ſome, and bade the conſtable Mr. Salmon to give him a crown,

but William's father would not take it. Howbeit Mr. Brown would never reſt, till William's father had promiſed him to ſeek out his ſon. And thus Mr. Brown ſent the conſtable home again, and William's father, commanding him to ſeek out his ſon, and then come again and bring him to him.

After that old father Hunter had rode two or three days journey to ſatisfy Mr. Brown's expectations, it happened that William met with his father on the highway as he travelled; and he ſeeing his father firſt, came to him and ſpake to him, and told him, that he thought he ſought for him: and then his father confeſſing it, wept ſore, and ſaid, that Mr. Brown charged him to ſeek him, and bring him to him; howbeit, ſaid he, I will return home again, and ſay I cannot find you. But William ſaid, Father, I will go home with you, and ſave you harmleſs, whatſoever cometh of it.

And thus they came home together; but William, as ſoon as he was come home, was taken by the ſaid conſtable, and laid in the ſtocks till the day. Mr. Brown hearing that William Hunter was come home, ſent for him to the conſtable, who brought him immediately to Mr. Brown.

Now when William was come, Mr. Brown ſaid to him, Ah ſirrah, are ye come? and then by and by he commanded the Bible to be brought, and opened it, and then began to reaſon with William on this manner, ſaying, I hear ſay you are a ſcripture-man, and can reaſon much of the ſixth of John, and expound as pleaſeth you; and turned the Bible to the ſixth of St. John, and then he laid to his charge what an expoſition he made, when the vicar and he talked together. And William ſaid, He urged me to ſay ſo much as I did.

Well, quoth Mr. Brown, becauſe you can expound that place ſo well, how ſay you to another place, turning to the 22d of St. Luke? and Mr. Brown ſaid, Look here, for Chriſt ſaith, that the bread is his body.

To which William anſwered, The text ſaith, how Chriſt took bread, but not that he changed it into another ſubſtance, but gave that which he took, and brake that which he gave, which was bread, as is evident by the text: for elſe he ſhould have had two bodies, which to affirm I ſee no reaſon, ſaid William.

At which anſwer Mr. Brown was very angry, and took up the Bible, and turned the leaves, and then flung it down again in ſuch a fury, that William could not well find the place again whereof they reaſoned.

Then Mr. Brown ſaid, Thou naughty boy, wilt thou not take things as they are, but expound them as thou wilt? Doth not Chriſt call the bread his body plainly, and thou wilt not believe, that the bread is his body after the conſecration? Thou goeſt about to make Chriſt a lyar.

But William Hunter anſwered, I mean not ſo, Sir, but rather more earneſtly to ſearch what the mind of Chriſt is in that holy inſtitution, wherein he commendeth unto us the remembrance of his death, paſſion, reſurrection, and coming again, ſaying, "This do in the remembrance of me." And alſo though Chriſt call the bread his body, as he doth alſo ſay that he is a vine, a door, &c. yet is not his body turned into bread, no more than he is turned into a door or vine. Wherefore Chriſt called the bread his body by a figure.

At that word Mr. Brown ſaid, Thou art a villain indeed. Wilt thou make Chriſt a lyar yet ſtill? And was in ſuch a fury with William, and raged ſo, that William could not ſpeak a word, but he croſſed him, and ſcoffed at every word. Wherefore William ſeeing him in ſuch fury, deſired him that he would either hear him quietly, and ſuffer him to anſwer for himſelf, or elſe ſend him away. To which Mr. Brown anſwered, Indeed I will ſend thee to-morrow to my lord of London, and he ſhall have thee under examination: and thus left off the talk, and wrote a letter immediately, and ſent William Hunter with the conſtable to Bonner biſhop of London, who received William.

After that he had read the letter, and the conſtable returned home again, the biſhop cauſed William to be brought into a chamber, where he began to reaſon with him in this manner: I underſtand, William Hunter, quoth he, by Mr. Brown's letter, how that you have had certain communication with the vicar of Welde, about the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, and how that ye could not agree; whereupon Mr. Brown ſent for thee to bring thee to the catholic faith, from which, he ſaith, that thou art gone. Howbeit, if thou wilt be ruled by me, thou ſhalt have no harm for any thing that thou haſt ſaid or done in this matter.

William anſwered, ſaying, I am not fallen from the catholic faith of Chriſt, I am ſure, but do believe it, and confeſs it with all my heart.

Why, quoth the biſhop, how ſayeſt thou to the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar? Wilt thou not recant thy ſaying, which thou confeſſedſt before Mr. Brown, how that Chriſt's body is not in the ſacrament of the altar, the ſame that was born of the virgin Mary?

To which William anſwered, ſaying, My lord, I underſtand that Mr. Brown hath certified you of the talk which he and I had together, and thereby ye know what I ſaid to him, which I will not recant by God's help. Then ſaid the biſhop, I think thou art aſhamed to bear a faggot, and recant openly; but if thou wilt recant thy ſayings, I will promiſe thee that thou ſhalt not be put to open ſhame: but ſpeak the word here now between me and thee, and I will promiſe thee it ſhall go no further, and thou ſhalt go home again without any hurt.

William anſwered and ſaid, My lord, if you will let me alone, and leave me to my conſcience, I will go to my father and dwell with him, or elſe with my maſter again, and ſo if nobody will diſquiet nor trouble my conſcience, I will keep my conſcience to myſelf.

Then ſaid the biſhop, I am content, ſo that thou wilt go to the church, and receive, and go to confeſſion, and ſo continue a good catholic chriſtian. No, quoth William, I will not do ſo for all the good in the world.

Then, quoth the biſhop, if you will not do ſo, I will make you ſure enough, I warrant you. Well, quoth William, you can do no more than God will permit you. Well, quoth the biſhop, wilt thou not recant indeed by no means? No, quoth William, never while I live, God willing.

Then the biſhop (this talk ended) commanded his men to put William in the ſtocks in his gate-houſe, where he ſate two days and nights, only with a cruſt of brown bread and a cup of water.

At the two days end the biſhop came to him, and finding the cup of water and the cruſt of bread ſtill by him upon the ſtocks, ſaid to his men, Take him out of the ſtocks, and let him break his faſt with you. Then they let him forth of the ſtocks, but would not ſuffer him to eat with them, but called him heretic. And he ſaid, he was as loth to be in their company, as they were to be in his.

After breakfaſt the biſhop ſent for William, and demanded whether he would recant or no? But William made him anſwer, how that he would never recant that which he had confeſſed before men, as concerning his faith in Chriſt.

Then the biſhop ſaid that he was no chriſtian, but he denied the faith in which he was baptized. But William anſwered, I was baptized in the faith of the holy Trinity, which I will not go from, God aſſiſting me with his grace.

Then the biſhop ſent him to the convict priſon, and commanded the keeper to lay irons upon him as many as he could bear; and moreover aſked him, how old he was; and William ſaid, that he was nineteen years of age.

Well, ſaid the biſhop, you will be burned ere you

be twenty years old, if you will not yield yourſelf better than you have done yet. William anſwered, God ſtrengthen me in his truth: and then he parted, and the biſhop allowed him a half-penny a day to live on in bread or drink.

Thus he continued in priſon three quarters of a year. In which time he had been before the biſhop five times, beſides the time when he was condemned in the conſiſtory in St. Paul's the 9th day of February; at which time his brother Robert Hunter was preſent, when and where I heard the biſhop condemn him, and five others.

And then the biſhop calling William, aſked him if he would recant, and ſo read to him his examination and confeſſion, as is above rehearſed; and then rehearſed how that William confeſſed that he did believe, that he received Chriſt's body ſpiritually, when he did receive the communion. Doſt thou mean, quoth the biſhop, that the bread is Chriſt's body ſpiritually?

William anſwered, I mean not ſo, but rather when I receive the holy communion rightly and worthily, I do feed upon Chriſt ſpiritually through faith in my ſoul, and am made partaker of all the benefits which Chriſt hath brought unto all faithful believers through his precious death, paſſion, and reſurrection; and not that the bread is his body, either ſpiritually or corporally.

Then ſaid the biſhop to William, Doſt thou not think (holding up his cap) that for example here of my cap, thou mayſt ſee the ſquareneſs and colour of it, and yet that not to be the ſubſtance, which thou judgeſt by the accidents?

William anſwered, If you can ſeparate the accidents from the ſubſtance, and ſhew me the ſubſtance without the accidents, I could believe. Then ſaid the biſhop, Thou wilt not believe that God can do any thing above man's capacity. Yes, ſaid William, I muſt needs believe that; for daily experience teacheth all men that thing plainly: but our queſtion is not what God can do, but what he will have us to learn in his holy ſupper.

Then the biſhop ſaid, I always have found thee at this point, and I ſee no hope in thee to reclaim thee unto the catholic faith, but thou wilt continue a corrupt member; and then pronounced ſentence upon him, how that he ſhould go from that place to Newgate for a time, and ſo from thence to Burntwood, where, ſaid he, thou ſhalt be burned.

Then the biſhop called for another, and ſo when he had condemned them all, he called for William Hunter, and reaſoned with him, ſaying, If thou wilt yet recant, I will make thee a free man in the city, and give thee forty pounds in good money to ſet up thine occupation withal; or I will make thee ſteward of my houſe, and ſet thee in office; for I like thee well, thou haſt wit enough, and I will prefer thee if thou recant.

But William anſwered, I thank you for your great offers: Notwithſtanding, my lord, ſaid he, if you cannot perſuade my conſcience with ſcriptures, I cannot find in my heart to turn from God for the love of the world; for I count all worldly things but loſs and dung, in reſpect of the love of Chriſt.

Then ſaid the biſhop, If thou dieſt in this mind, thou art condemned for ever. William anſwered, God judgeth righteouſly, and juſtifieth them whom man condemneth unjuſtly.

Thus William and the biſhop departed, William and the reſt to Newgate, where they remained about a month, who afterwards were ſent down, William to Burntwood, and the others into divers places of the country. Now when William was come down to Burntwood, which was the Saturday before the annunciation of the virgin Mary that followed on the Monday after, William remained till the Tueſday after, becauſe they would not put him to death then, for the holineſs of the day.

In the mean time William's father and mother came to him, and deſired heartily of God that he might continue to the end in that good way which he had begun; and his mother ſaid to him, that ſhe was glad that ever ſhe was ſo happy to bear ſuch a child, which could find in his heart to loſe his life for Chriſt's name's ſake.

Then William ſaid to his mother, For my little pain I ſhall ſuffer, which will ſoon be at an end, Chriſt hath promiſed me, mother, ſaid he, a crown of joy; may you not be glad of that? With that his mother kneeled down on her knees, ſaying, I pray God ſtrengthen thee, my ſon, to the end: yea, I think thee as well beſtowed as any child that ever I bare.

At which words Mr. Higbed took her in his arms, ſaying, I rejoice (and ſo ſaid the others) to ſee you in this mind, and you have a good cauſe to rejoice. And his father and mother both ſaid, that they always were of that mind, and praying for him, that as he had begun to confeſs Chriſt before men, he might likewiſe continue ſo to the end. William's father ſaid, I was afraid of nothing but that my ſon ſhould have been killed in the priſon by hunger and cold, the biſhop was ſo hard to him. But William confeſſed, after a month that his father was charged with his board, that he lacked nothing, but had meat and cloathing enough, yea even out of the court, both money, meat, cloaths, wood and coals, and all things neceſſary.

Thus they continued in their inn, being the Swan in Burntwood, whither reſorted many people of the country to ſee thoſe good men which were there; and many of William's acquaintance came to him, and reaſoned with him, and he with them, exhorting them to come away from the abomination of popiſh ſuperſtition and idolatry.

Thus paſſing away Saturday, Sunday and Monday, on Monday at night it happened, that William had a dream, which was this: That he was at the place where the ſtake was pitched, where he ſhould be burned, which (as he thought in his dream) was at the town's end where the butts ſtood, which was ſo indeed; and alſo he dreamed, that he met with his father as he went to the ſtake, and alſo that there was a prieſt at the ſtake, who went about to have him recant. To whom he ſaid (as he thought in his dream) Away, falſe prophet; that he exhorted the people to beware of him, and ſuch as he was: which things came to paſs indeed. It happened that William made a noiſe to himſelf in his dream, which cauſed Mr. Higbed and the others to awake him out of his ſleep, to know what he wanted. When he awaked, he told them his dream in order as is ſaid.

Next morning the ſheriff Mr. Brocket called to ſet forward to the burning of William Hunter; and the ſheriff's ſon came to him, and embraced him in his right arm, ſaying, William, be not afraid of theſe men which are here preſent with bows, bills and weapons, ready prepared to bring you to the place where you ſhall be burned. To whom he replied, I thank God I am not afraid; for I have reckoned what it will coſt me already. Then the ſheriff's ſon could ſpeak no more to him for weeping.

Will. Hunter then pluck'd up his gown, and went forward chearfully, the ſheriff's ſervant taking him by one arm, and his brother by another: and going along he met with his father according to his dream, and he ſpake to his ſon weeping, God be with thee, ſon William. And William ſaid, God be with you, good father, and be of good comfort; for I hope we ſhall meet again when we ſhall be merry. His father ſaid, I hope ſo, William; and ſo departed. He then went to the place where the ſtake ſtood, even according to his dream, where all things were not ready; and taking a wet broom faggot, he kneeled down thereon, and read the fifty firſt Pſalm, till he came to theſe words, "The ſacrifice of God is a contrite ſpirit: a contrite and a broken heart, O God, thou wilt not deſpiſe."

Then ſaid Mr. Tyrill of the Braches, called William Tyrill, Thou lyeſt, ſaid he, thou readeſt falſe; for the words are an humble ſpirit. But William ſaid, The tranſlation ſaith a contrite heart. Yea, quoth Mr. Tyrill, the

tranſlation

tranſlation is falſe, ye tranſlate books as ye pleaſe yourſelves, like heretics. Well, quoth William, there is no great difference in thoſe words. Then ſaid the ſheriff, Here is a letter from the queen: if thou wilt recant, thou ſhalt live; if not, thou ſhalt be burned. No, quoth William, I will not recant, God willing. William then roſe up and went to the ſtake, and ſtood upright to it. When came one Richard Ponde a bailiff, and made the chain faſt about William.

Then ſaid Mr. Brown, Here is not wood enough to burn a leg of him: then ſaid William, Good people, pray for me; and make ſpeed, and diſpatch me quickly: and pray for me while you ſee me alive, good people, and I will pray for you likewiſe.

No, quoth Mr. Brown, pray for thee, I will pray no more for thee, than I will pray for a dog. To whom William anſwered, Mr. Brown, now you have that which you ſought for, and I pray God it be not laid to your charge in the laſt day; howbeit I forgive you. Then Mr. Brown ſaid, I aſk no forgiveneſs of thee. Well, ſaid William, if God forgive you, I ſhall not require my blood at your hands.

Then ſaid William, Son of God, ſhine upon me; and immediately the ſun in the element ſhone out of a dark cloud ſo full in his face, that he was conſtrained to look another way; whereat the people muſed, becauſe it was ſo dark a little time afore. Then William took up a faggot of broom, and embraced it in his arms.

Then the prieſt, which William dreamed of, came to his brother Robert with a popiſh book to carry to William, that he might recant, which book his brother would not meddle withal.

William then ſeeing the prieſt, and perceiving how he would have ſhewed him the book, ſaid, Away, thou falſe prophet. Beware of them, good people, and come away from their abominations, leſt that you be partakers of their plagues. Then the prieſt ſaid, Look how thou burneſt here, ſo ſhalt thou burn in hell. William anſwered, Thou lyeſt, thou falſe prophet; away thou falſe prophet, away.

There was a gentleman preſent which ſaid, I pray God have mercy upon his ſoul. The people ſaid, Amen, Amen. Immediately the fire was made.

Then William caſt his pſalter into his brother's hand, who ſaid, William, think on the holy paſſion of Chriſt, and be not afraid of death.

And William anſwered, I am not afraid. Then lift he up his hands to heaven, and ſaid, Lord, Lord, Lord, receive my ſpirit; and caſting down his head again into the ſmothering ſmoke, he yielded up his life for the truth, ſealing it with his blood to the praiſe of God.

Some time after, Mr. Brown commanded one Mr. Hunt to take his brother Robert Hunter, and ſet him in the ſtocks till he returned from the burning of Mr. Higbed at Hornden on the Hill, the ſame day. Which thing old Hunt did. Then Mr. Brown (when Robert Hunter came before him) aſked, if he would do as his brother had done. But Robert Hunter anſwered, If I do as my brother hath done, I ſhall have as he hath had. Marry, quoth Mr. Brown, thou may'ſt be ſure of it.

Then Mr. Brown ſaid, I marvel that thy brother ſtood ſo to his tackling: and moreover, he aſked Robert, if William's maſter of London were not at his burning. But Robert ſaid, that he was not there; but Mr. Brown bare him in hand that his maſter was there, and how that he did ſee him there, but Robert denied it. Then Mr. Brown commanded the conſtable and Robert Hunter to go their ways home, and ſo had no further talk with them.

The Hiſtory of Mr. Higbed and Mr. Cauſton, two worthy Gentlemen of Eſſex, who were burned in Eſſex, March 26. 1555.

ALthough the condemnation of Mr. Higbed and Mr. Cauſton followed after the condemnation of thoſe martyrs who were condemned with Tomkins and Hunter above-mentioned, yet becauſe the time of their execution was before the burning of the aforeſaid four martyrs, ſuffering the ſame day that William Hunter did, which was the twenty ſixth of March, I thought therefore next after the ſtory of the ſaid William Hunter, following the order of time, here to place the ſame.

This Mr. Higbed and Mr. Cauſton, two worſhipful gentlemen in the county of Eſſex, the one at Hornden on the hill, the other of the pariſh of Thundurſt, being zealous and religious in the true ſervice of God; as they could not diſſemble with the Lord their God, nor flatter with the world, ſo in time of blind ſuperſtition and wretched idolatry, they could not long lie hid and obſcure in ſuch a number of malignant adverſaries, accuſers, and ſervants of this world, but at length they were perceived, and diſcovered to the aforeſaid Edmund Bonner biſhop of London, by whoſe command they were committed to the officers of Colcheſter, to be ſafely kept, and with them alſo a ſervant of Thomas Cauſton, who was nothing inferior to his maſter in true piety.

Biſhop Bonner perceiving theſe two gentlemen to be of good eſtate, and of great eſtimation in that country, leſt any tumult ſhould thereby ariſe, came thither himſelf, accompanied with Mr. Fecknam and ſeveral others, thinking to reclaim them to his religion; ſo that great labour and diligence was taken therein, as well by terrors and threatenings, as by large promiſes and flatterings, and all fair means, to reduce them again to the unity (as they termed it) of the mother church.

In fine, when nothing could prevail to make them aſſent to their doings, at length they came to this point, that they required certain reſpite to conſult with themſelves what was beſt to do. Which time of deliberation being expired, and they remaining ſtill conſtant and unmoveable in their profeſſed doctrine, and ſetting out alſo their confeſſion in writing, the biſhop ſeeing no good to be done in tarrying any longer there, departed thence, and carried them both with him to London, and with them certain other priſoners alſo, who about the ſame time were apprehended in thoſe parts.

It was not long after this, but theſe priſoners being at London committed to ſtrait priſon, and there attempted ſundry ways by the biſhop and his chaplains to revoke their opinions; at length when no perſuaſions would ſerve, they were brought forth to open examination at the conſiſtory in St. Paul's, February 17, 1555. where they were demanded as well by the ſaid biſhop, as alſo by the biſhop of Bath and others, whether they would recant their errors and perverſe doctrine, as they termed it, and ſo come to the unity of the popiſh church. But on their refuſing ſo to do, the biſhop aſſigned them to appear again the next day, being the 18th of February.

On which day, among many other things there ſaid and paſſed, he read unto them ſeverally certain articles, and gave them reſpite until the next day to anſwer unto the ſame, and ſo committed them again to priſon. The copy of which articles hereunder followeth.

Articles objected and miniſtered by Biſhop Bonner, againſt Thomas Cauſton and Thomas Higbed.

FIRST, That thou Thomas Cauſton (or Thomas Higbed) haſt been and art of the dioceſe of London, and alſo of the juriſdiction now of me Edmund biſhop of London.

Item,

Item, That thou waſt in time paſt, according to the order of the church of England, baptized and chriſtened.

Item, That thou hadſt Godfathers and Godmother, according to the ſaid order.

Item, That the ſaid Godfathers and Godmother did then promiſe for thee, and in thy name, the faith and religion that then was uſed in the realm of England.

Item, That that faith and religion which they did profeſs and make for thee, was accounted and taken to be the faith and religion of the church, and of the chriſtian people: and ſo it was in very deed.

Item, Thou coming to the age of diſcretion, that is to ſay, to the age of fourteen years, didſt not miſlike nor diſallow that faith, that religion, or promiſe then uſed and approved, and promiſed by the ſaid Godfathers and Godmother, but for a time didſt continue in it, as others (taking themſelves for chriſtian people) did likewiſe.

Item, That at that time, and alſo before, it was taken for a doctrine of the church, catholic and true, and every where in Chriſtendom then allowed for catholic and true, and to be the profeſſion of chriſtian men, to believe, that in the ſacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, after the conſecration, there was and is by the omnipotent power and will of Almighty God, and his word, without any ſubſtance of bread and wine there remaining, the true and natural body and blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt in ſubſtance, which was born of the virgin Mary, and ſuffered upon the croſs, really, truly, and in very deed.

Item, That at that time thy father and mother, all thine anceſtors, all thy kindred, acquaintance and friends, and thy ſaid Godfathers and Godmother, did then ſo believe, and think in all the ſame as the ſaid church did therein believe.

Item, That thyſelf haſt had no juſt cauſe or lawful ground to depart or ſwerve from the ſaid religion or faith, nor any occaſion at all, except thou wilt follow and believe the erroneous opinion or belief that hath been, againſt the common order of the church, brought in by certain diſordered perſons of late, at the uttermoſt within theſe thirty or forty years laſt paſt.

Item, That thou doſt know, or credibly haſt heard, and doſt believe, that Dr. Robert Barnes, John Frith, Thomas Gerrard, Hierome Laſſels, Anne Aſkew, John Hooper late biſhop of Glouceſter, Sir Laurence Saunders prieſt, John Bradford, Sir John Rogers prieſt, Sir Rowland Taylor prieſt, Sir John Laurence prieſt, William Pygot, Stephen Knight, William Hunter, Thomas Tomkins, and Thomas Haukes, have been heretofore reputed, taken, and accounted as heretics, and alſo condemned as heretics, and ſo pronounced openly and manifeſtly; eſpecially in holding and believing certain damnable opinions, againſt the verity of Chriſt's body and blood in the ſacrament of the altar, and all the ſame perſons, ſaving John Bradford, Sir John Laurence, William Pygot, Stephen Knight, William Hunter, Thomas Tomkins, and Thomas Haukes, have ſuffered pains of death by fire, for the maintenance and defence of their ſaid opinions and miſbelief.

Item, That thou doſt know, or credibly haſt heard, and doſt believe, that Thomas Cranmer late archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Nicholas Ridley, naming himſelf biſhop of London, Robert Ferrar late biſhop of St. David's, and Hugh Latimer ſome time biſhop of Worceſter, have been, and are at this preſent reputed, accounted, and taken as heretics and miſbelievers, in maintaining and holding certain damnable opinions againſt the verity of Chriſt's body and blood in the ſacrament of the altar.

Item, That thou haſt commended and praiſed all the ſaid perſons ſo erring and believing (or at leaſt wiſe ſome of them) ſecretly and alſo openly, taking and believing them to be faithful and catholic people, and their ſaid opinions to be good and true, and the ſame to the beſt and uttermoſt of thy power thou haſt allowed, maintained and defended at ſundry times.

Item, That thou having heard, known and underſtood all the premiſſes thus to be as is aforeſaid, haſt not regarded all or any part thereof, but, contrary to the ſame and every part thereof, haſt attempted and done, condemning, tranſgreſſing, and breaking the promiſe, faith, religion, order and cuſtom aforeſaid, and haſt become, and art an heretic and miſbeliever in the premiſſes, denying the verity of Chriſt's body and blood in the ſacrament of the altar, and obſtinately affirming, that the ſubſtance of the material bread and wine are there remaining, and that the ſubſtance of Chriſt's body and blood, taken of the virgin Mary, are not there in the ſaid ſacrament really and truly being.

Item, That all the premiſſes be true, notorious, famous and manifeſt, and that upon all the ſame, there have and be amongſt the ſaid good people of the city of London, and dioceſe of the ſame, in great multitude, commonly and publicly, a common and public fame and opinion, and alſo in all places where thou haſt been, within the ſaid dioceſe of London.

Theſe articles being given to them in writing by the biſhop, the next day following was aſſigned to them to give up and exhibit their anſwers unto the ſame.

On the firſt day of March the ſaid Thomas Cauſton and Thomas Higbed, gentlemen, being brought before the biſhop in the conſiſtory, they there exhibited their anſwers to the articles aforeſaid; the tenor of which anſwers here followeth.

The Anſwers of Thomas Cauſton and Thomas Higbed, to the aforeſaid Articles.

TO the firſt, they anſwer and confeſs the ſame to be true.

To the ſecond, they anſwer and believe the ſame to be true.

To the third, they anſwer and believe the ſame to be true.

To the fourth, they anſwer and think the ſame to be true.

To the fifth, until this clauſe [and ſo was it in very deed] they anſwer and believe the ſame to be true. And unto that clauſe [and ſo was it in very deed] they anſwer negatively, and believe that it was not in very deed.

To the ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth, they anſwer and believe the ſame to be true.

To the ninth, they anſwer and ſay, that they think they have a juſt and lawful cauſe and ground to ſwerve and go from the ſaid faith and religion, becauſe they have now read more ſcripture, than either themſelves, or their parents and kinsfolk, Godfathers or Godmothers have read or ſeen heretofore in that behalf.

To the tenth, they anſwer, ſay, and believe, that the ſaid perſons articulate have been named, taken, and counted for heretics, and ſo condemned for heretics; yet about three years paſt, they were taken for good chriſtian perſons. And foraſmuch as theſe reſpondents did never hear them preach concerning the ſacrament of the altar, they ſay that they preached well, in that they ſaid and preached that Chriſt is not preſent really and truly in the ſacrament, but that there is remaining the ſubſtance of bread and wine.

To the eleventh, they anſwer and ſay, that howſoever other folks do repute and take the ſaid perſons articulate, yet theſe reſpondents themſelves did never, nor yet do ſo account and take them. And further they ſay, that in caſe the ſaid perſons articulate named in this article have preached, that in the ſacrament of the altar is very material wine, and not the ſubſtance of Chriſt's body and blood under the forms of bread and wine, then they preached

preached well and truly, and theſe reſpondents themſelves do ſo believe.

To the twelfth, they anſwer and ſay, that where other folk have diſpraiſed the ſaid perſons articulate, and diſallowed their opinions, theſe reſpondents (for aught that they at any time have heard) did like and allow the ſaid perſons, and their ſayings.

To the thirteenth, they anſwer and ſay, that they have not broken or condemned any promiſe made by their Godfathers and Godmothers for them at their baptiſm, and that they are no heretics nor miſbelievers, in that they believe that there remaineth only bread and wine in the ſacrament of the altar, and that Chriſt's natural body is not there, but in heaven; for they ſay, that the ſcriptures ſo teach them.

To the fourteenth, they anſwer and believe, that the premiſſes before by them confeſſed be true, notorious, and manifeſt.

After theſe anſwers exhibited and peruſed, the biſhop ſpake unto them after this ſort, beginning firſt (as he did before) with Thomas Cauſton: Becauſe ye ſhall not be ſuddenly trapped, and that men ſhall not ſay that I go about to ſeek ſnares to put you away, I have hitherto reſpited you, that you ſhould weigh and conſider with yourſelf your ſtate and condition; and that you ſhould, while ye have time and ſpace, acknowledge the truth, and return to the unity of the catholic church. Then the biſhop, reading their former articles and anſwers to the ſame, aſked them if they would recant: which when they denied, they were again diſmiſſed, and commanded to appear the Wedneſday after, at two of the clock in the afternoon, there to receive their definitive ſentence: which (as it ſeemeth) was yet deferred.

Another Examination of Mr. Cauſton and Mr. Higbed.

THE next Friday, being the eighth day of March, the ſaid Thomas Cauſton was firſt called to examination before the biſhop, Mr. Fecknam and Dr. Stempe being in his palace, and there had read unto him his foreſaid articles with his anſwers thereunto; and after ſome exhortations to recant his former profeſſion, and to be conformable to the unity of their church, they promiſed him (ſo doing) willingly to receive him again thereunto. To whom he anſwered, You go about to catch us in ſnares and gins. But mark, by what meaſure ye meaſure us, look you to be meaſured with the ſame again at God's hands. The biſhop ſtill perſuaded him to recant. To whom he anſwered, No, I will not abjure. Ye ſaid, that the biſhops that were lately burned be heretics: but I pray God make me ſuch an heretic as they were.

The biſhop then leaving Mr. Cauſton, calleth for Mr. Higbed: uſing with him the like perſuaſions that he did with the other: but he anſwered, I will not abjure. For I have been of this mind and opinion that I am now, theſe ſixteen years, and do what ye can, ye ſhall do no more than God will permit you to do; and with what meaſure you meaſure us, look for the ſame again at God's hands.

There Fecknam aſked him his opinion in the ſacrament of the altar. To whom he anſwered, I do not believe that Chriſt is in the ſacrament as ye will have him, which is of man's making. Both their anſwers thus ſeverally made, they were again commanded to depart for that time, and to appear the next day in the conſiſtory at St. Paul's, between the hours of one and three of the clock at afternoon.

The laſt appearance of Mr. Cauſton and Mr. Higbed before Bonner.

THE ninth day of March, they were both brought thither: where the biſhop cauſed Mr. Thomas Cauſton's articles and anſwers firſt to be read openly, and after perſuaded him to recant and abjure his heretical opinions, and to come home now at the laſt to their mother the catholic church, and ſave himſelf.

But Mr. Thomas Cauſton anſwered again, and ſaid, No, I will not abjure; for I came not hither for that purpoſe: and therewithal did exhibit in writing unto the biſhop (as well in his own name, as alſo in Thomas Higbed's name) a confeſſion of their faith, to which they would ſtand: and required leave to read the ſame, which after great ſuit) was obtained, and ſo he read it openly in the hearing of the people, as followeth.

The Confeſſion and Faith of Thomas Cauſton and Thomas Higbed, which they delivered to the Biſhop of London, before the Mayor and Sheriffs, and in the Preſence of all the People there aſſembled, March 9. 1555.

FIRST, we believe and profeſs in baptiſm, to forſake the devil and all his works and pomps, and the vanities of the wicked world, with all the ſinful luſts of the fleſh.

2. We believe all the articles of our chriſtian faith.

3. We believe, that we are bound to keep God's holy will and commandments, and to walk in the ſame all the days of our life.

4. We believe, that there is contained in the Lord's Prayer all things neceſſary both for body and ſoul, and that we are taught thereby to pray to our heavenly Father, and to no ſaint or angel.

5. We believe, that there is a catholic church, even the communion of ſaints, "Built upon the foundation of the prophets and apoſtles (as St. Paul ſaith) Chriſt being the head corner-ſtone. For which church Chriſt gave himſelf, to make it to himſelf a glorious congregation without fault in his ſight."

6. We believe, that his church of herſelf, and by her own merits is ſinful, and muſt needs ſay, Father, forgive us our ſins: but through Chriſt and his merits, ſhe is freely forgiven: "For he, in his own perſon (ſaith St. Paul) hath purged her ſins, and made her faultleſs in his ſight. Beſides whom, there is no Saviour, ſaith the prophet: Neither is there ſalvation, ſaith St. Peter, in any other name."

7. We believe as he is our only Saviour, ſo he is our only Mediator. For the apoſtle St. Paul ſaith, "There is one God, one Mediator betwe n God and man, even the man Jeſus Chriſt." Wherefore ſeeing none hath this name God and Man but Jeſus Chriſt, therefore there is no mediator but Jeſus Chriſt.

8. We believe, that this church of Chriſt is and hath been perſecuted, by the words of Chriſt, ſaying, "As they have perſecuted me, ſo ſhall they perſecute you: for the diſciple is not above his maſter. For it is not only given unto you to believe in Chriſt, ſaith St. Paul, but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake. For all that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, muſt ſuffer perſecution."

9. We believe, that the church of Chriſt teacheth the word of God truly and ſincerely, putting nothing to, nor taking any thing from: and alſo doth miniſter the ſacraments according to the primitive church.

10. We believe, that this church of Chriſt ſuffereth all men to read the ſcriptures, according to Chriſt's commandment, ſaying, "Search the ſcriptures, for they teſtify of me." We read alſo in the Acts, that when St. Paul preached, the audience daily ſearched the ſcriptures,

tures, whether he preached truly or no. Alſo the prophet David teacheth all men to pray with underſtanding: "For how ſhall the unlearned, ſaith St. Paul, ſay Amen, at the giving of thanks, when they underſtand not what is ſaid?" And what is more allowed than true faith, which, St. Paul ſaith, "cometh by hearing of the word of God?"

11. We believe, that the church of Chriſt teacheth that God ought to be worſhipped according to his word, and not after the doctrine of men. "For in vain, ſaith Chriſt, ye worſhip me, teaching nothing but the doctrine of men." Alſo we are commanded of God by his prophet, ſaying, "Walk not in the traditions and precepts of your elders; but walk, ſaith he, in my precepts: do that I command you: put nothing thereunto, neither take any thing from it." Likewiſe ſaith Chriſt, "You ſhall forſake father and mother, and follow me." Whereby we learn, that if our elders teach otherwiſe than God commanded, in that point we muſt forſake them.

12. We believe, that the ſupper of the Lord ought not to be altered and changed, foraſmuch as Chriſt himſelf, being the Wiſdom of the Father, did inſtitute it. For it is written, "Curſed is he that changeth my ordinances, and departeth from my commandments, or taketh any thing from them."

Now we find by the ſcriptures, that his holy ſupper is ſore abuſed.

Firſt, In that it is given in one kind, where Chriſt gave it in both.

Secondly, In that it is made a private maſs, where Chriſt made it a communion: for he gave it not to one alone, but to all the apoſtles in the name of the whole church.

Thirdly, In that it is made a ſacrifice for the quick and the dead, whereas Chriſt ordained it for a remembrance of the everlaſting ſacrifice which was in his own body offered on the altar of the croſs once for all, as the holy apoſtle ſaith, "Even the full and perfect price of our redemption: and where there is remiſſion of ſin, ſaith he, there is no more ſacrifice for ſin."

Fourthly, In that it is worſhipped contrary to the commandment, ſaying, "Thou ſhalt worſhip nothing that is made with hands."

Firthly, In that it is given in an unknown tongue, whereby the people are ignorant of the right uſe thereof, how Chriſt died for our ſins, and roſe again for our juſtification, by whom we be ſet at peace with God, and received to his favour and mercy by his promiſe, whereof this ſacrament is a ſure ſeal and witneſs.

Beſides this, it is hanged up, and ſhut in a box; yea, many times ſo long, that worms breed in it, and ſo it putrifieth: whereby the rude people have occaſion to ſpeak unreverently thereof, which otherwiſe would ſpeak reverently.

Therefore they that thus abuſe it, bring up the ſlander, and not we, which pray daily to God to reſtore it to the right uſe, according to Chriſt's inſtitution.

Now concerning Chriſt's words, "This is my body," we deny them not; but we ſay, that the mind of Chriſt in them muſt be ſearched out by other open ſcriptures, whereby we may come to the ſpiritual underſtanding of them, which ſhall be moſt to the glory of God: for as the holy apoſtle ſaith, "There is no ſcripture that hath any private interpretation." Beſides this, the ſcriptures are full of the like figurative ſpeeches: as for example: Chriſt ſaith, "This cup is the New Teſtament in my blood. The rock is Chriſt, ſaith St. Paul. Whoſoever receiveth a child in my name, ſaith our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, receiveth me." Which ſentences muſt not be underſtood after the letter, leſt we do err as the Capernaites did, which thought that Chriſt's body ſhould be eaten with their teeth, when he ſpake of the eating thereof. Unto whom Chriſt ſaid, "Such a fleſhly eating of my body profiteth nothing: it is the Spirit that quickeneth; the fleſh profiteth nothing: for my words are ſpirit and life."

Thus we ſee that Chriſt's words muſt be underſtood ſpiritually, and not literally. Therefore he that cometh to this worthy ſupper of the Lord, muſt not prepare his jaw, but his heart, neither tooth nor belly; but, "Believe, ſaith St. Auguſtine, and thou haſt eaten it;" ſo that we muſt bring with us a ſpiritual hunger, and, as the apoſtle ſaith, "Try and examine ourſelves, whether our conſcience do teſtify unto us, that we do truly believe in Chriſt, according to the ſcriptures;" whereof if we be truly certified, being new born from our old converſation in heart, mind, will, and deed, then may we boldly with this marriage-garment of our faith come to the feaſt.

In conſideration whereof we have invincible ſcriptures, as of Chriſt himſelf; "This do in remembrance of me." And St. Paul; "As often, ſaith he, as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye ſhall remember the Lord's death until he come." Here is no change, but bread ſtill. And St. Luke affirmeth the ſame. Alſo Chriſt hath made a juſt promiſe, ſaying; "Me you ſhall not have always with you, I leave the world, and go to my Father; for if I ſhould not depart, the Comforter, which I will ſend, cannot come unto you." So according to his promiſe he aſcended as the evangeliſts teſtify. Alſo St. Peter ſaith, "That heaven ſhall keep him until the laſt day alſo."

Now as touching his omnipotent power, we confeſs and ſay with St. Auguſtine, that Chriſt is both God and man. In that he is God, he is every where; but in that he is man, he is in heaven, and can occupy but one place: whereunto the ſcriptures do agree. For his body was not in all places at once when he was here; for it was not in the grave, when the woman ſought it, as the angel ſaith: neither was it at Bethany where Lazarus died, by Chriſt's own words, ſaying, "I am glad I was not there." And thus we conclude with the ſcriptures, that Chriſt is in his holy ſupper ſacramentally and ſpiritually in all them that worthily receive it, and corporally in heaven, both God and man.

And further, we make here our proteſtation before God (whom we call to record in this matter) that this which we have ſaid, is neither of ſtubbornneſs, nor wilful mind, as ſome judge of us; but even of very conſcience, truly (we truſt) grounded on God's holy word. For before we took this matter in hand, we beſought God from the bottom of our hearts, that we might do nothing contrary to his holy and bleſſed word. And in that he hath thus ſhewed his power in our weakneſs, we cannot worthily praiſe him, unto whom we give hearty thanks, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

When they had thus delivered and read their confeſſion, the biſhop ſtill perſiſting ſometimes in fair promiſes, ſometimes threatening to pronounce judgment, aſked them whether they would ſtand to this their confeſſion, and other anſwers? To whom Cauſton ſaid, Yea, we will ſtand to our anſwers written with our hands, and to our belief therein contained. After which anſwer the biſhop began to pronounce ſentence againſt him.

Then he ſaid, that it was much raſhneſs, and without all love and mercy, to give judgment without anſwering to their confeſſion by the truth of God's word, whereunto they ſubmitted themſelves moſt willingly. And therefore I, ſaid Cauſton (becauſe I cannot have juſtice at your hand, but that ye will thus raſhly condemn me), do appeal from you to my lord cardinal.

Then Dr. Smith ſaid, that he would anſwer their confeſſion. But the biſhop not ſuffering him to ſpeak, ordered Mr. Harpsfield to ſpeak his mind for the ſtay of the people; who taking their confeſſion in his hand, neither touched nor anſwered one ſentence thereof.

Which done, the biſhop pronounced ſentence, firſt againſt the ſaid Thomas Cauſton; and then calling Thomas Higbed, cauſed his articles and anſwers likewiſe to be read. In the reading whereof Mr. Higbed ſaid, Ye

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The Martyrdom of D.r Taylor, who was burnt on Aldham Common.

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ſpeak blaſphemy againſt Chriſt's paſſion, and ye go about to trap us with your ſubtilties and ſnares. And though my father, mother, and kinsfolk did believe as you ſay, yet they were deceived in ſo believing.

And further, where you ſay, that my lord, named Cranmer, late archbiſhop of Canterbury, and others ſpecified in the ſaid articles, be heretics, I do wiſh that I were ſuch an heretic as they were and be. Then the biſhop aſked him again, whether he would turn from his error, and come to the unity of their church: to whom he ſaid, No, I would ye ſhould recant: for I am in the truth, and you in error.

Well, quoth the biſhop, if ye will return, I will gladly receive you.

No, ſaid Mr. Higbed, I will not return as you will have me, to believe in the ſacrament of the altar your God.

Whereupon the biſhop proceeded, and gave judgment upon him, as he had done before upon Thomas Cauſton. When this was ended, they were both delivered to the ſheriffs, and by them ſent to Newgate, where they remained for the ſpace of fourteen days, praiſed be God, not ſo much in afflictions as in conſolations. For the increaſe whereof they earneſtly deſired all their good brethren and ſiſters in Chriſt to pray, that God for his Son's ſake would go forth with that great mercy which already he had begun in them, ſo that they might perſevere unto the end, to the praiſe of the eternal God, and comfort of all their brethren.

Theſe fourteen days after the condemnation being expired, they were the twenty-third day of March fetched from Newgate at four of the clock in the morning, and ſo led through the city to Aldgate, where they were delivered unto the ſheriff of Eſſex, and there being faſt bound in a cart, were ſhortly after brought to their ſeveral appointed places of burning; that is to ſay, Thomas Higbed to Hornden on the hill, and Thomas Cauſton to Rayly (both in the county of Eſſex), where they did moſt conſtantly, the twenty-ſixth day of the ſame month, ſeal their faith with ſhedding of their blood by moſt cruel fire, to the glory of God, and great rejoicing of all good men.

At the burning of Mr. Higbed, juſtice Brown was alſo preſent, as is above ſpecified, and divers gentlemen in the ſhire were alſo commanded to be there, for fear belike they ſhould be taken from them.

William Pygot, Stephen Knight, and John Laurence, with their Examinations and Martyrdom.

IN the ſtory of Thomas Tomkins and his fellows, we made mention of ſix who were examined, and condemned together by biſhop Bonner, the ninth day of February: of which ſix condemned perſons, two, which were Tomkins and William Hunter (as ye heard) were executed, the one upon the twenty-ſixth of February, and the other upon the twenty-ſixth of March. The other three, to wit, William Pygot and Stephen Knight, ſuffered upon the twenty-eighth day, and John Laurence the twenty-ninth of the ſaid month of March.

Concerning which three martyrs, we have now ſomething to ſay of their examinations: it was firſt demanded of them, what their opinion was of the ſacrament of the altar. Whereunto they ſeverally anſwered, and alſo ſubſcribed, that in the ſacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very ſubſtance of the body and blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; but a ſpecial partaking of the body and blood of Chriſt; the very body and blood of Chriſt being only in heaven, and no where elſe. This anſwer thus made; the biſhop cauſed certain articles to be read unto them, tending to the ſame effect, as did the articles before of Tomkins and of Mr. Cauſton. The tenor whereof here followeth.

Articles or Interrogatories objected by the Biſhop of London, to William Pygot, Stephen Knight, and John Laurence, Feb. 8. 1555.

WHether do you think, and ſtedfaſtly believe, that it is a catholic, faithful, chriſtian, and true doctrine, to teach, preach, and ſay, that in the ſacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is without any ſubſtance of bread and wine there remaining, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word, really, truly, and in very deed, the true and natural body and blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, the ſelf-ſame in ſubſtance (though not in outward form and appearance) which was born of the virgin Mary, and ſuffered upon the croſs, yea, or nay?

Whether do you think, and ſtedfaſtly believe, that your parents, kinsfolk, friends, and acquaintance, here in this preſent realm of England, before your birth a great while, and alſo after your birth, profeſſing and believing the ſaid doctrine and faith, concerning the ſaid ſacrament of the altar, had a true chriſtian faith, and were faithful and true chriſtian people, or no?

Whether do you think, and ſtedfaſtly believe, that your godfathers and godmother, profeſſing and believing the ſaid doctrine and faith, concerning the ſaid ſacrament of the altar, had a true chriſtian faith, and were faithful and true chriſtian people, or no?

Whether do you think, and ſtedfaſtly believe, that your ownſelf in times paſt, being of the age of fourteen years and above, did think and believe concerning the ſaid ſacrament of the altar in all points, as your ſaid parents, kinsfolks, friends, acquaintance, godfathers and godmothers, did then think and believe them, or no?

Whether do you think, and ſtedfaſtly believe, that our ſovereigns the king and the queen of this realm of England, and all the nobility, clergy, and laity of this realm, profeſſing and believing the ſaid doctrine and faith, as other chriſtian realms do, concerning the ſaid ſacrament of the altar, have a true chriſtian faith, and believe as the catholic and the true church of Chriſt hath always believed, preached, and taught, or no?

Whether do you think, and ſtedfaſtly believe, that our Saviour Chriſt and his holy Spirit hath been, is, and ſhall be with his catholic church, even to the world's end, governing and ruling the ſame in all things, eſpecially in the neceſſary points of chriſtian religion, not ſuffering the ſame to err, or be deceived therein?

Whether is it true that you being ſuſpected, or infamed to be culpable and faulty in ſpeaking againſt the ſacrament of the altar, and againſt the very true preſence of Chriſt's natural body, and the ſubſtance thereof in the ſaid ſacrament, and thereupon called before me upon complaint made to me againſt you, have not been a good ſpace in my houſe, having freely meat and drink, and alſo divers times inſtructed and informed, as well by one being our ordinary, as alſo by my chaplains, and divers other learned men, ſome whereof were biſhops, ſome deans, and ſome archdeacons, and every one of them learned in divinity, and minding well unto you, and deſiring the ſafeguard of your ſoul, and that you ſhould follow and believe the doctrine of the catholic church as afore concerning the ſaid ſacrament of the altar, and whether you did not at all times ſince your ſaid coming to me, utterly refuſe to follow and believe the ſaid doctrine concerning the ſaid ſacrament?

Whether can you now find in your heart and conſcience, to conform yourſelf in all points to the ſaid faith and catholic church concerning the ſaid ſacrament of the altar, faithfully, truly, and plainly, without any diſſimulation, believing therein, as our ſaid ſovereigns, with the nobility, clergy, and laity of this realm, and other chriſtian realms: and other perſons aforeſaid, and alſo the ſaid catholic church, have and do ſo believe in that behalf?

In caſe you ſo cannot, what ground have you to maintain your opinion, and who is of the ſame opinion with you, and what conference have you had therein with any, what comfort and what relief have you had therein by any of them, and what are their names, ſurnames, and their dwelling places?

Their anſwers to theſe articles were not much different from Tomkins's, and other martyrs before mentioned, as here followeth to be ſeen.

The Anſwers of Stephen Knight and William Pygot, to the aforeſaid Articles.

TO the firſt article, they believe, that the contents of this article is not agreeable to ſcripture.

To the ſecond, they anſwer and believe, that their parents and others expreſſed in the ſaid article, and ſo believing as is contained in the ſame, were deceived.

To the third, they anſwer, that they ſo believed, but they were deceived therein, as they now believe.

To the fourth, they ſay, that they have heretofore believed as is contained in the ſaid article, but now they do not ſo believe.

To the fifth, they ſay, that if they ſo believe, they are deceived.

To the ſixth, they believe the ſame to be true.

To the ſeventh, they anſwer and believe the contents of the ſame to be true.

To the eighth, they anſwer, that they can in no whit conform themſelves to the faith and doctrine contained and ſpecified in this article, until it be proved by ſcripture.

To the ninth, they ſay, that they have no ground to maintain their ſaid opinions, but the truth, which (as they ſaid) hath been perſuaded by learned men, as Dr. Taylor of Hadley, and ſuch other.

Theſe anſwers being made and exhibited, they were commanded to appear again the next day, at eight of the clock in the morning, and in the mean while to bethink themſelves what they would do.

Another appearance of the ſaid Priſoners before Biſhop Bonner.

THE next morning, being the ninth of February, before their open appearance, the biſhop ſent for William Pygot and Stephen Knight into his great chamber in his palace, where he exhorted them to recant, and deny their former profeſſion.

Who anſwered, that they were perſuaded in their conſciences not to return and abjure their opinions, whereunto they had ſubſcribed. Within a while after, they were all three (with Thomas Tomkins and William Hunter beforenamed) brought openly into the conſiſtory, the ninth day of February aforeſaid, and there had the ſame articles propounded unto them, which were before propounded unto the aforeſaid Thomas Tomkins (as appeareth in the diſcourſe of his hiſtory) and thereto alſo ſubſcribed theſe words; I do ſo believe.

The biſhop alſo diſcourſed with John Laurence only; whereunto he anſwered in this manner: That he was a prieſt, and was conſecrated and made a prieſt about eighteen years paſt, and that he was ſome time a black frier profeſſed; that alſo he was aſſured unto a maid, whom he intended to have married.

And being again demanded his opinion upon the ſacrament, he ſaid, That it was a remembrance of Chriſt's body, and that many had been deceived in believing the true body of Chriſt to be in the ſacrament of the altar, and all ſuch as do not believe as he doth, do err. And after this talk and other fair words and threatenings, they were all of them commanded to appear again in the afternoon.

At which hour they came thither again, and there after the accuſtomed manner, were exhorted to recant and revoke their doctrine, and receive the faith. To which they conſtantly anſwered they would not, but would ſtick to that faith that they had declared and ſubſcribed to, for that they did believe it was no error which they believed; but that the contrary thereof was very hereſy.

When the biſhop ſaw that neither his fair flatterings, nor yet his cruel threatenings would prevail, he gave them ſeverally their judgments. And becauſe John Laurence had been one of their anointed prieſts, he was by the biſhop there (according to their order) ſolemnly degraded, the manner whereof you may ſee in the hiſtory of Mr. Hooper before-mentioned.

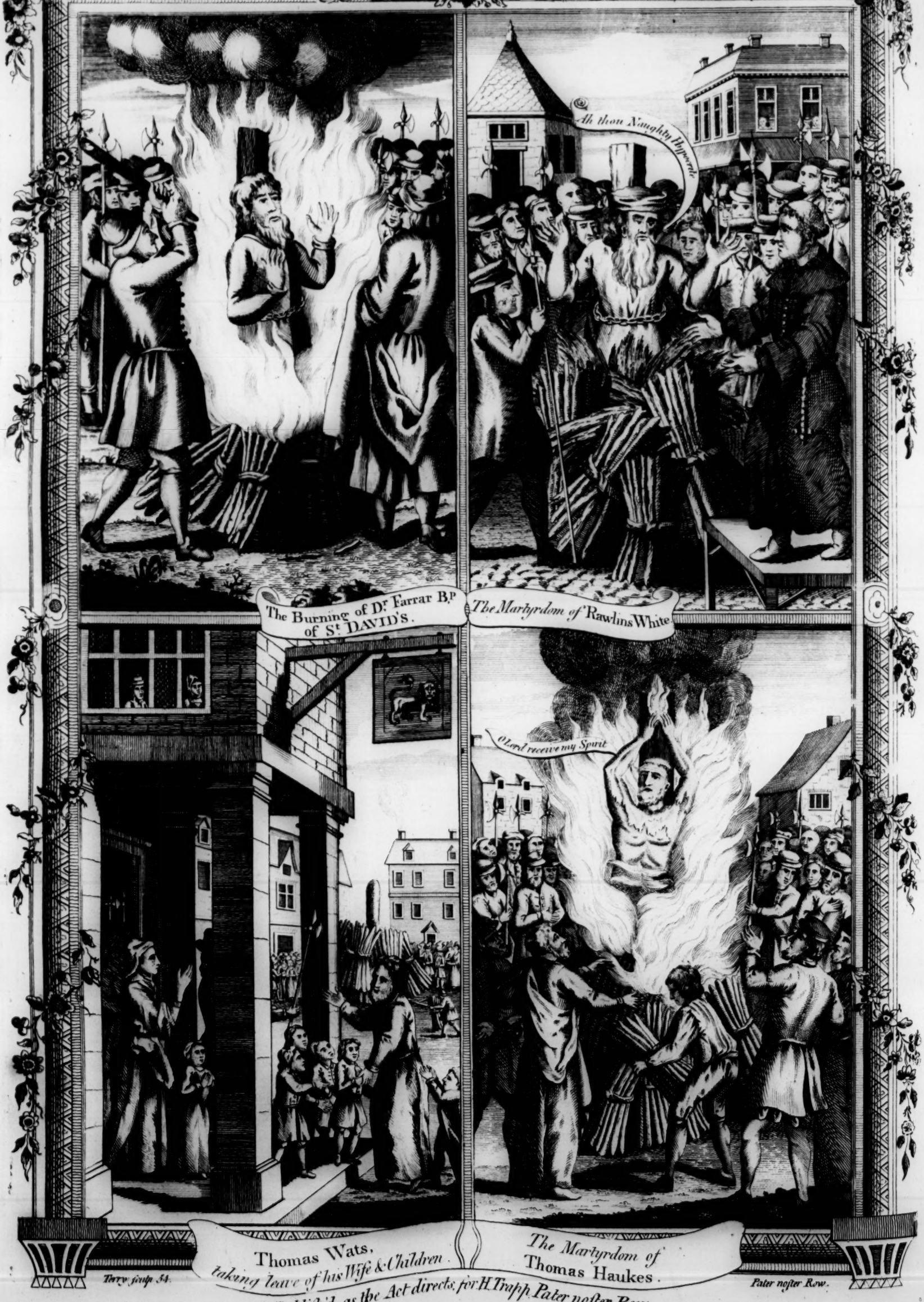
Their ſentence of condemnation, and this degradation once ended, they were committed to the cuſtody of the ſheriffs of London, who ſent them to Newgate, where they remained with joy together, until they were carried down into Eſſex, and there the twenty eighth day of March, the ſaid William Pygot was burned at Braintree, and Stephen Knight at Mauldon, who at the ſtake, kneeling upon the ground, ſaid this prayer which here followeth.

O Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for whoſe love I leave willingly this life, and deſire rather the bitter death of thy croſs, with the loſs of all earthly things, than to abide the blaſphemy of thy moſt holy name, or to obey men in breaking the holy commandment: thou ſeeſt, O Lord, that where I might live in worldly wealth to worſhip a falſe God, and honour thine enemy, I chooſe rather the torment of the body, and the loſs of this life, and have counted all things but vile duſt, and dung, that I might win thee; which death is dearer to me, than thouſands of gold and ſilver. Such love, O Lord, haſt thou laid up in my breaſt, that I hunger for thee, as the deer that is wounded deſireth the ſoil. Send thy holy Comforter, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and ſtrengthen this weak piece of earth, which is empty of all ſtrength of itſelf. Thou remembereſt, O Lord, that I am but duſt, and able to do nothing that is good; therefore, O Lord, as of thine accuſtomed goodneſs and love thou haſt invited me to this banquet, and accounted me worthy to drink of thine own cup amongſt thine elect; even ſo give me ſtrength, O Lord, againſt this thine element, which as to my ſight it is moſt irkſome and terrible, ſo to my mind it may at thy commandment (as an obedient ſervant) be ſweet and pleaſant; that through the ſtrength of thy holy Spirit, I may paſs through the rage of this fire into thy boſom, according to thy promiſe, and for this mortal receive an immortal, and for this corruptible put on incorruption: accept this burnt ſacrifice and offering, O Lord, not for the ſacrifice, but for thy dear Son's ſake my Saviour, for whoſe teſtimony I offer this free will offering with all my heart and with all my ſoul. O heavenly Father, forgive me my ſins, as I forgive all the world. O ſweet Son of God my Saviour, ſpread thy wings over me. O bleſſed and Holy Ghoſt, through whoſe merciful inſpiration I am come hither, conduct me into everlaſting life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit. Amen.

The next day, being the twenty-ninth day of March, the ſaid John Laurence was brought to Colcheſter, and there being not able to go (for his legs were much worn with heavy irons in priſon, and alſo his body weakened with evil keeping) was borne to the fire in a chair, and ſo ſitting, was in his conſtant faith conſumed with fire.

When he was burning the young children came about the fire, and cried, as well as young children could ſpeak, ſaying, Lord ſtrengthen thy ſervant, and keep thy promiſe; Lord ſtrengthen thy ſervant, and keep thy promiſe;

Engraved for Fox's Book of Martyrs.



The Burning of Dr Farrar Bp of St DAVID's.

The Martyrdom of Rawlins White.

Thomas Wats, taking leave of his Wife & Children.

The Martyrdom of Thomas Haukes.

Terry sculp 54.

Pater noster Row.

Publish'd as the Act directs. for H. Trapp, Pater noster Row.

miſe: which thing, as it is rare, ſo it is no ſmall manifeſtation of the glory of God, which wrought this in the hearts of theſe little ones; nor yet a little commendation to their parents, which from their youth brought them up in the knowledge of God and his truth.

The Hiſtory of Dr. Robert Farrar, Biſhop of St. David's, who ſuffered March 30. 1555.

THE next day after, which was the 30th day of March, Dr. Robert Farrar, Biſhop of St. David's in Wales, was the next biſhop that ſuffered after Mr. Hooper; who was firſt called and promoted to that dignity by the favour and good will of the duke of Somerſet, the lord protector in king Edward's time. This man I may well call twice a martyr, not only for the cruel death of the fire, which he moſt conſtantly ſuffered in the days of queen Mary, but alſo for ſeveral other injuries and moleſtations in king Edward's time, which he no leſs firmly than unworthily ſuſtained at the hands of his enemies after the fall of the duke of Somerſet. Of theſe his vexations and troubles, with the wrangling articles and informations laid againſt him, to the number of fifty ſix; and of the malice conceived againſt him by certain covetous canons of the church of Carmarthen, and what were the proceedings of both parties, as well of the innocent, as of the crafty adverſaries, and what were their names, in their articles againſt him, here followeth in order.

GEorge Conſtantine, David Walter his ſervant, Thomas Young chaunter of the cathedral church, who was afterward archbiſhop of York, Rowland Meyrick doctor of law, who was afterward biſhop of Bangor, Thomas Lee, and Hugh Rawlins, &c.

Through the procurement and inſtance of theſe his adverſaries, joining and confederating together, one Hugh Rawlins prieſt, and Thomas Lee brother-in-law to the ſaid George Conſtantine, did exhibit to the king's moſt honourable council certain articles and informations, conceived and deviſed by the perſons before named, to the intent to blemiſh the biſhop's credit, and utterly (as they thought and made their boaſt) to pull him from his biſhoprick, and to bring him in a premunire. The copy of which articles we thought here good to expreſs, and ſo after them to ſet his anſwers to the ſame.

Articles and Informations to the King's Honourable Council, put up and exhibited by Hugh Rawlins and Thomas Lee, againſt Dr. Farrar, Biſhop of St. David's.

1. IMprimis, When the ſaid biſhop firſt came to his dioceſe, he appointed his chancellor by his letters of commiſſion, omitting the king's majeſty's ſtile and authority, and grounded his ſaid commiſſion upon foreign uſurped laws and authority; by force of which authority his ſaid chancellor did viſit certain deaneries of his ſaid dioceſe, and moniſhed the chaunter and chapter of the cathedral church of St. David's aforeſaid, againſt a certain day and place, for like intent and purpoſe, contrary to the king's highneſs's laws and ſtatutes, and in derogation of his highneſs's ſupremacy.

2. Item, That the ſaid chaunter and chapter, perceiving the fault of the ſaid commiſſion, took the ſame from the regiſter into their cuſtody, refuſing to appear by virtue thereof, and by ſecret and charitable ways and means did admoniſh the ſaid biſhop of the unlawfulneſs and faults of the ſaid commiſſion, and of the danger that he had incurred for granting and executing the ſame; opening alſo unto him the effect of the ſtatute made in the 28th year of our late ſovereign lord Henry VIII. Which monitions notwithſtanding, the ſaid biſhop neglecting the ſame, and continuing in his malicious doing, or inexcuſable ignorance, about the 20th day of Auguſt, in the fourth year of the reign of our ſovereign lord that now is, did confer upon one John Evans the vicarage of Penbrin, inſtituting him by authority of the old foreign uſurped law, making no mention of the king's highneſs's authority, in contempt and derogation of the ſame.

3. Item, Whereas the chancellor and vicar general to the ſaid biſhop did, upon a lawful title, and by the king's highneſs's ſupreme authority, admit and inſtitute one John Gough into the rectory of Haſkard with the appurtenances, and gave out in the king's name under his highneſs's ſeal eccleſiaſtical appointed for that office, with the Teſte of the ſaid biſhop, and ſubſcription of the ſaid chancellor, a mandate to induct accordingly; by virtue whereof the ſaid John Gough was inducted by the official there, into the real poſſeſſion of the ſame rectory, with the rights and appurtenances to the ſame belonging; whereupon the regiſter of the ſaid dioceſe, at the requeſt of the aforeſaid chancellor, did ſignify the premiſſes, with all the circumſtances, before divers perſons to the forenamed biſhop: who notwithſtanding did inſtitute and cauſe to be inducted one Harry Goddard unto the ſame parſonage, making no mention of the king's majeſty's authority nor ſupremacy; in contempt and derogation of the ſame his highneſs's crown and dignity, and in extolling the foreign uſurped authority, contrary to the form of the ſtatute, &c.

4. Item, The ſaid biſhop, immediately after the unlawful inſtitution and induction of Goddard aforeſaid, moleſted the ſaid John Gough, lawfully inſtituted and inducted as before, citing him from place to place, objecting no matter unto him of long ſeaſon, till at length he articled. Among which articles was contained, Item, Interrogatur quo titulo tenet Rectoriam de Haſkard: ſo taking upon him the cognition of the title of the whole fruits and patronage, in contempt of the king's highneſs's regal crown and dignity, and in derogation of the laws and ſtatutes of this realm.

5. Item, He hath commonly made his collations and inſtitutions, as he did his firſt commiſſion, in his own name and authority, without expreſſing the king's ſupremacy.

6. Item, He made under his ſeal one collation, two inſtitutions, and three mandates to induct, in one vacation of one benefice, three ſeveral perſons, without order of law, or revocation of any of them, giving to every one like authority, title, and right. Whereby except good foreſight, as well of juſtices of the peace, as of the friends had not been, there had inſued much inconvenience amongſt the partakers of the intituled incumbents in that behalf.

7. Item, The ſaid biſhop decreeing caveats to be made in benefices, thereby knowing the titles litigious, inſtituted and cauſed to be inducted without trial of any title or due order of law.

8. Item, He directeth his mandates of induction unto private men, and not to the archdeacons nor their officials; contrary to the law and cuſtom uſed in that behalf. Notwithſtanding he hath been counſelled to the contrary by men that be learned.

9. Item, Having no manner of knowledge nor practice in the law, he ſitteth every day in harveſt, and other times, upon cauſes, without aſſiſtance of learned in the law, having with him only an unlearned boy, who is no notary, to his ſcribe, neither obſerving the law, nor yet reaſonable order. And therefore doth no good, but trifleth the time, as may appear by his acts, if ye have them to be ſhewed.

10. Item, He and his officers, by his knowledge, uſeth to diſpenſe with marriages, to be ſolemnized without banes, contrary to the laws and ordinances in that behalf.

11. Item, Whereas one Thomas Pritchard, a chaplain of his, ſolemnized matrimony in a private houſe without banes, and that betwixt a prieſt, and a ſiſter of hers that was appointed to be married with the ſaid prieſt that day; he alſo being a parſon, and leaving his cure unſerved that day being Sunday: and notwithſtanding that one of the king's council in the Marches of Wales informed the ſaid biſhop of the ſame miſdemeanors, requiring due reformation thereof, he hath done nothing therein but put the ſame chaplain in office, and made him his commiſſary general ſince that time, bearing a ſpecial favour to the reſt of the offenders.

12. Item, Whereas one Meredith ap Thomas, his houſhold-ſervant, was accuſed by one Sage Hughs, to have been father of her child; the ſaid biſhop, without purgation of his ſervant, cauſed him to ſue the parents of the ſaid Sage of infamy, firſt in his principal conſiſtory, and from thence before a commiſſary of his, being his houſhold chaplain, and at laſt took the matter before himſelf, ſo railing againſt all his officers, becauſe they proceeded not after his partial affection, and againſt the law, that honeſt men of Carmarthen, where he ſate upon the cauſe, judge him to be, or at the leaſt to have been, diſtract of his wit, and by this partial handling the cauſe remaineth unfiniſhed, and the child without father.

13. Item, Whereas one Jenkin Ph. accuſed William Chambers, a ſervant of the biſhop's, that found this William in adulterous manner with his wife, by reaſon whereof the biſhop expelled the wife out of his houſe, the ſaid infamy not purged, the parties have been both again in the biſhop's houſe and ſervice ſince that time, to the evil example of others.

14. Item, By this unlawful ſequeſtration of the fruits of the benefices of Langattock and Lanvihangel, by the undiſcreet handling of the ſame, there were raiſed the number of four hundred people or more, who bickered ſundry times together, to the great danger of the inhabitants thereabout, had it not been pacified by the diſcreet means of Sir John Vaughan knight.

15. Item, By his unlawful collation of the prebend of Lanbiſter to one Stephen Green, a chaplain of his, by covenant and promiſe to maintain the ſuit, by whoſe crafty and undiſcreet handling of the ſame there was raiſed in the county of Radnor, the 19th day of Auguſt laſt paſt, about three or four hundred men to like danger, but that the matter was ſtayed by John Bradſhaw, Rice ap Glin, and Stephen ap Rice, juſtices of the ſame county; who, with great danger to themſelves and theirs, pacified the matter, committing an hundred of the offenders to ward.

16. Item, Such as he owes diſpleaſure unto, he citeth from place to place, and day to day, only for their vexation, laying no matter againſt them; and being divers times required the copy of his proceedings againſt them, to the intent they might anſwer accordingly, and be at their lawful defence, he denied to all ſuch perſons the copies of his proceedings.

17. Item, He and his officers wink at the manifeſt and open crimes of his favourers and adherents, to the evil example of the whole dioceſe, and abuſeth the cenſures of excommunication and ſuſpenſion, making it an inſtrument of revenge againſt ſuch as they do not favour.

18. Item, Having received payment of the king's majeſty's ſubſidy, due in October, the fourth year of his grace's reign, of the aforeſaid chaunter of the cathedral church of St. David's, and Rowland Meyrick, two of the reſidentiaries there, before Chriſtmas laſt, he unjuſtly of a premeditated mind and purpoſe afterward certified them for recuſants, to their ruin, if they had not been admoniſhed of his cruel purpoſe, and provided lawful defence for the ſame.

19. Item, The ſaid biſhop celebrating matrimony in his own perſon, diſpenſed, contrary to the book of ordinance, with the parties married, for not receiving the holy communion; the parties both being young and luſty perſons, having no reaſonable cauſe wherefore they ſhould abſtain. At which celebration the biſhop communicated not himſelf. And further, the communion was celebrated by a chaplain of his, with ſuperſtitious bowings, kneeling, and knockings both by the chaplain that miniſtered, and by all the company, only one other prieſt communicating for the manner.

20. Item, Where the official of the archdeacon of Carmarthen, in his viſitation within Carmarthen, found, contrary unto the ſaid ordinance, an altar ſet up in the body of the church, for celebration of the communion, and cauſed the ſaid altar to be taken away, and a table to be ſet in the middle of the church; the biſhop after the ſame commanded the vicar of Carmarthen to ſet the table without the chancel again for the miniſtration of the communion.

21. Item, He being often in Carmarthen, and other places in the chancel at the time of holy communion, not only tarried there himſelf, neither communicating nor miniſtering bareheaded and uncoiffed, reverently kneeling; but alſo permitteth the people there to continue, the chancel and quire full, kneeling and knocking their breaſts. Which manner is yet uſed in all the dioceſe, without any reformation or gainſay of him or any of his officers.

22. Item, Whether ſuperſtitious praying upon beads is not only ungodly, but reproved in the king's majeſty's injunctions; the ſaid biſhop meeting many with beads in their hands never rebuked any of them.

23. Item, The ſaid biſhop being in the pulpit, and ſeeing divers corpſes within the church, with a great number of lights upon them, never ſpake againſt any of them.

24. Item, Whereas the ordinance willeth, that no children be baptized but upon the Sunday, or Holy-day (only caſe of neceſſity excepted), he, having two children himſelf born without danger, cauſed one of them to be baptized on the week-day. And by his example, without any contradiction or motion of reformation, it is uſed as it hath been accuſtomed, in all the dioceſe commonly, contrary to the book of ordinance in that behalf.

25. Item, From his firſt coming into the dioceſe, he hath had, and yet hath his only ſtudy, labour, and practice, to ſurvey land, and to look for mines, &c. neglecting his own bounden duty to apply to his book and preaching.

26. Item, He keepeth no manner of hoſpitality, but hath his ſervants table in one parlour with him, leſt any ſtrangers ſhould approach his ſervants being at their meat.

27. Item, He is commonly talking not of godlineſs, but of worldly matters, as baking, brewing, incloſing, ploughing, mining of miil-ſtones, diſcharging of tenants, and ſuch like, not only at his table, but alſo moſt commonly at other places.

28. Item, He hath warned divers tenants out of their lands, which they and their elders have enjoyed for their rents theſe hundred years and more, and occupied with tillage, which he ſaith he will incloſe; and being ſued to by poor men, becauſe of quietneſs, he anſwered, The crows ſhall eat the corn, rather than ye ſhall have any profit thereof.

29. Item, When the vicars choral of St. David's, for relief of their hoſpitality, had an iſland of his called the Biſhop's-Iſle, for 40s. rent, he hath let it to a chaplain of his for 5l. by year. And where, at the ſuit of the ſaid vicars, it was granted by the biſhop in the whole chapter, that the vicars ſhould have it for years at 40s. rent, and pay 20l. entry; he now covetouſly, and againſt his promiſe openly made, denieth the ſame, except the vicars would give 50l.

30. Item, He cauſed the curate of St. David's to warn their tenants out of their ſaid lands in the pulpit, to the great offence of the people who were wont to have God's

word preached there; and ſo they ſaid to the curate at that time.

31. Item, To the ploughing of a paſture not above ten days work, in Lent, Anno 1549, he had 32 ploughs in one day, and thoſe ploughs the prieſt bade in the church, contrary to the ſtatute of Gomortha in that behalf provided, and to the evil example of gentlemen in that country.

32. Item, Where the king's majeſty, of godly remembrance, Henry the eighth, appointed at Brecknock a ſchool-maſter, uſher, reader of divinity, a miniſter, and certain ſcholars, and for the maintenance thereof appointed 40l. and 12l. of the penſions and revenues of Brecknock; the biſhop finding it ſo furniſhed, hath neither reader nor miniſter there, covetouſly converting their ſtipends to his own uſe.

33. Item, The biſhop was twice in one day preſented in the great court, held in the court of Carmarthen, for incloſing and covetouſly incroaching of the king's highway.

34. Item, He covetouſly occupieth purchaſing of lands, buying of cattle, merchandiſe, and other things, being indebted a notable ſum to the king's majeſty, as may appear by his accounts in the court of tenths and firſt fruits.

35. Item, Whereas one Lewis John Tho. Bool, putting from him his lawful wedded wife, upon Chriſtmas Eve laſt, without banes had marriage ſolemnized with a concubine of his in a church within three miles of the biſhop's abode at that time. The biſhop ſince knowing the premiſſes, hath not only of a covetous mind entered familiarity with the ſaid Lewis, and bought a piece of land of him, but alſo ever ſince hath (to have his lands good cheap) left both the parties and prieſt unpuniſhed, uſing him ſo familiarly, that whereas a ſumner cited the parties to appear among other criminals for the ſame fact, the biſhop commanded the ſaid ſumner to let him alone, and ſo they all remain unpuniſhed.

36. Item, Whereas the whole chapter of St. David's (as it was thought) was in aſſured amity with the biſhop, they all being his officers or chaplains, he procured them to be impleaded with a writ of Quo Warranto in the King's Bench, keeping the writ with him ſecretly, at leaſt three months, not delivering it but only ten days before the day of their appearance, the parties being ſeven days journey from London.

37. Item, He is a wilful wrong doer, and troubler of men in their rights, entering upon their lawful poſſeſſions, ſtirring thereby much contention, and ſo notably known, to the offence of the country.

38. Item, Whereas the biſhop aforeſaid was appointed in Auguſt 1547, and conſecrated in September following, he never came into the dioceſe himſelf, nor ſent or appointed any officer there before the month of April 1548, to the great diſorder of the king's majeſty's ſubjects, lack of reformation, and miniſtration of juſtice.

39. Item, During his viſitation, the ſaid biſhop did not endeavour himſelf to ſee reformation, but rode ſurveying of lands, appointing vain incloſures, and ſuch other things: which are no part of the office to him committed, nor yet convenient, namely at that time.

40. Item, The viſitation finiſhed, he neither appointed his officers to examine the clergy of the places of ſcripture to them appointed to be ſtudied in the ſame viſitation, nor hath hitherto effectually gone about any good reformation, according to the ordinance of this realm.

41. Item, The biſhop, ſince his coming to the dioceſe, never adminiſtered the communion, ſaving only at two times that he ordered certain deacons; but in every thing (ſave that he otherwhiles preacheth) ordereth himſelf like no miniſter, nor man of his vocation.

42. He hath ſo alienated himſelf from ſtudy, that he preacheth undiſcreetly, diſcrediting the office, not only untruly reporting the ſcriptures, but alſo preaching the ten commandments in one place in declaration of the eighth of them, for lack of ſtuff, the pith of his matter was matrimony of prieſts.

43. Item, The 13th day of September laſt, he ordained certain deacons, and making his exhortation, he taught that a man was not bound to forgive, but him that aſketh forgiveneſs; and being admoniſhed by a letter better to declare the ſame, becauſe that divers were offended with that doctrine; he hath hitherto deferred ſo to do, to the maintenance of malicious hearts in theſe parts.

44. Item, Since the firſt day of Auguſt, 1549, unto the feaſt of Candlemas laſt, he hath preached but two or three ſermons, of which one was preached at Aberguilly upon St. Stephen's day laſt, to a great audience that underſtood no Engliſh, being but a mile from Carmarthen an Engliſh town, and chief of his dioceſe.

45. Item, Since his ordinary viſitation, which was finiſhed in July 1548, he hath neither preached, nor cauſed to be preached, in the towns of Tinby, Pembroke, nor Haverford, being Engliſh towns, not much diſtant from the place of his moſt continuance.

46. Item, The churches appropriate to the biſhop have no paraphraſes in Engliſh, and few of them Bibles.

47. Item, The churches of the dioceſe for the moſt part, and the clergy almoſt every one, lack paraphraſes, notwithſtanding there hath been theſe two years, and yet be, a great number of them to be ſold in the dioceſe.

48. Item, To declare his folly in riding, he uſeth bridle with white ſtuds and ſnaffle, white Scottiſh ſtirrops, with ſpurs, a Scottiſh pad with a little ſtaff of three quarters long, which he hath not only uſed ſuperſtitiouſly theſe four or five years, in communication oftentimes boaſting what countries he hath compaſſed and meaſured with the ſame ſtaff.

49. Item, He hath made a vow, that he will never wear a cap; for he ſaith, it is comely wearing of a hat, and ſo cometh in his long gown and hat, both into the cathedral church, and to the beſt town of his dioceſe, ſitting in that ſort in the king's great ſeſſions, and in his conſiſtories, making himſelf a mock to the people.

50. Item, He ſaid that he would go to the parliament on foot: and to his friends that diſſuaded him, alledging that it is not meet for a man in his place; he anſwered, I care not for that, it is no ſin.

51. Item, Having a ſon, he went before the midwife to the church, preſenting the child to the prieſt, and giving his name Samuel, with a ſolemn interpretation of the name, appointing alſo two Godfathers and two Godmothers, contrary to the ordinance, making his ſon a monſter, and himſelf a laughing-ſtock throughout all the country.

52. Item, He daily uſeth whiſtling to his child, and ſaith, that he underſtood his whiſtle, when he was but three days old. And being advertiſed by his friends, that men laughed at his folly, he anſwered; They whiſtle their horſes and dogs, and I am contented; they might alſo be contented that I whiſtle my child, and ſo whiſtleth him daily, all friendly admonition neglected.

53. Item, In his ordinary viſitation among other his ſurveys, he ſurveyed Milford Haven, where he eſpied a ſeal-fiſh tumbling. And he crept down to the water-ſide, and continued there whiſtling by the ſpace of an hour, perſuading the company that laughed at him, that by his whiſtling he made the fiſh to tarry there.

54. Item, Speaking of ſcarcity of herrings, he laid the fault to the covetouſneſs of fiſhers, who in the time of plenty took ſo many, that they deſtroyed the breeders.

55. Item, Speaking of the alteration of the coin, he wiſhed that what metal ſoever it were of, the penny ſhould be in weight worth a penny of the ſame metal.

56. For a concluſion, the ſaid biſhop, in all his doings ſince he came to his dioceſe, hath behaved himſelf moſt unmeet for a man of his vocation, being for a miniſter of juſtice,

juſtice, an abuſer of the authority to him committed; for a teacher of the truth, and reformer of ſuperſtition, a maintainer of ſuperſtition without any doctrine of reformation; for a liberal and hoſpitable, an unſatiable covetous man; for a diligent overſeer, wilful and negligent; for an example of godly wiſdom, given wholly to folly; for merciful, a cruel revenger; and further, for a peacemaker, a ſower of diſcord. And ſo in all his behaviour, a diſcrediter and ſlanderer of his vocation, and a deceiver of all men, that had hope that he ſhould do any reformation. For he yet hath neither brought into his dioceſe, nor hath belonging unto him, any learned preacher. But ſuch learned preachers as he found in the dioceſe at his entry, he ſo vexeth and diſquieteth, that they cannot attend to apply their preaching for the defence of their livings, againſt his quarrellous inventions and unjuſt certificates.

After theſe wrangling articles and informations were given up, then the biſhop was called for to anſwer, the hearing whereof was committed unto Dr. Wotton, and Sir John Maſon knight, who likewiſe received the biſhop's anſwers to the aforeſaid articles, the copy and effect of which anſwers hereafter follow.

The Anſwer of Robert Biſhop of St. David's, to the Articles miniſtered unto him.

TO the firſt article he ſaith, that after lawful monition in the king's majeſty's name and authority, from the ſaid biſhop (being then at London) given to the chaunter and chapter of St. David's, for viſitation at a certain day there to be entered; the ſaid biſhop himſelf for ſuch purpoſe coming into the dioceſe, knowing alſo that the chaunter, and one of the canons of that church, and late before commiſſaries in that dioceſe, had not only by their own evil examples and winking at the faults of others, or neglecting to correct the ſame, left there among prieſts and others, much deteſtable whoredom; but had alſo ſpoiled the cathedral church of croſſes, chalices, and cenſers, with other plate, jewels, and ornaments of the church, to the value of four or five hundred marks or more, for their own private lucre (the church remaining even yet very vile, and in great decay), and had alſo made further under their chapter ſeal many blanks, to the number of twelve or more, Sede vacante, without the king's majeſty's licence or knowledge; therefore he brought with him one Edmund Farlee, bachelor of law, commended by Dr. Young and Dr. Neviſon to him, as a man ſufficient in faithful truth and learning, to be his chancellor. To whom he granted and ſealed a commiſſion for that purpoſe, giving credit to him in his faculty, concerning the draught and form thereof. But the king's majeſty's ſtile of ſupremacy was fully ſet forth in the ſame commiſſion. Whether there were any default of formal words in ſetting forth of the king's authority therein, he is not certain; for he committed the doing thereof to his chancellor, who was commended to him for a learned man. And the biſhop ſaith, that he did never ground the commiſſion upon any foreign uſurped laws or authority: neither did his ſaid chancellor by force of ſuch authority viſit any deanery of the ſaid dioceſe, nor gave any monition to the chaunter and chapter there, by force of that commiſſion, for any like intent or purpoſe, but only offered in the king's majeſty's name and authority (to the ſaid biſhop committed) to enter viſitation of the chaunter and chapter of the cathedral church, at another day to be executed by the biſhop himſelf, for reformation of the chapter church, and miniſters there, according to the king's gracious ordinances and injunctions in that behalf. But the aforeſaid chaunter and canon of the church, before the ſight of any commiſſion, ſtubbornly anſwered the ſaid chancellor, that they would not receive him, nor any other to viſit them, except he were one of their chapter. And further, deſiring to ſee his commiſſion, he delivered the ſame into their hands, who would not deliver it him again. And ſo it may appear that he did nothing by force of that commiſſion.

2. To the ſecond article he ſaith, that they opened not unto him the danger of any ſtatute, to his knowledge and remembrance. Nevertheleſs, he not knowing any default in the ſaid commiſſion, and certainly minding with all diligence the faithful execution of his office of preaching, and viſiting the whole dioceſe in his own perſon, by the king's majeſty's authority, for the conſervation of God's peace and the king's, in that dangerous time of rebellion, then beginning to ariſe in other places, did neglect and lay apart the ſtubborn behaviour and wicked doings of the ſaid chaunter and canon, and agreed with them, omitting all contempts and reproaches towards him and his ſaid chancellor, and all manner of contention by them done, fearing elſe that through their unquietneſs ſome tumult might have riſen among the people there; and did alſo make the ſaid chaunter his chancellor, and canon his commiſſary, according to their ambitious deſires, to appeaſe their malice in that dangerous time. And further, he ſaith, that he made collation to Sir John Evans of the vicarage of Penbrin, what day or time he remembereth not, not by any old foreign uſurped authority, but by the king's authority only, making full mention of the king's ſtile and authority in the ſame collation.

3, and 4. To the third and fourth he ſaith, that whereas he had granted to George Conſtantine the office of a regiſter, who brought unto him a commiſſion for the chancellorſhip, to be ſealed and delivered to the aforeſaid chaunter of St. David's, deſiring the ſaid biſhop to ſeal it, he utterly refuſed ſo to do, becauſe the ſaid George had put therein a clauſe of admitting clerks into benefices: which authority the ſaid biſhop would not in any wiſe grant, reſerving the examination and admiſſion of clerks only to himſelf, for the avoiding of wicked bribery and partiality. Whereupon the ſaid George and the chaunter promiſed the ſaid biſhop, by their faith and truth, before three or four honeſt witneſſes, not to execute that clauſe of inſtitution into benefices, but only to thoſe clerks whom the biſhop did firſt examine and admit, and ſend unto them to be inſtituted and inducted; upon which promiſe the biſhop ſealed the ſaid commiſſion. And after that time the parſonage of Haſkard being void, and by reaſon of lapſe devolved to the biſhop's gift for that time, he conferred it on one Sir Henry Goddard, with a collation of inſtitution by the king's authority, not extolling any foreign uſurped authority. In which collation or inſtitution is fully mentioned the renunciation of the biſhop of Rome, and all foreign power and authority, with the full ſtile of his majeſty's ſupremacy. And this collation of the church of Haſkard he gave, before he underſtood or knew that his chancellor had given out the like, and he ſurely thinketh his collation was the firſt. That notwithſtanding, the ſaid George Conſtantine, and the ſaid chaunter having a vowſon determined by reaſon of lapſe, admitted and inſtituted one John Gough to the ſaid parſonage of Haſkard, by virtue of their expired vowſon, and ſealed his inſtitution with a wrong ſeal (becauſe they had not the right ſeal of office to that purpoſe) contrary to their former earneſt promiſe, and the biſhop's right, and without any manner of warning or fore-knowledge thereof to him given; which thing by them untruly done, the ſaid George Conſtantine nevertheleſs came to the biſhop's houſe, and there did write with his own hand the letters of induction for the ſaid Sir Henry Goddard prieſt, compriſing in the ſame the whole ſum of the inſtitution or collation which the ſaid biſhop had made, and the ſame George did ſeal the ſaid letters of induction with his own hand, finding no manner of fault therein, nor making any word or mention of his and the chaunter's former wrong doing, but ſo departed for that time. And afterward he came again, and ſhewed the

the biſhop what they had done before concerning the parſonage aforeſaid. And further, the ſaid defendant ſaith, that he did not moleſt the ſaid John Gough, but lawfully did call him in the king's majeſty's name, not for any title of patronage, but to know whether he were parſon of Haſkard, and how he was thereto admitted, and inſtituted, and inducted, and by what authority he preſumed to preach there, without the king's majeſty's licence, with other like lawful demands, whereunto he ſturdily refuſed to give anſwer; and ſaith, that the article contained in his accuſation, ſaying thus: Item, Interrogatur quo titulo tenet Rectoriam de Haſkard, was not miniſtered unto the party in that ſort, ſo far as he knoweth, but in theſe words or like, Quomodo intravit in Rectoriam, &c.

5. To the fifth he ſaith, that albeit George Conſtantine regiſter, did wilfully withdraw his bounden ſervice due to the king's highneſs, and to the ſaid defendant in the king's name, refuſing to attend either by himſelf, or his ſufficient deputy for writing of records and other inſtruments, yet the ſaid defendant made his collations and inſtitutions in his own name, not by his own authority, nor by another, ſave only the king's authority, according as he hath declared in his anſwer to the firſt article, expreſſing in them the king's ſupremacy with the biſhop's own name and ſeal of office, as he ought to do, according to the proviſion of the king's ſtatute in ſuch a caſe.

6. To the ſixth he ſaith, that the vicarage of Penbrin being void, he, as right patron thereof to his knowledge, conferred it to John Evans clerk, with letters of inſtitution and induction; and after, when the king's preſentation came to him for one David Jenkin clerk, he deſired fourteen days reſpite at that time, either to ſhew ancient record for his right, and then the matter to ſtand to the determination of the law, or elſe if he ſhewed not, both he and his clerk to give place to the king's clerk, which condition was by Sir Thomas Jones knight, Dr. Meyrick and the ſaid David Jenkin received, and an inſtitution with an induction was made conditionally to be put in the hands of Sir Thomas Jones knight, for ſafe cuſtody of the king's clerks behoof, after the fourteen days to be executed at the hands of the ſaid defendant, if he failed to ſhew. Within which time the ſaid defendant did ſhew an old ancient record, declaring the full right of patronage on the ſaid defendant's behalf, and ſo that inſtitution and induction was never by the ſaid defendant put in execution. Nevertheleſs, the ſaid David Jenkin (contrary to his promiſe and oath, giving thereupon his right hand to the ſaid Sir Thomas Jones knight) took advantage by the ſaid writing, without knowledge of the ſaid defendant. After which time the lord chancellor, by his letters written to the ſaid defendant, advertiſed him, to admit one John ap Powell clerk, preſented by virtue of a vowſon which the lord chancellor judged to be good, and ſo to be admitted notwithſtanding his former preſentation, whereby he would not bar the other man's right. And ſo this defendant made one collation, two inſtitutions, and three mandates, doing no wrong thereby to his knowledge. And further he ſaith, that there was no buſineſs nor unquietneſs about the poſſeſſion of the ſaid vicarage, but this defendant giving place, was content to loſe his right for that time.

7. To the ſeventh he ſaith, that as he now remembereth, he never decreed any caveats to be made in benefices, neither did inſtitute nor cauſe to be inducted any into benefices, being known to him litigious.

8. To the eighth he ſaith, that becauſe the archdeacons be abſent from their offices, and have not had faithful diligent officials, he hath directed his mandates to them or their officials, or to other lawful perſons in that behalf, ſo far as he knoweth.

9, and 10. The ninth and tenth articles he denieth as very untrue.

11. To the eleventh he ſaith, that whereas Sir Thomas Jones knight advertiſed him, that Thomas Prichard had celebrated matrimony in a private houſe, betwixt a certain prieſt and a woman, whoſe ſiſter had refuſed the ſame, the ſaid Prichard leaving his own cure unſerved on that Sunday, this defendant did put the ſame Thomas Prichard to penance for ſo doing, marrying them without banes. And whereas he made the ſaid Thomas Prichard, who is a bachelor of law, his commiſſary; it was for the reſpect of learning in the law, thereby faithfully to execute his office according to juſtice. And the ſaid defendant did never favour nor bear with any man wittingly in his wrong doings. He confeſſeth that the matrimony was ſolemnized in a private church, and that the cure was that day unſerved.

12. To the twelfth he ſaith, that it is ſlanderous and utterly untrue. And that one Sir John Hughes prieſt, made Sage Hughes (daughter to his ſtep-mother) an harlot at eleven years of age, and after married openly to another man, being miniſter thereof himſelf. After which doing he took her away from her huſband again, and kept her, alledging a former contract. And when the ſaid John Hughes was lawfully convicted before the ſaid biſhop, in open court at Carmarthen, of that his abominable adultery, claiming the king's pardon thereof, yet the ſaid Sage confeſſed, that he had to do with her the night before that day of appearance. Which latter crime he denied. Nevertheleſs ſhe proved with child, affirming, both before the birth and after, the child to be his, the midwife and others being witneſſes thereof. Yet notwithſtanding, George Conſtantine, as a wicked ſupporter of the ſaid prieſt in his naughty doings, with the help of the aforeſaid chaunter, firſt uttered that Meredith Thomas was father of the ſaid child: which matter was ordered in the eccleſiaſtical court according to juſtice, without any partial affection of the ſaid biſhop, or of any other to his knowledge.

13. To the 13th he ſaith, it is utterly falſe ſo far as he knoweth.

14. To the 14th he ſaith, that by lawful ſequeſtration in the king's majeſty's name, he committed the cuſtody of the fruits of Langattock and Lanvihangel to two honeſt men, for the behoof of the king's firſt fruits and tenths, and of the next incumbent, and further he did not meddle nor miniſter any cauſe of unquietneſs in that behalf.

15. To the 15th he ſaith, that he made a collation, lawful (as he ſuppoſeth) of the prebend of Lanbiſter, to Stephen Greene his chaplain, without any covenant or colour, and further he did not meddle in that behalf.

16. To the 16th he ſaith, all is untrue as far as he knoweth.

17. To the 17th he ſaith, it is untrue for his own part, and his officers, as far as he knoweth.

18. To the 18th he ſaith, it is untrue as far as he knoweth, and that he did certify the recuſants juſtly, as he thinketh, becauſe they refuſed wilfully to pay the king's whole ſubſidy of their whole dividends, as it ſtandeth in the king's book, pertaining to the canons reſident.

19. To the 19th he ſaith, that after travel of fourteen miles, being not able faſting to celebrate the communion, in a chapel within the houſe of Sir Thomas Jones knight, one of the king's majeſty's honourable council of the Marches of Wales, this defendant celebrated matrimony without receiving the communion for the cauſe aboveſaid, betwixt Mr. Griffith Rice, and the daughter of the ſaid Sir Thomas Jones, according to the king's ordinances. And Thomas Prichard prieſt, adminiſtered the holy communion there without any ſuperſtition to this defendant's knowledge: and the married perſons not diſpoſed to receive the holy communion, he could not compel them againſt their conſciences, and ſaith, that he did not diſpenſe with them, as it is contained in the article.

To the ſlanderous and untrue title of maintenance of ſuperſtition, &c. he ſaith, that he did not maintain any ſuperſtition, contrary to the king's ordinances and injunctions, but abhorring in his heart

all ſuperſtition, hath travailed and doth travail to aboliſh the ſame by true doctrine, and doing as much as he can, with the king's peace, among his people there.

20. To the 20th he ſaith, that George Conſtantine, in the third year of the king's majeſty's reign, not regarding the dangerous time of rebellion in other places, raſhly cauſed to be pulled down, without any authority known to this defendant, the communion altar in Carmarthen church, by his own preſumptuous mind, appointing the uſe thereof in another place of the church, not without grudge of the people. Wherefore the biſhop, fearing tumult, commanded the vicar to ſet up the communion table (for the time) near to the place where it was before.

21. To the 21ſt he ſaith, that he hath been divers times in the quire of Carmarthen, and hath tarried there in the communion time, not communicating himſelf, and that in every church where he cometh on the holy day to preach, or to pray, he kneeleth in the quire bareheaded, as well at Mattins before the communion, as at Evenſong after, without any ſuperſtition: he thinketh it not neceſſary for the communion's ſake to leave kneeling to Chriſt. But he hath diligently taught the people not to kneel nor knock to the viſible ſhew or external ſhew of the ſacrament. And the quires of Carmarthen and other places there, are not cloſe at the ſides, ſo that the people may come in and out at their pleaſure. Moreover the king's ordinances do not authorize him to rebuke the people for knocking on their breaſts, in token of repentance of their ſins; nor for kneeling, in token of ſubmiſſion to God for mercy in Chriſt.

22. To the 22d he ſaith, that in the time of rebellion in Devonſhire and Cornwall, threatening to come into Wales, he teaching the people the true form of prayer, according to God's holy word, and declaring the prayer upon beads to be vain and ſuperſtitious, yet durſt not, for fear of tumult forcibly take from any man his beads, without authority. And touching the not reproving of ſuch as he ſhould meet wearing beads, he remembereth not that he hath ſo done, unleſs it were in the rebellion time, at which time he durſt not rebuke ſuch offenders.

23. To the 23d he ſaith, that he being in the pulpit, his face towards the people, did not ſee the lights, if any were ſet up about the corpſe behind his back, till after that he came down from the pulpit. But he, with George Conſtantine and the aforeſaid chaunter, ſitting in the church in Carmarthen to hear cauſes, and ſeeing the vicar with other prieſts, with ſong and lights, bringing a corpſe up to the church, called forthwith the vicar and prieſts, and rebuked them in open court, as cormorants and ravens, flying about the dead carcaſe for lucre ſake.

24. To the 24th he ſaith, that he cauſed the one child, being born with great peril of death to the mother, and itſelf lying for dead a certain ſpace after, to be chriſtened on the working-day; the other child was chriſtened on the working-day, becauſe both father and mother, and all other people there, were in peril of death by reaſon of the ſudden ſweat, which all men feared at that time. And touching the reſt of the accuſation, which is, that by that example it is uſed after the old accuſtomed faſhion, he knoweth no ſuch thing.

To the title of covetouſneſs, he ſaith; his doings prove the contrary, as his neighbours know.

25. And the 25th article he utterly denieth.

26. To the 26th he ſaith, That his hall at Aberguily being ruinous, he uſeth for his hall a great chamber adjoining, for himſelf and his ſervants, and all manner of ſtrangers, and beſides twenty perſons in houſe daily. What other hoſpitality he keepeth, honeſt neighbours can teſtify.

27. To the 27th he ſaith, that his talk is according to his hearers, that is to ſay, reverently and truly of faith, love, and honeſt life, according to the ſcripture, to like auditors; and to other unreverend and raſh turmoilers of ſcriptures and holy doctrine, he doth talk of honeſt worldly things with good intent; and that he doth not moſt commonly talk of ſuch things as are expreſſed in this article, but when he hath honeſt occaſion ſo to do.

28. The 28th he ſaith is untrue, and that he hath warned no man out of their lands; but where he is deſtitute of neceſſary proviſion, and would have part of his own demain from certain freeholders, having it only from year to year at pleaſure, he cannot obtain it without brawling. Wherefore he ſuffereth them to keep it even yet ſtill, againſt right and reaſon. And touching the reſt, that he had rather the crows ſhould eat it, &c. he never ſpake any ſuch word.

29. To the 29th he ſaith, that whereas his predeceſſor biſhop Barlow did let to farm the iſle of Ramſey to one William Brown, after whoſe hands this defendant received it into his own poſſeſſion, the vicars of St. David's being diſpoſſeſſed of it long before; he did let it over to Stephen Green for forty ſhillings the ground, as it was before, and three pounds more for feals, coneys, and fowls there; and he knoweth of no right the vicars choral had therein, who did refuſe when this defendant did diligently upon reaſonable conditions offer the ſame unto them; and this defendant made no promiſe unto them, as is contained in the article.

30. To the 30th he ſaith, he knoweth not but that he advertiſed his bailiff to warn the freeholders, and others having his demain in rent, during pleaſure, to leave it a lawful day to this defendant's neceſſary uſe; and did not cauſe the curate to do as is contained in the article to his remembrance.

31. To the 31ſt he ſaith, that he knoweth not what the prieſt bade in the church, nor how many ploughs there came, undeſired of this defendant. But he knoweth certainly, that he deſired no man's labour but for his money.

32. To the 32d he ſaith, that he knoweth not any ſuch appointment of ſchools and revenues there, but he found there (after the departing of biſhop Barlow) a ſchoolmaſter, and uſher being a prieſt, and twenty ſcholars, which he hath hitherto maintained better than he found it, to his knowledge: he did never convert any penny thereof to his own uſe, albeit he might lawfully have done the ſame.

33. To the 33d he ſaith, all is untrue, ſo far as he knoweth.

34. To the 34th article he ſaith, he never purchaſed more than three parcels, whereof one was two ſhillings eight pence by the year; the ſecond, three ſhillings four pence; and the third, ſix and twenty ſhillings and eight pence, or thereabouts, by the year; the reſt he denieth.

35. To the 35th he ſaith, that he never bought of Lewis John Thomas his land good cheap, but after forty years purchaſe, not knowing at that time any ſuch thing as is contained in the article againſt the ſaid Lewis John. Neither bade he the ſumner to let him alone; but as ſoon as he heard any thing of it, commanded the ſumner to cite him; and ſo he was cited in this defendant's houſe, occaſioning him to break his bargain: to the which Lewis this defendant ſaid theſe words, If you would give me your land with an houſe full of gold, I cannot, nor will I ſuffer you to keep a leman. Then the ſaid Lewis affirming the latter woman to be his wife, and the firſt unknown to this defendant, he cauſed the ſaid Lewis to be called to the conſiſtory for trial, where it hangeth yet: and alſo by lawful proceſs excommunicated the firſt woman, for that ſhe would not by any means appear in the court to claim or to confeſs marriage with the ſaid Lewis, and ſo ſhe ſtandeth this day at the point of Significabit.

36. To the 36th he ſaith, that whereas the chaunter and Rowland Meyrick, with other canons there, would not obey the king's godly injunctions, concerning the finding of a ſchool for poor men's children, a lecture of divinity, ſermons on the Sundays, repairing of their church and

and manſion houſes, decent order and miniſtration there; but ſtubbornly counted themſelves (with the chaunter) to be a body politic, without regard of the biſhop and his lawful monitions, being himſelf named in their ſhire ſtatutes, Decanus & quaſi Decanus, having alſo their deanſtall in the quire with a prebend thereunto annexed, and the chief place in the chapter-houſe, with a key of their chapter-ſeal, being alſo by the king's majeſty's commiſſion appointed their ordinary: yet would they not in any wiſe deliver unto him a book of their ſtatutes, for the better knowledge of his and their duties, nor ſhew unto him their records and monuments, for declaration of the king's right and his. For which cauſe this defendant, by writ of Quo warranto, lawfully called them to anſwer; which yet lieth aſleep, to the loſs of the king's majeſty's right. The time of delivery of the ſaid writ, he remembereth not.

37. The 37th he ſaith is all falſe, as far as he knoweth.

To the title of wilful negligence; he ſaith, that he hath uſed to his power willing diligence.

38. To the 38th he ſaith, that he being attendant (according to his bounden duty) to ſerve the king's highneſs during the time of the parliament, from the firſt unto the laſt day: then immediately after repaired into his dioceſe, and he might not truſt Rowland Meyrick the chaunter, and George Conſtantine, to execute faithfully the juriſdiction, becauſe they had before through their ſlanderous life (and not puniſhing miſdoers), left the country in great enormity of filthy whoredom. And ſaith farther, that one cauſe why he appointed not an officer, &c. was, for that he lacked his letters of authority of juriſdiction.

39 and 40. The 39th and 40th, he ſaith are untrue.

41. To the 41ſt he ſaith, that how often he did miniſter the communion he doth not remember; but in all other things, ſo far as he knoweth, he hath ſtudied to order himſelf according to his vocation; as far as he believeth, he goeth like a miniſter.

42. To the 42d he ſaith, that he hath not alienated himſelf from ſtudy, neither preached undiſcreetly, nor reported the ſcriptures untruly to his knowledge (but he hath been very much hindered both from ſtudy and preaching, by the malicious, crafty, and covetous behaviour of the forenamed perſons). And that he did ſet forth the doctrine of honeſt marriage, as well of all other men as of prieſts, even as the ſcripture then rehearſed did miniſter occaſion.

43. To the 43d he ſaith, that reciting the words of Luke, "If thy brother have offended againſt thee, blame him, and if he repent forgive him; and if he had offended againſt thee ſeven times in one day, and ſeven times in the day be converted unto thee, ſaying, I am ſorry, forgive him:" He ſaid farther theſe words in effect, It appeareth by this place of ſcripture, that we are not bound (except he repent) to forgive him; but we are bounden to pray God to forgive him, to give him grace to repent, that he may forgive him.

44. To the 44th he ſaith, that he hath preached right often at Carmarthen, as well as at other places; and, he ſaith, that a great number at Aberguily do underſtand Engliſh very well.

45. To the 45th he ſaith, That after he had preached firſt at Brecknock, Carmarthen, Swanzy, Laugharne, Tinby, Pembroke, Hereford, St. David's, Cardigan, with other notable towns; he hath ſince that time preached to a great many other poor churches, but not in Tinby nor Pembroke: but for Hereford he ſtandeth in doubt. And whereas he brought with him at the firſt a learned preacher, of godly life, the ungodly and ſtubborn behaviour of the perſons before-named wearied him away. And whereas he had waged another learned man to come into his dioceſe to preach, George Conſtantine by his diſcouragement adviſed him from this defendant.

46. To the 46th he ſaith, that in all his churches appropriated, there is both Bible and paraphraſes, ſo far as he knoweth: and if the prieſts there would not ſhew him the lack thereof, yet ſhould the officials declare it unto him, that it might be amended (by his will) without delay.

47. To the 47th he ſaith, That George Conſtantine covetouſly ingroſſed into his hands a great number of paraphraſes; and this defendant hath admoniſhed the clergy to buy every one, for his diſcharge: and if the ſaid George being official of two archdeaconries, and other officials in their office, would declare unto him what churches do lack Bibles and paraphraſes, he would cauſe it to be amended as much as in him lieth.

To the title of folly, he ſaith, that his deſire is in true ſimple manner of his words, deeds, and other honeſt behaviour, through God's grace, to ſhew godly wiſdom.

48. To the 48th he ſaith, that he thinketh no folly in the decent colour or faſhion with honeſt uſe of ſaddle, bridle, ſtirrups, ſtaff, and other like neceſſary or convenient things; and ſaith, that he uſed a ſaddle made after the Scottiſh faſhion, with ſtirrups of iron unvarniſhed and like ſpurs: and black bridle without ſtuds, the bit and ſnaffle white as other mens be.

49. To the 49th he ſaith, that when he goeth abroad in winter, he weareth a hat to bear off rain and ſnow, and in ſummer to ſhadow him from the ſun, without any vow of ſuperſtition or offence to the people.

50. To the 50th he ſaith, that all is one to him, to ride or walk, as cauſe requireth; and whether he ſaid as is contained in the article or not, he remembereth not. Howbeit he doth uſe to go a-foot.

51. To the 51ſt he ſaith, that after lawful prayer it pleaſed God to give him a ſon begotten and born in honeſt marriage; whom he therefore cauſed to be named Samuel, preſenting him to the miniſter to be received into Chriſt's church as a poor member of Chriſt: by the holy ſacrament of baptiſm was this done openly in the cathedral church, with earneſt gravity, and without offending any man; and alſo two wives, being before at variance, deſired both to be Godmothers, which were both received to make unity between them, not knowing any law to the contrary, nor any offence thereby conceived of the people.

52. To the 52d he ſaith, that he doth uſe with gravity all honeſt loving entertainment of his child, to encourage him hereafter willingly at his father's mouth, to receive wholeſom doctrine of the true fear and love of God; and ſaith, that he hath whiſtled to his child, but ſaid not that the child underſtood it, and that he anſwered to one that found fault with it, as is contained in the article.

53. To the 53d he ſaith, that he was never ſurveyor, but went to ſee Milford Haven for honeſt purpoſe, and not to ſurvey it; and for that he at the ſight of a ſeal whiſtled in his fiſt, ſuch as meant folly might turn it to their purpoſe. And it is not true that he ſtood whiſtling an hour to the fiſh, nor that any fault was found with it, nor any ſuch anſwer made by him to his knowledge.

54. To the 54th he ſaith, that if he did ſay, the deſtroying of the fry hindereth plenty of fiſh, he thinketh the ſame not againſt reaſon: but he remembereth not to have ſaid, as is contained in the article.

55. To the 55th he ſaith, that he remembereth not that ever he ſaid as they alledge.

56. To the ſlanderous, untrue, and ungodly concluſion he ſaith, that George Conſtantine with other his adverſaries before-named, and their adherents, not regarding the fear of God, and their bounden duty of loving obedience towards God and the king, and his true miniſters, have too much ſlanderouſly with falſe tongues, contumelious words, and ſpiteful deeds, laboured by all means to diſcredit and deface the king's gracious authority to him committed. Who, ever ſince he came to the dioceſe, hath endeavoured himſelf to ſhew his faith-

ful

ful miniſtry by his true honeſt doing, and to uſe his authority according to his vocation, to God's glory and the king's honour. And that he hath been diligent in teaching of truth, reforming of ſuperſtition, free of hoſpitality, diligent in overſeeing with godly wiſdom, peace, and mercifulneſs, as he truſteth in God, may be truly approved. And he is able juſtly to charge his adverſaries with all faults herein by them moſt unjuſtly and ſlanderouſly againſt him objected. And he doth marvel greatly, that George Conſtantine, with other his adherents, are not aſhamed maliciouſly to object (for the intent to ſlander him) moleſting of preachers found there. For truth it is that he hath moleſted none, but hath juſtly brought under Significabit, one Morice, a preacher living lewdly, for his ſtubborn behaviour and malicious contempts, even yet continuing in his wilful contempt and irregularity. And he hath (to his knowledge) juſtly certified Hugh Rawlins, parſon of Tinby, for his wilful recuſancy of two other parſonages, ſhamefully deceiving the king's majeſty by colour of commiſſion, as appeareth by the ſame. And as for the railing, contemptuous preaching of Rowland Meyrick, and the unlearned arrogant preaching of the chaunter, he referreth to diſcreet hearers, which were offended thereat, as they ſhewed this defendant. And this deponent brought into his dioceſe both learned preachers, and learned men in the law, to his very great charges, which men George Conſtantine with his adherents hath wearied away.

After theſe anſwers were exhibited by the virtuous and good biſhop againſt the quarrelling and frivolous articles of his aforeſaid adverſaries, Hugh Rawlins and Thomas Lee: then came in for witneſs, upon the ſaid articles and informations, George Conſtantine, and the chaunter of St. David's: againſt whom the biſhop firſt laid exceptions, then alſo exhibited matter juſtificatory, the tenor and proceſs whereof here followeth.

General exceptions, laid and propoſed on the behalf of Robert Biſhop of St. David's, againſt all and ſingular the pretended witneſſes, produced on the behalf of Hugh Rawlins clerk, and Thomas Lee, upon their untrue ſurmiſed articles by them exhibited unto and before the king's moſt honourable council, by the device and procurement of the chaunter, and George Conſtantine, with Rowland Meyrick clerk, againſt the ſaid biſhop.

FIRST, the ſaid biſhop ſaith and alledgeth, that by law there ought no faith or credence to be given unto the depoſitions and ſayings of the ſaid witneſſes, or any part thereof, becauſe they are infamous, falſe, perjured, and in ſome part of their depoſitions diſcording, partial, conducted, ſubornate, inſtructed, and for favour of the informers and their bolſterers, have depoſed of malice more than the articles whereupon they were producted to contain; and beſide, and without the compaſs of the ſame articles, and in divers other parts of their depoſitions, they depoſe Unum & eundem præmeditatum ſermonem, as by their ſaid depoſitions doth appear, unto which the ſaid biſhop referreth himſelf as much as it ſhall be expedient for him, and none otherwiſe. And further for other cauſes particularly and ſpecially, as is declared in the book of exceptions.

Exceptions againſt the unlawful proceedings of Hugh Rawlins clerk, and Thomas Lee, promoters of the aforeſaid untrue articles, in executing of their commiſſion for proof of the ſame.

ITEM, The ſaid Thomas Lee for himſelf and the other promoter did contrary to juſtice, at the execution of their commiſſion, examine certain of the witneſſes himſelf, in the houſe of his brother-in-law George Conſtantine; and the ſaid Lee, and David Walter the biſhop's mortal enemy, and ſervant to the ſaid George Conſtantine, did write theſe depoſitions upon the articles at their own pleaſures, and alſo after the device of the ſaid George Conſtantine, and the chaunter and Rowland Meyrick, the biſhop's mortal enemies, and the very deviſers and procurers of the informations, and bolſterers and bearers of the promoters in ſuit thereof. Theſe are the names of the witneſſes ſo examined, which are already known: David ap Sir Richard of Gettus, a perjured and an adulterous perſon, ſtanding in the number for two witneſſes, written in two places of the book.

Item, Ap Ruddz of Kennarthe, Griffith ap Howel, Guyne of Kennarthe, Lewis David clerk, David ap Harvey clerk, Sir Gough alias Morgan, &c.

Item, One John Draper of Carmarthen, and an adherent of the aforeſaid adverſaries and enemies to the ſaid biſhop, did alſo, contrary to the tenor of their commiſſion, examine certain witneſſes, and had to his clerk one William Davids, ſervant in livery unto the aforeſaid Griffith Donne, the biſhop's utter enemy: by which ſhameful partiality, they have written more matter, more words, other terms and ſentences, than ſome of the deponents have depoſed or could depoſe. Humphry Toy the 5th deponent, Rice Gough the 14th deponent, William ap Jenkins the 50th deponent, John Bengy the 48th deponent, Richard parſon the 39th, which are already known what manner of men the promoters are.

Item, The ſaid Hugh Rawlins was not preſent at the biſhop's ſermon, whereof his information maketh mention, neither yet at their cutting off the commiſſion for the proof thereof: for the aforeſaid adverſaries did deviſe the ſame and gave it unto the ſaid Rawlins to promote, chuſing him for the ſame purpoſe, knowing him to be a man willing (and ſetting his whole delight) to work miſchief, both with word and deed, who abuſeth his tongue moſt ſhamefully, with moſt unfitting words, ever railing upon the ſaid biſhop to every man that will hear him, without either reſpect or reverence of the king's majeſty's authority to the ſaid biſhop committed. And the ſaid Rawlins hath four or five benefices, about the value of 200 marks a year, and is reſident upon none of them, but ſpendeth his living to the hindrance of other men, going about here and there, wandering to and fro without either man or boy waiting on him, more like a light perſon, than a man of ſuch livelihood and of his vocation, being a preacher. And indeed he is taken for a lewd fellow by all that know his behaviour; inſomuch that when a certain man objected unto the adverſaries, That it was ill done to put ſo lewd a fellow as Rawlins to promote their cauſe: they anſwered and reported his honeſty with theſe words, We know Rawlins to be a very knave, and none ſo fit to ſet forward ſuch a matter as he is; of which report there is a ſufficient witneſs. And it is thought that he hath done much ill with his ſpiteful tongue: for he ſpeaketh as boldly in this ſurmiſed matter to all the council, as though it were true, and much for the king's profit.

Item, The other promoter Thomas Lee is a merchant, who hath ſold his ware and ſpent his money, and now for want of other buſineſs is become a promoter of the aforeſaid articles, having his coſts and charges borne by the ſaid principal adverſaries as it is alledged in the biſhop's exceptions, which ſhall be proved, if commiſſion, might be awarded for the purpoſe.

And thus much concerning the exceptions againſt his pretended accuſers: next followeth the matter juſtificatory exhibited by the ſaid biſhop in defence of his own cauſe, as by the effect here appeareth.

Certain articles miniſtered by Robert biſhop of St. David's, againſt a ſurmiſed information exhibited by Thomas Lee, to the king's moſt honourable council againſt the ſaid biſhop.

IMprimis, That no advantage ought to be taken againſt the ſaid biſhop, of the contents of the ſaid pretended information, for the cauſes particularly following. And firſt,

firſt, whereas it is objected againſt the ſaid biſhop, in the 1ſt, 2d, and 5th articles of the ſame information, that he, contrary to the king's highneſs's laws and ſtatutes, and in the derogation of his highneſs's ſupremacy, paſſed a certain commiſſion, inſtitutions, and collations to benefices, in his own name, making no mention of the king's highneſs's authority; whereas in truth the ſaid biſhop, if he had paſſed out the commiſſion, inſtitutions and collations in his own name, and without the king's majeſty's ſtile, as is ſurmiſed (as he did not), yet had he offended neither the laws nor ſtatutes of this realm, as doth and may appear evidently in the ſame ſtatutes and laws, to which he referreth himſelf.

Item, Whereas it is deduced in the third article of the ſaid pretended information, that the chancellor of the ſaid biſhop did admit and inſtitute J. Gough into the rectory of Haſkard, and gave a mandate for the induction of the ſaid John, under the king's majeſty's ſeal eccleſiaſtical, for the dioceſe of St. David's, with the Teſte of the ſaid biſhop, and ſubſcription of the ſaid chancellor; which thing ſo deduced, if it be true, yet the ſaid biſhop cannot be worthily blamed thereof. But the chaunter (then his chancellor unworthy) ſhewed himſelf therein very ignorant of the king's ſtatutes of parliament, wherein it is expreſly provided, that in ſuch caſes the ordinary ought to paſs all ſuch inſtitutions and inductions in his own name, and under his own ſeal, and not in the king's majeſty's name, nor under his ſeal. And further, of a very truth, the ſaid chancellor, in admitting and inſtituting the ſaid clerk to the ſaid benefice, without the knowledge and conſent of the ſaid biſhop, did exceed his commiſſion, foraſmuch as the ſaid biſhop, at the granting of his commiſſion of his chancellorſhip unto the ſaid chaunter, had reſtrained him expreſly from the admitting and inſtituting of any clerk to any benefice within the ſaid dioceſe, except the ſame clerk were firſt examined, found worthy, and admitted by the ſaid biſhop himſelf to the ſame benefice.

Item, Whereas in the fourth article of the ſaid information it is contained, the ſaid biſhop, after the admitting and inſtituting of the ſaid John Gough, as is aforeſaid, objected articles againſt him, amongſt which it was contained in effect: Item Interrogatur quo titulo tenet Rectoriam de Haſkard. True it is that the ſaid biſhop, without moleſtation of the ſaid Gough, otherwiſe than law did permit, and without taking upon him the cognition of the title of the ſaid fruits and patronage of the ſaid benefice, in contempt of the king's majeſty's regal crown and dignity, and without any derogation of the king's majeſty's laws and ſtatutes of this realm, did interrogate the ſaid John Gough, how he held the ſame benefice, being admitted and inſtituted to the ſame without his knowledge or conſent, as he might lawfully do, and as it is meet every ordinary ſhould know how paſtors are admitted to any cure within their dioceſe.

Item, Touching the contents of the ſixth article of the ſaid information, the ſaid biſhop alledgeth that the vicarage of Penbrin, in the dioceſe of St. David's, being void, he as patron thereof, to his knowledge, conferred it to John Evans clerk, with letters of inſtitution and induction; and afterwards, when the king's preſentation came to him for one David Jenkin clerk, he deſired fourteen days reſpite at that day either to ſhew ancient record for his right, and then the matter to ſtand to the determination of the law, or elſe if he ſhewed not, both he and his clerk to give place to the king's clerk: which condition was by Sir Thomas Jones knight, Dr. Meyrick, and the ſaid David Jenkin received: and an inſtitution with an induction was made conditionally, to be put into the hands of Sir Thomas Jones knight, for ſafe cuſtody for the king's clerk his behoof, after 14 days to be executed at the hands of the ſaid biſhop, if he failed to ſhew; within which time the biſhop did ſhew him an old ancient record, declaring the full right of patronage on the ſaid biſhop's behalf, and ſo that inſtitution and induction was never put in execution by the ſaid biſhop.

Nevertheleſs the ſaid David Jenkin (contrary to his promiſe and oath, giving thereupon his right hand to Sir Thomas Jones knight) took advantage by the ſaid writing without knowledge of the ſaid biſhop; after which time the lord chancellor, by his letters written to the ſaid biſhop, advertiſed him to admit one John ap Howel clerk, preſented by virtue of a vowſon, which the lord chancellor adjudged to be good, and ſo to be admitted, notwithſtanding his former preſentation, whereby he would not abar the other man's right. And ſo the ſaid biſhop made one collation, two inſtitutions, and three mandates, doing no wrong thereby to his knowledge. And further, there was no buſineſs nor unquietneſs about the poſſeſſion of the ſaid vicarage. But the ſaid biſhop giving place, was content to loſe his right for that time.

Item, Whereas Sir Thomas Jones advertiſed the ſaid biſhop, that Thomas Prichard clerk had celebrated matrimony in a private houſe, betwixt a certain prieſt and a woman whoſe ſiſter had refuſed the ſame (as it is deduced in the 11th article of the ſurmiſed articles laid in againſt the ſaid biſhop) the ſaid Prichard leaving his own cure unſerved that Sunday, he did put the ſaid Thomas Prichard to penance for ſuch his miſdoings, and the ſaid Prichard did ſuch penance as was enjoined him to do. And whereas the ſaid biſhop made the ſaid Thomas Prichard (who is bachelor of law) his commiſſary, it was for the reſpect of his learning in the law, thereby faithfully to execute his office, according to juſtice, and none otherwiſe.

Item, In the 14th article of the ſaid ſurmiſed information, it is untruly declared, that through the unlawful ſequeſtration of the fruits of the benefices of Langattock and Lanvihangel Cundy, and the undiſcreet handling of the ſaid biſhop, there were raiſed a great number of people, to the great danger of the inhabitants thereabouts. Truth it is, that the ſaid biſhop, upon good and lawful conſiderations, and ſpecially for that the king's majeſty ſhould be truly anſwered of his firſt fruits and tenths of the ſaid benefices, did lawfully (and as he was bound to do) ſequeſter the ſaid fruits in the king's majeſty's name, and by his authority, and committed the cuſtody thereof for a time unto two honeſt men, to the effect aforeſaid, and none otherwiſe, without any occaſion of tumult or gathering the people through his default or folly.

Item, Whereas it is alledged in the 19th article of the information, that the biſhop did celebrate matrimony in his own perſon, without receiving or miniſtering the communion to the perſons married, it is true, for that the ſaid biſhop had travelled fourteen long Welſh miles, and not able to celebrate the holy communion faſting, and for other reaſonable and lawful cauſes him moving, did in a chapel within the houſe of Sir Thomas Jones knight (one of the king's honourable council of the Marches of Wales) ſolemnize matrimony betwixt Mr. Griffith Rice, and the daughter of the ſaid Sir Thomas Jones, without either receiving the holy communion himſelf, or miniſtering the ſame to the perſons married, being as then not diſpoſed ſo to do it lawful and godly, without any ſuperſtitious knockings or bleſſings, or other uncomely geſtures, as is deduced in that article.

Item, Touching the contents of the reſidue of all the ſaid articles, contained in the ſaid information, the ſaid biſhop, partly for the avoiding of tediouſneſs, and partly for that ſome of them be untrue and mere falſe, ſome other general, obſcure, frivolous, vain, and of none effect, but of malice and evil-will, contrary to truth conceived, leaveth them particularly unanſwered to.

Item, The ſaid biſhop alledgeth, that he hath not by all the time that he hath been biſhop, uſed any ſuperſtitions or papiſtry, as it is untruly ſurmiſed againſt him, but hath and doth to the uttermoſt of his power, wit and

cunning, ſet forth, maintain, teach, and preach the true doctrine of the goſpel, and ſuch laudable doctrine as he ought to do by the king's laws, injunctions, and proceedings, and for ſuch a teacher he hath been and is commonly known, named, reputed, taken, and accepted notoriouſly.

And where the ſaid chaunter and George perceived their depoſitions to be inſufficient, they required, and had commiſſion into the country to examine further witneſſes, which they executed very partially and unlawfully, as is alledged in the biſhop's exceptions, abovementioned. And whereas the ſaid Rawlins and Lee were awarded two ſeveral commiſſions, they by favour of the officers, and for ſparing of coſts, conjoined both in one, and had three months to make return.

During all this time of the examination of the witneſſes, the ſaid biſhop was ſtayed at London upon the allegation of the ſaid adverſaries, which was, That if the ſaid biſhop ſhould depart into his dioceſe, he would hinder them of their proofs. And at the return of their commiſſion it was ſignified unto the council what a great number of witneſſes they had examined, viz. Six-ſcore and ſeven, which ſounded very heinous in the council's ears.

And about three weeks after, publication of their witneſſes was granted, and after that it was a fortnight ere the biſhop could get a copy written of their depoſitions, becauſe the book thereof is ſo huge and monſtrous.

Then the biſhop deſired time, firſt, to enquire of what condition the perſons were that had witneſſed againſt him, and to make exceptions and matters to juſtify direct contrary, and to have a commiſſion for the proof thereof, which was then granted. And now it is objected, That the biſhop was appointed ſo to travel with the expedition of his matter, that he ſhould have ſued out his commiſſion, and have made return thereof at All-hallow-tide; but there was no ſuch decree put in writing. And it was not poſſible for the biſhop to do it in ſo ſhort a time, theſe cauſes conſidered which he could not avoid, as followeth.

1ſt, It was the latter end of July ere he came home to St. David's, where he began his viſitation, which before was appointed.

2dly, He was by force of law conſtrained to anſwer at the bar daily, during all the time of the great ſeſſions at Carmarthen, in defence of his juſt cauſe againſt the pretended matter of Præmunire, which his adverſaries of mere malice have procured againſt him.

3dly, The ſaid adverſaries, to moleſt him further, did privily pack a queſt of ignorant perſons of no reputation, and indicted him upon the words of Rawlins's information, as appeareth by a copy of the indictment, intending thereby to make the matter ſound more heinous, notwithſtanding that the ſame cauſe dependeth before the king's high council undetermined.

4thly, He was appointed by the commiſſioners, before his departure from London, to pay 200 pound (which was arrearages) into the courts of firſt fruits and tenths, at Bartholomew-day then next following; which payment he made accordingly, notwithſtanding that his adverſaries wrought means to have made him break his day; namely, one Edward Harbert Gent. who hath a parſonage of his to farm, kept back his rent to the very laſt day, becauſe that money ſhould not help to ſerve his turn; and ſo by crafty cavillation detaineth it ſtill in his hand with a year's rent and an half more; for the ſaid Edward Harbert is an adherent of the ſaid biſhop's adverſaries.

5thly, The book of their depoſitions is ſo great, that it requireth a long time to peruſe. And alſo the greateſt part of their witneſſes were utterly unknown by the biſhop and all his; and alſo dwelling in ſo many ſundry places of the dioceſe among the mountains and elſewhere ſcarcely within the circuit of 200 miles.

Item, Another great ſeſſions held at Carmarthen in the month of October laſt, during which time he was attendant there, as is aforeſaid. All which cauſes conſidered, being alſo in the time of his ordinary viſitation, which he did execute himſelf, he could not make ready his exceptions in ſhorter time.

The ſaid biſhop diſpatched his man towards London October 23, who ever ſince hath been and is attendant in the ſame ſuit, for the obtaining the commiſſion for proof of this matter againſt his adverſaries.

A Copy of a Letter writ by Dr. Farrar.

MOST humbly ſheweth unto your honour, your poor orator Robert biſhop of St. David's, That whereas one Thomas Lee (by the procurement of Thomas Young and Rowland Meyrick, being both canons of St. David's, and George Conſtantine regiſter to the ſaid biſhop) hath exhibited unto your honour againſt him certain articles, in which are mentioned many trifling things, unworthy to be declared in your honourable audience, and alſo their pretenſed weighty articles (as they have alledged there) are utterly untrue: for proof whereof the ſaid Thomas Lee hath had his commiſſions into the country. Therefore may it pleaſe your honour of your favourable goodneſs to grant unto your ſaid orator a like commiſſion for the examination of witneſſes, in defence of his truth and honeſty againſt the ſaid Thomas Lee, George Conſtantine, and the beforenamed Rowland Meyrick, and all other perſons, with their unjuſt articles, atteſtations and ſayings, who have depoſed againſt him, And in tender conſideration that your ſaid orator ſtandeth bounden and ſureties with him, in the ſum of one thouſand marks, to appear before the king's juſtice in the ſeſſions at Carmarthen in July next coming, to anſwer to a forged matter of Præmunire, by the procurement and counſel of his forenamed adverſaries, maliciouſly ſurmiſed againſt him to his utter undoing. And furthermore, your orator being in debt to the king's majeſty, by reaſon of the malicious vexation of his aforeſaid adverſaries, cannot (if he remains here) ſatisfy the ſame: for whereas there be arrearages to a great ſum (as well of the king's money as of his own rents), he can receive none thereof, his adverſaries have made ſuch ill report to his diſcredit, bearing the people in hand that he ſhall come no more thither. By reaſon of which report, neither his own tenants will pay their rents and arrearages, nor the prieſts their arrearages due to the king's majeſty, as well for the ſecond and third year, as for the fourth and fifth. In conſideration of all which things, may it pleaſe your honourable goodneſs to licenſe your ſaid orator to depart into the dioceſe, for theſe and other affairs. And he is ready at all times at your honourable commandment and pleaſure, to repair again, and ever to pray to the Lord Jeſus for the perpetual conſervation of your honour, to his glory.

Another Letter written by Dr. Farrar.

RIGHT honourable, and my very ſpecial good lord with humble ſervice and hearty thanks to God, and to you for your godly favour towards me at all times, as right plainly appeareth by your fatherly letters, moſt lovingly to admoniſh me to incline unto that which is very neceſſary, as charitable concord and unity; this is, further to beſeech your lordſhip for the Lord's ſake not to be grieved, but benignly to hear, and gravely to ponder that weighty matter, which, appearing (to other) but a light grief to me, is in very deed a right grievous offence to God, with no little hindrance of his holy word, and diſturbance of the king's pious proceedings, and may be a great occaſion of much inobedience and diſorder of good life. Wherefore I am ſtraitly bounden for the true zeal

zeal I ought to bear unto God's word of life, chriſtian religion, the king's majeſty's honour, and godly quiet ſtate of his people, not faintly to let fall the burthen of diligent redreſs to be ſought at his majeſty's hands by the wiſdom of his moſt honourable and upright council, but with hearty affection to bear it up againſt thoſe high-minded, arrogant, ſtubborn, ambitious, covetous canons, truſting in their biting tongues, with crafty prevention, and utterly untrue ſurmiſes, to ſtop the light, that their ungodly miſdoing in darkneſs ſhall either not be ſeen, or at the leaſt may ſeem to appear in colourable appearance of right. Inſomuch that I do not a little marvel at theſe qualities in Mr. Chaunter, the canon, and the dean of Worceſter, whoſe ungentle and untrue behaviour I have not only known, but expertly proved, and ſenſibly felt in two of the firſt to my great loſſes, whereof I make no complaint. But I wonder in my mind, and lament in my heart, the ſtrange alteration and wilful going back of my old faithful brother George Conſtantine, which (knowing them all three to have been in times paſt either obſtinate enemies to the true bearers of the croſs of Chriſt, or at leaſt private lurkers under pretence of favour towards the goſpel, to ſting the poor followers thereof, ſeeking but their own lucre and pleaſure in all their doings) would ſo earneſtly cleave unto them in their wrongdeeds, as to betray me with his tongue, become untrue of his promiſe, and a bearer of filthy ſin for lucre's ſake, even yet ſtill perſiſting in the ſame, namely, in things manifeſtly known unto many, although he would deny it, and that I might not be credited. And as for their Præmunire, both George and they at my firſt coming, ungently detaining from Mr. Farlee his commiſſion for the chancellorſhip, would have faced me down with Præmunire, becauſe it was written in my own name according to the ſtatute: yet was I fain for the zeal of unity, not to ſee their uncourteous deeds, departing with Mr. Farlee for the avoiding of their malice and envy; and gave that office, for the amity of George, unto Mr. Chaunter his ſon-in-law, and to Mr. Meyrick the office of Cardigan. But ſeeing afterward their covetous reſpect to their own glory and lucre, not regarding the reformation of ſin, and eſpecially of ſhameleſs whoredom, I was compelled to remove them ſore againſt their wills: and whereas I deſired many and ſundry times charitable redreſs of their wrong doings in the vacation time, I obtained many fair words, and nothing in deed. Alſo deſiring to have ſight of the book of ſtatutes of the church, for the knowledge of my duty and theirs, I could not obtain it. Deſiring to have a key of the chapter ſeal, as my lord of Bath had, they would not deliver it, but upon conditions; yet was I content to be bridled, receiving it as pleaſed them to give it. And further, requiring the ſight of neceſſary evidences, for the declaration of divers things in traverſe of my right, they would in no wiſe grant it. And thereupon conſidering their ungentleneſs, I moved the Quo warranto, knowing right well, that if they ſhould ſhew any ſubſtantial grant under the king's ſeal for their corporation, it muſt therein appear the biſhop to be the head, and ever hath been under the king; for other they never have, nor had, except they would return to Rome again, as I truſt they will not. And yet perceiving afterward that they had no ſpecial grant to ſhew, or elſe ſuch as they would not ſhew, I myſelf for the reſpect of unity wrote my letters to the king's attorney, by reaſon whereof the Quo warranto was ſtayed, and ſo yet remaineth.

But touching the certificate, the king's ſubſidy being due at Michaelmaſs laſt, and forborne till after Chriſtmaſs, and lawfully demanded before they did utterly refuſe to pay both to my vice-collector and to myſelf, except I would take it of them in portions, not knowing where to aſk the reſt, and it is committed to me in the king's roll a whole ſum in groſs, to be received of the canons reſidentiaries for their dividend: who becauſe they cannot agree in dividing, would have the king's majeſty to tarry for his money, till they can agree to make diviſion; and I cannot demand it of any particular perſon, nor at any particular place.

Wherefore I moſt humbly beſeech your fatherly goodneſs, for the Lord's ſake, to perſiſt and continue my good lord and friend until ſuch time as ye find me either deſiring to be defended in my wrong, or not willing to put the judgment of my right cauſe into your hands. And becauſe that the reſidue of matters touching them and their ungentle, untrue, and ungodly doings is too long, and I have moleſted you too much with this my tedious letter, I ſhall now ceaſe; humbly beſeeching your good lordſhip to accept in good part this my boldneſs proceeding of neceſſity, and to pardon it for the love of our Lord Jeſus, who ſave and keep you in health, comfort, and honour long to endure, for the advancement of his glory. Written at Aberguily this ninth of March.

Your lordſhip's to command during life,

R. F.

And thus you have heard the firſt trouble of this good biſhop in king Edward's days, with the whole diſcourſe thereof; which we thought the rather to expreſs here, to give other biſhops warning to be more circumſpect, whom they ſhould truſt and have about them. Briefly; in few words to conclude this proceſs, biſhop Farrar, partly upon the importunate ſuit of his adverſaries, partly upon the ſiniſter and unfortunate fall of the good duke of Somerſet, by whom he had been before promoted and maintained, having but ſmall favour ſhewed, was detained in priſon till the death of king Edward, and the coming in of queen Mary and the popiſh religion, whereby a new trouble roſe upon him, being now accuſed and examined for his faith and doctrine. The proceſs of which his trouble here likewiſe followeth.

After that the aforeſaid Mr. Farrar biſhop of St. David's had been long detained in cuſtody under ſureties, in the reign of king Edward, not for any juſt cauſe for his part deſerved, but by reaſon that he had been promoted by the duke of Somerſet, and now after his fall he found fewer friends to ſupport him againſt ſuch as haunted after his biſhoprick; at length after the deceaſe of king Edward, by the coming in of queen Mary, the ſtate of religion began to be changed and altered: whereby a new trouble roſe upon him, being now accuſed and examined, not for any matter of Præmunire, but for his faith and doctrine. Whereupon he was called before the biſhop of Wincheſter, with Mr. Hooper, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Bradford, Mr. Saunders, and others, the fourth of February. On which day he ſhould alſo with them have been condemned; but becauſe leiſure did not ſo well then ſerve the biſhop, his condemnation was deferred, and he ſent to priſon again, where he continued till February 14. What his examinations and anſwers were before the ſaid biſhop of Wincheſter, ſo much as remained and came to our hands, I have here annexed.

The Anſwer of Robert Farrar Biſhop of St. David's, before the Biſhop of Wincheſter and others.

AT his firſt coming and kneeling before my lord chancellor, the biſhop of Durham, and the biſhop of Worceſter, who ſat at the table; and Mr. Rocheſter, Mr. Southwel, Mr. Bourne, and others ſtanding at the table's end, the lord chancellor ſaid unto him on this ſort:

Wincheſter. Now, Sir, have you heard how the world goeth here?

Farrar. If it like your honour, I know not.

Winch. What ſay you? do you not know things abroad, notwithſtanding you are a priſoner?

Far. No, my lord, I know not.

Winch. Lo, what a froward fellow is this?

Far. If it pleaſe your lordſhip, how ſhould I know any thing abroad, being a priſoner?

Winch.

Winch. Have you not heard of the coming in of the lord cardinal?

Far. I know not my lord cardinal; but I heard that a cardinal was come in, but I did not believe it, and I believe it not yet.

I pray your lordſhip (ſaid the biſhop of Worceſter) tell him yourſelf, that he may know what is done.

Winch. The queen's majeſty and the parliament hath reſtored religion into the ſame ſtate it was in at the beginning of the reign of king Henry VIII. Ye are in the queen's debt, and her majeſty will be good unto you, if you will return to the catholic church.

Far. In what ſtate I am concerning my debts to the queen's majeſty in the court of exchequer, my lord treaſurer knoweth: and the laſt time that I was before your honour, and the firſt time alſo, I ſhewed you that I had made an oath, never to conſent nor agree, that the biſhop of Rome ſhould have any power or juriſdiction within this realm: and further I need not rehearſe to your lordſhip, you know it well enough.

You were once abjured for hereſy (ſaid Mr. Bourne) in Oxford.

Far. That was I not.

Bourne. You were.

Far. I was never, it is not true.

Bourne. You went from St. David's to Scotland.

Far. That I did not.

Bourne. You did.

Far. That did I never, but I went from York into Scotland.

Bourne. Ah, ſo ſaid I; you went with Barlow.

Far. That is true, but never from St. David's.

Bourne. You carried books out of Oxford, to the archbiſhop of York, L. Lee.

Far. That I did not.

Bourne. You did.

Far. I did not, but I carried old books from S. Oſwald's to the archbiſhop of York.

Bourne. You ſupplanted your maſter.

Far. That did I never in my life.

Bourne. By my faith you did.

Far. Forſooth, I did not, never in my life, but did ſhield and ſave my maſter from danger, and that I obtained of king Henry the eighth, for my true ſervice, I thank God therefore.

My lord (ſaid Mr. Bourne to my lord chanceller) he hath an ill name in Wales as ever had any.

Far. That is not ſo. Whoſoever ſaith ſo, they ſhall never be able to prove it.

Bourne. He hath deceived the queen in divers ſums of money.

Far. That is utterly untrue, I never deceived king nor queen of one penny in my life, and you ſhall never be able to prove that you ſay.

Winch. Thou art a falſe knave.

Then biſhop Farrar ſtood up unbidden (for all that while he kneeled) and ſaid, No, my lord, I am a true man, I thank God for it. I was born under king Henry the ſeventh, I ſerved king Henry the eighth, and King Edward the ſixth truly, and have ſerved the queen's majeſty, that now is, truly with my poor heart and word: more I could not do, and I was never falſe, nor ſhall be by the grace of God.

Winch. How ſay'ſt thou, wilt thou be reformable?

Far. My lord, if it pleaſe your honour, I have made an oath to God, and to king Henry the eighth, and alſo to king Edward, and in that to the queen's majeſty, which I can never break while I live, to die for it.

Durham. You have made another oath before.

Far. No, my lord, I never made another oath before.

Durham. You made a vow.

Far. That did I not.

Winch. You made a profeſſion to live without a wife.

Far. No, my lord, if it pleaſe your honour, that did I never; I made a profeſſion to live chaſte, not without a wife.

Worceſt. You were ſworn to him that was maſter of your houſe.

Far. That was I never.

Winch. Well, you are a froward knave: we will have no more to do with you, ſeeing that you will not come; we will be ſhort with you, and that you ſhall know within this ſevennight.

Far. I am as it pleaſeth your honour to call me; but I cannot break my oath which your lordſhip yourſelf made before me, and gave in example, which confirmed my conſcience. Then I can never break that oath whilſt I live to die for it.

Durham. Well, ſaith he, he ſtandeth upon his oath: call another.

My lord chancellor then did ring a little bell, and Mr. Farrar ſaid, I pray God ſave the king and queen's majeſties long to continue in honour to God's glory and their comforts, and the comforts of the whole realm; and I pray God ſave all your honours, and ſo departed.

After theſe examinations thus ended, biſhop Farrar remained in priſon uncondemned, till the fourteenth day of February, and then was ſent down into Wales, there to receive ſentence of condemnation. Who then upon the ſix and twentieth of February, in the church of Carmarthen, being brought by Griffith Leyſon Eſq; ſheriff of the county of Carmarthen, was there perſonally preſented before Henry biſhop of St. David's, and Conſtantine the public notary: which Henry there and then diſcharged the ſaid ſheriff, and received him into his own cuſtody, further committing him to the keeping of Owen Jones, and thereupon declared unto the ſaid Mr. Farrar, the great mercy and clemency that the king and queen's highneſſes pleaſure was to be offered unto him, which he there did offer unto the ſaid Mr. Farrar; that is to ſay, That if he would ſubmit himſelf to the laws of this realm, and conform himſelf to the unity of the univerſal catholic church, he ſhould be received and pardoned: after that, ſeeing the ſaid Mr. Farrar to give no anſwer to the premiſes, the ſaid biſhop miniſtered unto him theſe articles following.

1. Firſt, Whether he believeth the marriage of prieſts lawful by the laws of God, and holy church, or no?

2. Item, Whether he believeth, that in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, after the words of conſecration duly pronounced by the prieſt, the very body and blood of Chriſt is really and ſubſtantially contained, without the ſubſtance of bread and wine?

Unto which articles the ſaid biſhop required the ſaid Mr. Farrar to anſwer upon his allegiance.

To which he ſaid, he would anſwer when he ſaw a lawful commiſſion, and would make no further anſwer at that time. Whereupon the ſaid biſhop taking no advantage upon the ſame anſwer, committed him to the ſaid keeper, to be kept in priſon until a new monition, and in the mean time to deliberate with himſelf for his further anſwer to the premiſſes.

Another Examination of Biſhop Farrar, before Henry Morgan the pretenſed Biſhop of St. David's, George Conſtantine his Regiſter, and others, the laſt of February, 1555.

MORGAN the pretenſed biſhop of St. David's ſitting as judge, miniſtered unto biſhop Farrar, there perſonally preſent before him, certain articles and interrogatories in writing: which being openly read and miniſtered unto him, the ſaid biſhop Farrar refuſed to anſwer, till he might ſee his lawful commiſſion and authority. Whereupon the aforeſaid pretenſed biſhop of St. David's did pronounce him as Contumax, and for the puniſhment of this his contumacy to be counted pro confeſſo, and ſo did pronounce him in writing. Which being

being done, he committed the ſaid biſhop to the cuſtody of Owen Jones, until Monday next, being the fourth of March, then to be brought again into the ſame place, between one and two.

Another Appearance of Dr. Farrar.

THE day and place appointed, the ſaid biſhop appearing again before the pretenſed biſhop, humbly ſubmitting himſelf as ready to anſwer to the articles and poſitions above-mentioned, gently required the copy of the articles, and a competent term to be aſſigned unto him, to anſwer for himſelf: which being granted unto him, and the Thurſday next being aſſigned unto him between one and three, to anſwer preciſely and fully; ſo he was committed again to cuſtody, as above.

Another Appearance of Dr. Farrar.

ON Thurſday, as was appointed, which was the ſeventh of March, the ſaid biſhop perſonally again appeared, where he exhibited a certain bill in writing, containing in it his anſwer unto certain articles objected and miniſtered unto him before. Then after Henry the pretenſed biſhop of St. David's offered him again the ſaid articles as before: the tenor whereof tendeth to this effect.

Firſt, That he willed him being a prieſt to renounce matrimony.

Secondly, To grant the natural preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, under the forms of bread and wine.

Thirdly, That the maſs is a propitiatory ſacrifice for the quick and the dead.

Fourthly, That general councils lawfully congregated never did, nor can err.

Fifthly, That men are not juſtified before God by faith only, but that hope and charity are alſo neceſſarily required to juſtification.

Sixthly, That the catholic church which only hath authority to expound ſcriptures, and to define controverſies of religion; and to ordain things appertaining to public diſcipline, is viſible, and like unto a city ſet upon a mountain for all men to underſtand.

To theſe articles thus objected to him, he refuſed to ſubſcribe, affirming that they were invented by man, and pertain nothing to the catholic faith. After this, the biſhop above named delivered unto him the copy of the articles, aſſigning him Monday next following, to anſwer and ſubſcribe to the ſame either affirmatively or negatively.

Another Appearance of Dr. Farrar.

UPON which Monday, March 11. he appearing again before the biſhop, and the aforeſaid notary George Conſtantine, exhibited in a written paper his mind and anſwer to the aforeſaid articles, which the biſhop had twice now objected againſt him before, to which articles and anſwers he did ſo ſubſcribe, adding theſe words, as Tenens ſe de æquitate & juſtitia eſſe Epiſcopum Menevenſem, that the biſhop aſſigned the next Wedneſday, in the forenoon, to hear his final and definitive ſentence.

The laſt Appearance of Dr. Farrar.

ON which day and place the ſaid biſhop Dr. Farrar, perſonally there appearing, was demanded by Henry the pretenſed biſhop of St. David's, whether he would renounce and recant his hereſies, ſchiſms, and errors (as he called them) which hitherto he had maintained, and if he would ſubſcribe to the catholic articles, otherwiſe than he had done before.

After this the ſaid biſhop, Dr. Farrar, did exhibit a certain ſchedule written in Engliſh, and remaining in the acts; appealing withal by expreſs word of mouth from the biſhop, as from an incompetent judge, to cardinal Poole, &c.

Notwithſtanding all which, the ſaid biſhop, proceeding in his rage, pronounced the definitive ſentence againſt him contained in writing, and there left in the acts: by which ſentence he pronounced him as an heretic excommunicate, and to be given up forthwith to the ſecular power, namely, to Mr. Leyſon ſheriff of the town of Carmarthen.

This good biſhop being condemned and degraded, was committed to the ſecular power, and not long after was brought to the place of execution in the town of Carmarthen, where he in the market place, in the ſouth-ſide of the market-croſs, the thirtieth day of March, being Saturday next before Paſſion-Sunday, moſt conſtantly ſuſtained the torments of the fire.

Concerning whoſe conſtancy, this is moreover to be added, that one Richard Jones, a knight's ſon, coming to Dr. Farrar a little before his death, ſeemed to lament the painfulneſs of the death he had to ſuffer; unto whom the biſhop anſwered again to this effect, ſaying, That if he ſaw him once to ſtir in the pains of his burning, he ſhould then give no credit to his doctrine. And as he ſaid, ſo he right well performed the ſame; for ſo patiently he ſtood, that he never moved, till one Richard Gravell with a ſtaff daſhed him upon the head and ſo ſtruck him down.

The Hiſtory of Rawlins White, burned at Cardiffe in Wales about the Month of March; reported by I. Dane, who was almoſt continually with him during his Trouble, unto his Death.

FOraſmuch as we have here related the hiſtory of Dr. Farrar, burned at the town of Carmarthen in Wales, I thought to adjoin and accompany with the ſame the hiſtory alſo of Rawlins White, a fiſherman, who both in the like cauſe, and in the ſame month of March, and year aforeſaid, gave his life like a valiant ſoldier of Jeſus Chriſt to Martyrdom, and was burned at Cardiffe; the proceſs of whoſe ſtory here followeth.

Rawlins White was by his calling and occupation a fiſherman, living and continuing in the ſaid trade for the ſpace of twenty years at leaſt, in the town of Cardiffe, being one of a very good name, and well accounted amongſt his neighbours. As touching his religion at firſt, it cannot otherwiſe be known, but that he was a great partaker of the ſuperſtition and idolatry that then was uſed, I mean in the reign of king Henry the eighth. But after that God of his mercy had raiſed up the light of his goſpel, through the bleſſed government of king Edward the ſixth, Rawlins White began partly to miſlike that which before he had embraced, and to have ſome good opinion of that which before by the iniquity of the time had been concealed from him: and the rather to bring this good purpoſe and intent of his to paſs, he began to be a diligent hearer, and a great ſearcher out of the truth.

Becauſe the good man was altogether unlearned, and withal very ſimple, he knew no ready way how he might ſatisfy his great deſire. At length it came in his mind to take a ſpecial remedy to ſupply his neceſſity, which was this: He had a little boy which was his own ſon, which child he ſet to ſchool to learn to read Engliſh; now after the little boy could read indifferently well, his father every night after ſupper, ſummer and winter, would have the boy to read part of the holy ſcripture, and now and then of ſome other good book. In which kind of virtuous exerciſe the old man had ſuch delight and pleaſure, that, as it ſeemed, he rather practiſed himſelf in

the ſtudy of the ſcripture, than in the trade or ſcience which beforetime he had uſed: ſo that within few years in the ſaid time of king Edward, through the help of his little ſon, and through much conference beſides, profited and went forward in ſuch ſort, that he was able not only to reſolve himſelf touching his own former blindneſs and ignorance, but was alſo able to admoniſh and inſtruct others: and therefore when occaſion ſerved he would go from one place to another viſiting ſuch as he had beſt hope in. By which his doing he became in that country, both a notable and open profeſſor of the truth, being at all times and in all ſuch places, not without the company of his little boy, whom (as I have ſaid) he uſed as an aſſiſtant to this good purpoſe. And to this his great induſtry and endeavour in the holy ſcripture, God did alſo add in him a ſingular gift of memory, ſo that by the benefit thereof he would and could do that in vouching and rehearſing of the text, which men of riper and more profound knowledge, by their notes and other helps of memory, could very hardly accompliſh. Inſomuch that he, upon the alledging of ſcripture, very often would cite the book, the leaf, yea and the very ſentence; ſuch was the wonderful working of God in this ſimple and unlearned man.

Now when he had thus continued in his profeſſion the ſpace of five years, king Edward died, upon whoſe deceaſe queen Mary ſucceeded, and with her all kind of ſuperſtition crept in. Which thing being once perceived, Rawlins White did not altogether uſe open inſtruction and admonition (as before he was wont) and therefore oftentimes in ſome private place or other he would call his truſty friends together, and with earneſt prayer and great lamentation paſs away the time, ſo that by his virtuous inſtructions, being without any blemiſh of error, he converted a great number, which number (no doubt) had greatly increaſed, had not the cruel ſtorm of perſecution been. The extremity and force whereof at laſt ſo purſued this good man, that he looked every hour to go to priſon; whereupon many of thoſe who had received comfort by his inſtructions, did reſort unto him, and by all means poſſible began to perſuade him to ſhift for himſelf, and to diſpoſe his goods by ſome reaſonable order to the uſe of his wife and children, and by that means he ſhould eſcape that danger, which was imminent over his head.

But Rawlins, nothing abaſhed for his own part through the iniquity of the time, and nothing at all moved with theſe their perſuaſions, thanked them moſt heartily for their good will, and told them plainly that he had learned one good leſſon touching the confeſſion and denial of Chriſt; advertiſing them, that if he upon their perſuaſions ſhould preſume to deny his maſter Chriſt, Chriſt in the laſt day would deny and utterly condemn him: and therefore (ſaid he) I will, by his grace, confeſs and bear witneſs of him before men, that I may find him in everlaſting life.

Notwithſtanding which anſwer, his friends were very importunate with him. Howbeit he continued ſtill in his good purpoſe ſo long, till at laſt he was taken by the officers of the town, as a man ſuſpected of hereſy; upon which apprehenſion he was convented before the biſhop of Landaffe that then was, the ſaid biſhop lying then at his houſe near Chepſtow: by whom after divers combats and conflicts with him and his chaplains, this good father Rawlins White was committed to priſon in Chepſtow. But this his keeping, whether it were by the biſhop's means, becauſe he would rid his hands of him, or through the favour of his keeper, was not ſo ſevere and extreme, but that (if he had ſo pleaſed) he might have eſcaped oftentimes.

But at laſt he was removed by the aforenamed biſhop from Chepſtow to the caſtle of Cardiffe, where he continued for the ſpace of one whole year: duting which time, this reporter reſorted to him very often, with money and other relief from this reporter's mother (who was a great favourer of thoſe that were in affliction in thoſe days) and others of his friends: which he received not without great thanks and praiſes given to the name of God. And albeit that he was thus troubled and impriſoned as ye have heard, to his own undoing in this world, and to the utter decay of his poor wife and children; yet was his heart ſo ſet to the inſtruction and furtherance of others in the way of ſalvation, that he was never in quiet, but when he was perſuading or exhorting ſuch of his familiar friends, as commonly came unto him. Inſomuch that on Sundays and other times of leiſure, when his friends came to viſit him, he would paſs away the time in prayer and exhortations, admoniſhing them always to beware of falſe prophets which come in ſheeps clothing.

Now when he had continued in Cardiffe caſtle for the ſpace of one whole year (as I have ſaid) the time of his further trial was at hand. Whereupon the afore-named biſhop of Landaffe cauſed him to be brought again from the caſtle of Cardiffe unto his own houſe near Chepſtow; and whilſt he continued there, the biſhop endeavoured by various means to reduce him to ſome conformity. But when they found their threatening words and flattering promiſes ineffectual, the biſhop deſired him to adviſe, and determine with himſelf, either to recant his opinions, or elſe to ſuffer the rigour of the law, and thereupon gave him a day of determination: which day being come, the biſhop with his chaplains went into his chapel, with a great number of the neighbours that had the curioſity to ſee their proceedings. When the biſhop and his retinue were placed in order, poor Rawlins White was brought before them. The biſhop (after much deliberation in addreſſing himſelf, as it ſeemed, and ſilence forewarned to the reſt that were preſent) made a long diſcourſe to him, declaring the cauſe of his being ſent for, which was, that he was a man well known to hold heretical opinions, and that by his inſtruction many were led into blind error. In the end, he exhorted him to conſider his preſent circumſtances: For (ſaid the biſhop) Rawlins, you have oftentimes ſince your firſt trouble, both here in my houſe, and elſewhere, ſuffered much for your opinions, and yet notwithſtanding ye ſeem altogether obſtinate and wilful. Now hereupon we thought good to ſend for you, to ſee if there be any conformity in you: ſo that the matter is come to this point, That if you will repent of that which you have done againſt the laws of God and the prince, we are ready to uſe favour towards you; but if we can by no means prevail upon you to reform, we are minded at this time to miniſter the law unto you, and therefore adviſe with yourſelf what you will do.

When the biſhop had ended his long tale, this good father Rawlins ſpake boldly to him, and ſaid, My lord, I thank God I am a chriſtian man, and I hold no opinions contrary to the word of God; and if I do, I deſire to be reformed out of the word of God, as a chriſtian ought to be. Many more words paſſed between the biſhop and Rawlins White, which this reporter doth not well remember. But in the end, when Rawlins would in no wiſe recant his opinions, the biſhop told him plainly, that he muſt proceed againſt him by the law, and condemn him as an heretic.

Proceed in your law in God's name, ſaid Rawlins; but for an heretic you ſhall never condemn me while the world ſtandeth. But, ſaid the biſhop to his company, before we proceed any further with him, let us pray unto God that he would ſend ſome ſpark of grace upon him (meaning Rawlins), and it may ſo chance, that God through our prayer will here turn and convert his heart. When Rawlins heard the biſhop ſay ſo; Ah, my lord, quoth he, now you deal well, and like a good biſhop, and I thank you moſt heartily for your great charity, and gentleneſs. Chriſt ſaith, "Whereas two or three be gathered together in my name, I will be in the midſt of them:" and there be more than two or three of you. Now if it be ſo that your requeſt be godly and lawful, and

and that ye pray as ye ſhould pray, without doubt God will hear you. And therefore, my lord, go to, do you pray to your God, and I will pray to my God: I know that my God will hear my prayer, and perform my deſire.

By and by the biſhop with his company went to prayers. And Rawlins, turning himſelf to a pew that ſtood near him, fell down upon his knees, covering his face with his hands: and when they had prayed awhile, the biſhop with his company aroſe from prayer. And then alſo aroſe Rawlins, and came before the biſhop.

Then ſaid the biſhop, Now Rawlins, how is it with thee? Wilt thou revoke thy opinions, or no? My lord, ſaid he, Rawlins you left me, and Rawlins you find me, and by God's grace Rawlins I will continue. Certainly if your petitions had been juſt and lawful, God would have heard them; but you honour a falſe God, and pray not as you ſhould pray; and therefore God hath not granted your deſire. But I am one poor ſimple man, as you ſee, and God hath heard my complaint, and I truſt he will ſtrengthen me in his own cauſe.

When the biſhop perceived that their hypocriſy took no effect, he began to reprove him with ſharp words, and forthwith was ready to read the ſentence. However, upon ſome advice given to him by his chaplains that were there preſent, he thought beſt firſt to have a maſs, thinking that by ſo doing, ſome wonderful work ſhould be wrought in Rawlins, and thereupon a prieſt began the maſs.

In the mean time poor Rawlins betook himſelf to prayer in a place hard by, till ſuch time as the prieſt came to the Sacring, as they term it, which is a principal point of their idolatry. When Rawlins heard the ſacring-bell ring (as the uſe was), he roſe out of his place, and came to the quire-door, and there ſtanding awhile, turned himſelf to the people, ſpeaking theſe words, Good people, if there be any brethren amongſt you, or at leaſt, if there be but one brother amongſt you, the ſame one bear witneſs at the day of judgment, that I bow not to this idol (meaning the hoſt that the prieſt held over his head).

The maſs being ended, Rawlins was immediately called for. To whom the biſhop uſed many perſuaſions; but the good man continued ſo ſtedfaſt in his former profeſſion, that the biſhop's talk was altogether in vain, and to no purpoſe. Whereupon the biſhop cauſed the definitive ſentence to be read. Which being ended, Rawlins was diſmiſſed, and from thence he was by the biſhops commandment carried again to Cardiffe, there to be put into the priſon of the town, called Cockmarel, a very dark, loathſome, and moſt vile priſon.

Rawlins in the mean time paſſed away the time in prayer, and chiefly in ſinging of Pſalms: which kind of exerciſe he always uſed, both at Cardiffe-caſtle, and in all other places.

Now after he had thus continued a priſoner in Cockmarel priſon at Cardiffe (as is aforeſaid) a good ſpace, about three weeks before he ſuffered, the head officers of the town, that had the charge of his execution, were determined to burn him, becauſe they would be ſooner rid of him; having not indeed a writ of execution awarded, as by the law they ſhould have. Whereupon one H. Lewis, the recorder of the town that then was, ſeeing that they went about to burn him without any warrant by writ, came to them and told them, That if they did burn him before they had the writ, De Hæreticis comburendis, the wife of the ſaid Rawlins would upon juſt cauſe, by law, call their doings into queſtion.

Immediately upon this advertiſement, they ſent to London for the writ above-named; upon the receipt whereof they made ſome ſpeed to the execution of the ſaid Rawlins. Now when the day was come, wherein the good father ſhould perform and accompliſh the laſt act of this his worthy conflict, he was the night before ordered to prepare himſelf.

Now when he perceived his time was no leſs near than was reported to him, he ſent forthwith to his wife, and willed her by the meſſenger, that in any wiſe ſhe ſhould make ready and ſend unto him his wedding-garment, meaning a ſhirt, which afterward he was burned in. Which requeſt, or rather commandment of his, his wife with great ſorrow and grief of heart did perform, and early in the morning ſent it to him, which he received moſt gladly.

Now when the hour of his execution was come, this good and conſtant father Rawlins White was brought out of priſon, having on his body the long ſhirt, which (as you heard before), he called his wedding garment, and an old ruſſet coat which he was wont to wear. Beſides this, he had upon his legs an old pair of leather-buſkins, which he had uſed long before. And thus being brought out of priſon (as I have ſaid) he was accompanied, or rather guarded, with a great company of bills and gleaves. Which when he beheld, Alas! ſaid he, what meaneth all this? All this needeth not. By God's grace I will not ſtart away: but I with all my heart and mind give unto God moſt hearty thanks, that he hath made me worthy to abide all this for his holy name's ſake.

So he came to a place in his way, where his poor wife and children ſtood weeping, and making a great lamentation; the ſudden ſight of whom ſo pierced his heart, that the tears trickled down his face. But he ſoon after, as though he had miſliked this infirmity of his fleſh, began to be as it were altogether angry with himſelf: inſomuch, that ſtriking his breaſt with his hand, he uſed theſe words, Ah fleſh, ſtayeſt thou me ſo? wouldeſt thou fain prevail? Well, I tell thee, do what thou canſt, thou ſhalt not, by God's grace, have the victory. By this time this poor innocent came to the very altar of his ſacrifice (I mean the place appointed for his death) and there found a ſtake ready ſet up, with ſome wood towards the making of the fire. Which when he beheld, he ſet forward himſelf very boldly: but in going toward the ſtake, he fell down upon his knees and kiſſed the ground; and in riſing again, a little earth ſticking on his noſe, he ſaid theſe words, Earth unto earth, and Duſt unto duſt: thou art my mother, and unto thee I ſhall return. Then went he chearfully and very joyfully, and ſet his back cloſe unto the ſtake; and when he had ſtood there awhile, he caſt his eye upon this reporter, and called him unto him, and ſaid, I feel a great fighting between the fleſh and the ſpirit, and the fleſh would very fain have his ſwing; and therefare I pray you, when you ſee me any thing tempted, hold your finger up to me, and I truſt I ſhall remember myſelf.

As he was thus ſtanding with his back cloſe unto the ſtake, a ſmith came with a great chain of iron; whom when he ſaw, he caſt up his hand with a loud voice, and gave God great thanks. Then the ſmith caſt a chain about him, and as he was making it faſt on the other ſide, Rawlins ſaid unto him, I pray you, good friend, knock in the chain faſt; for it may be that the fleſh would ſtrive mightily, but God of his great mercy give me ſtrength and patience to abide the extremity.

Now when the ſmith had made him ſure to the ſtake, the officers began to lay on more wood, with a little ſtraw and reed: wherein the good old man was no leſs occupied than the beſt; for as far as he could reach with his hands, he would pluck the ſtraw and reed, and lay it about him in places moſt convenient for his ſpeedy diſpatch. Which thing he did with ſuch a chearful countenance and familiar geſture, that all men there preſent were aſtoniſhed at it.

Thus when all things were ready, ſo that there lacked nothing but kindling the fire, directly over-againſt the ſtake, in the face of Rawlins White, there was a ſtanding erected, whereupon ſtept up a prieſt, addreſſing himſelf to ſpeak to the people, which were many in number, becauſe it was market-day. When Rawlins perceived him, and

and conſidered the cauſe of his coming, he reached a little ſtraw unto him, and made two little ſtays, and ſet them under his elbows. Then went the prieſt forward in his ſermon, wherein he ſpake of many things touching the authority of the church of Rome. In the mean time Rawlins gave ſuch a good ear and attention, that he ſeemed nothing at all moved or diſquieted. At laſt the prieſt came to the ſacrament of the altar, and there he began to inveigh againſt Rawlins's opinions; in which his invection he cited the common place of ſcripture, and thereupon made a learned interpretation.

Now when Rawlins perceived that he went about not only to preach and teach the people falſe doctrine, but alſo to confirm it by ſcripture, he ſuddenly ſtarted up, and beckoned his hands to the people, ſaying twice, Come hither good people, and hear not a falſe prophet preaching: and then ſaid unto the preacher, Ah thou naughty hypocrite, doſt thou preſume to prove thy falſe doctrine by ſcripture? Look in the text what followeth; Did not Chriſt ſay, "Do this in remembrance of me?" After which words, the prieſt being rather amazed than interrupted, forthwith held his peace.

Then ſome that ſtood by cried out, Put fire; Set to fire: which being done, the ſtraw and reed caſt up a great and ſudden flame. In which flame this good man bathed his hands ſo long, until ſuch time as the ſinews ſhrunk, and the fat dropped away, ſaving that once he did, as it were, wipe his face with one of them. All this while, which was ſomewhat long, he cried with a loud voice, O Lord, receive my ſoul; O Lord, receive my ſpirit, until he could not open his mouth. At laſt, the extremity of the fire was ſo vehement againſt his legs, that they were conſumed almoſt before the reſt of his body was burned, which made the whole body fall over the chain into the fire ſooner than it would have done. Thus died this good old man for the teſtimony of God's truth, being now rewarded, no doubt, with the crown of eternal life.

It is further recorded of the ſaid good father Rawlins, by this reporter, that as he was going to his death and ſtanding at the ſtake, he ſeemed in a manner to be altered in nature. For as before he was wont to go ſtooping, or rather crooked, through the infirmity of age, having a ſad countenance and a very feeble complexion, and withal very ſoft in ſpeech and geſture, now he went and ſtretched himſelf not only upright, but alſo bore withal a moſt pleaſant and comfortable countenance, and with great courage and boldneſs both in ſpeech and behaviour.

It is alſo ſaid by this reporter, that a little before the fire flaſhed up to his body, many of his friends came up to him, and took him by the hand, amongſt whom the reporter of this ſtory held him ſo long by the hand, till the flame aroſe and forced them to part. In the mean time the prieſt of whom I ſpake before, cried out and ſaid, That it was not lawful for any man to take him by the hand, becauſe he was an heretic, and condemned by the church. The chief cauſe of his trouble was his opinion concerning the ſacrament of the altar. He was at the time of his death about ſixty years of age.

Before I paſs over this month of March, I cannot but leave a little memorandum of the words or conſultation of queen Mary, uſed to ſome of the council the 28th day of March, concerning the reſtoring again of the abbey lands. Who after ſhe had called into her preſence four of her privy council, namely, William lord marquis of Wincheſter, high-treaſurer of England; Sir Robert Rocheſter, knight, the queen's comptroller; Sir William Peter, knight, ſecretary; and Sir Francis Inglefield, knight, maſter of the wards; ſpoke to them as followeth:

"You are here of our council, and we have ordered you to be called unto us, to the intent you might hear of me my conſcience, and the reſolution of my mind, concerning the lands and poſſeſſions as well of monaſteries as of other churches whatſoever, being now preſently in my poſſeſſion.

"Firſt, I do conſider, that the ſaid lands were taken away from the churches aforeſaid in the time of ſchiſm, and that by unlawful means, ſuch as are contrary both to the law of God and of the church: for which cauſe my conſcience doth not ſuffer me to detain them; and therefore I here expreſly refuſe either to claim or to retain the ſame lands for mine, but with all my heart freely and willingly, without any covenant or condition, here and before God I do ſurrender and relinquiſh the ſaid lands and poſſeſſions, or inheritances whatſoever, and do renounce the ſame with this mind and purpoſe, that order and diſpoſition thereof may be taken, as ſhall ſeem beſt liking to our moſt holy lord the pope, or elſe his legate the lord cardinal, to the honour of God, and wealth of this our realm.

"And albeit you may object to me again, that conſidering the ſtate of my kingdom, and the dignity thereof, my crown imperial cannot be honourably maintained and furniſhed without the poſſeſſions aforeſaid; yet notwithſtanding I ſet more by the ſalvation of my ſoul, than by ten kingdoms; and therefore the ſaid poſſeſſions I utterly refuſe here to hold after that ſort and title, and give moſt hearty thanks to Almighty God, who hath given me an huſband likewiſe minded, with no leſs good affection in this behalf, than I myſelf.

"Wherefore I charge and command, that my chancellor (with whom I have conferred my mind in this matter before) and you four, do reſort together to-morrow to the moſt reverend lord legate, and ſignify to him the premiſſes in my name, and give your attendance upon him for the more full declaration of the ſtate of my kingdom, and of the aforeſaid poſſeſſions accordingly, as you yourſelves do underſtand the matter, and can inform him in the ſame."

This intimation being given by the queen, firſt unto the counſellors, and then coming to the cardinal's hand, he drawing out a copy thereof in Latin, ſent the ſame to the pope; which copy drawn in Latin, and coming afterward to my hand, I have thus tranſlated into Engliſh as you have heard.

Furthermore, here by the way is to be underſtood, that in the month before, which was February, and on the 19th day of the ſaid month, the biſhop of Ely, with the lord Montacute, and 140 horſe, were ſent as ambaſſadors from the king and queen to Rome. For what cauſe, is not expreſſed; but by conjecture it may be well ſuppoſed to be for the ſame cauſe of abbey-lands, as by the ſequel thereof may probably appear. For it was not long after the pope did ſet forth in print a bull of excommunication for all manner of ſuch perſons, without exception, as kept any of the church or abbey-lands; by virtue of which bull, the pope excommunicated as well ſuch as had any of the church or abby-lands, as alſo all ſuch princes, biſhops, and noblemen, juſtices of peace, and others in office, who had not, or did not forthwith put the ſame bull in execution. Albeit this execution (God be thanked) to this day was never put in practice.

Wherein again is to be obſerved another catholic fetch, worthy to be marked. For where by rigour and force they may overmaſter, they ſpare for no coſt, but lay on load enough. This well appeared, and ſtill doth appear in burning the poor patient chriſtians, whom becauſe they ſee to be deſtitute of power and ſtrength to reſiſt them, and content with patience to receive whatſoever is put upon them, there they play the lions, and make no end of burning and perſecuting. But where they eſpy themſelves to be overmatched, or fear to receive a foil in preſuming too far, there they keep in, and can ſtay the

execution of their laws and bulls, be they never ſo apoſtolical, till they eſpy a convenient time for their purpoſe, as in this caſe is evident for all the world to ſee.

For notwithſtanding that the pope's bull, coming with full authority for the reſtitution of abbey-lands, did thunder out moſt terrible excommunication, not only againſt them which detained any ſuch lands, but alſo againſt all others that did not ſee the pope's commandment to be executed; yet neither the biſhop of Wincheſter, nor any of the pope's clergy, would greatly ſtir in that matter, perceiving the nobility to be too ſtrong for them; and therefore were contented to let the caſe fall, or at leaſt to ſtay for a more convenient opportunity.

Yea, and moreover under a crafty pretence, that the nobility and men of lands at the firſt coming out of the bull ſhould not be exaſperated too much againſt them, they ſubtilly abuſed the pulpits, and diſſembled with the people, affirming that the ſaid pope's late bull, ſet forth in print for reſtitution of abbey-lands, was not meant for England, but for other foreign countries: where in very deed the meaning of that bull was only for England, and no country elſe, as both by this intimation of queen Mary here mentioned, and by many other conjectures, and alſo by Mr. Feckman's ballet of Caveat Emptor, may appear. Whereby it is eaſy for all men to underſtand what the purpoſe of thoſe men was to do, if time, which they obſerved, might have ſerved their devotion. But to let this matter paſs of the pope's bull, the time now ſerveth to treat of pope Julius's death, foraſmuch as he made his end about the latter end of the month of March.

Concerning the deeds and acts of which pope, to make a full declaration, it were not ſo much tedious to the reader, as horrible to all good men. Under this Julius, flouriſhed the archbiſhop of Beneventanus, a Florentine, named Johannes à Caſa, dean of the pope's chamber, and a chief legate to the Venetians: who well declaring the fruit of that filthy ſee, ſo far forgot both honeſty and nature, that he was not aſhamed to play the filthy Sodomite himſelf, and to boaſt openly of the ſame; but alſo took upon him moſt impudently in Italian metre, to all men's ears, to ſet forth the praiſe and commendation of that beaſtly iniquity, ſaying, That he himſelf never uſed other; and this book was printed at Venice by one Trojanus Navus: and yet the pope could ſuffer this ſo great iniquity and ſhameleſs beaſtlineſs, even under his noſe in his own chamber, who could not abide the true doctrine of Chriſt in chriſtian books.

Amongſt other pranks and deeds of the aforeſaid pope, in his jubilee, and in the ſynod of Trent, and in confirming of the idol of Lauretane, this is alſo reported of him in his life, that he delighted greatly in pork-fleſh and peacocks. Upon a time when he was admoniſhed by his phyſician to abſtain from all ſwines-fleſh, for that it was noiſom for his gout, and yet would not follow his counſel: the phyſician afterward gave warning to his ſteward or orderer of his diet, that he ſhould ſet no more pork-fleſh before him. Whereupon when the pope perceived the ſaid pork-fleſh to be lacked in his accuſtomed ſervice: Where, ſaid he, is my pork? And when his ſteward had anſwered that his phyſician had forbidden any pork to be ſerved: the pope burſted out into a great rage, and ſaid theſe words, Bring me, ſaid he, my pork-fleſh, in the deſpite of God.

At another time, he ſitting at dinner, pointing to a peacock upon his table, which he had not touched; Keep, ſaid he, this cold peacock for me againſt ſupper, and let me ſup in the garden: for I ſhall have gueſts. So when ſupper came, and, amongſt other hot peacocks, he ſaw not his cold peacock brought to his table: the pope, after his wonted manner, moſt horribly blaſpheming God, fell into an extreme rage, &c. Whereupon one of his cardinals ſitting by, deſired him, ſaying, Let not your holineſs, I pray you, be moved with a matter of ſo ſmall weight. Then pope Julius anſwering again; What, ſaid he, if God was ſo angry for an apple, that he caſt our firſt parents out of paradiſe for the ſame, why may not I, being his vicar, be angry then for a peacock, ſince a peacock is a greater matter than an apple? Behold here, good reader, by this pope, the holineſs of that blaſphemous ſee: and yet thou ſhalt ſee here what affection was borne to this pope here in England, by the Dirges, Hearſes, and Funerals commanded to be had and celebrated in all churches by the queen and her council, as may appear by the copy of their letters here following.

A Letter from the Biſhop of Wincheſter (being Lord Chancellor) unto Bonner Biſhop of London, concerning the celebrating of the Pope's Funeral.

AFTER my hearty commendations to your good lordſhip. The king and queen's majeſty having certain knowledge of the death of the pope's holineſs, thought good there ſhould be as well ſolemn obſequies ſaid for him throughout the realm, as alſo theſe prayers (which I ſend you here incloſed) uſed at maſs-time in all places at this time of vacation; and therefore ordered me to ſignify their pleaſures unto you in this behalf, that thereupon ye might proceed to the full accompliſhment thereof, by putting the ſame in due execution within your own dioceſe, and ſending word to the reſt of the biſhops, to do the like in theirs.

Thus doubting not but that your lordſhip will uſe ſuch diligence in this matter at this time, as ſhall be neceſſary, I bid your lordſhip heartily well to fare. From my houſe at Aſher, the 10th of April 1555.

Your aſſured friend and brother,
Stephanus Winton, Chancel.

Prayers commanded to be uſed in the Funeral Maſſes for the Pope, the Apoſtolic See being vacant.

WE beſeech thee, O Lord, of thy great pity to grant to the holy Roman church a biſhop, whoſe care towards us may be always acceptable to thee, and that he may be revered by thy people for his good government, to the glory of thy name, through our Lord.

A Secret Prayer.

MAY thy abundant pity, O Lord, towards us, grant that we may rejoice to have obtained a biſhop of our holy mother church acceptable to thy Majeſty, thro' our Lord.

After the Communion.

MAY thy wonderful grace, O Lord, rejoice us (being refreſhed with the ſacrament of thy precious body and blood) in the choice of a biſhop who may inſtruct thy people in all virtue, through our Lord.

Upon this command, on Wedneſday in Eaſter week there were hearſes ſet up, and Dirges ſung for the ſaid Julius in divers places. At which time a woman going into St. Magnus church at the Bridge-foot in London, and there ſeeing an hearſe and other preparation, aſked what it meant: ſome that ſtood by, ſaid that it was for the pope, and that ſhe muſt pray for him. Nay, ſaid ſhe, that will I not, for he needeth not my prayers: and ſeeing he could forgive us all our ſins, I am ſure he is clean himſelf: therefore I need not to pray for him. She was heard to ſpeak theſe words by ſome that ſtood by: who by and by carried her into the cage at London-Bridge, and bid her cool herſelf there.

Almighty God by many and ſundry ways hath admoniſhed men of all nations in theſe latter years to embrace, and not violently to reſiſt the light of his goſpel: as firſt by preaching of his word: ſecondly, by the blood of the martyrs: and thirdly, by terrible example from time to time ſhewed upon his adverſaries. In the number of whom cometh here to be remembered the notable working of God's hand upon a certain prieſt in Kent, named Nightingal, parſon of Crondal near Canterbury, who upon Shrove Sunday, which was about the third day of the ſaid month of March, rejoicing greatly at this alteration of religion, began to make a ſermon to his pariſhioners, taking his theme out of the words of St. John; "He that ſaith that he hath no ſin, is a lyar, and the truth is not in him, &c." and upon the ſame very impertinently declared to them all ſuch articles as were ſet forth by the pope's authority, and by the commandment of the biſhops of this realm; ſaying moreover unto the people in this wiſe, Now maſters and neighbours, rejoice and be merry, for the prodigal ſon is come home. For I know that moſt part of you be as I am, for I know your hearts well enough. And I ſhall tell you what hath happened in this week paſt: I was before my lord cardinal Poole, and he made me as free from ſin as I was at the font-ſtone: and on Thurſday laſt being before him, he hath appointed me to notify (I thank him for it) the ſame unto you. And I will tell you what it is. And ſo reading the pope's bull of pardon that was ſent into England, he ſaid, he thanked God that he had lived to ſee that day; adding moreover, that he believed by the virtue of that bull he was clean from ſin, as the night that he was born: And immediately upon the ſame fell ſuddenly down out of the pulpit, and never ſtirred hand nor foot. Teſtified by Robert Auſten of Chatham, who both heard and ſaw the ſame, and is witneſſed alſo by the country round about.

On the ſecond day of April John Awcock died in priſon, and was buried in the fields, as the manner of the papiſts was, to deny their chriſtian burial to ſuch as died out of their popiſh antichriſtian church.

Having now entered into the month of April, we will ſet down in order out of the public records what happened in the ſaid month. The firſt day of April, 1555. a letter was ſent to the ſheriff of Kent, to apprehend Thomas Woodgate and William Maynard, for preaching ſecretly, and to ſend them up to the council.

The ſeventh day of the ſaid month, another letter was ſent to the ſaid ſheriff for the apprehenſion of one Harwich, who went about with a boy with him, preaching from place to place.

The 15th of April a letter was directed to Sir Nicholas Hare, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, requiring them to examine Mr. Flower, alias Branch, what he meant to wear about his neck written, Deum time, Idolum fuge, and whom elſe he knew to wear the like; praying them alſo to ſpeak to Bonner biſhop of London, ſpeedily to proceed againſt him for his religion according to the laws, and that the juſtices of peace of Middleſex ſhould likewiſe proceed againſt him for ſhedding of blood in the church, according to the ſtatute, ſo as if he continued in his opinion, he might be executed at the fartheſt by the latter end of this week, and that his right hand be ſtricken off the day before his execution, or the ſame day.

The 22d of April there was a like letter ſent to the juſtices of peace of Middleſex, with a writ for the execution of the ſaid Flower, commanding him to ſee his hand ſtricken off before his burning.

The 29th of April, Mr. Robert Horneby, ſervant then to the lady Elizabeth, was convented before the council for his religion: and ſtanding conſtantly to the truth, notwithſtanding their threats and other perſuaſions, was therefore committed to the Marſhalſea.

A Declaration of the Life, Examination, and Burning of George Marſh, who ſuffered at Weſt-Cheſter, the 24th Day of April 1555.

GEorge Marſh was born in the pariſh of Deane in the county of Lancaſter, and was well brought up in learning and honeſt trade of living by his parents; who afterwards about the 25th year of his age took to wife an honeſt maiden of the country; with whom he continued, earning their living upon a farm, having children between them lawfully begotten, and then God taking his wife out of this world, he (leaving his houſhold and children in good order) went unto the univerſity of Cambridge, where he ſtudied, and much increaſed in learning, and was a miniſter of God's holy word and ſacraments, and for a while was curate to Laurence Saunders, as himſelf reporteth. In which condition of life he continued for a ſpace, earneſtly ſetting forth God's true religion, to the defacing of Antichriſt's falſe doctrine, by his godly readings and ſermons, as well there and in the pariſh of Deane, as elſewhere in Lancaſhire.

At length he was apprehended, and kept cloſe priſoner in Cheſter, by George Cotes then biſhop of that ſee, within the precinct of the biſhop's houſe, about the ſpace of four months, being not permitted to have relief and comfort of his friends; but charge being given unto the porter, to mark who they were that aſked for him, and to ſignify their names unto the biſhop, as by the particular deſcription of his ſtory, teſtified and recorded with his own pen, more evidently may appear in the proceſs hereunder following.

The Examination of George Marſh, written by himſelf.

ON Monday before Palm-Sunday, which was the 12th of March, it was told me at my mother's houſe, that Roger Wrinſtone, with others of Mr. Barton's ſervants, did make diligent ſearch for me in Bolton, and when they perceived that I was not there, they gave ſtrict charge to Robert Ward and Robert Marſh, to find and bring me to Mr. Barton the day next following, with others, to be brought before the honourable earl of Derby, to be examined in matters of religion, &c.

I knowing this, by relation of divers of my friends was diverſely affected; my mother and ſome of my friends adviſing me to fly, and to avoid the peril, which thing I had intended before after a week then next enſuing, if this in the mean while had not chanced; ſeeing that if I were taken, and would not recant in matters of religion (as they thought I would not, and as God ſtrengthening and aſſiſting me with his Holy Spirit I never will) it would not only have put them to great ſorrow, heavineſs, and loſſes, with coſts and charges, to their ſhame and rebuke in this world, but alſo mine own ſelf, after troubles and painful impriſonment, unto ſhameful death.

This conſidered, they adviſed and counſelled me to depart and fly the country, as I intended to have done, if this had not happened. To whoſe counſel my weak fleſh would gladly have conſented, but my ſpirit did not fully agree: thinking and ſaying thus to myſelf, that if I fled away, it would be thought, reported, and ſaid, that I did not only fly the country, and my neareſt and deareſt friends, but much rather from Chriſt's holy word, according as theſe years paſt I had with my heart, or at leaſt with mine outward living profeſſed, and with my word and mouth taught, according to the ſmall talent given me of the Lord. I being thus with their counſel and advice, and the cogitations and counſels of mine own mind drawn as it were divers ways, went from my mother's houſe, ſaying, I would come again at evening.

In the mean time I ceaſed not by earneſt prayer to aſk and ſeek counſel of God (who is the giver of all good gifts)

Engrav'd for Fox's Book of Martyrs.

Not upon that Condition.

Beware of Idolatry.

The Burning of George Marsh.

The Martyrdom of John Cardmaker, & John Warne.

The Woman in the Cage, on London Bridge.

G. Terry Sculp. No. 84.

Pater-noster Row

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gifts) and of other my friends, whoſe pious judgments and knowledge I much truſted to. After this I met with one of my ſaid friends on Deane-moor, about ſun going down; and after we had conſulted together of my buſineſs, not without hearty prayer kneeling on our knees, we departed. I not fully determining what to do, but taking my leave of my friend, ſaid, I doubt not but God (according as our prayer and truſt was) would give me ſuch wiſdom and counſel as ſhould be moſt to his honour and glory, the profit of my neighbours and brethren in the world, and obtaining of mine eternal ſalvation by Chriſt in heaven.

This done, I returned to my mother's houſe again, where ſeveral of Mr. Barton's ſervants had been ſeeking after me; who, when they could not find me, ſtrictly charged my brother and William Marſh to ſeek me that night, and to bring me to Smethehils the next day: who being ſo charged, were gone to ſeek me in Adderton, or elſewhere I know not. Thus intending before to have been all night with my mother, but then conſidering that my tarrying there would diſquiet her with her houſhold, I departed from thence, and went beyond Deane church, and there tarried all night with an old friend of mine, taking ill reſt, and conſulting much with myſelf of my trouble.

At my firſt awaking, one came to me from a faithful friend of mine with letters, who ſaid this: My friend's advice was that I ſhould in no wiſe fly, but abide and boldly confeſs the faith of Jeſus Chriſt. At whoſe words I was ſo confirmed and eſtabliſhed in my conſcience, that from thenceforth I conſulted no more, whether it were better to fly or to tarry; but was at a point with myſelf, that I would not fly, but go to Mr. Barton who did ſeek for me, and there preſent myſelf, and patiently bear ſuch croſs as it ſhould pleaſe God to lay upon my ſhoulders. Whereupon my mind before being much diſquieted and troubled, was now merry and at eaſe.

I aroſe early in the morning, and after I had ſaid the Engliſh litany (as my cuſtom was) with other prayers, kneeling on my knees by my friend's bed-ſide, I prepared myſelf to go toward Smethehils; and as I was going thither, I went into the houſes of Henry Widdowes, of my mother-in-law, of Ralph Yeton, and of the wife of Thomas Richardſon, deſiring them to pray for me, and have me commended to all my friends, and to comfort my mother, and be good to my little children; for (as I ſuppoſed) they ſhould not ſee my face any more before the laſt day; and ſo took my leave of them not without tears ſhed on both parts, and came to Smethehils about nine of the clock, and preſented myſelf afore Mr. Barton; who ſhewed me a letter from the earl of Derby, wherein he was commanded to ſend me with others to Lathum.

Whereupon he charged my brother and William Marſh to bring and deliver me the next day by ten of the clock, before the ſaid earl or his council. I made earneſt ſuit with other ſpecial friends, which I had there at the ſame time, to Mr. Barton, that he would take ſome one of them, or them all bound by recognizance or otherwiſe, for mine appearing before the ſaid earl or his ſaid council, that my brother and William Marſh might be at home, becauſe it was the chiefeſt time of feeding, and their ploughs could not go if they were not at home; but nothing could be obtained.

Then we went to my mother's, and there I dined and ſhifted part of my cloaths: and ſo praying, took my leave of my mother, the wife of Richard Marſh, and both their houſholds, they and I both weeping, and departed from them, and went toward Lathum, and were all night a mile and an half on this ſide Lathum. The next day, which was Wedneſday, we aroſe, prayed, and came to Lathum betimes, and tarried there till four of the clock in the afternoon.

Then I was called by Roger Mekinſon to my lord and his council, and brought intothe chamber of preſence, where was preſent Sir William Nores, Sir Pierce Alee, Mr. Sherburn the parſon of Grapnal, Mr. More, with others. Where when I had tarried a little while, my lord turned towards me, and aſked, What was my name? I anſwered, Marſh.

Then he aſked, Whether I was one of thoſe that ſowed evil ſeed and diſſention among the people? Which thing I denied, deſiring to know mine accuſers, and what could be laid againſt me: but that I could not know.

Then he ſaid, he would with his council examine me themſelves, and aſked me, Whether I was a prieſt? I ſaid no. Then he aſked me, What had been my living? I anſwered, I was a miniſter, ſerved a cure, and taught a ſchool. Then ſaid my lord to his council, this is a wonderful thing. Before he ſaid he was no prieſt, and now he confeſſeth himſelf to be one. I anſwered, by the laws now uſed in this realm (as far as I do know) I am none.

Then they aſked me, Who gave me orders, or whether I had taken any at all? I anſwered, I received orders of the biſhop of London and Lincoln.

Then ſaid they one to another, Thoſe be of theſe new heretics, and aſked me, What acquaintance I had with them? I anſwered, I never ſaw them but at the time when I received orders.

They aſked me, How long I had been curate, and whether I had miniſtered with a good conſcience? I anſwered, I had been curate but one year, and had miniſtered with a good conſcience, I thanked God, and if the laws of the realm would have ſuffered me, I would have miniſtered ſtill; and if the laws at any time hereafter would ſuffer me to miniſter after that ſort, I would miniſter again.

At which they murmured, and the parſon of Grapnal ſaid, This laſt communion was the moſt deviliſh thing that ever was deviſed. Then they aſked me, what my belief was?

I anſwered, I believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, according as the ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtaments do teach, and according as the four ſymbols or creeds, that is to wit, the creed commonly called the Apoſtles, the creed of the council of Nice, of Athanaſius, and of Auſtin and Ambroſe do teach.

And after a few words, the parſon of Grapnal ſaid, But what is thy belief in the ſacrament of the altar?

I anſwered, I believe that whoſoever, according to Chriſt's inſtitution, did receive the holy ſacrament of Chriſt's body and blood, did eat and drink Chriſt's body and blood, with all the benefits of his death and reſurrection, to their eternal ſalvation; for Chriſt, ſaid I, is ever preſent with his ſacrament.

Then they aſked me, Whether the bread and wine, by the virtue of the words pronounced by the prieſt, were changed into the fleſh and blood of Chriſt; and that the ſacrament, whether it were received or reſerved, was the very body of Chriſt?

Whereunto I made anſwer, I knew no further than I had ſhewed already. For my knowledge is imperfect, ſaid I; deſiring them not to aſk me ſuch hard and unprofitable queſtions, whereby to bring my body into danger of death, and ſuck my blood. Whereat they were not a little offended, ſaying, they were no blood-ſuckers, and intended nothing to me, but to make me a good chriſtian.

So after many other queſtions which I avoided as well as I could, remembering the ſaying of St. Paul, "Fooliſh and unlearned queſtions avoid, knowing they do but gender ſtrife:" my lord commanded me to come to the board, and gave me pen and ink in my hand, and commanded me to write mine anſwers to the queſtions of the ſacrament abovenamed; and I wrote as I had anſwered before. Whereat he being much offended, commanded me to write a more direct anſwer, ſaying, I ſhould not chuſe but do it.

Then I took the pen and wrote, that further I knew not. Whereat he being ſore grieved, after many threatenings

enings ſaid, I ſhould be put to a ſhameful death like a traitor, with other like words; and ſometimes giving me fair words if I would turn and be conformable as others were, how glad he would be.

In concluſion, after much ado, he commanded me to ward in a cold, windy ſtone houſe, where was little room; where I lay two nights without any bed, ſaving a few great canvas tent cloaths; I had a pair of ſheets, but no woollen cloaths, and ſo continued till Palm-Sunday, occupying myſelf as well as I could in meditation, prayer and ſtudy; for no man could be ſuffered to come to me but my keeper twice a day when he brought me meat and drink.

Another Examination of Geo. Marſh.

ON Palm-Sunday after dinner I was ſent for to my lord and his council (ſaving Sir William Nores and Sir Pierce Alee were not then preſent) amongſt whom was Sir John Beram, and the vicar of Preſcot. So they examined me yet once again of the ſacrament. And after I had communed apart with the vicar of Preſcot a good ſpace concerning that matter, he returned with me to my lord and his council, ſaying, That anſwer which I had made before, and then did make (as it is above written) was ſufficient for a beginner, and as one which did not profeſs a perfect knowledge in that matter, until ſuch time as I had learned further. Wherewith the earl was very well pleaſed, ſaying, he doubted not but by the means and help of the vicar of Preſcot I would be conformable in other things: and after many fair words he commanded I ſhould have a bed, with fire, and liberty to go amongſt his ſervants, ſo that I would do no harm with my communication amongſt them.

And ſo after much other communication I departed, much more troubled in my mind than before, becauſe I had not with more boldneſs confeſſed Chriſt, but in ſuch ſort as mine adverſaries thought thereby they ſhould prevail againſt me; whereat I was much grieved: for hitherto I went about, as much as in me lay, to rid myſelf out of their hands: if by any means without open denying of Chriſt and his word that could be done.

This conſidered, I cried more earneſtly to God by prayer, deſiring him to ſtrengthen me with his Holy Spirit, with boldneſs to confeſs him; and to deliver me from their enticing words, and that I were not ſpoiled thro' their philoſophy and deceitful vanity, after the traditions of men and ordinances of the world, and not after Chriſt.

A day or two after I was ſent for to the vicar of Preſcot, and the parſon of Grapnal; where our communication was concerning the maſs: and he aſked what offended me in the maſs. I anſwered, the whole maſs did offend me, firſt becauſe it was in a ſtrange language, whereby the people were not edified, contrary to St. Paul's doctrine, 1 Cor. 14. and becauſe of the manifold and intolerable abuſes and errors contained therein, contrary to Chriſt's prieſthood and ſacrifice.

Then they aſked me in what place thereof; and I named ſome places; which places they went about with gentle and far-ſought interpretations to mitigate, ſaying thoſe places were underſtood far otherwiſe than the words did purport, or than I did take them.

I anſwered, I did underſtand them as they did purport, and as their own books do comment and gloſs upon them.

They ſaid, Sacrificium or Oblatio did not in the maſs ſignify any thing elſe, than either a ſacrifice of praiſe and thankſgiving, or elſe a memorial of a ſacrifice or oblation. So they cauſed a maſs-book to be ſent for, and ſhewed me where in ſome places of the maſs was written, Sacrificium laudis. Whereto I anſwered, that it followed not therefore that in all places it ſignified a ſacrifice or oblation of praiſe or thankſgiving; and altho' it did, yet was not a ſacrifice of praiſe or thankſgiving to be offered for the ſins of the people, for that did Chriſt by his own paſſion once offer on the croſs: where the words of the maſs were, that the prieſt did offer an oblation and ſacrifice for the ſins and offences both of himſelf and of the people; for them that were dead, and for the ſalvation of the living: and that the commixtion of the body and blood of Chriſt was health both of body and ſoul.

The vicar anſwered, that was to be underſtood of the commixtion of Chriſt's body and blood with his church or people. So after much exhortation unto me, that I ſhould be conformable to the true catholic church (which, as they meant, was the Romiſh church) I departed, not conſenting unto them.

Within a day or two Mr. More came to me, bringing with him certain articles, to which Dr. Crome had conſented and ſubſcribed in the preſence of certain witneſſes in the days of king Henry the eighth, and deſired me to read them over, and aſked me whether I would conſent and ſubſcribe unto thoſe articles. And after communication had of one or two of the ſaid articles, I confeſſed plainly I would not conſent and ſubſcribe to thoſe articles: for then I did againſt mine own conſcience: and ſo he departed.

So within a ſhort ſpace after, the ſaid parſon and vicar ſent for me again, ſaying, my lord would be at a ſhort point with me; for if I would not conſent and ſubſcribe unto four articles drawn out of the articles aforeſaid, I muſt go to priſon ſtraightways.

The firſt was, whether the maſs now uſed in the church of England was according to Chriſt's inſtitution, and with faith, reverence, and devotion to be heard and ſeen?

The ſecond, whether the Almighty, by the words pronounced by the prieſt, did change the bread and wine after the words of conſecration into the body and blood of Chriſt, whether it were received or reſerved?

Thirdly, whether the lay-people ought to receive but under the form of bread only, and that the one kind was ſufficient for them?

Fourthly, whether confeſſion to the prieſt now uſed in England were godly and neceſſary?

Theſe four queſtions or articles they delivered me in writing, and bade me to go to my chamber and ſubſcribe my anſwers with mine own hand, and come again; and within one half hour I came to them again, and delivered them the queſtions with mine anſwers. The firſt I denied. The ſecond I anſwered, as I did to my lord before, and is above written. To the third I anſwered, the lay-people by Chriſt's inſtitution ought to receive under both kinds, and that it ſufficeth them not to receive under one kind only. Fourthly, that tho' confeſſion auricular were a commodious means to inſtruct the rude people, yet it was not neceſſary nor commanded of God.

They much exhorted me then to leave mine opinions, ſaying, I was much deceived, underſtanding the ſcriptures amiſs, and counſelled me to follow the catholic church of Chriſt, and to do as others did. I anſwered, my faith in Chriſt conceived by his holy word I neither could nor would deny, alter, or change, for any living creature whatſoever he were, deſiring them to ſpeak to my lord, that during my life and impriſonment my poor friends might be ſuffered to relieve me with neceſſary things according to their powers. And ſo after much exhortation of them, to do and believe as the catholic church did, we departed; I from thenceforth continuing in the porter's ward, not coming forth of my chamber, except at noon and night while I dined and ſupped.

Upon one of the Eaſter holy days Mr. Sherburn and Mr. More ſent for me, perſuading me much to leave mine opinions; ſaying, all the bringers up and favourers of that religion had evil luck, and were either put to death or in priſon, and in danger of life. Again, the favourers of the religion now uſed had wondrous good luck and proſperity in all things: with many other worldly

worldly reaſons of man's wiſdom; for as for the ſcriptures, Mr. Sherburn confeſſed himſelf ignorant.

I anſwered, that I believed and leaned only to the ſcriptures, not judging things by proſperity or adverſity: but they earneſtly adviſed me to recant mine opinions, and not to be hindered for any worldly ſhame.

I anſwered, that that which I did, I did not for the avoiding of any worldly ſhame, ſaying, My ſoul and life were dearer to me than the avoiding of any worldly ſhame: neither yet did I it for any vain praiſe of the world, but in the reverent fear of God.

Then Mr. More queſtioned with me of receiving the ſacrament under one kind. I ſaid, Chriſt's inſtitution was plain, that all men ſhould drink of the cup. Then he told me of the 24th of St. Luke, and the 20th of the Acts, where was mention of breaking bread only: from which he gathered, that they received the ſacrament but under one kind.

That I denied, ſaying, thoſe places either did not ſpeak of the celebration of the Lord's ſupper, or elſe under the name of breaking bread was ſignified and meant the receiving of the ſacrament, both of the body and blood of Chriſt, according to his inſtitution. So after much communication of that matter, Mr. Sherburn ſaid, It was great pity that I being a well-favoured young man, and one that might have good living, and do good, would ſo fooliſhly caſt myſelf away, ſticking ſo hard to ſuch fooliſh opinions.

I anſwered as I had done before to my lord and to his council, that my life, mother, children, brethren, ſiſters, and friends, with other delights of life, were as dear and ſweet unto me as unto any other man, and that I would be as loth to loſe them as another would, if I might hold them with a good conſcience, and without the ignominy of Chriſt; and ſeeing I could not do that, my truſt was, that God would ſtrengthen me with his Holy Spirit to loſe them all for his ſake: for I take myſelf, ſaid I, for a ſheep appointed to be ſlain, patiently to ſuffer what croſs ſoever it ſhall pleaſe my merciful Father to lay on me. And ſo after I had deſired them, that if I were committed to priſon, my friends might be ſuffered to relieve me, they departed.

Mr. More after this brought me a book of one Alphonſus a Spaniſh fryar, of all hereſies wherewith the church of Rome, which he called Chriſt's true church, had been troubled ſince Chriſt's time, willing me to read and take counſel of that book; and appointed me a place where this author did write againſt them that ſay, the lay-people ought to receive under both kinds.

This author I perceived did vehemently write againſt Luther, Melancthon, Pelican, and other Germans of this our time, in all points defending the blaſphemous abuſes and enormities of the Romiſh church, condemning as deteſtable hereſies whatſoever was written, taught, or believed contrary to the ſame, uſing for his ſtrongeſt and ſureſt arguments, the conſent, agreement, and determination or the Romiſh church. After a few days Mr. More came to me again, aſking me how I liked the book. I ſaid, the author of the book did in all points, being a papiſt, allow the rites and abuſes of the Romiſh church; and ſhewed him further, that this author without authority, and contrary both to the ſcriptures and old doctors, did condemn for hereſy the lay-people receiving of this ſacrament under both kinds, whereas this author witneſſeth his own ſelf, Chriſt's church 900 years after Chriſt uſed the contrary.

In concluſion he rebuked me, ſaying I was unlearned, and erred from the catholic faith; ſtubborn, and ſtood altogether in mine own conceit. I anſwered, For my learning, I acknowledge myſelf to know nothing but Jeſus Chriſt, even him that was crucified; and that my faith was grounded upon God's holy word only, and ſuch as, I doubted not, pleaſed God, and as I would ſtand in until the laſt day, God aſſiſting me: and that I did not ſay or do any thing either of ſtubbornneſs, ſelf-wilfulneſs, vain-glory, or any other worldly purpoſe, but with good conſcience, and in the fear of God: and deſired him to ſpeak to my lord and his council, that I might find ſome gentleneſs and mercy at their hands. He made me ſhort anſwer. Then I ſaid, I commit my cauſe unto God, who hath numbered the hairs of my head, and appointed the days of my life, ſaying; I am ſure God, which is a righteous judge, would make inquiſition for my blood, according as he hath promiſed. Then he took his book from me and departed.

I continued ſtill in ward until Low Sunday, and after dinner my keeper Richard Scot came to me in my chamber, and told me that two young men were come to carry me to Lancaſter, and he delivered me unto them, a great company both of my lord's ſervants and others accompanying and bringing me on the way, unto Richard Adderton's, and ſomewhat further, counſelling and perſuading like as is aforeſaid.

To whom I made plain anſwer, that in matters of faith I would give place to no earthly creature. So they comforted me, and ſaid that they were ſorry for me, ſaying; If I knew mine opinion to be good, I did well, and ſo they departed, willing my bringers to treat me kindly.

My bringers by the way ſhewed me they were ordered and adviſed to bind me, and that they deſired firſt to ſee me: and after they had looked on me ſitting at dinner, they anſwered they would take charge of me being looſe, for they ſaid I ſeemed to be an honeſt man.

The firſt night we were at Broughton, and the ſecond day we came to Lancaſter betimes in the afternoon, and they kept me all night with them of their gentleneſs, and in the morning delivered me to the jaylor, who brought me into the higheſt priſon, where I do remain.

After that, the ſaid George came to Lancaſter caſtle, and there, being brought with other priſoners unto the ſeſſions, was made to hold up his hand with the malefactors. The earl of Derby had this communication with him as here followeth.

Communication between George Maſh, and the Earl of Derby.

I Said unto my lord, I had not dwelled in the country theſe three or four years paſt, and came home but lately to viſit my mother, children, and others of my friends, and to have departed out of the country before Eaſter then next, and to have gone out of the realm. Wherefore I truſted, ſeeing nothing could be laid againſt me, wherein I had offended againſt the laws of this realm, his lordſhip would not with captious queſtions examine me, to bring my body into danger of death, to the great diſcomfort of my mother, but ſuffer me to avoid peaceably, ſeeing I might have fled out of the country, and yet of mine own will came to his lordſhip.

He ſaid to his council, he had heard tell of me above at London: and intended to make ſearch for me, and take me either in Lancaſhire or above at London, and aſked me into what land I would have gone.

I anſwered, I would have gone either into Almain, or elſe into Denmark. He ſaid to his council, In Denmark they uſed ſuch hereſy as they have done in England; but as for Almain, he ſaid the Emperor had deſtroyed them.

So after ſuch like words, I ſaid unto him, my truſt was, that his lordſhip being of the honourable council of the late king Edward, conſenting and agreeing to acts concerning faith toward God and religion, under great pain, would not ſo ſoon after conſent to put poor men to ſhameful death, as he had threatened me for embracing the ſame with ſo good a conſcience.

He anſwered, that he, with the lord Windſor and lord Dacres, with one more whoſe name I have forgotten, did not conſent to thoſe acts, and that the names of them four would be to be ſeen, as long as the parliament houſe ſtood. Then my lord did rehearſe the evil luck of the dukes of

Northumberland and Suffolk, with others, becauſe they favoured not the true religion; and again the good hap and proſperity of the queen's highneſs, becauſe ſhe favoured the true religion, thereby gathering the one to be good, and of God; and the other to be wicked, and of the devil; and ſaid that the duke of Northumberland confeſſed ſo plainly.

George Marſh to the Reader.

FOraſmuch as not only when I was at Lathum, but alſo ſince I departed thence, I hear that there be divers and ſundry reports and opinions of the cauſe of mine impriſonment, as well at Lathum as at Lancaſter (as I am informed by credible perſons), ſome ſaying it was only becauſe I would not do open penance; and ſome becauſe I could not agree with my lord and his council concerning the ſacrament of Chriſt's body and blood, and the manner of Chriſt's preſence there; ſome becauſe I would not grant it ſufficient, and according to Chriſt's inſtitution, the lay-people to receive the ſaid ſacrament under one kind only: I thought it good, dearly beloved in Chriſt, and my bounden duty, to certify you by mine own hand-writing, of mine examination and handling at Lathum, and to tell you the truth as near as I could, to quiet your mind in this behalf; and therefore I have here written with mine own hand the certainty of thoſe things, as near as I could, here above expreſſed, not omitting any thing at all concerning religion, whereof they did examine me: howbeit I perceive in ſome things I keep not the ſame order in writing that thing which was aſked by them, and anſwered by me before or after, as it was in very deed in all points, ſaving this, telling the truth as near as I can, deſiring you to accept in good worth this my good will, and to pray for me and all them that be in bonds, that God would aſſiſt us with his Holy Spirit; and that we may with boldneſs confeſs his holy name; and that Chriſt may be magnified in our bodies, that we may ſtand full and perfect in all the will of God; to whom be all honour and glory world without end, Amen.

And thus you have heard all the whole trouble which George Marſh ſuſtained both at Lathum, and alſo at Lancaſter, teſtified and written with his own hand, whereto he addeth moreover, and ſaith:

While I was, ſaith he, in ward at Lathum, divers at ſundry times came to me. Some ſaid unto me that all my fellows had recanted, and were gone home, whereas indeed that was not ſo; for I ſaw ſeveral of them divers times after. Others ſaid, that it was reported amongſt my lord's houſhold, that I had conſented and agreed in all things with my lord and his council.

While I was at Lancaſter, at this ſeſſion many came to talk with me: ſome out of good will, but without knowledge, gave me ſuch like counſel as Peter gave Chriſt as he went up to Jeruſalem, when he took him aſide and began to rebuke him, ſaying; Maſter, favour thyſelf, this thing ſhall not be unto thee. But I anſwered with Chriſt's ſharp anſwer unto Peter again; who turned about, and ſaid unto Peter, Come after me, Satan: and perceiving that they were an hindrance unto me, and that they favoured not the things which are of God, but the things that are of men, I made them a plain anſwer, that I neither could nor would follow their counſel, but that by God's grace I would both live and die with a pure conſcience, and according as hitherto I had believed and profeſſed. For we ought in no wiſe to flatter and bear with them, though they love us never ſo well, who go about to pluck us away from the obedience that we owe unto God and to his word, but after Chriſt's example ſharply to rebuke them for their counſel.

Some others, yea even ſtrangers alſo came to me far unlike unto theſe, who after ſober communication had, conſented with me in all things, lamenting much my troublous eſtate, giving me comfortable words, and ſome money too, and reſorted to me oftentimes, for the ſpace of two, three, or four days. There came alſo many prieſts to me, by two, three, four, five, or ſix at once, whoſe mouths it was a thing eaſy enough to ſtop; for the prieſts (which is much to be lamented) be not always the greateſt ſcholars, and beſt learned in the law of God. At their departing they either conſented with me, or elſe had nothing to ſay againſt me, ſaying they could find no fault with my words. My communication with them was about the ſacrament. There came alſo into the priſon to me Mr. Weſtby, Mr. Aſhton of Hill, Mr. Aſhton of Chaterton, and many more, both gentlemen and others, to my great comfort. Unto whom I had good occaſion to utter a great part of my conſcience; for God ſo ſtrengthened me with his Spirit of boldneſs, according to my humble requeſt and prayer before (everlaſting thanks be given him therefore) that I was nothing afraid to ſpeak to any that came to me, no not even to the judges themſelves, before whom I was thrice arraigned at the bar, among the thieves, with irons on my feet, and put up my hand as others did; but yet with boldneſs I ſpake unto them ſo long as they would ſuffer me.

They alſo ſent for me the fourth time into their chamber, where amongſt other things they laid it ſtraitly to my charge, that I had reported, that I knew a great many good gentlemen in Lancaſhire of mine opinions, and ſtraitly charged me, upon pain of allegiance to the queen's grace, to ſhew who they were. But I denied that I had ſpoken any ſuch thing (as it was indeed a falſe forged lye of ſome wicked wretches). After that, they threatened and rebuked me, for my preaching to the people out of the priſon, as they called it, and for my praying and reading ſo loud, that the people in the ſtreets might hear. The truth is, I and my fellow-priſoner Warburton, every day on our knees, did read morning and evening prayer, with the Engliſh Litany every day twice, both before noon and after, with ſome other prayers, and alſo read every day certain chapters of the Bible, commonly towards night: and we read alſo theſe things with ſo high and loud a voice, that the people without in the ſtreets might hear us, and would oftentimes, namely in the evenings, come and ſit down in our ſight under the windows and hear us read, wherewith others being offended, complained.

All this while George Marſh was not yet brought before the biſhop, whoſe name was Dr. Cotes, placed the ſame time in the biſhoprick of Cheſter. Of whoſe coming then into Lancaſter, the ſaid George Marſh reporteth himſelf as followeth.

The biſhop being at Lancaſter, there ſet up and confirmed all blaſphemous idolatry, as holy-water caſting, proceſſion, gadding, mattins mumbling, children confirming, maſs hearing, idols up-ſetting, with ſuch heathenish rites forbidden by God; but no goſpel-preaching, which Chriſt, God's Son, ſo earneſtly commanded. He was informed of me, and willed to ſend for me and examine me. Which thing he refuſed to do, ſaying he would have nothing to do with heretics ſo haſtily. So haſty in judgment, and calling men heretics, are our biſhops in their lordly dignities, before they hear or ſee what is to be amended or condemned, contrary to the expreſs commandment of God's word, which ſaith, "Condemn no man before thou haſt tried out the truth of the matter; and when thou haſt made inquiſition, then reform righteouſly. Give no ſentence before thou haſt heard the cauſe, but firſt let men tell out their tale: and he that giveth ſentence in a matter before he hear it, is a fool, and worthy to be confounded."

And inſtead of his liberality towards me poor priſoner, he ſent for the jaylor, and rebuked him becauſe he ſuffered me to fare ſo well, ordering him to have me more ſtrictly kept and dieted: but if his lordſhip were tabled but one week with me, I do think he would judge our fare but ſlender enough.

Alſo he, and his chaplains and chancellor, did find fault with the ſchoolmaſter and others, for ſpeaking to me as to a moſt heinous heretic, and alſo with the jaylor for ſuffering them. Such is the mercy that thoſe religious fathers ſhew to the friendleſs and comfortleſs in their adverſities. If we may know the tree by the fruits, as Chriſt ſaith, no man can judge ſuch for any other, but for enemies to Chriſt and his true religion. God lay it never to their charge, but forgive them, and turn their hard hearts, if it be his will.

But it is no new thing for the biſhops to perſecute the truth, and the prophets of the Lord, for their conſtancy in preaching of the true faith; for ſo did their phariſaical forefathers, if ye mark well the hiſtories of the holy Bible. Paſhur was the head biſhop of the temple, the ring-leader of falſe prophets, the chief heretic taker, that is as much as to ſay, the out-thruſter of true piety. After that the dignity of prieſthood was given unto him, he abuſed it; for he taught not, neither reproved by the word, but affrighted the godly with cruelty. He not only ſtruck, but alſo impriſoned the holy prophet Jeremy, though he withſtood him not, but preſently looked for the help of God, ſtedfaſtly preaching the truth of God.

What miſchief the ungracious biſhop Jaſon wrought among the Jews, deſtroying all piety, and ſetting up abominable idolatrous laws, ye may read in the fourth chapter of the ſecond of Maccabees. How the execrable and blind biſhops, Annas and Caiaphas, which never ſpake the truth of God themſelves, unleſs it were againſt their wills, unwittingly to their utter deſtruction, how, I ſay, they oppreſſed the truth in Chriſt and his apoſtles, is ſo well known that I need not to rehearſe it.

And thus much hitherto concerning the impriſonment of George Marſh, and his examinations before the earl of Derby and his deputies above-named. Now proceeding further in the troubleſome perſecution of this good man, let us likewiſe conſider the latter part of his troubles and examinations which followed under the biſhop of the ſame dioceſe, which was Dr. Cotes; the effect whereof being drawn out of his own writing, here briefly followeth.

The Examination of George Marſh by Dr. Cotes Biſhop of Cheſter.

YE heard before how George Marſh being firſt impriſoned at Lathum, and afterward tranſlated unto Lancaſter, was troubled by the earl. Again, within few days after, the ſaid Marſh was removed from Lancaſter, and coming to Cheſter, was ſent for by Dr. Cotes then biſhop, to appear before him in his hall, no body elſe being preſent; and then he aſked him certain queſtions concerning the ſacrament: who made ſuch anſwers as the biſhop ſeemed therewith to be content, ſaving that he utterly denied tranſubſtantiation, and allowed not the abuſe of the maſs, nor that the lay-people ſhould receive under one kind only, contrary to Chriſt's inſtitution; in which point the biſhop went about to perſuade him: howbeit (God be thanked) all in vain. Much other talk he had with him, to move him to ſubmit himſelf to the univerſal church of Rome; and when he ſaw he could not prevail, he ſent him to priſon again: and after being there, came to him divers times one Maſſy, a fatherly old man, one Wrench the ſchoolmaſter, one Henſham the biſhop's chaplain, and the archdeacon, with many more; who with all probability of words and philoſophy, or worldly wiſdom and deceitful vanity, after the tradition of men, and the beggarly ordinances and laws of the world, but not after Chriſt, went about to perſuade him to ſubmit himſelf to the church of Rome, and to acknowledge the pope to be head thereof, and to interpret the ſcriptures no otherwiſe than that church did; with many ſuch like arguments and perſuaſions of fleſhly wiſdom.

To whom the ſaid George Marſh anſwered, that he did acknowledge and believe (though much evil be withal annexed) one holy catholic and apoſtolic church, without which there is no ſalvation, and that this church is but one, becauſe it ever hath, doth, and ſhall confeſs and believe one only God, and him only worſhip, and one only Meſſiah, and in him only truſt for ſalvation: which church alſo is ruled and led by one Spirit, one word, and one faith, and that this church is univerſal and catholic, becauſe it ever hath been ſince the world's beginning, is, and ſhall endure to the world's end, and comprehending within it all nations, kindreds, and languages, degrees, ſtates, and conditions of men; and that this church is built only upon the foundation of the prophets and apoſtles, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being the head corner-ſtone, and not upon the Romiſh laws and decrees, the biſhop of Rome being the ſupreme head.

And where they ſaid, the church did ſtand in ordinary ſucceſſion of biſhops, being ruled by general councils, holy fathers, and the laws of holy church, and ſo had continued by the ſpace of fifteen hundred years and more; he made anſwer, that the holy church, which is the body of Chriſt, and therefore moſt worthy to be called holy, was before any ſucceſſion of biſhops, general councils, or Romiſh decrees: neither yet was bound to any time or place, ordinary ſucceſſion, general councils, or traditions of fathers, neither had any ſupremacy over empires and kingdoms: but that it was a poor ſilly flock, diſperſed and ſcattered abroad, as ſheep without a ſhepherd in the midſt of wolves, or as a flock of orphans and fatherleſs children; and that this church was led and ruled by the only laws, councils, and word of Chriſt, he being the ſupreme head of this church, and aſſiſting, ſuccouring, and defending her from all aſſaults, errors, troubles, and perſecutions, wherewith ſhe is ever compaſſed about.

He ſhewed and proved unto them alſo by the flood of Noah, the deſtruction of Sodom, the Iſraelites departing out of Egypt; by the parables of the ſower, of the king's ſon's marriage, of the great ſupper, and by other plain ſentences of ſcripture, that this church was of no eſtimation, and little in compariſon of the church of hypocrites and wicked worldlings.

He was thruſt at with all violence of craft and ſubtilty, but yet the Lord upheld him and delivered him. Everlaſting thanks be to that merciful and faithful Lord, who ſuffereth us not to be tempted above our might, but in the midſt of our troubles ſtrengtheneth us with his moſt holy Spirit of comfort and patience, giveth us a mouth and wiſdom how and what to ſpeak, againſt which all his adverſaries were not able to reſiſt.

Another Appearance of George Marſh.

NOW after that the ſaid biſhop had taken his pleaſure in puniſhing this his priſoner, and often reviling him, giving taunts and odious names of heretic, &c. he cauſed him to be brought forth into a chapel, in the cathedral church of Cheſter, called our Lady-chapel, before him the ſaid biſhop, at two of the clock in the afternoon, who was there placed in a chair for that purpoſe, and Fulk Dutton mayor of the ſaid city, Dr. Wall, and other prieſts aſſiſting him, placed not far from the ſaid biſhop, but ſomewhat lower; George Wenſloe chancellor, and one John Getham regiſter, ſat directly over-againſt the ſaid biſhop.

Then they cauſed the ſaid George Marſh to take an oath upon a book, to anſwer truly unto ſuch articles as ſhould be objected againſt him. Upon which oath taken, the chancellor laid to his charge, that he had preached and openly publiſhed moſt heretically and blaſphemouſly within the pariſh of Deane, Eccles, Bolton, Berry, and many other pariſhes within the biſhop's dioceſe, in the months of January, February, or ſome other time of the year laſt, proceeding directly againſt the pope's authority and

and catholic church of Rome, the bleſſed maſs, the ſacrament of the altar, and many other articles. Unto all which in ſum he anſwered, that he neither heretically nor blaſphemouſly preached or ſpake againſt any of the ſaid articles; but ſimply and truly, as occaſion ſerved, and (as it were thereunto forced in conſcience) maintained the truth touching the ſame articles, as he ſaid all you now preſent did acknowledge the ſame in the time of the late king Edward the ſixth.

Then they examined him ſeverally of every article, and bade him anſwer directly yea or nay, without circumſtance; for they were come to examine, and not to diſpute at that preſent.

Then he anſwered them unto every article very modeſtly, according to the doctrine by public authority received and taught in this realm at the death of the ſaid king Edward: whoſe anſwers were every one noted and written by the regiſter to the uttermoſt that could make againſt him, which cannot at this preſent be gotten. After this, the company for that time brake up, and he was returned to priſon again.

The laſt Appearance of George Marſh before the Biſhop.

WIthin three weeks after this, or thereabouts, in the ſaid chapel, and in like manner as before, the ſaid biſhop and others beforenamed being there aſſembled, the ſaid George Marſh was brought by the keeper and others with bills and other weapons before them; where firſt the ſaid chancellor, by way of an oration, declared unto the people preſent the ſaid biſhop's charge and burning charity, who even like as a good ſhepherd doth ſee to his flock, that none of his ſheep have the ſcab or other diſeaſe for infecting other clean ſheep, but will ſave and cure the ſaid ſcabbed ſheep; ſo his lordſhip had ſent for the ſaid George Marſh there preſent, as a ſcabbed ſheep, and had weeded him out for corrupting others, and had done what he could in ſhewing his charitable diſpoſition toward the ſaid Marſh, to reduce him from his naughty hereſies; but all that he could do would not help: ſo that he was now determined, if the ſaid Marſh would not relent and abjure, to pronounce and give ſentence definitive againſt him. Wherefore he bade the ſaid George Marſh to be well adviſed what he would do, for it ſtood upon his life: and if he would not at that preſent forſake his heretical opinions, it would be (after the ſentence given) too late, though he would never ſo gladly deſire it.

Then the ſaid chancellor firſt aſked him, whether he were not of the biſhop's dioceſe? To which he anſwered, that he knew not how large his dioceſe was, for his continuance was at Cambridge. But then they replied and aſked, whether he had not lately been at Deane pariſh in Lancaſhire, and there abode? He anſwered, yea.

Then the chancellor read all his former anſwers that he made in that place at his former examination, and at every one he aſked him, whether he would ſtick to the ſame or no? To which he anſwered again, Yea, yea.

How ſay ye then to this, quoth the chancellor? In your laſt examination, amongſt many other damnable and ſchiſmatical hereſies, you ſaid, That the church and doctrine taught and ſet forth in king Edward's time, was the true church, and the doctrine of the true church, and that the church of Rome is not the true and catholic church.

I ſo ſaid indeed, quoth Marſh, and I believe it to be true. Here alſo others took occaſion to aſk him (for that he denied the biſhop of Rome's authority in England) whether Linus, Anacletus, and Clement, that were biſhops of Rome, were not good men, and he anſwered yes, and divers others; but, ſaid he, they claimed no more authority in England, than the biſhop of Canterbury doth at Rome; and I ſtrive not, quoth he, with the place, neither ſpeak I againſt the perſon of the biſhop, but againſt his doctrine, which in moſt points is repugnant to the doctrine of Chriſt.

Thou art an arrogant fellow indeed then, ſaid the biſhop. In what article is the doctrine of the church of Rome repugnant to the doctrine of Chriſt?

To whom George Marſh anſwered and ſaid, Oh my lord, I pray you judge not ſo of me: I ſtand now upon the point of my life and death; and a man in my caſe hath no cauſe to be arrogant, neither am I, God is my record. And as concerning the diſagreement of the doctrine, among many other things, the church of Rome erreth in the ſacrament. For where Chriſt in the inſtitution thereof did as well deliver the cup, as the bread, ſaying, "Drink ye all of this;" and St. Mark reporteth, that they did drink of it: in like manner St. Paul delivered it unto the Corinthians. And in the ſame ſort alſo it was uſed in the primitive church for the ſpace of many hundred years. Now the church of Rome doth take away one part of the ſacrament from the laity. Wherefore if I could be perſuaded in my conſcience by God's word that it were well done, I could gladly yield in this point.

Then ſaid the biſhop, There is no diſputing with an heretic. And therefore when all his anſwers were read, he aſked him whether he would ſtand to the ſame; being as they were, ſaid he, full of hereſy, or elſe forſake them, and come unto the catholic church.

To whom he made this full anſwer, and ſaid, That he held no heretical opinion, but utterly abhorred all kind of hereſy, although they moſt untruly ſo did ſlander him. And he deſired all the people there to bear him witneſs (if any hereafter ſhould ſlander him, and ſay that he held any grievous hereſy), that in all articles of religion he held no other opinion than was by law eſtabliſhed, and publicly taught in England at the death of king Edward the ſixth, and in the ſame pure religion and doctrine he would, by God's grace, ſtand, live and die. And here the chancellor ſpake to one Leach, who ſtood near to Marſh, and bade him ſtand farther from him; for his preſence did him no good.

This being done, the biſhop took a writing out of his boſom, and began to read the ſentence of condemnation: but when the biſhop had read almoſt half thereof, the chancellor called him, and ſaid, Good my lord, ſtay, ſtay: for if ye proceed any farther, it will be too late to call it again; and ſo the biſhop ſtayed. Then his popiſh prieſts, and many other of the ignorant people, called upon Marſh, with many earneſt words, to recant, and amongſt others one Pulleyn a ſhoe-maker ſaid to him, For ſhame, man, remember thyſelf, and recant. They bade him kneel down and pray, and they would pray for him: So they kneeled down, and he deſired them to pray for him, and he would pray for them.

The biſhop then aſked him again, whether he would not have the queen's mercy in time; and he anſwered, he did gladly deſire the ſame, and did love her grace as faithfully as any of them; but yet he durſt not deny his Saviour Chriſt, for loſing his mercy everlaſtingly, and ſo win everlaſting death.

Then the biſhop put his ſpectacles again upon his noſe, and read forward his ſentence about five or ſix lines, and there again the chancellor, with flattering words and ſmiling countenance, called to the biſhop, and ſaid, Yet, good my lord, once again ſtay, for if that word be ſpoken all is paſt, no relenting will then ſerve: and the biſhop (pulling off his ſpectacles) ſaid, I would ſtay, if it would be.

How ſay'ſt thou, quoth he, wilt thou recant? Many of the prieſts and ignorant people bade him do ſo, and call to God for grace; and pulled him by the ſleeve, and bade him recant and ſave his life. To whom he anſwered, I would

would as fain live as you, if in ſo doing I ſhould not deny my maſter Chriſt, and again he ſhould deny me before his Father in heaven.

Then the biſhop read out his ſentence unto the end, and afterwards ſaid unto him, Now will I no more pray for thee, than I will for a dog. And Marſh anſwered, That notwithſtanding he would pray for his lordſhip: and after this the biſhop delivered him unto the ſheriffs of the city. Then his late keeper bade him farewel good George, with weeping tears, which cauſed the officers to carry him to a priſon at the north-gate, where he was very ſtrictly kept until the time he went to his death, during which time he had ſmall comfort or relief of any worldly creature.

For being in the dungeon or dark priſon, none that would do him good could ſpeak with him, or at leaſt durſt enterprize ſo to do for fear of accuſation: and ſome of the citizens which loved him, for the goſpel's ſake (whereof there were but a few), although they were never acquainted with him, would ſometime in the evening at a hole upon the wall of the city (that went into the ſaid dark priſon), call to him, and aſk him how he did. He would anſwer them moſt chearfully, that he did well, and thanked God moſt highly, that he would vouchſafe of his mercy to appoint him to be a witneſs of his truth, and to ſuffer for the ſame, wherein he did moſt rejoice; beſeeching him that he would give him grace not to faint under the croſs, but patiently bear the ſame to his glory and comfort of his church: with many other ſuch like ſayings at ſundry times, as one that moſt deſired to be with Chriſt. Once or twice he had money caſt him in at the ſame hole, about ten-pence at one time, and two ſhillings at another time: for which he gave God thanks, and uſed the ſame to his neceſſity.

When the time and day appointed came that he ſhould ſuffer, the ſheriffs of the city, whoſe names were Amry and Couper. with their officers, and a great number of poor ſimple barbers with ruſty bills and poll-axes, went to the north gate, and there took out the ſaid George Marſh, who came with them moſt humbly and meekly, with a lock upon his feet. And as he came upon the way towards the place of execution, ſome folks proffered him money, and looked that he ſhould have gone with a little purſe in his hand (as the manner of felons was accuſtomed in that city in times paſt, at their going to execution), to the end to gather money to give unto a prieſt to ſay maſſes for them after their death, whereby they might, as they thought, be ſaved: but Marſh ſaid, he would not as then be troubled to receive money, but deſired ſome good man to take the money, if the people were diſpoſed to give any, and to give it unto the priſoners or poor people. So he went all the way unto his death with his book in his hand, looking upon the ſame; and many of the people ſaid, This man goeth not unto his death as a thief, or as one that deſerveth to die.

Now when he came to the place of execution without the city, near unto Spittle-Boughton, one Cawdrey being then a deputy chamberlain of Cheſter, ſhewed Marſh a writing under a great ſeal, ſaying, That it was a pardon for him if he would recant. Whereat Marſh anſwered, That he would gladly accept the ſame (and ſaid further, that he loved the queen), but foraſmuch as it tended to pluck him from God, he would not receive it upon that condition.

After that, he began to ſpeak to the people, ſhewing the cauſe of his death, and would have exhorted them to ſtick unto Chriſt. Whereupon one of the ſheriffs ſaid: George Marſh, we muſt have no ſermoning now. To whom he ſaid, Maſter, I cry your mercy: and ſo kneeling down made his prayers, and then put off his cloaths unto his ſhirt, and then he was chained to the poſt, having a number of faggots under him, and a thing made like a firkin, with pitch and tar in the ſame over his head; and by reaſon the fire was unſkilfully made, and that the wind did drive the ſame to and fro, he ſuffered great extremity in his death, which notwithſtanding he abode very patiently.

Wherein this in him is to be noted, That when he had been a long time tormented in the fire without moving, having his fleſh ſo broiled and puffed up, that they which ſtood before him underneath could ſee the chain wherewith he was faſtened, and therefore ſuppoſed no leſs but he had been dead, notwithſtanding ſuddenly he ſpread abroad his arms, ſaying, Father of heaven, have mercy upon me, and ſo yielded his ſpirit into the hands of the Lord.

Upon this, many of the people ſaid that he was a martyr, and died marvellous patient. Which cauſed the biſhop ſhortly after to make a ſermon in the cathedral church, and therein affirmed, that the ſaid Marſh was an heretic, and was a fire-brand in hell.

In recompenſe of this his good and charitable ſermon, within ſhort time after, the juſt judgment of God appeared upon the ſaid biſhop, recompencing him in ſuch wiſe, that not long after he turned up his heels and died, Upon what cauſe his death was gendered, I have not here preciſely to pronounce, becauſe the rumor and voice of the people is not always to be followed. Notwithſtanding ſuch a report went in all new mens mouths, that he was burned of an harlot. Wherefore, whether he did ſo or no, I am not certain, neither dare lean too much upon public ſpeech. Albeit this is certain, that when he was afterwards ſearched, being dead, by ſome of his ſecret friends and certain aldermen for ſtopping the rumor of the people, this maidenly prieſt and biſhop was found not to be free from certain appearance, which declared but ſmall virginity in him, and that the rumor was not raiſed up altogether upon nought amongſt the people. But of this I will ſtay, and proceed no further; not becauſe more cannot be ſaid, but becauſe I will not be ſo uncharitable in defacing theſe men, as they are cruel in condemning God's ſervants to death.

George Marſh wrote ſeveral letters in priſon, beſides his examinations, as before you have heard. Touching which his examinations, this letter firſt he ſendeth to his friends, the copy whereof here followeth.

A Letter of Mr. Marſh to his Friends.

HERE you have, dearly beloved friends in Chriſt, the chief and principal articles of chriſtian doctrine briefly touched, which heretofore I have both believed, profeſſed and taught, and as yet do believe, profeſs, and teach, and am ſurely purpoſed by God's grace, to continue in the ſame until the laſt day. I do want both time and opportunity to write out at large the probations, cauſes, parts, effects, and contraries or errors of theſe articles, which whoſo deſireth to know, let them read over the common places of the pious learned men, Philip Melancthon and Eraſmus Sarcerius, whoſe judgment in theſe matters of religion I do chiefly follow and lean unto. The Lord give us underſtanding in all things, and deliver us from this evil world, according to his will and pleaſure, and bring us again out of this hell of affliction, into which it hath pleaſed the merciful Lord to throw us down: and deliver us out of the mouth of the lion, and from all evil doing, and keep us unto his everlaſting and heavenly kingdom. Amen.

Though Satan be ſuffered as wheat to ſift us for a time, yet our faith faileth not through Chriſt's aid, but that we are at all times able and ready to confirm the faith of our weak brethren, "and always ready to give an anſwer to every man that aſketh us a reaſon of the hope that is in us, and that with meekneſs and reverence, having a good conſcience; and whereas they backbite us as evil-doers, they may be aſhamed, foraſmuch as they have falſly accuſed our good converſation in Chriſt." I thought myſelf now of late years, for the cares of this life, well ſettled with my loving and faithful wife and children, and

alſo well quieted in the peaceable poſſeſſion of that pleaſant Euphrates, I do confeſs it: but the Lord, who worketh all things for the beſt to them that love him, would not there leave me, but did take my dear and beloved wife from me; whoſe death was a painful croſs to my fleſh.

Alſo I thought myſelf now of late well placed under my moſt loving and moſt gentle Mr. Laurence Saunders, in the cure of Langhton. But the Lord of his great mercy would not ſuffer me long there to continue (although for the ſmall time I was in his vineyard, I was not an idle workman). But he hath provided me, I perceive it, to taſte of a far other cup; for by violence hath he yet once again driven me out of that glorious Babylon, that I ſhould not taſte too much of her wanton pleaſures, but with his moſt dearly beloved diſciples to have my inward rejoicing in the croſs of his Son Jeſus Chriſt: the glory of whoſe church, I ſee it well, ſtandeth not in the harmonious ſound of bells and organs, nor yet in the gliſtering of mitres and copes, neither in the ſhining of gilt images and lights (as the blind papiſts do judge it), but in continual labours and daily afflictions for his name's ſake.

God at this preſent here in England hath his fan in his hand, and after his great harveſt, whereinto theſe years paſt he hath ſent his labourers, is now ſifting the corn from the chaff and purging his floor, and ready to gather the wheat into his garner, and burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.

Take heed and beware of the leaven of the ſcribes and of the ſadducees; I mean the erroneous doctrine of the papiſts, which with their gloſſes deprave the ſcriptures. For as the apoſtle St. Peter doth teach us, "There ſhall be falſe teachers amongſt us, which privily ſhall bring in damnable ſects: And ſaith, that many ſhall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth ſhall be evil ſpoken of, and that through covetouſneſs they ſhall with fained words make merchandize of us;" and Chriſt earneſtly warneth us, to "beware of falſe prophets, which come to us in ſheep's cloathing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. By their fruits you ſhall know them." The fruits of the prophets are their doctrine. In this place are we chriſtians taught, that we ſhould try the preachers, and others that come under a colour to ſet f rth true religion unto us, according to the ſaying of St. Paul, "Try all things, and chuſe that which is good." Alſo the evangeliſt St. John ſaith, "Believe not every ſpirit, but prove the ſpirits whether they be of God or not; for many falſe prophets, ſaith he, are gone out into the world." Therefore if thou wilt know the true prophets from the falſe, try their doctrine by the true touchſtone, which is the word of God: and as the pious Bereans did, "Search ye the ſcriptures, whether thoſe things which be preached unto you be even ſo or not; or elſe by the outward converſation of them ye may eaſily be deceived." Deſunt fortaſſis aliqua.

A Letter of Exhortation from George Marſh to the faithful Profeſſors of Langhton.

GRACE be unto you, and peace be multiplied in the knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

I thought it my duty to write unto you, my beloved in the Lord at Langhton, to ſtir up your minds, and to call to your remembrance the words which have been told you before, and to exhort you (as that good man, and full of the Holy Ghoſt, Barnabas did the Antiochians), that with purpoſe of heart ye continually cleave unto the Lord, and that ye ſtand faſt, and be not moved away from the hope of the goſpel, whereof, God be thanked, ye have had plenteous preaching unto you by your late paſtor Mr. Saunders, and other faithful miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, which now, when perſecution ariſeth becauſe of the word, do not fall away like ſhrinking children, and forſake the truth, being aſhamed of the goſpel whereof they have been preachers, but are willing and ready for your ſakes (which are Chriſt's myſtical body) to forſake not only the chief and principal delights of this life (I do mean), their native countries, friends, livings, &c. but alſo to fulfil their miniſtry to the utmoſt, that is to wit, with their painful impriſonments and blood-ſheddings, if need ſhall require, to confirm and ſeal Chriſt's goſpel, whereof they have been miniſters; and (as St. Paul ſaith) they are ready not only to be caſt into priſon, but alſo to be killed for the name of the Lord Jeſus.

Whether theſe being that good ſalt of the earth, that is, true miniſters of God's word, by whoſe doctrine, being received through faith, men are made ſavoury unto God, and which themſelves loſe not their ſaltneſs, now when they be proved with the boiſterous ſtorms of adverſity and perſecution; or others being that unſavoury ſalt which hath loſt his ſaltneſs, that is to wit, thoſe ungodly miniſters, which do fall from the word of God into the dreams and traditions of Antichriſt: whether of theſe, I ſay, be more to be credited and believed, let all men judge.

Wherefore, my dearly beloved, receive the word of God with meekneſs, that is grafted in you, which is able to ſave your ſouls: and ſee that ye be not forgetful hearers, deceiving yourſelves with ſophiſtry, but doers of the word; whom Chriſt doth liken to a wiſe man, which buildeth his houſe on a rock, that when the great rain deſcended, and the floods came and beat upon the houſe, it fell not, becauſe it was grounded upon a rock: that is to wit, that when Satan, with all his legion of devils, with all their ſubtle ſuggeſtions, and the world with all the mighty princes thereof, with their crafty counſels, do furiouſly rage againſt us, we faint not, but abide conſtant in the truth, being grounded upon a moſt ſure rock, which is Chriſt, and the doctrine of the goſpel, againſt which the gates of hell (that is, the power of Satan) cannot prevail.

And be ye followers of Chriſt and his apoſtles, and receive the word in much affliction (as the pious Theſſalonians did): for the true followers of Chriſt and the apoſtles, be they which receive the word of God. They only receive the word of God, which both believe it, and alſo frame their lives after it, and be ready to ſuffer all manner of adverſity for the name of the Lord, as Chriſt and all the apoſtles did, and as all that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus muſt do: for there is none other way into the kingdom of heaven, but through much tribulation. And if we ſuffer any thing for the kingdom of heaven's ſake, and for righteouſneſs ſake, we have the prophets, Chriſt, the apoſtles, and martyrs for an enſample to comfort us: for they did all enter into the kingdom of heaven at the ſtrait gate and narrow way that leadeth unto life, which few do find. And unleſs we will be content to deny our ownſelves, and take up the croſs of Chriſt, and his ſaints, it is an evident argument that we ſhall never reign with him.

And again, if we can find in our hearts patiently to ſuffer perſecutions and tribulations, it is a ſure token of the righteous judgment of God, that we are counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which we alſo ſuffer. "It is verily (ſaith the apoſtle) a righteous thing with God, to recompence tribulation to them that trouble us, and reſt to us that be troubled;" for after this life, the godly being delivered from their tribulations and pains, ſhall have a moſt quiet and joyful reſt: whereas the wicked and ungodly contrariwiſe ſhall be tormented for evermore with intolerable and unſpeakable pains, as Chriſt, by the parable of the rich glutton and wretched Lazarus, doth plainly declare and teach. Theſe ought we to have before our eyes always, that in the time of adverſity and perſecution (whereof all that will be the children of God ſhall be partakers, and wherewith it hath pleaſed God to put ſome of us in already) we may

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ſtand ſtedfaſt in the Lord, and endure even unto the end, that we may be ſaved. For unleſs we, like good warriors of Jeſus Chriſt, will endeavour ourſelves to pleaſe him, who hath choſen us to be ſoldiers, and fight the good fight of faith even unto the end, we ſhall not obtain that crown of righteouſneſs, which the Lord, that is a righteous judge, ſhall give to all them that love his coming.

Let us therefore receive with meekneſs the word that is grafted in us, which is able to ſave our ſouls, and ground ourſelves on the ſure rock Chriſt. "For (as the apoſtle ſaith) other foundation can no man lay, beſides that which is laid already, which is Jeſus Chriſt." If any man build on this foundation, gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, timber, hay, ſtubble, every man's work ſhall appear, for the day ſhall declare it, and it ſhall be ſhewed in the fire. And the fire ſhall try every man's work what it is. If any man's work that he hath builded upon, abide, he ſhall receive a reward: if any man's work burn, he ſhall ſuffer loſs; but he ſhall be ſaved himſelf, nevertheleſs yet as it were through fire."

By fire here doth the apoſtle underſtand perſecution and trouble; for they which do truly preach and profeſs the word of God, which is called the word of the croſs, ſhall be railed upon and abhorred, hated, thruſt out of company, perſecuted and tried in the furnace of adverſity, as gold and ſilver are tried in the fire.

By gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones, he underſtandeth them that in the midſt of perſecution abide ſtedfaſt in the word. By timber, hay, and ſtubble, are meant ſuch, as in time of perſecution do fall away from the truth. And when Chriſt doth purge his floor with the wind of adverſity, theſe ſcatter away from the face of the earth like light chaff which ſhall be burned with unquenchable fire. If they then which do believe, do in the time of perſecution ſtand ſtedfaſtly in the truth, the builder (I do mean the preacher of the word) ſhall receive a reward, and the work ſhall be preſerved and ſaved: but if ſo be that they go back and ſwerve, when perſecution ariſeth, the builder ſhall ſuffer loſs, that is to ſay, ſhall loſe his labour and coſt, but yet he ſhall be ſaved, if he, being tried in the fire of perſecution, do abide faſt in the faith.

Wherefore, my beloved, give diligent heed, that ye as living ſtones be built upon this ſure rock, and be made a ſpiritual houſe, and a holy prieſthood to offer up ſpiritual ſacrifices, acceptable unto God by Jeſus Chriſt. For we are the true temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in us, if ſo be that we continue in the doctrine of the goſpel. We are alſo an holy and royal prieſthood, to offer up ſpiritual ſacrifices and oblations; for the ſacrifices of the New Teſtament are ſpiritual and of three manners.

The firſt is the ſacrifice of praiſe and thankſgiving, which St. Paul doth call the fruits of thoſe lips which confeſs the name of God.

The ſecond is mercy towards our neighbours, as the prophet Hoſea ſaith, "I will have mercy and not ſacrifice." Read the 25th of St. Matthew.

The third is when we make our body a quick ſacrifice holy and acceptable unto God, that is, when we mortify, and kill our fleſhly concupiſcences and carnal luſts, and ſo bring our fleſh, through the help of the Spirit, under the obedience of God's holy law. This is a ſacrifice to God moſt acceptable, which the apoſtle calleth, "Our reaſonable ſerving of God." And let us be ſure, that unleſs we do now at this preſent take better heed to ourſelves, and uſe thankfully the grace of God offered to us by the goſpel preached theſe years paſt, whereby we are induced and brought to the knowledge of the truth; unleſs, I ſay, we keep Chriſt and his holy word dwelling by faith in the houſe and temple of our hearts, the ſame thing that Chriſt threateneth unto the Jews, ſhall happen unto us; that is to wit, the unclean ſpirit of ignorance, ſuperſtition, idolatry, infidelity, and unbelief, the mother and head of all vices, which by the grace of God was caſt out of us, bringing with him ſeven other ſpirits worſe than himſelf, ſhall to our utter deſtruction return again unto us; and ſo ſhall we be in worſe caſe than ever we were before. "For if we, after we have eſcaped from the filthineſs of the world, through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, be yet tangled therein again and overcome, then is the latter end worſe than the beginning: and it had been better for us not to have known the way of righteouſneſs, than after we have known it, to turn from the holy commandment given unto us."

For it is then happened unto us according to the true proverb, "The dog is turned to his vomit again, and the ſow that was waſhed to wallowing in the mire." And thus to continue and perſevere in infidelity, and to kick againſt the manifeſt and knowing truth, and ſo to die without repentance, and with a deſpair of the mercy of God in Jeſus Chriſt, is to ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, which ſhall not be forgiven, neither in this world, neither in the world to come. "For it is not poſſible (ſaith St. Paul) that they which were once enlightened, and have taſted of the heavenly gift, and have taſted of the good word of God, and of the power of the world to come; if they fall away, ſhould be renewed again by repentance: foraſmuch as they have, as concerning themſelves, crucified the Son of God again, making a mocking of him." St. Paul's meaning in this place is, that they that believe truly and unfeignedly God's word, do continue and abide ſtedfaſt in the known truth.

If any therefore fall away from Chriſt and his word, it is a plain token that they were but diſſembling hypocrites for all their fair faces outwardly, and never believed truly; as Judas, Simon Magus, Demas, Hymeneus, Philetus, and others were, which all fell away from the known verity, and made a mock of Chriſt: which St. Paul doth call here, to crucify Chriſt anew, becauſe that they turning to their old vomit again, did moſt blaſphemouſly tread the benefits of Chriſt's death and paſſion under their feet. They that are ſuch can in no wiſe be renewed by repentance: for their repentance is fleſhly, as the repentance of Cain, Saul, and Judas was, which being without godly comfort, breedeth deſperation unto death. Theſe are not of the number of the elect: and as St. John doth ſay, "They went out from us, but they were not of us: for if they had been of us, they would have remained with us unto the end." Alſo the apoſtle ſaith in another place, "If we ſin willingly after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more ſacrifice for ſin, but a fearful looking for judgment and violent fire, which ſhall devour the adverſaries."

They ſin willingly, which of a ſet malice and purpoſe do with-hold the truth in unrighteouſneſs and lying, kicking againſt the manifeſt and open known truth, which although they do perfectly know that in all the world there is none other ſacrifice for ſin, but only that all-ſufficient ſacrifice of Chriſt's death: yet notwithſtanding they will not commit themſelves wholly unto it, but rather deſpiſe it, allowing other ſacrifices for ſin, invented by the imagination of man (as we ſee by daily experience) unto whom, if they abide ſtill in their wickedneſs and ſin, remaineth a moſt horrible and dreadful judgment. This is that ſin unto death, for which St. John would not that a man ſhould pray.

Wherefore, my beloved in Chriſt, let us, (on whom the ends of the world are come) take diligent heed unto ourſelves, that now in theſe laſt and perilous times (in which the devil is come down, and hath great wrath becauſe he knoweth his time is but ſhort, and whereof the prophets, Chriſt and the apoſtles have ſo much ſpoken, and have given us an earneſt forewarning) we withhold not the truth in unrighteouſneſs, believing, doing, or ſpeaking any thing againſt our knowledge and conſcience, or without faith. For if we ſo do, for whatſoever cauſe it be, it is a wilful and obſtinate infidelity,

and a ſin unto death: and as our Saviour Chriſt ſaith, "If ye believe not, ye ſhall die in your own ſins." For unleſs we hold faſt the word of life, both believing it, and alſo bringing forth fruit worthy of repentance, we ſhall with the unprofitable fig-tree, which did but cumber the ground, be cut down, and our talent taken from us, and given unto another that ſhall put it to a better uſe; and we, through our own unthankfulneſs put from the mercy of God, ſhall never be able to pay our debts, that is to ſay, we ſhall altogether be loſt and undone. "For the earth that drinketh in rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them that dreſs it, receiveth bleſſing of God: but that ground that beareth thorns and briars, is reproved and is nigh unto curſing, whoſe end is to be burned."

Nevertheleſs, dear friends, we truſt to ſee better of you, and things which accompany ſalvation, and that ye being the good ground, watered with the moiſtneſs of God's word plenteouſly preached among you, will with a good heart hear the word of God and keep it, bringing forth fruit with patience. And be none of thoſe forgetful and hypocritical hearers, which although they hear the word, yet the devil cometh, and catcheth away that which was ſown in their heart; either having no root in themſelves, endure but a ſeaſon, and as ſoon as tribulation or perſecution ariſeth becauſe of the word, by and by they are offended; either with the cares of this world and deceitfulneſs of riches choke the word, and ſo are unfruitful. Read the parable of the ſower, and among other things note and mark, that the moſt part of the hearers of God's word are but hypocrites, and hear the word without any fruit or profit, yea, only to their greater condemnation; for only the fourth part of the ſeed doth bring forth fruit. Therefore let not us that be miniſters, or profeſſors, and followers of God's word, be diſcouraged, though that very few do give credit, and follow the doctrine of the goſpel, and be ſaved.

Whoſoever therefore hath ears to hear, let him hear: for whoſoever hath, to him ſhall be given, and he ſhall have abundance: but whoſoever hath not, from him ſhall be taken away, even that he hath: that is to ſay, they that have a deſire of righteouſneſs, and of the truth, ſhall be more and more illuminated of God: on the contrary part, they that do not covet after righteouſneſs and truth, are more hardened and blinded, though they ſeem unto themſelves moſt wiſe. For God doth here follow an example of a loving father, which when he ſeeth that fatherly love and correction doth not help towards his children, uſeth another way. He ceaſeth to be beneficial unto them, and to miniſter unto them fatherly correction: he giveth them over unto themſelves, ſuffering them to live as they liſt.

But we truſt to ſee better of you, my dearly beloved, and that ye like very Gaderenites, for fear to loſe your worldly ſubſtance or other delights of this life, will not baniſh away Chriſt and his goſpel from among you: but that ye with all diligence of mind will receive the word of God, taught you by ſuch miniſters, as now when perſecution ariſeth becauſe of the word, are not aſhamed of the teſtimony of our Lord Jeſus, but are content to ſuffer adverſity with the goſpel, and therein to ſuffer trouble as evil doers, even unto bonds. And if ye refuſe thus to do, your own blood will be upon your own heads. And as ye have had plenteous preaching of the goſpel, more than others have had: ſo ye ſhall be ſure, if ye repent not and bring forth fruits worthy of repentance, to be ſorer plagued, and to receive greater vengeance at God's hand, than others, and the kingdom of God ſhall be taken from you, and be given to another nation, which will bring forth the fruits thereof.

Wherefore, my dearly beloved in Chriſt, take good heed to yourſelves, and ponder well in your minds, how fearful and horrible a thing it is to fall into the hands of the living God. And ſee that ye receive not the word of God in vain, but continually labour in faith, and declare your faith by your good works, which are infallible witneſſes of the true juſtifying faith, which is never idle, but worketh by charity. And ſee that ye continually give yourſelves unto all manner of good works: amongſt which, the chiefeſt are to be obedient to the magiſtrates (ſince they are the ordinance of God, whether they be good or evil), unleſs they command idolatry and ungodlineſs, that is, things contrary unto true religion. For, then ought we to ſay with Peter, "We ought more to obey God than man." But in any wiſe we muſt beware of tumult, inſurrection, rebellion, or reſiſtance.

The weapon of a chriſtian in this matter, ought to be the ſword of the Spirit, which is God's word and prayer, coupled with humility and due ſubmiſſion, and with readineſs of heart, rather to die than to do any ungodlineſs. Chriſt alſo doth teach us, that all power is of God, yea even the power of the wicked, which God cauſeth oftentimes to reign for our ſins and diſobedience toward him and his word. Whoſoever then doth reſiſt any power, doth reſiſt the ordinance of God, and ſo purchaſe to himſelf utter deſtruction and undoing.

We muſt alſo by all means be promoters of unity, peace, and concord. We muſt honour and reverence princes, and all that be in authority, and pray for them, and be diligent to ſet forth their profit and commodity.

Secondly, We muſt obey our parents, or them that be in their rooms, and be careful for our houſholds, that they be provided for and fed, not only with bodily, but much rather with ſpiritual food, which is the word of God.

Thirdly, We muſt ſerve our neighbours by all means we can, remembering well the ſaying of Chriſt, "Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do unto you, do ye likewiſe unto them, for this is the law and the prophets."

Fourthly, We muſt diligently exerciſe the neceſſary work of prayer for all eſtates: knowing that God therefore hath ſo much commanded it, and hath made ſo great promiſes unto it, and doth ſo well accept it. After theſe works, we muſt learn to know the croſs, and what affection and mind we muſt bear towards our adverſaries and enemies, whatſoever they be, to ſuffer all adverſities and evils patiently, to pray for them that hurt, perſecute, and trouble us: and by thus uſing ourſelves, we ſhall obtain an hope and certainty of our vocation, that we be the elect children of God.

And thus I commend you, brethren, unto God and to the word of his grace, which is able to build further, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are ſanctified; beſeeching you to help Mr. Saunders and me your late paſtors, and all them that be in bonds for the goſpel's ſake, with your prayers to God for us, that we may be delivered from all them that believe not, and more unreaſonable and froward men, and that this our impriſonment and affliction may be to the glory and profit of our chriſtian brethren in the world, and that Chriſt may be magnified in our bodies, whether it be by death or life. Amen.

Salute from me all the faithful brethren: and becauſe I write not ſeveral letters to them, let them either read or hear theſe my letters. The grace of our Lord be with you all, Amen. The 28th of June, by the unprofitable ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, and now alſo his priſoner,

George Marſh.

Save yourſelves from this untoward generation. Pray pray, pray: never more need.

Another Letter of George Marſh, to ſome of his Friends at Mancheſter in Lancaſhire.

GRACE be with you, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Amen. After ſalutations in Chriſt to you, with thanks for your friendly

friendly remembrance of me, desiring and wishing unto you, not only in my letters, but also in my daily prayers, such consolation in spirit, and taste of heavenly treasures, that ye may thereby continually work in faith, labour in love, persevere in hope, and be patient in all your tribulations and persecutions, even unto the end and glorious coming of Christ: these shall be earnestly to exhort and beseech you in Christ, as ye have received the Lord Jesus, even so to walk, rooted in him, and not to be afraid of any terror of your adversaries, be they never so many and mighty, and you on the other side never so few and weak: for the battle is the Lord's. And as in times past, God was with Abraham, Moses, Isaac, David, the Maccabees, and others, and fought for them, and delivered all their enemies into their hands, even so hath he promised to be with us also unto the world's end, and so to assist, strengthen, and help us, that no man shall be able to withstand us. "For as I was with Moses, so will I be with thee, saith God, and will never leave thee nor forsake thee. Be strong and bold; neither fear nor dread: for the Lord thy God is with thee, whithersoever thou goest. Now if God be on our side, who can be against us?"

In this our spiritual warfare is no man overcome, unless he traiterously leave and forsake his captain, either cowardly cast away his weapons, or willingly yield himself to his enemies, either fearfully turn his back and fly. Be strong therefore in the Lord, dear brethren, and in the power of his might, and put on all the armour of God, that ye may be able to stand stedfast against the crafty assaults of the devil.

Now what weapons ye must fight withal, learn of St. Paul, a champion both much exercised, and also most valiant and invincible. For we must think none other, but that the life of man is a perpetual warfare upon earth, as the examples of all godly men throughout all ages do declare. The valiant warrior St. Paul being delivered into the hands of the ungodly, and that so many times, and also from so many extreme perils and dangers of death, as he his ownself doth witness, is fain to commit himself in the end to the rough waters of the sea, where he was in great peril and jeopardy of his own life: yet was God always (to the great comfort of all that hear of it) most ready to comfort and succour him, and gloriously delivered him out of all his troubles; so that no man that invaded him, could do him any harm: and in the end he was compelled to say, I have finished my course, the time of my departing is at hand, I long to be loosed, and to be with Christ, which is the best of all, most heartily desiring death.

These things be written for our learning and comfort, and be to us a sure obligation, that if we submit ourselves to God and his holy word, no man shall be able to hurt us, and that he will deliver us from all troubles, yea from death also, until such time as we covet and desire to die. "Let us therefore run with patience unto the battle that is set before us, and look unto Jesus the captain and finisher of our faith, and after his example, for the rewards that is set out unto us, patiently to bear the cross, and despise the shame. For all that will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution."

Christ was no sooner baptized, and declared to the world to be the Son of God, but Satan was by and by ready to tempt him: which thing we must look for also: yea, the more we shall increase in faith and virtuous living, the more strongly will Satan assault us: whom we must learn, after the example of Christ, to fight against, and overcome with the holy and sacred scriptures the word of God (which are our heavenly armour) and sword of the Spirit. And let the fasting of Christ, while he was tempted in the wilderness, be unto us an example of sober living, not for the space of forty days, (as the papists do fondly fansy of their own brains) but as long as we are in the wilderness of this wretched life, assaulted of Satan, who like a roaring lion walketh about, and ceaseth not, seeking our utter destruction.

Neither can the servant of God at any time come and stand before God, that is, lead a godly life, and walk innocently before God, but Satan cometh also among them, that is, he daily accuseth, findeth fault, vexeth, persecuteth, and troubleth the godly: for it is the nature and property of the devil always to hurt, and do mischief, unless he be forbidden of God: for unless God doth permit him, he can do nothing at all, not so much as enter into a filthy hog: but we are of more price than many hogs before God, if we cleave unto his Son by faith.

Let us therefore, knowing Satan's deceits and rancour, walk the more warily, and take unto us the shield of faith, wherewith we may be able to quench and to overcome all the fiery and deadly darts of the wicked. Let us take to us the helmet of salvation, and sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, and learn to use the same according to the example of our grand captain Christ. Let us fast and pray continually. For this frantic kind of devils goeth not out otherwise, as Christ doth teach us, but by faithful prayer and fasting, which is true abstinence and soberness of living, if we use the same according to the doctrine of the gospel and word of God. Fasting is acceptable to God, if it be done without hypocrisy, that is to say, if we use it to this intent, that thereby this mortal body and disobedient carcase may be tamed and brought under the subjection of the Spirit: and again, if we fast to this intent, that we may spare wherewith to help and succour our poor needy brethren.

This fast do the christians use all the days of their life, although among the common sort of people remaineth yet still that superstitious kind of fasting, which God so earnestly reproveth by his prophet Isaiah. For as for true chastening of the body, and abstaining from vice, with shewing mercy towards our needy neighbours, we will neither understand nor hear of it, but still think with the Jews, that we do God a great pleasure when we fast, and that we then fast, when we abstain from one thing, and fill our bellies with another. And verily in this point doth our superstition much exceed the superstition of the Jews: for we never read that they ever took it for a fast, to abstain from flesh, and to eat either fish or white-meat, as they call it.

To fasting and prayer must be joined alms, and mercy towards the poor and needy: and that our alms may be acceptable unto God, three things are chiefly required.

First, That we give with a chearful and joyful heart; for the Lord loveth a chearful giver.

Secondly, That we give liberally, putting aside all niggardship, knowing that he that soweth little, shall reap little; and he that soweth plenteously, shall reap plenteously. Let every man therefore do according as he is able. The poorest wretch in the world may give as great and acceptable an alms in the sight of God, as the richest man in the world can do. The poor widow that did offer but two mites, which make a farthing, did highly please Christ; insomuch that he himself affirmed, That she of her penury had added more to the offerings of God, than all the rich men, which of their superfluity had cast in very much. "For if there be first a willing mind (as St. Paul saith), it is accepted, according to that a man hath, and not according to that a man hath not."

Thirdly, We must give without hypocrisy and ostentation, not seeking the praise of men, or our own glory or profit. And although the scriptures in some places make mention of a reward to our alms and other good works, yet ought we not to think that we do merit or deserve any thing: but rather we ought to acknowledge, that God in his mere mercy rewardeth in us his own gifts. For what hath he that giveth alms, that he hath not received? He then that giveth to a poor man any manner of thing, giveth not of his own, but of those goods which he hath

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received of God. "What haſt thou, ſaith the apoſtle, that thou haſt not received? If thou haſt received it, why rejoiceſt thou, as though thou hadſt not received it?"

This ſentence ought to be had in remembrance of all men. For if we have nothing, but that which we have received, what can we deſerve? or what need we to diſpute and reaſon of our own merits? it cometh of the free gift of God, that we live, that we love God, that we walk in his fear. Where is our deſerving then? We muſt alſo in this our ſpiritual warfare arm ourſelves with continual prayer, a very neceſſary, ſtrong, and invincible weapon, and, after the example of Chriſt and all other godly men, cry heartily unto God in faith, in all our diſtreſſes and anguiſhes. Let us go boldly to the ſeat of grace, where we ſhall be ſure to receive mercy, and find grace to help in time of need. For now is pride and perſecution increaſed: now is the time of deſtruction and wrathful diſpleaſure.

Wherefore, my dear brethren, be ye fervent in the law of God, and venture your lives, if need ſhall require, for the teſtament of the fathers, and ſo ſhall ye receive great honour, and an everlaſting name. Remember Abraham: was not he found faithful in temptation, and it was reckoned unto him for righteouſneſs? Joſeph in time of his trouble kept the commandment, and was made a lord of Egypt. Phineas was ſo fervent for the honour of God, that he obtained the covenant of an everlaſting prieſthood. Joſhua, for the fulfilling of the word of God, was made the captain of Iſrael. Caleb bare record before the congregation, and received an inheritance. David alſo in his merciful kindneſs obtained the throne of an everlaſting kingdom. Elias being zealous and fervent in the law, was taken up into heaven. Ananias, Azarias, and Miſael, remained ſtedfaſt in the faith, and were delivered out of the fire. In like manner Daniel, being unguilty, was ſaved from the mouth of the lions.

And thus ye may conſider throughout all ages, ſince the world began, that whoſoever put their truſt in God were not overcome. Fear not ye then the words of ungodly men; for their glory is but dung and worms; today they are ſet up, and to-morrow are they gone; for they are turned into earth, and their memorial cometh to nought. Wherefore let us take good hearts unto us, and quit ourſelves like men in the Lord; for if we do the things that are commanded us in the law of the Lord our God, we ſhall obtain great honour therein.

Beloved in Chriſt, let us not faint becauſe of affliction, wherewith God trieth all them that are ſealed unto life everlaſting: for the only way into the kingdom of God is through much tribulation. For the kingdom of heaven (as God teacheth by his prophet Eſdras) is like a city built and ſet upon a broad field, and full of all good things, but the entrance is narrow and ſudden (full of ſorrow and travail, perils and labours): like as if there were a fire at the right hand, and a deep water at the left; and as it were one ſtrait path between them both, ſo ſmall, that there could but one man go there. If this city were now given to an heir, and he never went thro' the perilous way, how could he receive his inheritance? Wherefore ſeeing we are in this narrow and ſtrait way, which leadeth unto the moſt joyful and pleaſant city of everlaſting life: let us not ſtagger, neither turn back, being afraid of the dangerous and perilous way, but follow our captain Jeſus Chriſt in the narrow and ſtrait way, and be afraid of nothing, no not even of death itſelf: for it is he muſt lead us to our journey's end, and open us the door unto everlaſting life. Conſider alſo the courſe of this world, how many there be which for their maſter's ſake, or for a little promotion's ſake, would adventure their lives in worldly affairs, as commonly in wars, and yet is their reward but light and tranſitory, and ours is unſpeakable, great and everlaſting. They ſuffer pains to be made lords on earth for a ſhort ſeaſon: how much more ought we to endure like pains, yea peradventure much leſs, to be made kings in heaven for evermore? Conſider alſo the wicked of this world, which for a little pleaſure's ſake, or to be avenged on their enemies, will fight with ſword and weapons, and put themſelves in danger of impriſonment and hanging. So much as virtue is better than vice, and God mightier than the devil, ſo much ought we to excel them in this our ſpiritual battle.

And ſeeing, brethren, it hath pleaſed God to ſend me, and that moſt worthy miniſter of Chriſt, John Bradford, your country-men, in the fore-front of this battle, where (for the time) is moſt danger, I beſeech you all, in the bowels of Chriſt, to help us, and all our fellow-ſoldiers ſtanding in like perilous place, with your prayers to God for us, that we may quit ourſelves like men in the Lord, and give ſome example of boldneſs and conſtancy mingled with patience in the fear of God, that ye and others our brethren, through our example, may be ſo encouraged and ſtrengthened to follow us, that ye alſo may leave example to your weak brethren in the world to follow you, Amen.

Conſider what I ſay, the Lord give us underſtanding in all things. Brethren, the time is ſhort; it remaineth that ye uſe this world as though you uſed it not: for the faſhion of this world vaniſheth away. See that ye love not the world, neither the things that are in the world: but ſet your affection on heavenly things, where Chriſt ſitteth on the right hand of God. Be meek, and long-ſuffering, ſerve and edify one another, with the gift that God hath given you. Beware of ſtrange doctrine; lay aſide the old converſation of greedy luſts, and walk in a new life. Beware of uncleanneſs, covetouſneſs, fooliſh talking, falſe doctrine and drunkenneſs: rejoice and be thankful towards God, and ſubmit yourſelves one to another. Ceaſe from ſin, ſpend no more time in vice, be ſober and apt to pray, be patient in trouble, love each other, and let the glory of God and profit of your neighbour be the only mark to ſhoot at in all your doings. Repent ye of the life that is paſt, and take better heed to your doings hereafter. And above all things cleave ye faſt to him, who was delivered to death for our ſins, and roſe again for our juſtification. To whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour and power for evermore. Amen.

Salute from me in Chriſt all others which love us in the faith, and at your diſcretion make them partakers of theſe letters: and pray ye all for me and others in bonds for the goſpel, that the ſame God (which by his grace hath called us from wicked popery unto true chriſtianity, and now of love proveth our patience by perſecution) will of his mercy and favor in the end glorioufly deliver us, either by death or by life, to his glory, Amen. At Lancaſter, Aug. 30.

By me an unprofitable ſervant of Chriſt,
George Marſh.

A Letter from G. Marſh to Jenkin Crampton, James Leiver, Elice Fogge, Ralph Bradſhaw, &c.

THE grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the love of God, and the fellowſhip of the Holy Ghoſt be with you all, Amen. After ſalutations in Chriſt, and hearty thanks for your friendly tokens and your other remembrances towards me, beſeeching God that ye may increaſe in faith, fear and love, and all good gifts, and grow up into a perfect man in Chriſt: theſe be earneſtly to exhort you, yea and beſeech you in the tender mercy of Chriſt, that with purpoſe of heart ye continually cleave unto the Lord, and that ye worſhip and ſerve him in ſpirit, in the goſpel of his Son: for God will not be worſhipped after the commandments and traditions of men, neither yet by any other means appointed, preſcribed and taught us, but by his holy word. And tho' all men for the moſt part defile themſelves with the wicked traditions of men, and ordinances after the world, and not after

after Chriſt: yet do ye after the example of Tobit, Daniel and his three companions, Mattathias and his three ſons, be at a point with yourſelves, that ye will not be defiled with the unclean meats of the heathen; I do mean the filthineſs of idolatry, and the very heatheniſh ceremonies of the papiſts: but as the true worſhippers, ſerve ye God in ſpirit and truth, according to the ſacred ſcriptures, which I would wiſh and deſire you above all things continually and reverently (as Chriſt and St. Paul command you) to ſearch and read, with the wholeſome monitions of the ſame: to teach, exhort, comfort and edify one another, and your brethren and neighbours, now in the time of this our miſerable captivity, and great famiſhment of ſouls, for want of the food of God's word. And doubt not but that the merciful Lord, who hath promiſed to be with us even unto the world's end, and that whenſoever two or three be gathered together in his name, he will be in the midſt of them, will aſſiſt you, and teach you the right meaning of the ſacred ſcriptures, will keep you from all errors, and lead you into all truth, as he hath faithfully promiſed.

And though you think yourſelves unable to teach, yet at the commandment of Chriſt, now in time of famine, the hungry people being in a wilderneſs far from any towns, which if they be ſent away faſting, are ſure to faint and periſh by the way, employ and beſtow thoſe five loaves and two fiſhes that ye have, upon that hungry multitude, although you think it nothing among ſo many. And he that increaſed the five loaves and two fiſhes to feed five thouſand men, beſides women and children, ſhall alſo augment his gifts in you, not only to the edifying and winning of others in Chriſt, but alſo to an exceeding great increaſe of your knowledge in God and his holy word. And fear not your adverſaries; for either according to his accuſtomed manner God ſhall blind their eyes that they ſhall not ſpy you, either get you favour in their ſight, or elſe graciouſly deliver you out of their hands by one means or other.

Obey with reverence all your ſuperiors, unleſs they command idolatry or ungodlineſs. Make proviſion for your houſholds, chiefly that they be inſtructed and taught in the law of God. Love your wives even as your own-ſelves, and as Chriſt loved the congregation. Love your children, but abuſe them not, leſt they be of a deſperate mind; and bring them up in the nurture and information of the Lord, and teach them even as the godly parents of Tobit the younger, and Suſanna, did teach their children, even from their infancy to reverence God according to his law, and to abſtain from ſin, providing that in no wiſe they be brought up in idleneſs and wantonneſs, ſeeing that ye reckon yourſelves to be children of God, and look for the life which God ſhall give to them which never turn their belief from him. See that ye ever fear God, and keep his commandments; and though the plague of God chance upon you, yet remain ye ſtedfaſt in the faith and fear of God, and thank him, and ſerve him in ſuch holineſs and righteouſneſs as are acceptable before him all the days of your life. Comfort yourſelves in all your adverſities, and ſtay yourſelves in him, who hath promiſed not to leave you as fatherleſs and motherleſs children without any comfort, but that he will come to you like a moſt gentle and moſt merciful Lord. He will continually ſtand by you in all your troubles, aſſiſting, helping, and ſuccouring you at all times. "I will be with you (ſaith he) unto the end of the world." And cleave you faſt unto him, which was incarnate, lived, wrought, taught, and died for your ſins, yea, roſe again from death, and aſcended into heaven for your juſtification. Repent ye of the life that is paſt, and ceaſe from ſin, and from henceforward live as much time as remaineth in the fleſh, not after the luſts of men, but after the will of God. To do good and diſtribute, forget not, Faſt and pray buſily, and as every man hath received the gift, miniſter the ſame one to another as good miniſters of the manifold graces of God, that God in all things may be glorified through Jeſus Chriſt, to whom be praiſe and dominion for ever, and while the world ſtandeth, Amen.

Yours, George Marſh.

Another Letter of George Marſh.

THE ſame grace and peace (dearly beloved in Chriſt); do I intirely deſire and wiſh unto you, which the apoſtle St. Paul wiſheth to all them, unto whom he did write and ſend his epiſtles, than which two things no better can be wiſhed and deſired of God. Grace is throughout all the epiſtles of Paul, taken for the free mercy and favour of God, whereby he ſaveth us freely without any deſervings or works of the law. In like manner peace is taken for the quietneſs and tranquillity of the conſcience, being fully perſuaded that thro' the only merits of Chriſt's death and blood-ſhedding, there is an atonement and peace made between God and us, ſo that God will no more impute our ſins unto us, nor yet condemn us.

Dearly beloved, I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of things, tho' that you know them yourſelves, and be alſo eſtabliſhed in the preſent truth; notwithſtanding I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to ſtir you up by putting you in remembrance. Wherefore I beſeech you, brethren, and exhort you in the Lord Jeſus, that ye increaſe more and more, even as ye have received, how ye ought to walk, and to pleaſe God. And as Barnabas, that good man and full of the Holy Ghoſt, exhorted the Antiochians, with purpoſe of heart cleave ye continually unto the Lord. And ſtand faſt, and be not moved from the hope of the goſpel, whereof God be thanked, ye have had plenteous preaching unto you theſe three years paſt, by the faithful miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, Leiver, Pilkinton, Bradford, Saunders, and others, which now, when perſecution ariſeth, becauſe of the word, do not fall away like ſhrinking children, and forſake the truth, but are preſt and ready for your ſakes, which are his myſtical body, to forſake the chief and principal delights of this life, and ſome of them in giving place to the outrageous tyranny of the world, to forſake their livings, friends, native land, and other chief pleaſures of this life, and to commit themſelves to painful exile, that if it pleaſe God, Chriſt may come again out of Egypt. And others are ready to fulfil their miniſtry unto the uttermoſt: that is to wit, with their painful impriſonments and blood-ſhedding, if need ſhall require, to confirm and ſeal Chriſt's goſpel whereof they have been miniſters: and as St. Paul ſaith, not only to be caſt into priſon, but alſo to die for the name of the Lord Jeſus.

Be ye not therefore aſhamed of the teſtimony of our Lord Jeſus, neither be ye aſhamed of us which are his priſoners, but ſuffer ye adverſity with the goſpel, for which word we ſuffer as evil doers, even unto bonds, but the word of God is not bound with us. Therefore we ſuffer all things for the elect's ſake, that they alſo may obtain the ſalvation which is in Chriſt Jeſus with eternal glory: wherefore ſtand ye faſt in the faith, and be not moved from the hope of the goſpel, and ſo ſhall ye make us even with joy to ſuffer for your ſakes, and as the apoſtle ſaith, To fulfil that which is behind of the paſſions of Chriſt in our fleſh, for his body's ſake, which is the congregation. St. Paul doth not here mean, that there wanteth any thing in the paſſion of Chriſt, which may be ſupplied by man; for the paſſion of Chriſt, as touching his own perſon, is that moſt perfect and all-ſufficient ſacrifice, whereby we are all made perfect, as many as are ſanctified in his blood: but theſe his words ought to be underſtood of the elect and choſen in whom Chriſt is, and ſhall be perſecuted unto the world's end. The paſſion of Chriſt then, as touching his myſtical body, which is the church, ſhall not be perfected till they have all ſuffered, whom God hath appointed to ſuffer for his Son's ſake. Wherefore eſtabliſh yourſelves, and be of

good comfort, and be not moved in theſe afflictions, knowing that we are appointed thereunto. For on our parts nothing can be greater conſolation and inward joy unto us in our adverſity, than to hear of your faith and love, and that ye have a good remembrance of us always, praying for us as we do for you, as the apoſtle writeth of the Theſſalonians, ſaying, Now are we alive, if ye ſtand ſtedfaſt in the Lord: for good ſhepherds do always count the welfare and proſperous eſtate of Chriſt's flock to be their own: for while it goeth well with the congregation, it goeth well with them alſo in whatſoever affliction or adverſity they be: but when they ſee the church in any peril of weakneſs, then be they weary of their own lives, then can they have no reſt nor joy. "Who is weak, ſaith St. Paul, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I do not burn?" But this affection is not in them that ſeek their own lucre and glory.

And foraſmuch as the life of man is a perpetual warfare upon earth, let us run with joy unto the battle that is ſet before us, and like good warriors of Jeſus Chriſt pleaſe him, who hath choſen us to be ſoldiers, and not like ſhrinking children faint and fall away from the truth now in time of adverſity and tribulation, wherewith all that live godly in Chriſt Jeſus muſt be tried, even as gold and ſilver is proved in the fire, and whereof all the ſcriptures have given us ſo much forewarning. For God is wont for the moſt part to warn his elect and choſen, what affliction and trouble ſhall happen unto them for his ſake, not to affright them thereby, but rather to prepare their minds againſt the boiſterous ſtorms of perſecution. As we have a notable example in the apoſtle St. Paul, unto whom God ſent Agabus, who propheſied unto him of the impriſonment and bands that he ſhould ſuffer at Jeruſalem; in whom we have alſo a good example of conſtancy and ſtedfaſtneſs, who regarding not the tears of his familiar friends, nor yet the peril of his own life, did through fire and water go on ſtill to ſet forth the glory of God; and he being delivered from the hands of his wicked and blood-thirſty enemies, and that ſo many times, is in concluſion fain to commit himſelf to the rough waters of the ſea, where he was a long ſeaſon in great peril and jeopardy of his own life. But God was always (to the great comfort of all that ſhall hear it) moſt ready to help and ſuccour him. Firſt, he did ſend him a moſt friendly and ſweet company, I mean Ariſtarchus and Lucas, ſo ruling the heart of the under captain Julius, that he courteouſly intreated him, and gave him liberty to go to his friends, and to refreſh himſelf, and he was beneficial unto him at all times. In like manner was God with Joſeph, and delivered him from all his adverſities, and gave him favour and wiſdom in the ſight of Pharaoh king of Egypt, inſomuch that he made him governor over all Egypt, and over all his houſhold. In like manner was he with Jeremy and Daniel, in their great troubles, and appointed men for them in their moſt troubles, to relieve, ſuccour, and help them, to their ſingular comfort.

Alſo when Peter was in Herod's priſon ſleeping between two ſoldiers, bound with two chains, and the keepers before the door keeping the priſon, the ſame night that Herod had intended to have brought him out unto the people the day following, to have put him unto death to pleaſe the Jews; as a little before he had killed James the brother of John with the ſword; God ſent his angel, and the chains fell off from Peter's hands, and the iron gate opened unto him by its own accord, and ſo was Peter wonderfully delivered by God. For it is the true living God that looſeth all bands, and delivereth out of priſon, and not that feigned god St. Leonard. On the true God did St. Peter call, unto him did he aſcribe the glory of his deliverance, ſaying, "Now I know of a truth, that God hath ſent his angel, &c."

Theſe things are written for our learning, that we thro' patience and comfort of the ſcriptures might have hope. The God of patience and comfort, grant that we be like-minded one towards another, after the enſample of Chriſt Jeſus, that we all agreeing together, may with one mouth glorify God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

A poor priſoner for Chriſt, George Marſh.

A Letter from George Marſh to Robert Langley.

THE grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the love of God, and the fellowſhip of the Holy Ghoſt, be with you, good brother in Chriſt, Robert Langley, and with all them that love the Lord Jeſus unfeignedly, Amen.

After hearty commendations to you, with thanks for that ye did viſit me a priſoner in Chriſt, and unacquainted with, to your coſts, this ſhall be to let you know, that ye ſhall receive from me mine examination and handling at Lathum, and the cauſe of mine impriſonment, according as I did promiſe you: and this ye ſhall receive by my brother, or ſome one of the Bradſhaws of Bolton within this ſeven-night, willing you to ſhew the ſame to ſuch faithful men about Mancheſter or elſewhere, as you do take to be favourers of true religion, and Chriſt's holy word, and then to deliver it again. And whereas you did put me in comfort, that if I did want any thing neceſſary unto this life, you with ſome others would be bearers with me in this my coſtly and painful affliction; I give you moſt hearty thanks, and rejoice greatly in the Lord, who ſtirs up the hearts of others to be careful for me in this my great neceſſity. I thank God, as yet I do want nothing, and intend to be as little chargeable to others (ſaving my mother) as I can. If I do want, I will be bold with you and others, to ſend for your relief and help in my neceſſity; deſiring you in the mean while to pray for me, and all others in the bonds of Chriſt, that God would perform the thing which he hath begun in us, that we may with boldneſs confeſs Jeſus Chriſt, and fight the good fight of faith.

Yours, George Marſh.

Mr. Marſh's Letter to his Friend.

GRACE be with you, and peace be multiplied in the knowledge of God, and Jeſus the Lord.

After hearty commendations and thanks to you, not only for your large token, but much more for your loving letters, full of conſolation to me as touching my perſon to you unknown: theſe ſhall be to certify you, that I rejoice greatly in the Lord, when I do perceive how my ſweet Saviour Chriſt doth ſtir up the minds not only of my familiar friends in times paſt, but alſo of ſundry and divers heretofore unto me unknown and unacquainted, to bear part with me in this my painful and coſtly impriſonment, ſending me things not only neceſſary for this preſent life, but alſo comfortable letters, encouraging and exhorting me to continue grounded and eſtabliſhed in the faith, and not to be moved away from the hope of the goſpel, whereof, according to my ſmall talent, I have been a miniſter: and daily I call and cry unto the Lord in whom is all my truſt, and without whom I can do nothing, that he which hath begun a good work in me, would vouchſafe to go forth with it until the day of Jeſus Chriſt, being ſurely certified in my conſcience of this, that he will ſo do, foraſmuch as he hath given me, that not only I ſhould believe on him, but alſo ſuffer for his ſake. The Lord ſtrengthen me with his Holy Spirit, that I may be one of the number of thoſe bleſſed, which enduring to the end, ſhall be ſaved.

And whereas you ſay, that my ſuffering of perſecution with Chriſt is a thing to you moſt comfortable, I make anſwer, that in all mine adverſity and neceſſity nothing on your behalf is greater conſolation unto me, than to hear of the faith and love of others, and how they have good remembrance of us always, even as the apoſtle

apoſtle reporteth by the Theſſalonians, ſaying, Now are we alive, if ye ſtand ſtedfaſt in the Lord. For my truſt in the Lord is, that this my buſineſs ſhall happen to the furtherance of the goſpel, and that you will be none of thoſe forgetful and hypocritical hearers, whereof ſome being but way-ſide hearers, the devil cometh and taketh away the word out of their hearts, leſt they ſhould believe and be ſaved (but let prayer be made without ceaſing by the congregation unto God for them), and no doubt God will to your conſolation glorioufly deliver by one means or other his oppreſſed. Only tarry ye the Lord's leiſure; be ſtrong, let your heart be of good comfort, and wait ye ſtill for the Lord. He tarrieth not that will come, look for him therefore and faint not, and he will never fail you.

Yours, George Marſh.

A Letter from James Bradſhaw, ſent to George Marſh in Priſon.

GRACE and peace from God the Father, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with you alway, Amen.

We had a letter from you, which is a great comfort unto us, to ſee you take the croſs ſo thankfully. Trouble and affliction doth prove, try, inſtruct, confirm, and ſtrengthen the faith, provoke and ſtir up prayer, drive and force us to amendment of life, to the fear of God, to meekneſs, to patience, to conſtancy, to gentleneſs, to ſoberneſs, temperance, and to all manner of virtues, and are the occaſion of exceeding much good, as well tranſitory as eternal, in this world as in the world to come. There is neither good nor bad, godly nor ungodly, but he hath one croſs or other. And although ſome there be that can ſhift for a while, and make proviſion for themſelves for a time, by craft and ſubtilty and diſſimulation, or by ſome falſhood in fellowſhip (as they call it), yet they bring themſelves at length into the higheſt danger, confuſion and ſhame, both in this world, and in the world to come. And ſeeing that all the troubles and adverſity in this world are a thouſand times more light and eaſy, yea nothing in compariſon of the eternal fire, which is prepared and already kindled for the unfaithful wicked enemies of God; all faithful and godly perſons ought to bear and ſuffer their tranſitory affliction and adverſity the more patiently, willingly, and thankfully; conſidering and remembering all the dearly beloved friends of God, which were wonderfully vexed and plagued of their enemies, Abraham of the Chaldees, Lot of the Sodomites, Iſaac of Iſhmael, Jacob of Eſau, Moſes of his people, David of Saul, and of his own ſon. As for Job, he had not a drop of blood in his body. John Baptiſt, the holieſt that ever was born of a woman, was, without any law, right, or reaſon, beheaded in priſon, as though God had known nothing at all of him.

We have many thouſands fellow-martyrs and companions of our miſery and adverſity, in reſpect of whoſe impriſonment, racking, chains, fire, wild beaſts, and other means wherewith they were tormented, all that we ſuffer is but a blaſt of wind. Therefore now, whoſoever is aſhamed of the croſs of Chriſt, and aggrieved therewith, the ſame is aſhamed to have Chriſt for his fellow and companion, and therefore ſhall the Lord Jeſus Chriſt be aſhamed of him again at the latter day.

Thus I leave for this time, beſeeching you to let me have your advice, becauſe I do not outwardly ſpeak that with my tongue that I do not think in my heart. Pray for me, as I for you. I beſeech the Holy Ghoſt to have you in his keeping alway, Amen.

By your friend,

James Bradſhaw.

A daily Prayer uſed by George Marſh.

"O Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which art the only phyſician of wounded conſciences, we miſerable ſinners, truſting in thy gracious goodneſs, do briefly open unto thee the evil tree of our heart, with all the roots, boughs, leaves, and fruits, and with all the crooks, knots, and knoures, all which thou knoweſt: for thou throughly perceiveſt as well the inward luſts, doubtings, and denying thy providence, as thoſe groſs outward ſins which we commit inwardly and deadly. Wherefore we beſeech thee, according to the little meaſure of our infirmity, although we be far unable and unapt to pray, that thou wouldeſt mercifully circumciſe our ſtoney hearts, and for theſe old hearts, create new within us, and repleniſh us with a new ſpirit, and water us, and moiſten us with the juice of heavenly grace, and wells of ſpiritual waters, whereby the inward venom and noiſome juice of the fleſh may be dried up, and cuſtom of the old man changed, and our heart, always bringing forth thorns and briars to be burned with fire, from henceforth may bear ſpiritual fruits in righteouſneſs and holineſs, unto life everlaſting, Amen."

Beloved, among other exerciſes, I do daily on my knees, uſe this confeſſion of ſins, willing and exhorting you to do the ſame, and daily to acknowledge unfeignedly to God your unbelief, unthankfulneſs, and diſobedience againſt him. This ſhall ye do, if ye will diligently conſider and look yourſelves firſt in the pure glaſs of God's commandments, and there ſee your outward filthineſs and uncleanneſs, and ſo learn to vanquiſh the ſame, that is to wit, fall in hearty diſpleaſure againſt ſin, and thereby be provoked to long after Chriſt, for we truly are ſinners; but he is juſt, and the juſtifier of all them that believe on him. We are poor, but he is rich in mercy toward all them that call upon him. If we hunger and thirſt for righteouſneſs, let us reſort unto his table, for he is a moſt liberal feaſt-maker. He will ſet before us his own holy body, which is given to us to be our meat, and his precious blood, which was ſhed for us, and for many, for the remiſſion of ſins, to be our drink. He biddeth, willeth, and calleth for gueſts, which hunger and thirſt. "Come (ſaith he), all ye that labour and are laden, and I will refreſh you, cool and eaſe you, and you ſhall find reſt unto your ſouls."

The Life of William Flower, who, for ſtriking of a Prieſt, was apprehended, firſt having his Hand cut off, and after martyred for his conſtant Adherence to the Truth.

WIlliam Flower, otherwiſe named Branch, firſt concerning his trade of life, and bringing up, he was born at Snowhill in the county of Cambridge, where he went to ſchool ſome years, and then came to the abbey of Ely; where, after he had remained a while, he was a profeſſed monk according to the order and rule of the ſame houſe where he remained, uſing and bearing the habit of a monk, and obſerving the rules and orders of the ſame houſe, until he came to one and twenty years of age, or thereabout; and before he came to that age, and being a profeſſed monk, he was made a prieſt alſo in the ſame houſe, and there did celebrate and ſing maſs a good ſpace together. After that, by reaſon of a viſitation, and certain injunctions given in the ſame time by the authority of king Henry the eighth, he forſook the ſame houſe, and caſting from him the ſaid monk's habit and religion aforeſaid, took upon him and uſed the habit of a ſecular prieſt, and returned to Snowhill, where he was born; and there he did celebrate and ſing maſs, and taught children their primmer and accidence about half a year together.

Then he went to Ludgate in Suffolk, and there ſerved as a ſecular prieſt about a quarter of a year; and from thence he went to Stoniland, where he tarried and ſerved as a ſecular prieſt alſo, until the coming out of the ſix articles: and then he departed from thence, and went into Glouceſterſhire, where after he had made his abode in the country a while, at length in Tewksbury, according to God's holy ordinance he married a wife, with whom he ever after faithfully and honeſtly continued: and after his marriage, he tarried in Tewksbury about two years together; and from thence he went to Broſley, where he tarried three quarters of a year, and practiſed phyſic and chirurgery; and from thence he removed to Northamptonſhire, where under a gentleman he taught children their primmers, and to write and read. But departing from thoſe parts he came to London, and there remained for a certain ſpace. After that, being deſirous to ſee his country, he returned to Snowhill where he was born; from thence to Brankſtrey in Eſſex, then to Coxall, where he taught children a ſpace, and ſo came to Lambeth near London, where he hired a houſe, and placed his wife, where he and his wife did dwell together till this time: howbeit for the moſt part he was always abroad, except once or twice in a month, to viſit and ſee his wife; where he being at home upon Eaſter-day about ten or eleven of the clock in the forenoon of the ſame day, came over the water from Lambeth into St. Margaret's church at Weſtminſter, where he ſeeing a prieſt named John Cheltam adminiſtering and giving the ſacrament of the altar to the people, and therewith being greatly offended in his conſcience with the prieſt for the ſame his doing (for that he judged him not to be a catholic miniſter, neither his act to be catholic and laudable according to God's word), did ſtrike and wound him upon the head, and alſo upon the arm and hand with his wood-knife, the prieſt having the ſame time in his hand a chalice, with certain conſecrated hoſts therein, which were ſprinkled with the blood of the ſaid prieſt.

In which action as indeed he did not well or evangelically, ſo afterward, being examined before biſhop Bonner, did no leſs confeſs his not well doing in the ſame, ſubmitting therefore himſelf willingly to puniſhment, when it ſhould come. Howbeit touching his belief in the ſacrament, and the popiſh miniſtration; he neither would nor did ſubmit himſelf.

Whereupon the aforeſaid William Flower, being firſt apprehended and laid in the Gatehouſe at Weſtminſter (where he had given two groats the ſame day a little before to the priſoners, ſaying, he would ſhortly after come to them), with as many irons as he could bear: afterward was ſummoned before biſhop Bonner his ordinary, April 19. 1555. where the biſhop, after he had ſworn him upon a book (according to his ordinary manner), miniſtered articles and interrogatories to him. But before I ſpeak of the articles, firſt we have here to ſet forth what communication paſſed betwixt him and Robert Smith, being then alſo there priſoner with him, concerning his fact done at Weſtminſter, the tenor and effect of which communication here followeth.

A Communication between Robert Smith and William Flower, concerning his Striking of the Prieſt at Weſtminſter.

Smith. FRiend, foraſmuch as I underſtand that you do profeſs the goſpel, and alſo have ſo done a long ſeaſon, I am bold to come unto you, and in the way of communication to demand and learn a truth at your own mouth, of certain things by you committed, to the aſtoniſhing not only of me, but of divers others that alſo profeſs the truth.

Flower. I praiſe God for his great goodneſs in ſhewing me the light of his holy word; and I give you hearty thanks for your viſitation, intending by God's grace to declare all the truth that ye ſhall demand lawfully of me, in all things.

Smith. Then I deſire you to ſhew me the truth of your deed, committed on John Cheltam prieſt, in the church, as near as you can, that I may hear from your own mouth how it was.

Flower. I came from my houſe at Lambeth over the water, and entering into St. Margaret's church, and there ſeeing the people falling down before a moſt ſhameful and deteſtable idol, being moved with extreme zeal for my God, whom I ſaw before my face diſhonoured, I drew forth my hanger, and ſtrake the prieſt which miniſtered the ſame unto them: whereupon I was immediately apprehended; and this is moſt true, as the act is manifeſt.

Smith. Did ye not know the perſon that ye ſtrake, or were ye not zealous upon him for any evil will or hatred between you at any time?

Flower. No verily, I never to my knowledge ſaw the perſon before that preſent, neither ought him or any man alive evil will or malice; for if he had not had it, another ſhould, if I had any time come where the like occaſion had been miniſtered, if God had permitted me to do it.

Smith. Do ye think that thing to be well done, and after the rule of the goſpel?

Flower. I do confeſs all fleſh to be ſubject to the power of Almighty God, whom he maketh his miniſters to do his will and pleaſure; as in example, Moſes, Aaron, Phineas, Joſhua, Zimri, Jehu, Judith, Mattathiah, with many others, not only changing degrees, but alſo planting zeals to his honour, againſt all order and reſpect of fleſh and blood. For, as St. Paul ſaith, "His works are paſt finding out:" by whoſe ſpirit I have alſo given my fleſh at this preſent unto ſuch order, as it ſhall pleaſe the good will of God to appoint, in death, which before the act committed I looked for.

Smith. Think you it convenient for me, or any other, to do the like by your example?

Flower. No verily, neither do I know if it were to do again, whether I could do it again, or no: for I was up very early at St. Paul's church upon Chriſt's day in the morning, to have done it in my jealouſy: but when I came in place I was no more able to do it, than now to undo that is done; and yet now being compelled by the ſpirit, not only to come over the water, and to enter the church, but being in mind fully content to die for the Lord, gave over my fleſh willingly without all fear, I praiſe God. Wherefore I cannot learn you to do the like. Firſt, becauſe I know not what is in you. Secondly, becauſe the rules of the goſpel commandeth us to ſuffer with patience all wrongs and injury; yet nevertheleſs, if he make you worthy, that hath made me zealous, ye ſhall not be hindered, judged, nor condemned: for he doth in his people his unſpeakable works in all ages, which no man can comprehend. I humbly beſeech you to judge the beſt of the ſpirit, and condemn not God's doings: for I cannot expreſs with my mouth the great mercies that God hath ſhewed on me in this thing, which I repent not.

Smith. Are ye not aſſured to have death miniſtered unto you for the ſame act committed, and even with extremity?

Flower. I did, before the deed committed, adjudge my body to die for the ſame: whereupon I carried about me in writing, mine opinion of God and the holy ſcriptures; that if it had pleaſed God to have given them leave to have killed my body in the church, they might in the ſaid writing have ſeen my hope, which (I praiſe God) is laid up ſafe within my breaſt, notwithſtanding any death that may be miniſtered upon my body in this world; being aſcertained of everlaſting life through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, and being moſt heartily ſorry for mine offences committed in this fleſh, and truſting ſhortly, through his mercy, to ceaſe from the ſame.

Smith.

Smith. It is no need to examine or commune with you of the hope that ye have any further: for I perceive (God be praiſed) ye are in good eſtate, and therefore I beſeech God for his mercies ſpread his wings over you, that as for his love you have been zealous, even to the loſs of this life, ſo he may give you his Holy Spirit to conduct you out of this death into a better life, which I think will be ſhortly.

Flower. I hunger for the ſame (dear friend) being full aſcertained that they can kill but the body, which I am aſſured ſhall receive life again everlaſting, and ſee no more death; entirely deſiring you and all that fear the the Lord, to pray with me to Almighty God, to perform the ſame in me ſhortly.

And thus Robert Smith departed, leaving him in the dungeon, and went again to his ward. And this (gentle reader) is the truth, as near as the ſaid Smith could report it.

And thus much concerning the talk between him and Robert Smith in priſon, concerning his fact in ſtriking the prieſt. Now to return again to the matter of his examination, where we left: we ſhewed before how this William Flower, after his ſtriking the prieſt, firſt was laid in the Gatehouſe; then, being examined before biſhop Bonner, had articles againſt him, the copy whereof here followeth.

Articles objected by Bonner, againſt William Flower, late of Lambeth in the County of Surry.

1. THAT thou being of a lawful age and diſcretion, at the leaſt of ſeventeen years old, waſt a profeſſed monk in the late abbey of Ely, wherein after thy profeſſion thou remainedſt until the age of one and twenty years, uſing all the mean time the habit and religion of the ſame houſe, and was reputed and taken notoriouſly for ſuch a perſon.

2. Item, That after the premiſſes, thou waſt ordered and made prieſt, according to the laudable cuſtom of the catholic church, and afterward thou didſt execute and miniſter as a prieſt, and waſt commonly reputed, named, and taken for a prieſt.

3. Item, That after the premiſſes thou forgetting God, thy conſcience, honeſty, and the laudable order of the catholic church, didſt, contrary to thy profeſſion and vow, take, as unto thy wife, one woman, commonly called Alice Pulton, in the pariſh church of Tewksbury in the dioceſe of Glouceſter, with whom thou hadſt mutual cohabitation, and carnal copulation, as man and wife, and begat of her two children.

4. Item, That thou being a religious man and a prieſt, didſt, contrary to the order of the eccleſiaſtical laws, take upon thee to practiſe in divers places within the dioceſe of London, phyſic and chirurgery, when thou waſt not admitted, expert, nor learned.

5. Item, That upon Eaſter-day laſt paſt, that is to wit, the fourteenth day of this preſent month of April, within the pariſh church of St. Margaret's at Weſtminſter, within the county of Middleſex and dioceſe of London, thou didſt maliciouſly, outrageouſly, and violently pull out thy weapon, that is to wit, thy wood-knife or hanger. And whereas the prieſt and miniſter there, called Sir John Cheltam, was executing his cure and charge, eſpecially in doing his ſervice, and adminiſtering the ſacrament of the altar to communicants, then didſt thou wickedly and abominably ſmite with thy ſaid weapon the ſaid prieſt, firſt upon the head very ſore, and afterwards upon his hands or other parts of his body, drawing blood abundantly from him; the ſaid prieſt then holding the ſaid ſacrament in his hand, and giving no occaſion why thou ſhouldeſt ſo hurt him; the people being grievouſly offended therewith, and the ſaid church polluted thereby, ſo that the inhabitants were compelled to repair to another church to communicate, and to receive the ſaid ſacrament.

6. Item, That by reaſon of the premiſſes, thou waſt and art by the eccleſiaſtical laws of the church, amongſt other penalties, excommunicated and accurſed, ipſo facto, and not to be accompanied withal, neither in the church, nor elſewhere, but in ſpecial caſes.

7. Item, That thou, concerning the truth of Chriſt's natural body and blood in the ſacrament of the altar, haſt been by the ſpace of theſe years, 20, 19, 18, 17, 16, 15, 14, 13, 12, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1. or any one of them, and yet art at this preſent of this opinion; that is to ſay, that in the ſaid ſacrament of the altar, after the words of conſecration, there is not really, truly, and in very deed contained (under the form of bread) the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

8. Item, That thou for the hatred and diſdain that thou hadſt and didſt bear againſt the ſaid ſacrament, and the virtue thereof, and againſt the ſaid prieſt adminiſtering the ſame (as before), didſt ſmite, wound, and hurt him in manner and form as is before declared.

9. Item, That thou, over and beſides the pains due unto thee for the doing of the cruel fact, art alſo by the order of the eccleſiaſtical laws of the church, and the laudable cuſtom and ordinance of the ſame, to be reputed, taken, and adjudged (as thou art indeed) a very heretic, and to be puniſhed by and with the pains due for hereſy, by reaſon of the ſaid hereſy and damnable opinion.

10. Item, That all the premiſſes be true, manifeſt, notorious, and famous, and that upon the ſame, and every part thereof, there was and is, within the ſaid pariſh of St. Margaret's and other places thereabout, a public voice and fame.

The Anſwer of William Flower to the aforeſaid Articles.

TO the firſt article he anſwereth and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in every part thereof, except that he ſaith and confeſſed that he never conſented and agreed in his heart to be a monk.

To the ſecond article he anſwereth and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in every part thereof. Howbeit he ſaith, that he never did, nor yet doth eſteem the ſaid order of prieſthood, according to the order of the ſaid catholic church, becauſe he was offended therewith in his conſcience.

To the third article he anſwereth and confeſſeth, That he intending to live in holy matrimony, and not forgetting God, did marry with the ſaid Alice Pulton named in this article, wherein he believed that he did well, and according to God's laws. Further, confeſſing and believing, that all the time when he was profeſſed monk, and made prieſt, he did thereby utterly forget God: but when he did ſo marry the ſaid Alice Pulton, and in continuing with her did beget three children, he did remember God, as he ſaith, and believeth that he did then lawfully.

To the fourth article he anſwereth and believeth the ſame to be true in every part thereof.

To the fifth article he anſwereth and confeſſeth, That his conſcience being greatly offended with the ſaid Sir John Cheltam prieſt, for adminiſtering the ſacrament of the altar to the people at the place and time ſpecified in this article, he did ſo ſmite and ſtrike the ſame prieſt with his hanger or wood-knife, as well upon his head, as upon other parts and places of his body, which he remembereth not, whereby the blood ran out, and was ſhed in the ſaid church, as he believeth, having, as he ſaith, none other cauſe or matter ſo to do, but only that his conſcience was offended and grieved, in that the ſame prieſt did ſo give and adminiſter the ſaid ſacrament to the people: which people he believeth was greatly abaſhed and offended with his ſaid fact and doing, and were enforced

forced and compelled to go out of the church, and to repair to another to receive the ſaid ſacrament. And further, being then demanded and examined, whether he did then mind and intended to have killed the ſaid prieſt; or not: he ſaid, he would not anſwer thereunto. And being further examined, whether he did well or evil in ſtriking the ſaid prieſt; he would make no anſwer thereunto.

To the ſixth he anſwereth and ſaith, That whether he be ſo excommunicate or accurſed, as is contained in this article, he referreth himſelf herein to the eccleſiaſtical laws.

To the ſeventh he anſwereth and ſaith, That by the ſpace of ſix and twenty years now paſt, he hath always been, and yet is of this opinion touching the ſaid ſacrament of the altar, as followeth; namely, that in the ſacrament of the altar, after the words of conſecration, there is not really, truly, and in very deed contained under the form of bread, the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

To the eighth he anſwereth and believeth the ſame to be true in every part thereof.

To the ninth he anſwereth, and herein he referreth himſelf to the ſaid laws, cuſtom, and ordinance ſpecified in this article, that is to ſay, the canonical laws.

To the laſt he anſwereth and believeth, that thoſe things before by him confeſſed be true; and thoſe things which he hath denied, be untrue; and that the ſaid common voice and fame hath and doth only labour and go upon thoſe things by him before confeſſed.

By me William Flower, alias Branch.

After this examination, the biſhop began to inſtruct him, and to exhort him to return again to the unity of his mother the catholic church, with ſuch reaſons as he is commonly wont to uſe to others, promiſing many fair things if he would do ſo, beſides the forgiving of what was paſt.

To this William Flower anſwering again, thanked him for his offer: and where it was in his power to kill or not to kill his body, he ſtood therewith contented, let him do therein what he thought; yet over his ſoul he had no ſuch power, which being once ſeparated from the body, is in the hands of no man, but only of God either to ſave or ſpill. As concerning his opinion of the ſacrament, he ſaid he would never go from that he had ſpoken, do he with him what he would.

Then the biſhop aſſigned him again to appear in the ſame place in the afternoon, betwixt 3 and 4. In the mean time to adviſe himſelf of his former anſwers, whether he would ſtand to the ſame his opinions or not: which if he ſo did, he would further proceed againſt him, &c.

In the afternoon the ſaid William Flower appeared again before the ſaid biſhop at the hour and place appointed. To whom the biſhop ſitting in his conſiſtory, ſpake theſe words: Flower, ye were this afternoon here before me, and made anſwer to certain articles; and thereupon I reſpited you till now, to the intent you ſhould conſider and weigh with yourſelf your ſtate, and to remember while you have time, both your abominable act, and alſo that evil opinion which ye have conceived touching the verity of Chriſt's true natural body in the ſacrament of the altar.

To whom the ſaid Flower anſwered as followeth: That which I have ſaid, I will ſtand to; and therefore I require that the law may proceed againſt me. Whereupon the biſhop commanded his notary (Harward by name) to read to him again his articles, as before. Which being read, the ſame William Flower perſiſting in his ſentence, anſwered to all parts of the artieles, as in the forenoon before, ſave only that he requeſted the biſhop concerning the fifth article, he might alter ſomething his anſwer therein, after this tenor and manner of words, to wit, And moreover confeſſeth and ſaith, that whereas he ſtruck the prieſt on Eaſter-day laſt paſt, in St. Margaret's church in Weſtminſter, he hath ſince that time, and yet doth miſlike himſelf in that doing, and doth now judge and believe that the ſame act was evil and naught. Howbeit he ſaith and believeth, that for the matter and cauſe whereof he ſo ſtruck the ſaid prieſt (which was for miniſtering the ſacrament of the altar, which he taketh and judgeth abominable), he neither did, nor doth miſlike himſelf at all therein.

Moreover, he deſireth of the ſaid biſhop licence to be granted him, to alter and take out ſome of the ninth article, and in place thereof, theſe words to be placed; to wit, Herein he referreth himſelf to the laws, cuſtom and ordinance ſpecified in this article, &c. At which requeſt, Bonner granted to the altering of both the articles according as he deſired, and ſo put in the acts.

After this, the biſhop turning again to his old manner of exhorting, went about with words (and words only), to perſuade him to ſubmit himſelf to the catholic church, and to the faith thereof. Notwithſtanding all his perſuaſions, he ſtill remained in the conſtancy of his ſentence, ſaying, that he would not be removed from that he had ſpoken, to die therefore. Whereupon the biſhop aſſigned him the next day (being the 20th day of April) to appear in the ſame place, between eight and nine of the clock in the morning, then and there to hear the ſentence pronounced in caſe he would not relent.

The next morning the ſaid William Flower was brought by the keeper belonging to the warden of the Fleet, before biſhop Bonner, who, according to his uſual manner, endeavoured to reduce him to his catholic church, and the unity thereof, that is, from Chriſt to antichriſt: ſometimes alluring him with fair promiſes, and ſometimes with menaces, terrors, and threatenings. To which he anſwered, Do what ye will, I am at a point: for the heavens ſhall as ſoon fall, as I will forſake my opinion, &c. Whereupon the biſhop, after he had commanded theſe words to be regiſtered, called for the depoſitions of certain witneſſes, produced for the better information of this matter, the names of which witneſſes were theſe: William Jennings, John Bray, Robert Graunt, Richard Dodd, William Pampion, Robert Smalwood, the pariſh prieſt of St. Margaret's, Weſtminſter. The ſum and effect of whoſe depoſitions here enſueth.

Robert Graunt of Weſtminſter, examined upon the ſaid anſwers of William Flower, ſaith and depoſeth; That he did hear and ſee the ſaid Flower acknowledge and recognize the ſaid anſwers, and ſubſcribe to the ſame with his own hand, and alſo was preſent in the church of St. Margaret's in Weſtminſter, when the ſaid William Flower did ſmite and wound the prieſt, when he was adminiſtering the ſacrament; and how this examinant among others preſſed towards him to take him, and was hurt thereby upon his chin; and after he was taken, this examinant did help to conduct him to the Gatehouſe.

Richard Dodd of Weſtminſter, examined upon the ſaid anſwers, ſaith and depoſeth, That he did hear and ſee the ſaid Flower acknowledge and recognize the ſaid anſwers, and ſubſcribe to the ſame with his own hand; and alſo did ſee and was preſent, when the ſaid Flower upon Eaſter-day laſt paſt drew his wood-knife, and ſtruck the prieſt upon the head, hand, and arm: who being wounded therewith, and having a chalice with conſecrated hoſts there in his hand, ſprinkled with the ſaid prieſt's blood, was reſcued by this examinant, and the ſaid Flower carried to the Gate-houſe, and the wood-knife taken away by this examinant.

William Pampion, one of the church-wardens of the ſaid pariſh church of St. Margaret's in Weſtminſter, examined upon the ſaid anſwers of the ſaid Flower, ſaith and depoſeth, That the ſame anſwers be true, and in his ſight were ſubſcribed with the hand of the ſaid Flower. And that upon Eaſter-day laſt paſt, about eleven of the clock in the forenoon, in the pariſh church of St. Margaret's in Weſtminſter, among a great number of the peo-

ple ready to receive the ſacrament, the prieſt's back being turned toward the ſaid Flower, he the ſaid Flower ſuddenly drew forth his wood-knife, and ſtruck Sir John Cheltam the prieſt both upon his head, hand, and arm, whereby he was wounded, and bled abundantly, and the chalice with conſecrated hoſts being in his hand, were ſprinkled with his blood, and the people in great fear cried out lamentably, as though they ſhould preſently have been killed.

Robert Smalwood of Weſtminſter, examined upon the ſaid anſwers, ſaith and depoſeth, That he did hear and ſee the ſaid Flower acknowledge and recognize the ſaid anſwers, and ſubſcribe the ſame with his own hand; and touching the ſtriking and wounding the prieſt in St. Margaret's church in Weſtminſter upon Eaſter-day laſt, this examinant ſaith, he was not there when the fact was done, but immediately after he came to church, and found the prieſt hurt, and wounded in the head, hand, and arm, by the ſaid Flower, and the people in great heavineſs by reaſon thereof. Alſo the people did report, as this examinant ſaith, that Flower did the deed, as the prieſt had the chalice in his hand, adminiſtering the ſacrament to the people.

William Jennings of Weſtminſter, being examined upon the anſwers of the ſaid William Flower, ſaith and depoſeth by virtue of his oath, That he did hear and ſee the ſaid Flower acknowledge and recognize the ſaid anſwers, and ſubſcribe to the ſame with his own hand, in the conſiſtory place: and further depoſeth, That he upon Eaſter-day laſt paſt was preſent at the church of St. Margaret's, Weſtminſter, where Flower ſtruck the ſaid Sir John Cheltam prieſt, firſt upon the head, and afterward upon his arm, whereby the ſaid prieſt is like to loſe his hand. Alſo this jury depoſeth, That the ſaid Sir John Cheltam had a chalice with certain conſecrated hoſts therein in his hand, which were ſprinkled with the blood of the ſaid prieſt, and after the ſaid Flower was apprehended by this examinant and others, they carried him immediately to the Gatehouſe in Weſtminſter.

John Bray, one of the church-wardens of the pariſh church of St. Margaret's in Weſtminſter, ſworn and examined upon the ſaid anſwers, ſaith and depoſeth, That he did hear and ſee the ſaid Flower acknowledge and recognize the ſaid anſwers, and alſo ſubſcribe unto the ſame. And further depoſeth of Flower's ſtriking the prieſt, in effect, as the reſt of the examinants do, and that this ſaid jurate was preſent there at the doing thereof.

After the depoſitions of theſe witneſſes were taken, publiſhed, and denounced, the ſaid biſhop ſpake to William Flower, and aſked him, if he knew any matter or cauſe why ſentence ſhould not be read, and he to be pronounced as an heretic. Whereunto he anſwered as followeth: I have nothing at all to ſay, for I have already ſaid unto you all that I have to ſay; and that I have ſaid I will not go from: and therefore do what you will, &c.

Which when he had ſpoken, the biſhop proceeded to the ſentence, condemning and excommunicating him for an heretic, and after pronounced him alſo to be degraded, and ſo committed him to the ſecular power. Upon the 24th day of the aforeſaid month, of April, which was St. Mark's eve, he was brought to the place of martyrdom, which was in St. Margaret's churchyard at Weſtminſter, where the fact was committed: and there coming to the ſtake where he ſhould be burned, firſt he maketh his prayer to Almighty God, with a confeſſion of his faith, in manner as followeth.

"O eternal God, moſt mighty and merciful Father, who haſt ſent down thy Son upon the earth to ſave me and all mankind, who aſcended up into heaven again, and left his blood upon the earth behind him, for the redemption of our ſins, have mercy upon me, have mercy upon me, for thy dear Son our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, in whom I confeſs only to be all ſalvation and juſtification, and that there is no other means, nor way, nor holineſs, in which or by which any man can be ſaved in this world. This is my faith, which I beſeech all men here to bear witneſs of."

Then he ſaid the Lord's prayer, and ſo made an end.

Then Mr. Cholmeley came to him, deſiring him to recant his hereſy, whereby he might do good to the people, or elſe he would be damned.

Flower anſwered as followeth: Sir, I beſeech you for God's ſake to be contented: for that I have ſaid, I have ſaid, and I have been of this faith from the beginning; and I truſt to the living God he will give me his Holy Spirit to continue to the end. Then he deſired all the world to forgive him whom he had offended, as he forgave all the world.

This done, firſt his hand being held up againſt the ſtake, was ſtruck off, his left hand being faſtened behind him. At which ſtriking off his hand, ſome that were preſent, and purpoſely obſerving the ſame, credibly informed us, that he in no part of his body did once ſhrink at the ſtriking thereof, but once a little he ſtirred his ſhoulders.

And thus fire was ſet unto him, who burning therein, cried with a loud voice, O the Son of God have mercy upon me, O the Son of God receive my ſoul, three times, and ſo his ſpeech being taken from him, he ſpake no more, lifting up notwithſtanding his ſtump with his other arm as long as he could. And thus he endured the extremity of the fire, being therein cruelly handled, by reaſon of the few faggots that were brought being not ſufficient to burn him, they were fain to ſtrike him down into the fire. Where he lying along (which was doleful to behold), upon the ground, his lower part was conſumed in the fire, whilſt his upper part was without the fire, his tongue in all men's ſight ſtill moving in his mouth.

May 1555.

The third of May a letter was ſent to George Colt and Thomas Daniel, to make ſearch for and apprehend John Bernard and John Walſh, who uſed to repair to Sudbury, and carrying about with them the bones of Pigot that was burned, do ſhew them to the people, perſuading them to be conſtant in his religion, and upon examination to commit them to further ordering, according to the laws.

This day Stephen Appes was committed to the Little Eaſe in the Tower, there to remain two or three days till further examination.

The 12th day Mr. Thomas Roſs, preacher, was by the council's letters delivered from the Tower to the ſheriff of Norfolk, to be conveyed and delivered to the biſhop of Norwich, and he either to reduce him to recant, or elſe proceed againſt him according to the law.

The 16th a letter was ſent to the lord treaſurer: ſignifying what the lord lieutenant had done for Roſs; and that order ſhould be given, according to his lordſhip's requeſt, for letters to the biſhops: and for Appes, whom the lieutenant of the Tower reporteth to be mad, his lordſhip perceiving the ſame to be true, ſhould commit him to Bedlam, there to remain till their further order.

The 26th a letter was ſent to the lord treaſurer, to confer with the biſhop of London, and the juſtices of the peace of that county, wherein they are to be executed that are already condemned for religion, and upon agreement of places, to give order for their execution accordingly.

The 28th a letter was ſent to the lord treaſurer, to cauſe ſpeedy preparation to be made of ſuch money as was appointed for ſuch perſons as ſhould carry the joyful tidings of queen Mary's good delivery of a child, to divers princes, that they be not compelled to ſtay when the time ſhall come. The ambaſſadors were, the lord admiral to the emperor, the lord Fitzwalter to the French king, Sir Henry Sidney to the king of the Romans, Richard

chard Shelly to the king of Portugal, whoſe free paſſage through France Dr. Wotton was ordered to procure.

The 29th a letter was directed to Francis Ingleſield to make ſearch for one John D. at London, and to apprehend him, and ſend him to the council, and to make ſearch for ſuch papers and books as he thinketh may touch the ſame D. or one Benger.

The Martyrdom of John Cardmaker, and John Warne, Upholſter, who ſuffered both together in Smithfield, May 30. 1555.

UPON the 30th day of May John Cardmaker, otherwiſe called Taylor, prebendary of the church of Wells; and John Warne, upholſter, of the pariſh of St. John in Walbrook, ſuffered together in Smithfield. Of whom it remaineth now particularly to intreat, beginning with Mr. Cardmaker, who was firſt an obſervant friar before the diſſolution of the abbeys: afterwards was a married miniſter, and in king Edward's time appointed to be a reader in St. Paul's, where the papiſts were ſo much grieved with him for his doctrine's ſake, that in his reading they cut and mangled his gown with their knives. Mr. Cardmaker being apprehended in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, with Mr. Barlow biſhop of Bath, was brought to London, and put in the Fleet-priſon, king Edward's laws being yet in force. But after the parliament was ended, in which the pope was again admitted as ſupreme head of the church, and the biſhops had alſo gotten power and authority, Ex officio, to exerciſe their tyranny, theſe two were brought before the biſhop of Wincheſter lord chancellor, and others appointed by commiſſion (as before is mentioned), to examine the faith of ſuch as were then priſoners, and as unto others before, ſo now unto them the chancellor offered the queen's mercy, if they would agree, and be conformable, &c.

To this they both made ſuch an anſwer, as the chancellor with his fellow commiſſioners allowed them for catholics. Whether they of weakneſs ſo anſwered, or he of ſubtilty would ſo underſtand their anſwer, that he might have ſome forged example of a ſhrinking brother to lay in the diſh of the reſt, which were to be examined; it may eaſily be perceived by this, that to all them which followed in examination, he objected the example of Barlow and Cardmaker, commending their ſoberneſs, diſcretion, and learning. But whatſoever their anſwer was, yet notwithſtanding Barlow was led again to the Fleet, from whence he afterward being delivered, did by exile conſtantly bear witneſs to the truth of the goſpel. Cardmaker was conveyed to the Compter in Bread-ſtreet, the biſhop of London procuring it to be publiſhed, that he ſhould ſhortly be delivered, after that he had ſubſcribed to tranſubſtantiation and certain other articles. To the ſame priſon where Cardmaker was, Laurence Saunders was brought (after the ſentence of excommunication and condemnation was pronounced againſt him), where theſe two priſoners had ſuch chriſtian conference, that whatſoever the breath of the biſhop bluſtered, and the fickle ears of the people too lightly believed, in the end they both ſhewed themſelves conſtant confeſſors and worthy martyrs of Chriſt: as of Laurence Saunders is already written. After whoſe departure Cardmaker remained there priſoner, to be baited by the papiſts, who would needs ſeem to have a certain hope that Cardmaker was become theirs. Continual and great conference divers of them had with him, with reaſonings, perſuadings, threatenings, and all to none effect. To the end that their doings might appear, he required them to put their reaſons in writing, and promiſed by writing to anſwer them.

Dr. Martin, who bare alſo a part in thoſe pageants, took upon him to be the chief doer by writing, whoſe long unſavoury letters and ſimple reaſons for tranſubſtantiation, and ſuch papiſtical traſh, Mr. Cardmaker anſwered largely, learnedly, and ſubſtantially, confuting the ſame, opening the falſhood of his arguments, and delivering the ſentences of the fathers (which Martin abuſed for his purpoſe) to their true underſtanding; which anſwers I would had come to our hands. Thus conſtantly abode this good man all the enemies doings, as he did alſo the death which he ſuffered in Smithfield in London: whereof ye ſhall hear more anon. But firſt we will ſurvey the matter and manner of the articles objected againſt him by biſhop Bonner, with his anſwers annexed to the ſame, as followeth.

Articles objected by Biſhop Bonner againſt John Taylor, alias Cardmaker.

1. I Edmund biſhop of London, object againſt thee, Sir John Taylor, alias Cardmaker, that thou waſt and art of the city and dioceſe of London, and ſo of the juriſdiction of me Edmund biſhop of London.

2. Item, That thou in times paſt didſt profeſs the rule of St. Francis, and didſt by vow promiſe to keep poverty, chaſtity, and obedience, according to the rule of St. Francis.

3. Item, That thou in times paſt didſt receive all the order of the church then uſed: To wit, Tam majores quam minores.

4. Item, That thou after thy ſaid entry into religion and profeſſion and orders aforeſaid, didſt take to wife a widow, and with her hadſt carnal copulation, and didſt get of her a woman child, breaking thereby thy vow and order, and alſo the ordinance of the church.

5. Item, That thou haſt believed and taught, and ſo doſt believe, that in the ſacrament of the altar under the viſible ſigns there, that is to ſay, under the forms of bread and wine, there is really and truly the true and very natural body and blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

6. Item, That the belief of the catholic church is, that in having the body and blood of Chriſt really and truly contained in the ſacrament of the altar, is to have (by the omnipotent power of Almighty God) the body and blood of Chriſt there inviſibly and really preſent under the ſaid ſacrament, and not to make thereby a new God, or a new Chriſt, or a new body of Chriſt.

7. Item, That it may ſtand well together, and ſo is the faith of the catholic church, that the body of Chriſt is viſibly and truly aſcended into heaven, and there is in the viſible form of his humanity; and yet the ſame body in ſubſtance is inviſibly and truly contained in the ſaid ſacrament of the altar.

8. Item, That Chriſt at his laſt ſupper taking bread into his hands, bleſſing it, breaking it, giving it to his apoſtles, and ſaying, Take, eat, this is my body; did inſtitute a ſacrament there, willing that his body really and truly ſhould be contained in the ſaid ſacrament, no ſubſtance of bread and wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof.

Mr. Cardmaker's Anſwers to the aforeſaid Articles.

TO the firſt article he anſwereth, and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in every part thereof.

To the ſecond article he anſwereth, and confeſſeth, That he being under age, did profeſs the ſaid order and religion, and afterward by the authority of king Henry the eighth, he was diſpenſed with for the ſame religion.

To the third he anſwereth, and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in every part thereof.

To the fourth he anſwereth, and confeſſeth the firſt part thereof to be true: and to the ſecond part of the ſame article he anſwereth and ſaith, that in marriage he brake

brake no vow, becauſe he was ſet at liberty to marry, both by the laws of this realm, and alſo by the laws and ordinances of the church of the ſame.

To the fifth he anſwereth, and confeſſeth, That he hath believed and taught as it is contained in this article, but he doth not now ſo believe nor teach.

To the ſixth he anſwereth, That he doth not believe the ſame to be true in any part thereof.

To the ſeventh he anſwereth, That he doth not believe the ſame to be true in any part thereof.

To the eighth he anſwereth, and doth believe, that it is true; that is to ſay, that Chriſt taking bread at his laſt ſupper into his hands, bleſſing it, breaking it, giving it to his diſciples, and ſaying, Take, eat, this is my body, did inſtitute a ſacrament there. And to the other part of this article, namely (willing that his body really and truly ſhould be contained in the ſaid ſacrament, no ſubſtance of bread and wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof), he anſwereth, that he doth not believe the ſame to be true.

By me, John Cardmaker.

Mr. Cardmaker calling to mind afterward the ready cavillings of the papiſts, and thinking himſelf not to have fully, and according to his true meaning, anſwered the latter part of the laſt eighth article, did the next day after the aforeſaid anſwers exhibit unto the biſhop in a ſchedule this hereafter following.

Where in my anſwer to your articles I deny the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, I mean not his ſacramental preſence, for that I confeſs; but my denial is of his carnal preſence in the ſame. But yet further, becauſe this word is oftentimes taken by the holy fathers, not only for bread and wine, but alſo for the whole adminiſtration and receiving of the ſame according to Chriſt's inſtitution: ſo I ſay, that Chriſt is preſent ſpiritually too, and in all them which worthily receive the ſacrament; ſo that my denial is ſtill of the real, carnal and corporal preſence in the ſacrament, and not of the ſacramental nor ſpiritual preſence.

This I thought good to add to my former anſwer, becauſe no man ſhould miſunderſtand it.

By me, John Cardmaker.

Articles objected againſt John Warne, Upholſter, of the Pariſh of St. John in Walbrook, with his Anſwers to the ſame.

FIRST, That thou John Warne, being of the age of 29 years, and of the pariſh of St. John of Walbrook in London, haſt believed, and doſt believe firmly and ſtedfaſtly, that in the ſacrament of the altar there is not the very true and natural body of our Saviour Chriſt in ſubſtance, under the forms of bread and wine.

Item, That thou haſt believed, and doſt believe, that after the words of conſecration ſpoken by the prieſt, there is not (as the church of England doth believe and teach) the body of Chriſt; but that there doth only remain the ſubſtance of material bread, as it is before the conſecration, or ſpeaking of the words of conſecration; and that the ſaid bread is in no wiſe altered or changed.

Item, That thou haſt ſaid and doſt believe, that if the catholic church do believe and teach, that there is in the maſs, now uſed in England, and in other places of Chriſtendom, a ſacrifice wherein there is a ſacrament containing the body and blood of Chriſt really and truly; then that belief and faith of the church is naught, againſt God's truth and the ſcripture.

Item, That thou haſt ſaid, that about a twelvemonth ago and more, a great rough water ſpaniel of thine was ſhorn on the head, and had a crown like a prieſt made in the ſame, thou didſt laugh at it and like it, though thou didſt it not thyſelf, nor knewеſt who did it.

Item, That thou neither this Lent laſt paſt, nor at any time ſince the queen's majeſty's reign, haſt come into the church, or heard maſs, or been confeſſed, or received the ſacrament of the altar; and haſt ſaid, that thou art not ſorry that thou haſt ſo done, but thou art glad, becauſe thou haſt not therewith defiled thy conſcience, which otherwiſe thou ſhouldſt have done.

Upon all which articles John Warne being examined by the ſaid biſhop Bonner, in preſence of divers witneſſes, May 23. 1555. did confeſs and believe the ſame, and ſubſcribe hereunto his name with his own hand.

By me, John Warne.

It alſo was objected againſt the ſaid John Warne, by the aforeſaid biſhop, as followeth.

Item, That thou John Warne waſt in time paſt here in the city of London, convented in Guildhall for hereſy againſt the ſacrament of the altar, according to the order of the laws of this realm of England in the time of king Henry VIII. and when alderman Barnes was ſheriff, and the Thurſday after that Anne Aſkew was burnt in Smithfield; and thereupon thou waſt ſent a priſoner to Newgate, to whom Edmund biſhop of London did repair with his chaplains, to inſtruct thee in the true faith of Chriſt, touching the ſaid ſacrament of the altar, and to bring thee from thy error, which was, that in the ſacrament of the altar there is not the body of Chriſt, nor any corporal preſence of Chriſt's body and blood, under the forms of bread and wine: but that in the ſaid ſacrament there is only material bread and wine, without any ſubſtance of Chriſt's body and blood at all: and becauſe thou wouldſt not leave and forſake thy ſaid hereſy therein, but perſiſt and abide obſtinately and wilfully therein, thou wert, according to the ſaid laws, condemned to death and to be burnt; and thereupon ſuit being made for thee to the king and others in the court, thou hadſt a pardon of king Henry the eighth, and thereby didſt ſave thy life.

Nevertheleſs in thy heart, conſcience, and mind, thou didſt both then, and alſo afore believe no otherwiſe than at this preſent thou doſt believe; that is to ſay, that in the ſacrament of the altar there is neither the very true body nor blood of Chriſt, nor no other ſubſtance but the ſubſtance of material bread and wine; and to receive the ſaid material bread and wine, and to break it, and to diſtribute it among the people, only is the true receiving of Chriſt's body, and no otherwiſe: ſo that thy faith and belief is, that in the ſaid ſacrament there is no ſubſtance of Chriſt's material body and blood; but all the thing that is there is material bread, and the receiving thereof, as before; and that the ſubſtance of the natural and true body of Chriſt, born of the virgin Mary, is only in heaven, and not in the ſacrament of the altar. In which thine opinion thou haſt ever hitherto ſince continued, and ſo doſt continue at this preſent, thou confeſſing all to be true, and in witneſs thereof ſubſcribing thy name thereunto, as followeth.

By me, John Warne.

John Warne being examined upon the aforeſaid articles by the biſhop before certain witneſſes, whoſe names were John Roſwell, John Heywood, Robert Ravens, the 23d of May, did anſwer for the ſame, confeſſing and granting the articles and the contents thereof to be true, according as they were objected in every part, ſubſcribing alſo the ſame with his hand. Such ſtrength and fortitude God's Holy Spirit wrought in him, to ſtand ſtoutly and confidently to the defence of the ſincere doctrine of his Son.

Whereupon the biſhop exhorting him with many words to leave his hereſies (as he called them), and to return to the boſom of his mother the holy church, commanded him to appear again the next day, being the 24th of May.

Who ſo doing (and anſwering as he did before), was ordered to come thither again in the afternoon, and ſo he did;

did: at which time he was earneſtly exhorted by the ſaid biſhop to recant his opinions. To whom he anſwered, that he would not depart from his received profeſſion, unleſs he were thereunto throughly perſuaded by the holy ſcriptures.

Upon which anſwer he was ordered to come again the next day, being the 25th of May, at one of the clock in the afternoon. At which day and hour the biſhop examined him again upon all his former articles before objected, to which he moſt conſtantly adhered, with this further anſwer added thereunto: I am perſuaded (quoth he) that I am in the right opinion, and I ſee no cauſe to repent; for all filthineſs and idolatry is in the church of Rome.

The biſhop then ſeeing that notwithſtanding all his fair promiſes, and terrible threatenings (whereof he uſed many), he could not prevail; finiſhed this examination with the definitive ſentence of condemnation pronounced againſt the ſaid John Warne, and charged the ſheriffs of London with him, under whoſe cuſtody he remained in the priſon of Newgate, until the 30th day of May.

Which day being appointed for their execution, John Cardmaker, with the ſaid John Warne, were brought by the ſheriffs to the place where they ſhould ſuffer. Who being come to the ſtake, firſt the ſheriffs called Mr. Cardmaker aſide, and talked with him ſecretly, ſo long, that in the mean time Mr. Warne had made his prayers, was chained to the ſtake, and had wood and reed ſet about him, while Mr. Cardmaker was talking with the ſheriffs.

The people who before had heard that Mr. Cardmaker would recant, and beholding this, were greatly afflicted, thinking indeed that Mr. Cardmaker ſhould now recant at the burning of Mr. Warne. At length Mr. Cardmaker departed from the ſheriffs, and came towards the ſtake, and (in his garments as he was), kneeled down, and made a long prayer in ſilence to himſelf. His prayers being ended, he roſe up, put off his cloaths unto his ſhirt, and went with a bold courage to the ſtake, and kiſſed it: and taking Mr. Warne by the hand, he heartily comforted him, and ſo gave himſelf to be alſo bound to the ſtake moſt gladly. The people ſeeing this ſo ſuddenly done, contrary to their fearful expectation, as men delivered out of a great doubt, cried out for joy, ſaying, God be praiſed, the Lord ſtrengthen thee, Cardmaker, the Lord Jeſus receive thy ſpirit. And this continued while the executioner put fire to them, and they both paſſed through the fire to the bleſſed reſt and peace among God's holy ſaints and martyrs, to enjoy the crown of triumph and victory prepared for the elect ſoldiers and warriors of Chriſt Jeſus in his bleſſed kingdom. To whom be glory and majeſty for ever. Amen.

The Confeſſion and Faith of Mr. John Warne, which he wrote the Day before he ſuffered, May 30. 1555.

"I Believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth."

A Father, becauſe he is the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who is the everlaſting Word, whom before all words he hath begotten of himſelf, which Word was made fleſh, and therein alſo manifeſted to be his Son; in whom he hath adopted us to be his children, the inheritors of his kingdom, and therefore he is our Father: an Almighty God, becauſe he hath of nothing created all things viſible and inviſible, both in heaven and in earth, even all creatures contained therein, and governeth them.

"And in Jeſus Chriſt his only Son our Lord."

The eternal Word, perfect God with his Father, of equal power in all things, of the ſame ſubſtance, of like glory, by whom all things were made, and have life, and without whom nothing liveth: he was made alſo perfect man, and ſo being very God and very man in one perſon, is the only Saviour, redeemer, and ranſomer of them which were loſt in Adam our forefather. He is the only means of our deliverance, the hope of our health, the ſurety of our ſalvation.

"Which was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, born of the virgin Mary."

According to the Father's moſt merciful promiſe, this eternal Son of God, forſaking the heavenly glory, humbled himſelf to take fleſh of a virgin, according to the ſcriptures, uniting the ſubſtance of the Godhead to the ſubſtance of the manhood, which he took of the ſubſtance of that bleſſed virgin Mary in one perſon, to become therein the very Meſſiah, the anointed king and prieſt, for ever appointed to pacify the Father's wrath, which was juſtly gone out againſt us all for ſin.

"Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and deſcended into hell."

He was arraigned before Pontius Pilate the ruler of Jewry, and ſo unjuſtly accuſed of many crimes, that the ruler judged him innocent, and ſought means to deliver him; but contrary to known juſtice, he did let go Barabbas who had deſerved death, and delivered Chriſt to be crucified, who deſerved no death: which doth manifeſtly declare unto us, that he ſuffered for our ſins, and was buffetted for our offences, as the prophets do witneſs, thereby to have it manifeſted to all men, that he is that Lamb of God that taketh away the ſins of the world. Therefore ſuffering for our ſins, he received and did bear our deſerved condemnation, the pains of death, the taſte of abjection, the very terror of hell, yielding his ſpirit to his Father, his body to be buried in earth.

"The third day he roſe again from death to life."

To make full and perfect the whole work of our redemption and juſtification, the ſame crucified body which was laid in the grave, was raiſed up the third day from death, by the power of his Father, and glory of his Godhead: he became the firſt fruits of the reſurrection, and got the victory of death, that all by him might be raiſed up from death. Through whom all true penitent ſinners may now boldly come unto the Father, and have remiſſion of their ſins.

"He aſcended into heaven, and ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty."

After that in his death and reſurrection he had conquered ſin, death, and the devil, and had been converſant forty days in the earth, being ſeen of the apoſtles, and more than five hundred brethren at once, in the ſame body in which he wrought the work of our ſalvation, he aſcended into heaven with eternal triumph, for the victory over death, ſin, and hell, leaving the paſſage open, by which all true believers may and ſhall enter into his kingdom, where he now ſitteth at his Father's right hand, that is to ſay, in power and glory equal, in majeſty co-eternal.

"From thence he ſhall come to judge the quick and the dead."

He ſhall appear again in great glory to receive his elect unto himſelf, and to put his enemies under his feet, changing all living men in a moment, and raiſing up all that be dead, that all may be brought to his judgment. In this ſhall he give to each man according to his deeds. They which have followed him in regeneration, which have their ſins waſhed away in his blood, and are cloathed with his righteouſneſs, ſhall receive the everlaſting kingdom, and reign with him for ever; and they, which after the race of the corrupt generation of Adam have followed fleſh and blood, ſhall receive everlaſting damnation with the devil and his angels.

"I believe in the Holy Ghoſt."

I do believe that the Holy Ghoſt is God, the third perſon in the Trinity, in unity of the Godhead equal with the Father and the Son, given through Chriſt to inhabit our ſpirits, by which we are made to feel and underſtand the great power, virtue, and loving kindneſs of Chriſt our Lord. For he illuminateth, quickeneth, and certifieth our ſpirit, that by him we are ſealed up unto the day of redemption, by whom we are regenerate and made new

creatures, ſo that by him and through him we do receive all the abundant goodneſs promiſed us in Jeſus Chriſt.

" The holy catholic church."

This is an holy number of Adam's poſterity, elected, gathered, waſhed, and purified by the blood of the Lamb from the beginning of the world, and is diſperſed through the ſame by the tyranny of Gog and Magog; that is to ſay, the Turk and his tyranny, and Antichriſt, otherwiſe named the biſhop of Rome, and his angels, as this day alſo doth teach.

" The communion of ſaints."

Which moſt holy congregation (being, as St. Paul teacheth, built upon the foundation of the apoſtles and prophets, Chriſt being the head corner ſtone), tho' it be by tyranny of Satan and his miniſters perſecuted, ſome by impriſonment, ſome by death, and ſome by other afflictions and painful torments; yet doth it remain in one perfect unity, both in faith and fellowſhip: which unity is knit in an unſpeakable knot, as well of them which are departed from this mortal life, as of them which now be living, and hereafter ſhall be in the ſame, and ſo ſhall continue until they all do meet in the kingdom, where the head Jeſus Chriſt, with all his holy members (of which number thro' Chriſt I aſſuredly believe I am one), ſhall be fully compleat, knit, and united together for evermore.

" The forgiveneſs of ſins."

I do believe that my ſins, and all their ſins which do rightly believe the holy ſcripture, are forgiven only thro' Jeſus Chriſt, of whom only I do profeſs that I have my whole and full ſalvation and redemption, which St. Paul ſaith, cometh not thro' our works and deſervings, but freely by grace, leſt any ſhould boaſt himſelf. Thro' the blood of the croſs all things in heaven and earth are reconciled, and ſet at peace with the Father: without him no heavenly life given, nor ſin forgiven.

" The reſurrection of the body."

I do believe, that by the ſame my Saviour Chriſt, I and all men ſhall riſe again from death; for he, as St. Paul ſaith, is riſen again from the dead, and is become the firſt fruits of them which ſleep. For by a man came death, and by a man cometh the reſurrection from death. This man is Chriſt, thro' the power of whoſe reſurrection I believe that we all ſhall riſe again in theſe our bodies; the godly cloathed with immortality, to live with Chriſt for ever; the wicked alſo ſhall riſe immortal, to live with the devil and his angels in death everlaſting.

" And the life everlaſting."

Through the ſame Jeſus, and by none other, I am ſure to have life everlaſting. He only is the way and entrance into the kingdom of heaven. " For ſo God loved the world, that he did give his only Son Jeſus Chriſt, to the end that ſo many as do believe in him might have everlaſting life." Which I am ſure to poſſeſs ſo ſoon as I am diſſolved, and departed out of this tabernacle, and in the laſt day both body and ſoul ſhall poſſeſs the ſame for ever, to which God grant all men to come.

I believe, that the ſacraments, that is to ſay, of baptiſm and of the Lord's-ſupper, are ſeals of God's moſt merciful promiſes towards mankind. In baptiſm, as by the outward creature of water I am waſhed from the filthineſs which hangeth on my fleſh; ſo do I aſſuredly believe, that I am by Chriſt's blood waſhed clean from my ſins, thro' which I have ſure confidence of my certain ſalvation. In the partaking of the Lord's-ſupper, as I receive the ſubſtance of bread and wine (the nature of which is to ſtrengthen the body), ſo do I by faith receive the redemption wrought in Chriſt's body broken on the croſs, life by his death, reſurrection by his reſurrection, and in ſum, all that ever Chriſt in his body ſuffered for my ſalvation, to the ſtrengthening of my faith in the ſame. And I believe, that God hath appointed the eating and drinking of the creatures of bread and wine in his holy ſupper according to his word, to move and to ſtir up my mind to believe theſe articles above written.

This is my faith; this do I believe; and I am content by God's grace to confirm and ſeal the truth of the ſame with my blood.

By me, John Warne.

Mr. Cardmaker's Letter to his Friend.

THE peace of God be with you. You ſhall right well perceive that I am not gone back, as ſome men do report of me, but as ready to give my life, as any of my brethren, that are gone before me, altho' by a policy I have a little prolonged it, and that for the beſt, as already it appeareth unto me, and ſhall ſhortly appear unto all. That day that I recant any point of doctrine, I ſhall ſuffer twenty kinds of death, the Lord being mine aſſiſtance, as I doubt not but he will. Commend me to my friend, and tell him no leſs. This the Lord ſtrengthen you, me, and all his elect: my riches and poverty is as it was wont to be, and I have learned to rejoice in poverty as well as riches, for that I account now to be very riches. Thus fare ye well in Chriſt. Salute all my brethren in my name. I have conferred with ſome of my adverſaries, learned men, and I find that they be but ſophiſts and ſhadows.

Mr. Cardmaker being condemned, and in Newgate, one Mr. Beard came to him two or three days before he ſuffered death, and ſaid unto him, Sir, I am ſent unto you by the council, to know whether you will recant or no?

Card. From which council are ye come? I think ye are not come, nor yet ſent from the queen's council, but rather from the commiſſioners, unto whom (as I ſuppoſe) ye belong. And whereas you would know, whether I will recant or no, thus I pray you report of me to thoſe whom ye ſaid ſent you. I know you are a tailor by your occupation, and have endeavoured yourſelf to be a cunning workman, and thereby to get your living: ſo I have been a preacher theſe twenty years, and ever ſince that God by his great mercy hath opened mine eyes to ſee his eternal truth, I have by his grace endeavoured myſelf to call upon him, to give me the true underſtanding of his holy word, and I thank him for his great mercy; I hope I have diſcharged my conſcience in the ſetting forth of the ſame, to that little talent that I have received.

Beard. Yea, Sir; but what ſay you to the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar?

Card. I ſay, and mark it well, that Chriſt, the night before his bitter paſſion, ordained the holy and bleſſed communion, and hath given commandment, that his death ſhould be preached before the receiving thereof, in remembrance of his body broken, and his precious blood ſhed for the forgiveneſs of our ſins, to as many as faithfully believe and truſt in him.

And furthermore, to conclude the matter briefly with him, he aſked of him, Whether the ſacrament he ſpake of had a beginning or no? Whereunto when he had granted and affirmed the ſame to be, then Mr. Cardmaker again thus inferred thereupon: If the ſacrament (ſaid he), as you confeſs, have a beginning and an ending, then it cannot be God; for God had no beginning nor ending: and ſo deſiring him well to note the ſame, he departed from him.

The fifth day, Mr. Secretary Bourne, the maſter of the rolls, Sir Francis Englefield, Sir Richard Read, and Dr. Hughes, authorizing them, or two or three of them at the leaſt, to proceed to further examination of Benger, Cary, D. and Field, upon ſuch points as they ſhall gather out of their former confeſſions, concerning their lewd and vain practice of calculating or conjuring, preſently ſent unto them with the ſaid letters.

The ſeventh day there was another letter to Sir John Tregonwel, willing him to join in commiſſion with the ſaid lord North, and others abovenamed, about the examination of the ſaid parties and others, for conjuring and witchcraft.

And the 29th of Auguſt, Cary and D. were ſet at liberty upon bonds for their good appearing until Chriſtmas after.

The twelfth day a letter was ſent to the lord treaſurer, to cauſe writs to be made to the ſheriff of Suſſex, for the burning and executing of Dirike a brewer, at Lewes, and two others, the one at Stainings, the other at Chicheſter.

The 23d of June a letter was ſent to Bonner, to examine a report given to the council of four pariſhes in the county of Eſſex, that ſtill uſed the Engliſh ſervice, and to puniſh the offenders, if any ſuch be.

The Hiſtory of John Ardeley and John Simſon, of the Pariſh of Wigborow the Great, in Eſſex.

JOHN Ardeley and John Simſon were condemned for the ſame cauſe and on the ſame day with Mr. Cardmaker and John Warne, which was the 25th day of May. But before we come to the ſtory of them, firſt here is to be noted the copy of the king and queen's letter directed from the court the ſame day, and ſent by a poſt early in the morning to biſhop Bonner, in tenor and form as followeth.

"RIGHT reverend father in God, right truſty and well beloved, we greet you well. And where of late we addreſſed our letters to the juſtices of peace within every of the counties of this our realm, whereby amongſt other inſtructions given them for the good order and quiet government of the country round about them, they are willed to have a ſpecial regard unto ſuch diſordered perſons as (forgetting their duties towards God and us), do lean to any erroneous and heretical opinions, refuſing to ſhew themſelves conformable to the catholic religion of Chriſt's church; wherein if they cannot by good admonitions and fair means reform them, they are willed to deliver them to the ordinary, to be by him charitably travailed withal, and removed (if it may be), from their naughty opinions, or elſe if they continue obſtinate, to be ordered according to the laws provided in that behalf: underſtanding now, to our no little marvel, that divers of the ſaid diſordered perſons, being by the juſtices of peace for their contempt and obſtinacy, brought to the ordinaries to be uſed as is aforeſaid, are either refuſed to be received at their hands, or if they be received, are neither ſo travailed with, as chriſtian charity requireth, nor yet proceeded withal according to the order of juſtice, but are ſuffered to continue in their errors, to the diſhonour of Almighty God, and dangerous example of others; like as we find this matter very ſtrange, ſo we have thought convenient both to ſignify our knowledge, and therewith alſo to admoniſh you to have in this behalf ſuch regard henceforth to the office of a good paſtor and biſhop, as when any ſuch offenders ſhall be by the ſaid officers or juſtices of the peace brought unto you, you do uſe your good wiſdom and diſcretion in procuring to remove them from their errors, if it may be, or elſe in proceeding againſt them (if they ſhall continue obſtinate), according to the order of the laws; ſo as through your good furtherance, both God's glory may be better advanced, and the commonwealth more quietly governed. Given under our ſignet, at our manor of Hampton-court, the 24th of May, the firſt and ſecond years of our reign."

This letter coming from the court to the biſhop, made him the more earneſt and haſty to the condemnation, as well of others, as of theſe men, of whom we are now treating, namely, Mr. John Simſon and Mr. John Ardeley. Who being both of one country, of one town, and of one trade, that is, being both huſbandmen in the town of Wigborow in Eſſex, and alſo almoſt both of one age, Simſon being of the age of 34. the other of 30. were brought up both together by the under-ſheriff of Eſſex, to Bonner biſhop of London, upon the accuſation of hereſy, as in that time it was called.

As concerning the order and manner of their examinations before the biſhop, as the articles objected againſt them were much alike, ſo their anſwers again to the ſame were not much different in manner and form; as here followeth, taken out of the biſhop's own regiſters.

Articles objected by Biſhop Bonner againſt John Simſon and John Ardeley, Huſbandmen, at Fulham.

1. THAT thou John Simſon (or John Ardeley), huſbandman, of the age of 34 years or thereabouts, waſt and art of the pariſh of Great Wigborow, within the dioceſe of London, and thou haſt not believed, nor doſt believe, that there is here in earth one catholic and univerſal whole church, which doth hold and believe all the faith and religion of Chriſt, and all the neceſſary articles and ſacraments of the ſame.

2. Item, That thou haſt not believed, nor doſt believe, that thou art neceſſarily bounden, under the pain of damnation of thy ſoul, to give full faith and credence unto the ſaid catholic and univerſal church, and to the religion of the ſame, in all neceſſary points of the ſaid faith and religion, without wavering or doubting in the ſaid faith or religion, or in any part thereof.

3. Item, That thou haſt not believed, nor doſt believe, that that faith and religion, which both the church of Rome, Italy, Spain, England, France, Ireland, Scotland, and all other churches in Europe, being the members and parts of the ſaid catholic and univerſal church, do believe and teach, is both agreeing with the ſaid catholic and univerſal church, and the faith and religion of Chriſt, and alſo is the very true faith and religion which all chriſtian people ought to believe, obſerve, follow, and keep; but contrariwiſe thou haſt believed, and doſt believe, that that faith and religion, which the ſaid church of Rome, and all the other churches aforeſaid have heretofore believed, and do now believe, is falſe, erroneous, and naught, and in no wiſe ought to be believed, obſerved, kept, and followed by any chriſtian man.

4. Item, That albeit it be true, that in the ſacrament of the altar there is in ſubſtance the very body and blood of Chriſt under the forms of bread and wine, and albeit that it be ſo believed, taught, and preached undoubtedly in the ſaid church of Rome, and all other the churches aforeſaid, yet thou haſt not ſo believed, nor doſt ſo believe; but contrariwiſe thou haſt and doſt believe firmly and ſtedfaſtly, that there is not in the ſaid ſacrament of the altar, under the ſaid forms of bread and wine, the very ſubſtance of Chriſt's body and blood, but that there is only the ſubſtance of material and common bread and wine, with the forms thereof; and that the ſaid material and common bread and wine, are only the ſigns and tokens of Chriſt's body and blood, and by faith to be received, only for a remembrance of Chriſt's paſſion and death, without any ſuch ſubſtance of Chriſt's body and blood at all.

5. Item, That thou haſt believed and taught, and thou haſt openly ſpoken, and to thy power maintained and defended, and ſo doſt believe, think, maintain, and defend, that the very true receiving and eating of Chriſt's body and blood, is only to take material and common bread, and to break it, and to diſtribute it amongſt the people, remembering thereby the paſſion and death of Chriſt only.

6. Item, That thou haſt likewiſe believed, taught, and ſpoken, that the maſs now uſed in this realm of England, and

Engraved for Fox's Book of Martyrs.

Cuthert Simson upon the Rack.

Thomas Hinshaw scourged by Bp. Bonner, in His Orchard at Fulham.

G. Terry sculp. Pater noster Row

Publish'd as the Act directs. for H. Trapp. Pater noster Row.

and other the churches aforeſaid, is abominable and naught, and full of idolatry, and is of the ordinance of the pope, and not of the inſtitution of Chriſt, and hath no goodneſs in it, ſaving the Gloria in Excelſis, and the epiſtle and the goſpel, and that therefore thou haſt not, nor wilt not come to be preſent at the maſs, nor receive the ſacrament of the altar, or any other ſacrament of the church, as they are now uſed in this realm of England, and other the churches aforeſaid.

7. Item, That thou haſt in times paſt believed preciſely, and obſtinately affirmed and ſaid, and ſo doſt now believe and think, that auricular confeſſion is not needful to be made unto the prieſt, but it is a thing ſuperfluous and vain, and ought only to be made to God, and to none other perſon: and likewiſe thou haſt condemned as ſuperfluous, vain, and unprofitable, all the ceremonies of the church and the ſervice of the ſame, and haſt ſaid that no ſervice in the church ought to be ſaid but in the Engliſh tongue, and if it be otherwiſe ſaid, it is unlawful and naught.

John Simſon and John Ardeley's Anſwers to the aforeſaid Articles.

TO the firſt, they believe, that here in earth there is one catholic and univerſal holy church, which doth hold and believe as is contained in the firſt article, and that this church is diſperſed and ſcattered abroad throughout the whole world.

To the ſecond, they believe (that they be bound to give faith and credence unto it, as is contained in the ſecond article.

To the third, as concerning the faith and religion of the church of Rome, of Italy, Spain, France, Ireland, Scotland, and other churches in Europe, they ſay, they have nothing to do with that faith and religion; but as concerning the faith and religion of England, that if the ſaid church of England be ruled and governed by the word of life, then the church of England hath the faith and religion of the catholic church, and not otherwiſe; and do ſay alſo, that if the church of England were ruled by the word of life, it would go about to condemn them and others of this hereſy.

To the fourth they anſwer, that in the ſacrament, commonly called the ſacrament of the altar, there is very bread and very wine, not altered nor changed in ſubſtance in any wiſe; and that he that receiveth the ſaid bread and wine, doth ſpiritually and by faith only receive the body and blood of Chriſt, but not the very natural body and blood of Chriſt in ſubſtance under the forms of bread and wine.

To the fifth they ſay, they have anſwered, anſwering to the ſaid fourth article; and yet nevertheleſs they ſay, that they have believed, and do believe, that in the ſacrament of the altar there is not the very ſubſtance of Chriſt's body and blood, but only the ſubſtance of the natural bread and wine.

To the ſixth they ſay, that they believe, that the maſs is of the pope, and not of Chriſt; and therefore it is not good, nor having in it any goodneſs, ſaving the Gloria in Excelſis, the epiſtle and goſpel, the creed, and the Pater noſter; and for this cauſe they ſay they have not, nor will not come and hear maſs.

To the ſeventh, John Ardeley anſwereth and ſaith, That he believeth the contents of the ſame to be true; but John Simſon doth anſwer, that he is not as yet fully reſolved with himſelf, what anſwer to make thereunto; and further, that as touching the common and daily ſervice ſaid and uſed in the church, he ſaith, that he never ſaid, that ſervice in the church ought to be ſaid but in the Engliſh tongue, nor yet he never ſaid, that if it be otherwiſe ſaid and uſed than in Engliſh, it is unlawful and naught.

John Ardeley and John Simſon.

Theſe articles being thus objected to them, and their anſwers made unto the ſame, as before, the biſhop, according to his uſual manner, reſpited them to the afternoon, between the hours of two and three. At which time the biſhop repeating again the ſaid articles unto them, and beginning with John Ardeley, did urge and ſolicit him to recant.

To whom John Ardeley anſwered in the following words: My lord, quoth he, neither you, nor any ether of your religion, is of the catholic church; for you be of a falſe faith: and I doubt not but you ſhall be deceived at length, bear as good a face as ye can. Ye will ſhed the innocent blood, and you have killed many, and yet go about to kill more, &c.

And added further, ſaying, If every hair of my head were a man, I would ſuffer death in the opinion and faith I now profeſs. Theſe with many other words he ſpake. Then the biſhop yet demanded if he would relinquiſh his erroneous opinions (as he called them), and be reduced again to the unity of the church. He anſwered, No, God forbid that I ſhould ſo do, for then I ſhould loſe my ſoul.

After this the ſaid biſhop read the ſentence of condemnation againſt him, as he alſo did againſt John Simſon, ſtanding likewiſe in the ſame cauſe and conſtancy with John Ardeley, after aſking them in his formal manner; if they knew any cauſe why ſentence ſhould not be pronounced againſt them: which was done the 25th of May, and ſo were both committed to the ſecular power, that is, to the hands of the ſheriffs, to be conveyed to the place where they ſhould be executed. But before I come to their execution, I muſt not omit what happened in the cloſing up the examination of theſe good men, which is this.

At the time of the examination of John Simſon and John Ardeley aforeſaid, there were aſſembled ſuch a great multitude of people, that becauſe the conſiſtory was not able to hold them, they were fain to ſtand in the church, near about the ſaid conſiſtory, waiting to ſee the priſoners when they ſhould depart. It happened in the mean time, that the biſhop being ſet in a heat with the ſtout and bold anſwers of the ſaid two priſoners (eſpecially of John Simſon), burſt out in his loud and angry voice, and ſaid, Have him away, Have him away.

The people in the church hearing theſe words, and thinking (becauſe the day was far ſpent), that the priſoners had their judgment, they being deſirous to ſee the priſoners had to Newgate, ſevered themſelves, ſome running one way, others another way, which cauſed ſuch a noiſe in the church, that they in the conſiſtory were all amazed, and marvelled what it ſhould mean: wherefore the biſhop alſo being ſomewhat afraid of this ſudden ſtir, aſked what there was to do. The ſtanders by anſwering and ſaid, That there was like to be ſome tumult, for they were together by the ears.

When the biſhop heard this, by and by his heart was in his heels, and leaving his ſeat, he with the reſt of the court betook them to their legs, haſtening with all ſpeed poſſible to recover the door that went into the biſhop's houſe: but the reſt being ſomewhat lighter of foot than my lord, did ſooner recover the door, and thronging haſtily to get in, keep the biſhop ſtill out, and cried, Save my Lord, Save my Lord; but meaning yet firſt to ſave themſelves if any danger ſhould come, whereby they gave the ſtanders by good matter to laugh at. But of this matter enough.

Now John Simſon and John Ardeley being delivered (as is aforeſaid) to the ſheriffs, were ſhortly after ſent down from London to Eſſex, where they were both put to death in one day, but not in the ſame place, for John Simſon ſuffered at Rochford, and John Ardeley at Railey.

For the better conſideration of the rigorous cruelty of theſe catholic days, this is furthermore worthy of all men to be noted, and known to all poſterity, concerning

the examinations of John Ardeley and his company, how that they being brought before the commiſſioners, were by them greatly charged of ſtubbornneſs and vain-glory. Unto whom they anſwered in defence of their own ſimplicity, that they were content willingly to yield to the queen all their goods and lands, that they might be ſuffered to live under her, in keeping their conſcience free from all idolatry and popery. Yet this would not be granted, although they had offered all to their heart blood; ſo greedy and ſo thirſty be theſe perſecutors of chriſtian blood. The Lord give them repentance if it be his will, and keep from them the juſt reward of ſuch cruel dealing, Amen.

The ridiculous Proceedings of Biſhop Bonner, againſt John Tooly, whoſe Body being taken up out of his Grave, was given to the ſecular Power, and ſo burned for an Heretic.

ABOUT the ſame time of the burning of theſe two foreſaid, in the beginning of the month of June, fell out a ſolemn proceſs, and much ado was made about the pope's ſpirituality, againſt John Tooly in a caſe of hereſy. The ſtory is this: There was about the time that the Spaniards began firſt to make a ſtir in England, one John Tooly a citizen and poulterer in London, who conſpired with others of his ſociety to rob a Spaniard at St. James's: and although the deed was heinous and wicked of itſelf, yet was it aggravated and made greater than it was by others, being committed againſt ſuch a perſon, and againſt ſuch a country, which both the queen and her whole court did highly favour. The robbery being known, and brought into judgment, John Tooly was found guilty, and judged to be hanged, whereas notwithſtanding in this realm there are many more thefts committed than thieves executed.

The aforeſaid Tooly being led to the gallows (which ſtood near Charing Croſs), a little before he died, ſtanding upon the cart, read a certain prayer in a printed book, and two other prayers written in two ſeveral papers: who then having the halter about his neck, deſired the people there preſent to pray for him, and to bear him witneſs that he died a true chriſtian man, and that he truſted to be ſaved only by the merits of Chtiſt's paſſion, and ſhedding of his precious blood, and not by any maſſes, or trentals, images, or ſaints, which were, as he ſaid, mere idolatry and ſuperſtition, and deviſed by the biſhop of Rome; and as the ſame Tooly, and two others his fellows which were there hanged with him, did ſteal and rob for covetouſneſs, ſo the biſhop of Rome did ſell his maſſes and trentals, with ſuch paltry, for covetouſneſs, and there being a great anger (as appeared), againſt the biſhop of Rome, ſpake with a loud voice theſe words following; "From the tyranny of the biſhop of Rome, and all his deteſtable enormities; from falſe doctrine and hereſy, and from the contempt of thy word and commandment, good Lord, deliver us."

And then adding further to the ſame, he ſpake unto the people; All you that be true chriſtian men, ſay with me, Amen. And immediately thereupon 300 perſons and more, to the judgment and eſtimation of thoſe that were there preſent, anſwered and ſaid, Amen, three times together at leaſt.

After this it happened, that when John Tooly had read the bill the firſt time, it fell from him, and a certain young man (who was thought to be an apprentice), ſtooped down and took up the bill, and climbed up by the cart, and delivered it to Tooly again, which he again did read to the people. That done, he delivered unto one of the marſhal's officers the book aforeſaid, and deſired him to deliver it to one Mr. Haukes, ſaying, that it was his book. Furthermore, he delivered one of the prayers, written in a paper, to one Robert Bromely, ſerjeant, who deſired to have it of him; on the top of which was written a line, containing theſe words, Beware of Antichriſt; and ſubſcribed underneath, Per me Thomas Harold, priſoner in the Marſhalſea, enemy to Antichriſt. For the bill aforeſaid, Robert Bromely was afterward brought, and was fain to aſk pardon of the biſhop, and to deteſt all the words of Tooly, and glad ſo to eſcape.

Thus while Tooley had made his prayers, as is aboveſaid, to be delivered from the pope's tytanny, by the ſame prayer he fell into great tyranny. For ſo ſoon as the report of this fact came to the ears of the prieſts and mitred prelates, they were not a little mad thereat, thinking it not tolerable that ſo great a reproach ſhould be done againſt the holy father; calling therefore for a council together, as though it had been a matter of great importance, Tooly's talk at his death was debated among them. At laſt (after much pro and contra) they all conſented to thoſe men's judgment, who thought it meet that the violating of the pope's holineſs ſhould be revenged with fire and faggot. And I do eaſily believe that cardinal Poole was no ſmall doer in this ſentence; for as Wincheſter and Bonner did always thirſt after the blood of the living, ſo Pool's lightning was for the moſt part kindled againſt the dead; and he reſerved this charge only to himſelf, I know not for what purpoſe, except peradventure being loth to be ſo cruel as the other, he thought nevertheleſs by this means to diſcharge his duty towards the pope. By the ſame cardinal's order the bones of Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius, which had been almoſt two years in their graves, were taken up and burned at Cambridge, as Tooly's carcaſe was here at London. And beſides this, becauſe he would ſhew ſome token of his diligence in both univerſities, he cauſed Peter Martyr's wife, a woman of worthy memory, to be digged out of the church-yard, to be buried on the dunghill. Of theſe two prodigious acts ye ſhall hear more hereafter. But now to our purpoſe of Tooly, who having ended his prayer, was hanged, and put into his grave, out of which he was digged again, by the command of the biſhops; and becauſe he was ſo bold to derogate the authority of the biſhop of Rome, at the time of his death, it pleaſed them to judge and condemn him as an heretic, upon the commandment of the council's letter, as here appeareth.

The Council's Letter to Biſhop Bonner.

AFTER our very hearty commendations to your lordſhip, underſtanding that of late, amongſt others that have ſuffered about London for their offences, one lewd perſon that was condemned for felony died very obſtinately, profeſſing at the time of his death ſundry heretical and erroneous opinions; like as we think it not convenient that ſuch a matter ſhould be overpaſſed without ſome example to the world, ſo we thought good to pray your lordſhip to cauſe further enquiry to be made thereof, and thereupon to proceed to the making out of ſuch proceſs as by the eccleſiaſtical laws is provided in that behalf. And ſo we bid your lordſhip heartily well to fare. From Hampton-Court, April 28. 1555.

Your Lordſhip's loving friends,

Steph. Winton. Chancel.
F. Shrewsbury.
John Gage.
Thomas Cheney.
R. Rochester.
William Peter.
R. Southwell,

Soon after a citation was ſet up upon St. Paul's church door, under the biſhop of London's great ſeal; the tenor whereof here enſueth.

The

The Writ or Mandate of Biſhop Bonner, ſet up at Charing-croſs, St. Paul's Church Door, and at St. Martin's in the Fields, for the citing and further enquiring out of the Caſe of John Tooly.

EDmund by the ſufferance of God, biſhop of London, to all and ſingular parſons, vicars, curates, and others, clerks and learned men, being within our dioceſe of London, and eſpecially unto Richard Clony, our ſworn ſumner; greeting, ſalutation, and benediction. Foraſmuch as it is come to our hearing by common fame, and the declaration of ſeveral credible perſons, that one John Tooly late citizen and poulterer of London, the ſon of perdition and iniquity, coming to the profundity of malice at the ſelf-ſame time in which he ſhould go to hanging, according to the laws of the realm, for the great theft lately by him committed, at which time chiefly he ſhould have cared for the wealth of his ſoul, and to have died in the unity of the catholic church, did utter divers and ſundry damnable, blaſphemous and heretical opinions and errors, utterly contrary and repugnant to the verity of the catholic faith, and unity of the ſame, and did exhort, ſtir up, and encourage the people, there ſtanding in great multitude, to hold and defend the ſame errors and opinions: and moreover, certain of the people there ſtanding, as did appear, affected with errors and hereſies, as favourers and defenders of the ſaid John, did confirm and give expreſs conſent to the aforeſaid words, propoſitions and affirmations; which thing we do utter with ſorrow and bitterneſs of heart.

We therefore the aforeſaid Edmund, and biſhop aboveſaid, not being able, nor daring to paſs over in ſilence, nor wink at the aforeſaid heinous act, leſt by our negligence and ſlackneſs the blood of them might be required at our hands at the moſt terrible day of judgment, deſiring to be certified and informed whether the premiſſes declared unto us, be of the truth, and leſt that any ſcabbed ſheep, lurking amongſt the ſimple flock of our Lord, do infect them with deadly hereſy: to you therefore we ſtraitly charge and command, that you cite, or cauſe to be cited, all and ſingular, having or knowing the truth of the premiſſes, by ſetting up this citation upon the church door of St. Martin's in the Fields, being within our dioceſe of London, and alſo upon the cathedral church door of St. Paul's in London, leaving there the copy hereof, or by other means or ways, the beſt you can, that this citation and monition may come to their knowledge.

All which and ſingular by the tenor of theſe preſents we cite and admoniſh that they appear, and every one of them do appear before us, our vicar general, or commiſſary, whatſoever he be in that behalf, in our cathedral church of St. Paul's in London, in the conſiſtory place, upon Thurſday the 2d day of May, now next enſuing, betwixt the hours of 9 and 10 of the clock in the forenoon the ſame day, to bear witneſs of the truth in this behalf, and to depoſe and declare faithfully the truth that they know or have heard of the premiſſes, and moreover to do and receive what law and reaſon doth require.

Further we commit unto you as before, and ſtraitly enjoining you do command, that ye will generally cite the wife of the ſaid Tooly that is dead, and his children, and his kindred by father and mother, his friends and his familiars in eſpecial, and all other and every of them, if there be any perhaps that deſire to defend and purge the remembrance of the perſon in the premiſſes, that ye admoniſh them after the manner and form aforeſaid, whom we likewiſe, by the tenor of theſe preſents, do in ſuch ſort cite and admoniſh that they appear all, and that every one of them do appear (under pain to be compelled to keep ſilence for ever hereafter in this behalf), before us, or our vicar general in ſpiritual matters, or ſuch our commiſſary, at the day, hour, and place aforeſaid, to defend the good name and remembrance of him that is dead, and to ſay, alledge, and propoſe in due form of law, a cauſe reaſonable, if they have or can tell of any, why the ſaid John Tooly, that is dead, ought not to be determined, and declared for ſuch an heretic and excommunicate perſon, and his remembrance condemned, in the deteſting and condemning of ſo heinous a deed and crime, and his body or carcaſe to lack church burial, as a rotten member cut off from the church, and the ſame to be committed to the arm and power ſecular, and they compelled hereafter for ever to hold their peace.

And furthermore to do, receive, and to ſuffer, as law and reaſon will, and as the quality of ſuch matter, and the nature themſelves do conſtrain and require; and moreover, that you cite and admoniſh, after the manner aforeſaid, all and every of the receivers, favourers, and creditors of the ſaid John Tooly that is dead, eſpecially if any of them do incline and give conſent to thoſe wicked and deteſtable affirmations, propoſitions, and rehearſals aforeſaid, that on this ſide the ſaid Thurſday they return and ſubmit themſelves unto us, and to the lap of the mother holy-church: which thing if they do, we, truſting upon the mercy of Almighty God, do promiſe that we will receive them being penitent for ſuch their errors and faults, with thanks, benignity, mercy, and favour, to the comfort and health of their own ſouls, and in that behalf ſave their honeſties to the uttermoſt of our power: otherwiſe, if they will not provide thus to come of their own accord, but to abide the ordinary proceſs of the law, let thoſe men know that we will puniſh more ſeverely this offence, according to the uttermoſt of the law, and as far as the law will bear it; and what ye ſhall do in the premiſſes, let him among you, which ſhall execute this our preſent mandate, certify us, or our vicar general in ſpiritual matters, either by his own perſon, or by his letters patents, together with theſe authentically ſealed.

Dated at London under our ſeal, the laſt day of April, 1555. and of our tranſlation the 11th.

When the time of this citation was expired, and this Tooly being cited did not appear: next in order of law came the ſuſpenſion (whereas one ſuſpenſion had been enough for him), and after that cometh the excommunication, that is, that no man ſhould eat and drink with him; or if any met him by the way, he ſhould not bid him good-morrow, and beſides that, he ſhould be excluded from the communion of the church. Theſe things being prepared in ſuch a manner, as in ſuch caſes full wiſely they uſe to do, at length one ſtood up that made anſwer to certain articles, rehearſed in judgment openly, and that in the behalf of the dead man. But when the poor dead man could neither ſpeak for himſelf, nor did (as they ſaid) ſufficiently anſwer them by the other, to avoid the name of an heretic; firſt witneſſes were provided againſt him, whoſe names were Henry Clark, Eſquire; Thomas Way, keeper of the Marſhalſea; Philip Andrew, under marſhal; William Holingworth, fiſhmonger; William Gellard, William Walter, chandler; Richard Longman, merchant-taylor; Philip Britten, John Burton, brewer; Thomas Smith, ſerjeant. Then he was condemned for an heretic, and ſo committed to the ſecular power, namely to the ſheriffs of London, who with the like diligence went about to execute their charge. Therefore receiving the man, being ſuſpended, excommunicated, condemned as an heretic, and beſides that, dead, they laid him on the fire to be burned, namely, for a continual remembrance thereof: this was done the fourth day of June.

The Life and Martyrdom of Thomas Haukes, Gent.

IMmediately after the ſtory of Dr. Taylor, mention was made of ſix men brought before biſhop Bonner upon the 8th day of February, whoſe names were Ste-

phen Knight, W. Pigot, Thomas Tomkins, J. Laurence, William Hunter. In which number was alſo Thomas Haukes, and condemned likewiſe with them the 9th day of February. But becauſe his execution did not ſo ſhortly follow with theirs, but was prolonged to the 10th day of June, it followeth therefore now conſequently to enter diſcourſe thereof; firſt, beginning briefly with his pious converſation and inſtitution of life, then ſhewing of his troubles, alſo of his examinations and conflicts with the biſhop and other adverſaries, according as the order of the ſtory doth require.

As touching therefore his education and order of life: firſt, he was of the county of Eſſex, born of an honeſt ſtock, in calling and profeſſion a courtier, brought up daintily from his childhood, and like a gentleman. Beſides that, he was of ſuch comelineſs and ſtature, ſo well endued with excellent qualities, that he might ſeem on every ſide a man (as it were) made for the purpoſe. But his genteel behaviour towards others, and eſpecially his fervent ſtudy and ſingular love unto true religion and piety did ſurmount all the reſt. Wherein as God did ſingularly adorn him; even ſo he, being ſuch a valiant martyr of God, may ſeem to make famous the whole company of other holy martyrs, and as a bright ſtar to make the church of God and his truth, of themſelves bright and clear, more gloriouſly to ſhine by his example.

For if the conqueſts of martyrs are the triumphs of Chriſt (as St. Ambroſe doth notably and truly write), undoubtedly Chriſt in a few men hath either conquered more notably, or triumphed more gloriouſly, than in this young man: he ſtood ſo wiſely in his cauſe, ſo pious in his life, and ſo conſtantly in his death. But to the declaration of the matter:

Firſt, Mr. Haukes following the faſhion of the court, as he grew in years, entered ſervice with the lord of Oxford, where he remained a good ſpace, being there right well eſteemed and loved by all the houſhold, ſo long as Edward the ſixth lived. But he dying, all things began to go backward, religion to decay, true piety not only to wax cold, but alſo to be in danger every where, and chiefly in the houſes of great men. Haukes miſliking the ſtate of things, and eſpecially in ſuch mens houſes, rather than he would change the profeſſion of true godlineſs, which he had taſted, thought to change the place: and ſo forſaking the nobleman's houſe, departed thence to his own home, where more freely he might give himſelf to God, and uſe his own conſcience.

But what place in this world ſhall a man find ſo ſecret for himſelf, whither the old wicked ſerpent cannot creep, whereby he may have ſome matter to overthrow the quietneſs of the godly? Now in the mean ſeaſon (as it happened) Haukes, keeping his houſe at home, had born unto him a young ſon, whoſe baptiſm was deferred to the third week, for that he would not ſuffer him to be baptized after the papiſtical manner; which thing the adverſaries not able to ſuffer, laying hands upon him, did bring him to the earl of Oxford, there to be reaſoned with, as not ſound in religion, in that he ſeemed to contemn the ſacraments of the church.

The earl either intending not to trouble himſelf in ſuch matters, or elſe ſeeing himſelf not able to weigh with him in ſuch caſes of religion; ſent him up to London with a meſſenger, and letters; and ſo, willing to clear his own hands, put him in the hands of Bonner biſhop of London; the contents of which his letter ſent to Bonner, be theſe.

"MOST reverend father in God, be it known unto you, that I have ſent you one Thomas Haukes, dwelling in the county of Eſſex, who hath a child that hath remained unchriſtened more than three weeks; who, being upon the ſame examined, hath denied to have it baptized, as it is now uſed in the church, whereupon I have ſent him to your good lordſhip, to uſe as ye think beſt, by your good diſcretion."

When the biſhop had peruſed this letter, and afterward read it to Mr. Haukes, he hearing the ſame, thought with himſelf that he ſhould not be very well uſed, ſeeing he was put to his diſcretion. Then wrote the biſhop a letter again to him that ſent the priſoner, with many great thanks for his diligence in ſetting forth the queen's proceedings. Then the biſhop began to enter communication with Mr. Haukes, firſt aſking, what ſhould move him to leave his child unchriſtened ſo long? To whom Mr. Haukes anſwered thus again as followeth.

Haukes. Becauſe we be bound to do nothing contrary to the word of God.

Bonner. Why? baptiſm is commanded by the word of God.

Haukes. His inſtitution therein I do not deny.

Bonner. What deny ye then?

Haukes. I deny all things invented and deviſed by man.

Bonner. What things be thoſe that be deviſed by man, that ye be ſo offended withal?

Haukes. Your oil, cream, ſalt, ſpittle, candle, and conjuring of water, &c.

Bonner. Will ye deny that which all the whole world, and your fathers have been contented withal?

Haukes. What my father and all the whole world have done, I have nothing to do withal: but what God hath commanded me to do, to that ſtand I.

Bonner. The catholic church hath taught it.

Haukes. What is the catholic church?

Bonner. It is the faithful congregation, whereſoever it be diſperſed throughout the whole world.

Haukes. Who is the head thereof?

Bonner. Chriſt is the head thereof.

Haukes. Are we taught in Chriſt, or in the church now?

Bonner. Have ye not read in the 14th of St. John, where he ſaid, He would ſend his Comforter which ſhould teach you all things?

Haukes. I grant you it is ſo, that he would ſend his Comforter, but to what end? Forſooth to this end, that he ſhould lead you into all truth and verity, and that is not to teach a new doctrine.

Bonner. Ah, Sir, ye are a right ſcripture man. For ye will have nothing but the ſcripture. There is a great number of your countrymen of your opinion. Do you know one Knight and Pigot?

Haukes. Knight I know, but Pigot I do not know.

Bonner. I thought ye were acquainted with him: it ſeemeth ſo by your judgment. What preachers do ye know in Eſſex.

Haukes. I know none.

Bonner. Do ye not know one Baget there?

Haukes. Yes forſooth, I know him.

Bonner. What manner of man is he?

Haukes. An honeſt man, ſo far as I know.

Bonner. Do you know him if ye ſee him?

Haukes. Yea that I do. Then ſaid he to one of his ſervants, Go call me Baget hither. And then he ſaid to me, Ye ſeem to be a very proud man and a ſtubborn. He that brought me up ſtood all this while by.

Haukes. What ſhould move your lordſhip ſo to ſay?

Bonner. Becauſe I ſee in a man that came with you much humility and lowlineſs.

Haukes. It ſeemeth your lordſhip ſpeaketh that to me, becauſe I make no courteſy to you. And with that came Baget. Then the biſhop ſaid to Baget, How ſay ye, Sir, know ye this man?

Baget. Yes forſooth, my lord. With that Baget and I ſhook hands. Then ſaid the biſhop to Baget, Sir, this man hath a child which hath lain three weeks unchriſtened (as I have letters to ſhew), who refuſeth to have it

it baptized, as it is now uſed in the church: how ſay you thereto?

Baget. Forſooth, my lord, I ſay nothing thereto (with low courteſy to the hard ground).

Bonner. Say you nothing thereto? I will make you tell me whether it be laudable, and to be frequented and uſed in the church, or not.

Baget. I beſeech your lordſhip to pardon me, he is old enough, let him anſwer for himſelf.

Bonner. Ah, Sir knave, are ye at that point with me? Go call me the porter, ſaid he, to one of his men. Thou ſhalt ſit in the ſtocks, and have nothing but bread and water. I perceive I have kept you too well. Have I made thus much of you, and have I you at this point? Then came the biſhop's man, and ſaid, The porter is gone to London. Then ſaid the biſhop to Baget, Come with me; and he went away with him, and commanded me away, and bade one of his gentlemen to talk with me (who was one of his own teaching), who deſiring amongſt other things to know of me, with whom I was acquainted in Eſſex, and what men they were that were my teachers.

Haukes. When I ſee your commiſſion, I will make you anſwer. And then immediately came the biſhop again: but before he came, his man and I had much talk. Then the biſhop ſat down under a vine in his orchard, and called Baget to him, whom he carried away, and brought again, and called me alſo, and ſaid to Baget: How ſay ye now, Sir, unto baptiſm? Say whether it be to be frequented and uſed in the church, as it is now, or no?

Baget. Forſooth, my lord, I ſay it is good.

Bonner. I befool your heart, could ye not have ſaid ſo before? ye have wounded this man's conſcience. Then the biſhop turned to me, and ſaid; How ſay ye now, Sir, this man is turned and converted.

Haukes. I build not my faith upon this man, neither upon you, but only upon Chriſt Jeſus, who (as St. Paul ſaith) is the founder and author of all men's faith.

Bonner. I perceive ye are a ſtubborn fellow. I muſt be glad to work another way with you, to win you.

Haukes. Whatſoever ye do, I am ready to ſuffer it; for I am in your hands to abide it.

Bonner. Well ye are ſo, come on your ways, ye ſhall go in, and I will uſe you chriſtian-like: You ſhall have meat and drink, ſuch as I have in my houſe: but in any wiſe talk not.

Haukes. I purpoſe to talk nothing but the wotd of God and truth.

Bonner. I will have no hereſy talked on in my houſe.

Haukes. Why, is the truth become hereſy? God hath commanded that we ſhould have none other talk in our houſes, in our beds, at our meat, and by the way, but all truth.

Bonner. If ye will have my favour, be ruled by my counſel.

Haukes. Then I truſt ye will grant me my requeſt.

Bonner. What is that?

Haukes. That your doctors and ſervants give me no occaſion: for if they do, I will ſurely utter my conſcience. Then he commanded his men to take in Baget, that Haukes and he might have an opportunity to talk together. And ſo thus we departed, and went to dinner, and I dined at the ſteward's table.

After dinner, his chaplains and his men began to talk with me. But amongſt others, there was one named Darbiſhire, principal of Broadgates in Oxford, and the biſhop's kinſman, who ſaid to me, that I was too curious: for ye will have (ſaid he) nothing but your little pretty God's book.

Haukes. And is it not ſufficient for my ſalvation? Yea (ſaid he), it is ſufficient for our ſalvation, but not for our inſtruction.

Haukes. God ſend me the ſalvation, and you the inſtruction. And as we thus reaſoned came the biſhop, who ſaid unto me; I gave you a commandment that you ſhould not talk.

Haukes. And I deſired of you that your doctors and ſervants ſhould give me no occaſion. Then we went into his orchard again, he and I and his doctors.

Bonner: Would not ye be contented to have, that your child ſhould be chriſtened after the book that was ſet out by king Edward?

Haukes. Yes, with a good will; it is the thing that I deſire.

Bonner. I thought ſo: ye would have the ſame thing. The principal is in the name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, and in neceſſity it may ſerve.

Haukes. Chriſt did uſe it without any ſuch neceſſity: and yet we lack the chiefeſt point.

Bonner. What is that?

Haukes, "Go teach all nations, baptizing them, &c."

Bonner. Thou ſpeakeſt that, becauſe I am no preacher.

Haukes. I ſpeak the text: I do not mean you. Then ſpake all the doctors, and his men that were with him: He ſpake it of you, my lord (with a great noiſe that they made).

Bonner. Will ye be content to tarry here, and your child ſhall be baptized, and you ſhall not know of it, ſo that you will agree to it?

Haukes. If I would ſo have done, I needed not to have come to you: for I had the ſame counſel given before.

Bonner. You ſeem to be a luſty young man; you will not give your head for the waſhing; you will ſtand in the defence of it for the honour of your country. Do ye think that the queen and I cannot command it to be done in ſpite of your teeth?

Haukes. What the queen and you can do, I will not ſtand in it: but ye get my conſent never the ſooner.

Bonner. Well, you are a ſtubborn young man: I perceive I muſt work another way with you.

Haukes. Ye are in the hands of God, and ſo am I.

Bonner. Whatſoever you think, I will not have you ſpeak ſuch words unto me. And ſo we departed until even-ſong time: and before even-ſong was begun, my lord called for me to come to him in the chapel, and ſaid; Haukes, thou art a proper young man, and God hath done his part unto thee; I would be glad to do thee good. Thou knoweſt that I am thy paſtor, and one that ſhould anſwer for thee. If I would not teach thee well, I ſhould anſwer for thy ſoul.

Haukes. That I have ſaid, I will ſtand to it, God willing: there is no way to remove it.

Bonner. Nay, nay, Haukes, thou ſhalt not be ſo wilful. Remember Chriſt bade two go into his vineyard, the one ſaid he would, and went not; the other ſaid he would not, and went.

Haukes. The laſt went.

Bonner. Do thou likewiſe, and I will talk friendly with thee; how ſayeſt thou? It is in the ſixth of St. John: "I am the bread of life, and the bread that I will give is my fleſh, which I will give for the life of the world. And whoſoever eateth my fleſh and drinketh my blood, hath everlaſting life. My fleſh is very meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. And he that eateth my fleſh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him." Do ye believe this?

Haukes. Yea, I muſt needs believe the ſcriptures.

Bonner. Why, then I truſt that you be found in the bleſſed ſacrament.

Haukes. I beſeech your lordſhip to feel my conſcience no farther than in that, that I was accuſed in unto you.

Bonner. Well, well, let us go unto even-ſong.

With that I turned my back to go out of the chapel.

Bonner. Why, will you not tarry even-ſong?

Haukes. No forſooth.

Bonner. And why?

Haukes. For I will not.

Bonner. And why will ye not?

Haukes. Becauſe I have no edifying thereby, for I underſtand no Latin.

Bonner. Why, you may pray by yourſelf. What books have ye?

Haukes. I have the New Teſtament, the books of Solomon, and the Pſalter.

Bonner. Why I pray you tarry here, and pray you on your Pſalter.

Haukes. I will not pray in this place, nor in any ſuch. Then ſaid one of his chaplains; Let him go, my lord, and he ſhall be no partaker with us in our prayers.

Haukes. I think myſelf beſt at eaſe when I am fartheſt from you. And ſo the biſhop went to even-ſong, and I came down and walked between the hall and the chapel in the court, and tarried there till even-ſong was done; and within an hour after that even-ſong was done, the biſhop ſent for me into his chamber where he lay himſelf, and when I came, there was he and three of his chaplains.

Bonner. Ye know of the talk that was between you and me, as concerning the ſacrament. You would not have your conſcience ſought any farther, than in that ye were accuſed of.

Haukes. I thought you would not be both mine accuſer and judge.

Bonner. Well, ye ſhall anſwer me to the ſacrament of the altar, the ſacrament of baptiſm, the ſacrament of penance, and the ſacrament of matrimony.

Haukes. There is none of theſe, but I dare ſpeak my conſcience in them.

Bonner. The ſacrament of the altar ye ſeem to be found in.

Haukes. In the ſacrament of the altar? why, Sir, I do not know it.

Bonner. Well, we will make you to know it, and believe in it too, before we have done with you.

Haukes. No, that ſhall ye never do.

Bonner. Yes, a faggot will make you do it.

Haukes. No, no, a fig for your faggot. What God thinketh meet to be done, that ſhall ye do, and more ye ſhall not do.

Bonner. Do ye not believe that there remaineth in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, after the words of conſecration be ſpoken, no more bread, but the very body and blood of Chriſt? And at that word he put off his cap.

Haukes. I do believe as Chriſt hath taught me.

Bonner. Why? did not Chriſt ſay, "Take, eat, this is my body?"

Haukes. Chriſt ſaid ſo: but therefore it followeth not, that the ſacrament of the altar is ſo as you teach, neither did Chriſt ever teach it ſo to be.

Bonner. Why? the catholic church taught it ſo, and they were of Chriſt's church.

Haukes. How prove you it? The apoſtles never taught it ſo. Read the Acts, the ſecond and the twentieth. Neither St. Peter nor St. Paul ever taught it, neither inſtituted it ſo.

Bonner. Ah, Sir, ye will have no more than the ſcripture teacheth, but even as Chriſt hath left it bare.

Haukes. He that teacheth me any otherwiſe, I will not believe him.

Bonner. Why? then ye muſt eat a lamb, if ye will have but Chriſt's inſtitution only.

Haukes. Nay, that is not ſo: before that Chriſt did inſtitute the ſacrament, that ceremony ceaſed, and then began the ſacrament.

Bonner. Alas, you know not how it began, neither of the inſtitution thereof.

Haukes. Then I would be glad to learn.

Bonner. Marry, we will teach you: but you are ſo ſtubborn, that ye will not learn.

Haukes. Except ye learn me by the word of God, I will never credit you, nor believe you: and thus we concluded. Then the biſhop and his chaplains laughed, and ſaid: Jeſu, Jeſu, what a ſtubbornneſs and arrogantneſs is this? and this was in his chamber where he lay. Then ſaid the biſhop to me, Go ye down and drink, for it is faſting-day: it is Midſummer-Eve, but I think ye love neither faſting nor praying.

Haukes. I will never deny faſting, neither praying, ſo that it be done as it ought to be done, and without hypocriſy or vain-glory.

Bonner. I like you the better for that: and ſo we left for that night.

The next day the biſhop went to London: for Mr. Fecknam was made dean that day, and I tarried ſtill at Fulham.

Then did the biſhop's men deſire me to come to maſs, but I did utterly refuſe it, anſwering them as I did their maſter.

That night the biſhop came home to Fulham again.

Talk between Mr. Harpsfield and Thomas Haukes.

UPON Monday morning very early, the biſhop did call for me. There was with him Mr. Harpſfield archdeacon of London, to whom the biſhop ſaid, This is the man which I told you of, who would not have his child chriſtened, nor will have any ceremonies.

Harpsfield. Chriſt uſed ceremonies. Did he not take clay from the ground, and took ſpittle, and made the blind man to ſee?

Haukes. That I well know, but Chriſt did never uſe it in baptiſm. If ye will needs have it, put it to the uſe that Chriſt put it unto.

Harpſ. Admit your child die unchriſtened: what a heavy caſe ſtand you in?

Haukes. I admit if it do, what then?

Harpſ. Marry then are ye damned, and your child both.

Haukes. Judge you no farther than ye may by the ſcriptures.

Harpſ. Do ye not know that your child is born in original ſin?

Haukes. Yes, that I do.

Harpſ. How is original ſin waſhed away?

Haukes. By true faith and belief in Chriſt Jeſus.

Harpſ. How can your child, being an infant, believe?

Haukes. The deliverance of it from ſin ſtandeth in the faith of his parents.

Harpſ. How prove you that?

Haukes. By St. Paul, in the ſeventh and the firſt to the Corinthians, ſaying, "The unbelieving man is ſanctified by the believing woman, and the unbelieving woman is ſanctified by the believing man, or elſe were your children unclean."

Harpſ. I will prove that they whom thou putteſt thy truſt in, will be againſt thee in this opinion.

Haukes. Who be thoſe?

Harpſ. Your great learned men in Oxford.

Haukes. If they do it by the ſcriptures, I will believe them.

Bonner. Recant, recant: do ye not know that Chriſt ſaid, Except ye be baptized, ye cannot be ſaved?

Haukes. Doth chriſtianity ſtand in outward ceremonies, or no?

Bonner. Partly it doth: what ſay you to that?

Haukes. I ſay as St. Peter ſaith, "Not the waſhing of water purgeth the filthineſs of the fleſh, but a good conſcience conſenting unto God."

Harpſ. Beware of p ide, brother, beware of pride.

Haukes. It is written, "Pride ſerveth not for men, nor yet for the ſons of men."

Bonner. Let us make an end here. How ſay you to the maſs, ſirrah?

Haukes. I ſay it is deteſtable, abominable, and profitable for nothing.

Bonner. What, nothing profitable in it? what ſay you to the epiſtle and goſpel?

Haukes. It is good, if it be uſed as Chriſt left it to be uſed.

Bonner. Well, I am glad that ye ſomewhat recant: recant all, recant all.

Haukes. I have recanted nothing, nor will do.

Bonner. How ſay you to Confiteor?

Haukes. I ſay it is abominable and deteſtable, yea, and a blaſphemy againſt God and his Son Jeſus Chriſt, to call upon any, to truſt to any, or to pray to any, ſave only to Chriſt Jeſus.

Bonner. To truſt to any, we bid you not: but to call upon them, and to pray to them, we bid you. Do ye not know when ye come into the court ye cannot ſpeak with the king and queen, unleſs ye call to ſome of the privy chamber that are next to the king and queen?

Haukes. They that liſt receive your doctrine. You teach me that I ſhould not believe nor truſt in any, but to call on them: and St. Paul ſaith, "How ſhould I call upon him whom I believe not?"

Bonner. Will you have no body to pray for you when you be dead?

Haukes. No ſurely, except you can prove it by the ſcriptures. Then the biſhop pointed unto Harpsfield, and ſaid unto me: Is it not well done to deſire this man to pray for me?

Haukes. Yes ſurely, ſo long as we live, prayer of the righteous man is available: but this man's prayers, you being dead, profiteth nothing at all.

Bonner. Will ye grant the prayer of the righteous man to prevail?

Haukes. I grant it doth for the living, but not for the dead.

Bonner. Not for the dead?

Haukes. No forſooth; for David ſaith, "No man can deliver his brother from death, nor make agreement unto God for him: for it coſt more to redeem their ſouls, ſo that ye muſt let that alone for ever."

Alſo Ezekiel ſaith, "Though Noah, Daniel, or Job dwelt among them, yet can they in their righteouſneſs exceed no farther than themſelves." Then the biſhop ſaid to Harpsfield, Sir, ye ſee this man hath no need of our lady, neither of any of the bleſſed ſaints. Well, I will trouble you no longer; I did call you, hoping that you ſhould do ſome good on him, but it will not be. And he ſaid to me, Sir, it is time to begin with you; we will rid you away, and then we ſhall have one heretic leſs.

Harpſ. What books have you?

Haukes. The New Teſtament, Solomon's books, and the Pſalter.

Harpſ. Will you read any other books?

Haukes. Latimer's books, my lord of Canterbury's book, Bradford's ſermons, Ridley's books.

Bonner. Away, away, he will have no books but ſuch as maintain his hereſies. And ſo they departed, for Harpsfield was booted to ride unto Oxford, and I went to the porter's lodge again.

The next day came thither an old biſhop, who had a pearl in his eye, and he brought with him to my lord a diſh of apples, and a bottle of wine. For he had loſt his living, becauſe he had a wife. Then the biſhop called me again into the orchard, and ſaid to the old biſhop: This young man hath a child, and will not have it chriſtened.

Haukes. I deny not baptiſm.

Bonner. Thou art a fool, thou can'ſt not tell what thou wouldeſt have. And that he ſpake with much anger.

Haukes. A biſhop muſt be blameleſs or faultleſs, ſober, diſcreet, no chider, nor given to anger.

Bonner. Thou judgeſt me to be angry: no by my faith am I not; and ſtroke himſelf upon his breaſt.

Then ſaid the old biſhop, Alas good young man, you muſt be taught by the church, and by your ancients, and do as your forefathers have done before you.

Bonner. No, no, he will have nothing but the ſcriptures, and God knows he doth not underſtand them. He will have no ceremonies in the church, no not one. What ſay you to holy water?

Haukes. I ſay to it, as to the reſt, and to all that be of his making that made them.

Bonner. Why the ſcriptures do allow it.

Haukes. Where prove you that?

Bonner. In the book of the Kings, where Eliſha threw ſalt into the water.

Haukes. Ye ſay truth; that it is written in the ſecond book of Kings, the ſecond chapter; the children of the prophets came to Eliſha, ſaying, "The dwelling of the city is pleaſant, but the waters be corrupted." This was the cauſe that Eliſha threw ſalt into the water, and it became ſweet and good: and ſo when our waters be corrupted, if ye can by putting in of ſalt make them ſweet, clear, and wholeſome, ye will the better believe your ceremonies.

Bonner. How ſay you to holy bread?

Haukes. Even as I ſaid to the other. What ſcripture have you to defend it?

Bonner. Have you not read where Chriſt fed five thouſand men, with five loaves and three fiſhes.

Haukes. Will ye make that holy bread? There Chriſt dealt fiſh with his holy bread?

Bonner. Look I pray you how captious this man is?

Haukes. Chriſt did not this miracle, or other, becauſe we ſhould do the like miracle, but becauſe we ſhould believe and credit his doctrine thereby.

Bonner. We believe no doctrine, but that which is wrought by miracles.

Haukes. No forſooth, for Chriſt ſaith, "Theſe tokens ſhall follow them that believe in me: they ſhall ſpeak with new tongues, they ſhall caſt out devils, and if they drink any deadly poiſon, it ſhall not hurt them."

Bonner. With what new tongues do ye ſpeak?

Haukes. Forſooth, where before that I came to the knowledge of God's word, I was a foul blaſphemer and filthy talker; ſince I came to the knowledge thereof, I have lauded God, praiſed God, and given thanks to God, even with the ſame tongue; and is not this a new tongue?

Bonner. How do you caſt out devils?

Haukes. Chriſt did caſt them out by his word, and he hath left the ſame word, that whoſoever doth credit and believe it, ſhall caſt out devils.

Bonner. Did you ever drink any deadly poiſon?

Haukes. Yea forſooth that I have; for I have drank of the peſtilent traditions and ceremonies of the biſhop of Rome.

Bonner. Now you ſhew yourſelf to be a right heretic?

Haukes. I pray you, what is hereſy?

Bonner. All things that are contrary to God's word.

Haukes. If I ſtand in any thing contrary hereto, then am I worthy to be ſo called.

Bonner. Thou art one, and thou ſhalt be burned, if thou ſtand and continue in this opinion. Ye think we are afraid to put one of you to death: yes, yes, there is a brotherhood of you, but I will break it, I warrant you.

Haukes. Where prove you that Chriſt or his apoſtles did kill any man for his faith?

Bonner. Did not Paul excommunicate?

Haukes. Yes my lord; but there is a great difference between excommunicating and burning.

Bonner. Have ye not read of the man and the woman in the Acts of the Apoſtles, whom Peter deſtroyed.

Haukes. Yes forſooth, I have read of one Ananias, and Sapphira his wife, who were deſtroyed for lying againſt the Holy Ghoſt, which ſerveth nothing to your purpoſe.

Bonner. Well, you will grant one yet.

Haukes. Well, if you will have us to grant you be of God, then ſhew mercy, for that God requireth.

Bonner. We will ſhew ſuch mercy unto you, as ye ſhewed unto us: for my benefice or biſhoprick was taken away from me, ſo that I had not one penny to live upon.

Haukes. I pray ye, my lord, what do ye give him now that was in the biſhoprick or benefice before that ye came again to it? Whereunto he anſwered me never a word: for he turned his back upon me, and talked with other men, ſaying that he was very ſorry for me, but he truſted that I would turn with St. Paul, becauſe I was ſo earneſt; and ſo he departed and went to dinner, and I to the porter's lodge again.

After dinner I was called into the hall again, and the biſhop deſired the old biſhop to take me into his chamber; for I would be glad (ſaid he), if ye could convert him. So he took me into his chamber, and ſate him down in a chair, and ſaid to me; I would to God I could do ye ſome good; ye are a young man, and I would not wiſh you to go too far, but learn of your elders to bear ſomewhat.

Haukes. I will bear with nothing that is contrary to the word of God. And I looked that the old biſhop ſhould have made me an anſwer, and he was faſt aſleep.

Then I departed out of the chamber alone, and went to the porter's lodge again, and there ſaw I the old biſhop laſt: I ſuppoſe he is not yet awake.

The next day Dr. Fecknam came to me and ſaid; Are ye he that will have no ceremonies?

Haukes. What mean you by that?

Fecknam. Ye will not have your child chriſtened, but in Engliſh; and you will have no ceremonies.

Haukes. Whatſoever the ſcripture commandeth to be done, I refuſe not.

Fecknam. Ceremonies are to be uſed by the ſcriptures.

Haukes. Which be thoſe?

Fecknam. How ſay you by Paul's breeches?

Haukes. I have read no ſuch thing.

Fecknam. Have ye not read in the Acts of the Apoſtles, how things went from Paul's body, and they received health thereby?

Haukes. I have read in the 19th of the Acts, how there went handkerchiefs and napkins from Paul's body, is it that you mean?

Fecknam. Yea the ſame is it: what ſay you to thoſe ceremonies?

Haukes. I ſay nothing to the ceremonies: for the text ſaith, that God did ſo work by the hands of Paul, that there went handkerchiefs and napkins from him, &c. So that it ſeemed by the text, that it was God that wrought, and not the ceremonies.

Fecknam. How ſay ye to the woman that came behind Chriſt, and touched the hem of his veſture? Did not her diſeaſe depart from her by that ceremony?

Haukes. No forſooth: for Chriſt turned back and ſaid to Peter, "Who is it that toucheth me? And Peter ſaid, Thou ſeeſt the people thruſt thee; and aſkeſt thou, Who touched me? Some body hath touched me, ſaith Chriſt, for virtue hath gone out of me." I pray you, whether was it the virtue that healed this woman, or his veſture?

Fecknam. Both.

Haukes. Then is not Chriſt true: for he ſaid, "Go thy way, thy faith hath made thee whole."

Bonner. Away, away to the ſacrament, for theſe are but mere trifles ſo that.

Fecknam. How ſay ye, ſirrah? Chriſt took bread, and brake it, and ſaid, "Take, eat, this is my body."

Haukes. I grant Chriſt ſaid ſo.

Fecknam. And is it not ſo?

Haukes. No forſooth, I do not underſtand it ſo.

Fecknam. Why, then is Chriſt a lyar?

Haukes. I think ye will ſo prove him.

Fecknam. Will I? why I have ſpoken the words that Chriſt ſpake.

Haukes. Is every word to be underſtood as Chriſt ſpake it? Chriſt ſaid, I am a door, a vine, I am a king, a way, &c.

Fecknam. Chriſt ſpake theſe words in parables.

Haukes. And why ſpeaketh he this in parables when he ſaid, I am a door, a vine, a king, a way, &c. more than this when he ſaid, This is my body: For after the ſame phraſe of ſpeech, as he ſaith, This is my body: ſo ſaith he, I am a door, a vine, a king, a way: he ſaith not, I am like a door, like a vine, &c.

Then Fecknam ſtood up, and ſaid, I had ſuch a one before me this other day. Alas, thoſe places ſerve nothing for your purpoſes. But I perceive ye hang and build on them that be at Oxford.

Haukes. What mean you by that?

Fecknam. I mean Latimer, Cranmer, and Ridley.

Haukes. I know nothing elſe by them, but that they be both godly and learned.

Fecknam. Wilt thou truſt to ſuch dolts? One of them hath a written book, wherein he affirmeth a real preſence in the ſacrament.

Haukes. What he hath done, I know not, but what he doth I know.

Fecknam. Ridley hath preached at Paul's Croſs openly, that the devil believeth better than you: for he believeth that Chriſt is able of ſtones to make bread, and ye will not believe Chriſt's body in the ſacrament, and yet thou buildeſt thy faith upon them.

Haukes. I build my faith upon no man, and that ye well know: for if thoſe men, and as many more as they be, ſhould recant, and deny that they have ſaid or done, yet will I ſtand to it, and by this ſhall ye know that I build my faith upon no man.

Bonner. If any of thoſe recant, what will ye ſay to it?

Haukes. When they recant, I will make you an anſwer.

Bonner. Then thou wilt ſay as thou doſt now for all that.

Haukes. Yea indeed will I, and that truſt to it, by God's grace.

Bonner. I dare ſay, Cranmer would recant, ſo that he might have his living. And ſo the biſhop and Fecknam departed from me with great laughing, and I went again to the porter's lodge.

The next day Dr. Chedſey came to the biſhop and him. They declared unto him that I had ſtood ſtubbornly in the defence againſt the chriſtening of my child, and againſt the ceremonies of the church, and that I would not have it chriſtened but in Engliſh.

Then ſaid Dr. Chedſey, Then he denieth the order of the catholic church.

Bonner. Yea, he thinketh that there is no church but in England and in Germany.

Haukes. And ye think that there is no church, but the church of Rome.

Ched. What ſay ye to the church of Rome?

Haukes. I ſay it is a church of a ſort of vicious cardidals, prieſts, monks and friars, which I will never credit nor believe.

Ched. What ſay ye to the biſhop of Rome?

Haukes. From him and all his deteſtable enormities, good Lord deliver us.

Ched. Marry ſo we may ſay, From king Henry the

eighth, and all his deteſtable enormities, good Lord deliver us.

Haukes. Where were ye whiles that he lived, that ye would not ſay ſo?

Ched. I was not far.

Haukes. Where were ye in his ſon's days?

Ched. In priſon.

Haukes. It was for your well doing.

Bonner. He will by no means come within my chapel, nor hear maſs: for neither the maſs, neither the ſacrament of the altar can he abide, neither will he have any ſervice but in Engliſh.

Ched. Chriſt never ſpake in Engliſh.

Haukes. Neither ſpake he ever any Latin, but always in ſuch a tongue as the people may be edified thereby. And St. Paul ſaith, "That tongues profit us nothing." He maketh a ſimilitude between the pipe and the harp, and except it be underſtood what the trumpet meaneth, who can prepare himſelf to the battle? ſo if I hear the tongue which I do not underſtand, what profit have I thereby? no more than he hath by the trumpet, that knoweth not what it meaneth

Ched. If ye underſtand St. Paul's ſaying, he ſpeaketh it under a prophecy, "If one propheſy to you in tongues, &c."

Haukes. Forſooth St. Paul ſpeaketh plainly of tongues: for tongues ſerve not for them that believe.

Ched. I tell you St. Paul ſpeaketh altogether upon prophecy.

Haukes. St. Paul maketh a diſtinction between propheſying and tongues, ſaying, "That if any man ſpeak with tongues, let it be by two or three at the moſt, and let another interpret it. But if there be no interpreter, let them keep ſilence in the congregation, and let himſelf pray unto God: and then let the prophets ſpeak two or three, and that by courſe, and let the other judge: and if any revelation be made to him that ſitteth by, let the firſt hold his peace:" ſo that it ſeemeth that St. Paul maketh a diſtinction between tongues and propheſying.

Bonner. The order was taken in the catholic church that the Latin tongue ſhould ſerve thro' the whole world, becauſe that they ſhould pray all generally together in one tongue, and that to avoid all contention and ſtrife, and to have one univerſal order thro' the whole world.

Haukes. This did your councils of Rome conclude.

Bonner. Underſtand ye what the general councils of Rome mean?

Haukes. Indeed all your general councils of Rome be in Latin, and I am an Engliſh-man: therefore I have nothing to do with them.

Ched. Ye are to blame, being an unlearned man, to reprove all the councils throughout all the world.

Haukes. I reprove them not, but St. Paul rebuketh them, ſaying, "If any man preach any other doctrine than that which I have taught, do you hold him accurſed."

Ched. Hath any man preached any other doctrine unto you?

Haukes. Yea, I have been taught another goſpel ſince I came into this houſe.

Ched. What goſpel have you been taught?

Haukes. Praying to ſaints, and to our lady, and truſt in the maſs, holy bread, holy water, and in idols.

Ched. He that teaches you ſo, teaches you not amiſs.

Haukes. Curſed is he that teacheth me ſo: for I will not truſt in him nor believe in him.

Bonner. You ſpeak of idols, and you know not what they mean.

Haukes. God hath taught us what they be: for whatſoever is made, graven, or deviſed by man's hand, contrary to God's word, the ſame is an idol. What ſay you to that?

Ched. What be thoſe that ye are ſo offended withal?

Haukes. The croſs of wood, ſilver, copper, or gold, &c.

Bonner. What ſay ye to that?

Haukes. I ſay it is an idol. What ſay you to it?

Bonner. I ſay every idol is an image, but every image is not an idol.

Haukes. I ſay, what difference is there between an idol and an image?

Bonner. If it be a falſe God, and an image made of him, that is an idol: but if an image be made of God himſelf, it is no idol; but an image, becauſe he is a true God.

Haukes. Lay your image of your true God and of your falſe God together, and ye ſhall ſee the difference. Have not your images feet and go not, eyes and ſee not, ears and hear not, hands and feel not, mouths and ſpeak not? and even ſo have your idols.

Ched. "God forbid, ſaith St. Paul, that I ſhould rejoice in any thing elſe, but in the croſs of Chriſt Jeſus."

Haukes. Do you underſtand St. Paul ſo? Do you underſtand St. Paul? Unto which he anſwered me never a word.

Bonner. Where can we have a godlier remembrance, when we ride by the way, than to ſee the croſs?

Haukes. If the croſs were ſuch a profit unto us, why did not Chriſt's diſciples take it up and ſet it on a pole, and carry it in proceſſion, with Salve, feſta dies?

Ched. It was taken up.

Haukes. Who took it up? Helene, as ye ſay; for ſhe ſent a piece of it to a place of religion, where I was with the viſitors when that houſe was ſuppreſſed, and the piece of the holy croſs (which the religious had in ſuch eſtimation, and had robbed many a ſoul, committing idolatry to it), was called for, and when it was proved, and all come to all, it was but a piece of a lath covered over with copper, double gilded as it had been clean gold.

Bonner. Fie, fie, I dare ſay thou ſlandereſt it.

Haukes. I know it to be true, and do not believe the contrary. And thus did the biſhop and the doctor depart in a great fume: and Chedſey ſaid unto me, as he was about to depart, It is pity that thou ſhouldeſt live, or any ſuch as thou art. I anſwered, In this caſe I deſire not to live, but rather to die.

Ched. Ye die boldly, becauſe ye would glory in your death, as Joan Butcher did.

Haukes. What Joan Butcher did, I have nothing to do withal; but I would my part might be to-morrow. God make you in a better mind, ſaid they both, and ſo they departed, and I went to the porter's lodge with my keeper.

The dext day Dr. Chedſey preached in the biſhop's chapel, and did not begin his ſermon until all the ſervice was done: and then came the porter for me, and ſaid, My lord would have you come to the ſermon, and ſo I went to the chapel door, and ſtood without the door.

Bonner. Is not this fellow come?

Haukes. Yes, I am here.

Bonner. Come in, man.

Haukes. No, that I will not. He called again, and I anſwered, I will come no nearer, and ſo I ſtood at the door. Then ſaid the biſhop, Go to your ſermon.

Then Dr. Chedſey put the ſtole about his neck, and carried the holy water-ſprinkle unto the biſhop, who bleſſed him and gave him holy water, and ſo he went to his ſermon.

The text that he treated on was the 16th of St. Matthew, "Whom do men ſay that I the Son of Man am? Peter ſaid, Some ſay that thou art Elias, ſome ſay that thou art John Baptiſt, ſome ſay that thou art one of the prophets. But whom ſay ye that I am? Then ſaid Peter, Thou art Chriſt, the Son of the living God." Then left he the text there, and ſaid, Whoſe ſins ſoever ye bind, are bound: which authority (ſaid he) is left to the heads of the church, as my lord here is one, and ſo unto all the reſt that be underneath him. But the church hath been much kicked at ſince the beginning: yet kick the heretics, ſpurn the heretics never ſo much, the church doth ſtand and flouriſh. And then he went

ſtraitway

ſtraitway to the ſacrament, and ſaid his mind on it, exalting it above the heaven (as moſt of them do), and ſo returned to his place again, ſaying, Whoſe ſins ye do remit, are remitted and forgiven: and ſo he applied it to the biſhops and prieſts to forgive ſins, and ſaid, All that be of the church will come and receive the ſame. And thus he proved by St. John, chap. 11. ſaying, that Chriſt came to raiſe Lazarus, who when he was riſen was bound in bands: then ſaid Chriſt to them that were in authority (who were his diſciples), Go ye and looſe him, looſe him you. And this was the effect of his ſermon, applying all to them, that they have the ſame authority that Chriſt ſpake of to his apoſtles; and ſo ended his ſermon, and they went to dinner.

Another Communication between Thomas Haukes and the Biſhop.

AFTER dinner I was called into the chapel, where were ſeveral of the queen's ſervants, and other ſtrangers whom I did not know.

Bonner. Haukes, how like you his ſermon?

Haukes. As I like all the reſt of his doctrine.

Bonner. What, are you not edified thereby?

Haukes. No, ſurely.

Bonner. It was made only becauſe of you.

Haukes. Why? then am I ſorry that ye had no more heretics here, as ye call them: I am ſorry that ye have beſtowed ſo much labour on one, and ſo little regarded.

Bonner. Well, I will leave you here, for I have buſineſs, I pray you talk with him: for if ye could do him good (ſaith he) I would be glad. This the biſhop ſpake to the queen's men, who ſaid unto me, Alas, what mean you to trouble yourſelf about ſuch matters againſt the queen's proceedings?

Haukes. Thoſe matters have I anſwered before them that be in authority: and unleſs I ſee you have a further commiſſion, I will anſwer you nothing at all. Then ſaid the biſhop's men (which were many), My lord hath commanded you to talk with us.

Haukes. If my lord will talk with me himſelf, I will anſwer him. They cried, Faggots, burn him, hang him, to priſon with him, it is pity that he liveth, lay irons upon him; and with a great noiſe they ſpake theſe words. Then in the midſt of all their rage I departed from them, and went to the porter's lodge again.

The next day the biſhop called me into his chamber, and ſaid, Ye have been with me a great while, and ye are never the better, but worſe and worſe: and therefore I will delay the time no longer, but ſend you to Newgate.

Haukes. My lord, you can do me no better pleaſure.

Bonner. Why would you ſo fain go to priſon?

Haukes. Truly I did look for none other when I came to your hands.

Bonner. Come on your ways, ye ſhall ſee what I have written. Then did he ſhew me certain articles, and theſe are the contents of them:

Whether the catholic church do teach and believe, that Chriſt's real preſence doth remain in the ſacrament or no, after the words of conſecration, according to the words of St. Paul, which are theſe; "Is not the bread which we break the partaking of the body of Chriſt, and the cup which we bleſs, the partaking of the blood of Chriſt?" which if it were not ſo, St. Paul would never have ſaid it.

Haukes. What your church doth I cannot tell: but I am ſure that the holy catholic church doth never ſo take it, nor believe it.

Bonner. Whether doth the catholic church teach and believe the baptiſm that now is uſed in the church, or no?

Haukes. I anſwered to it as I did to the other queſtion before. Then did the biſhop with much flattery counſel me to be perſuaded, and to keep me out of priſon, which I utterly refuſed, and ſo we departed. And I ſuppoſed that the next day I ſhould have gone to priſon, and ſo I had, except for the archdeacon of Canterbury, whoſe name is Harpsfield, whom the biſhop had deſired to talk with me, and began to perſuade me concerning the ſacrament and the ceremonies: and after much talk he ſaid, that the ſacrament of the altar was the ſame body that was born of the virgin Mary, which did hang upon the croſs.

Haukes. He was upon the croſs both alive and dead: which of them was the ſacrament?

Harpſ. The archdeacon anſwered, alive.

Haukes. How do you prove that?

Harpſ. You muſt believe. Doth not St. John ſay, "He is condemned already that believeth not?"

Haukes. St. John ſaith, "He that believeth not in the Son of God is already condemned," but he ſaith not, He that believeth not in the ſacrament is already condemned.

Harpſ. There is no talk with you: for ye are both without faith and learning, and therefore I will talk no more with you in ſcripture.

Haukes. Then two that ſtood by bade me enter further in talk with him; and I ſaid unto him, Why is the rood-loft ſet betwixt the body of the church and the chancel?

Harpſ. I cannot tell: for ye have aſked a queſtion which you cannot tell yourſelf.

Haukes. Yes that I can: for this ſaith one of your own doctors, That the body of the church doth repreſent the church militant, and the chancel the church triumphant: and ſo becauſe we cannot go from the church militant to the church triumphant, but that we muſt bear the croſs of Chriſt; this is the cauſe of the rood-loft being between the body of the church and the chancel.

Harpſ. This is well and learnedly concluded.

Haukes. As all the reſt of your doctrine is; and ſo with many perſuaſions on his part we ended, and ſo he departed: and I to the porter's lodge again.

The next day in the morning, which was the firſt day of July, the biſhop called me himſelf from the porter's lodge, commanding me to make myſelf ready to go to priſon, and to take ſuch things with me as I had of my own. And I ſaid, I do neither intend to bribe, neither to ſteal, God willing. Then he did write my warrant to the keeper of the Gate-houſe at Weſtminſter, and delivered it to Harpsfield, who with his own man and one of the biſhop's men brought me to priſon, and delivered the warrant and me to the keeper: and this was contained in the warrant:

"I will and command you, that you receive him who cometh named in this warrant, and that he be kept as a ſafe priſoner, and that no man ſpeak with him, and that ye deliver him to no man, except it be the council, or to a juſtice: for he is a Sacramentary, and one that ſpeaketh againſt baptiſm, a ſeditious man, a perilous man to be abroad in theſe perilous days." And thus was I received, and they departed. And there I remained thirteen days, and then the biſhop ſent two of his men unto me, ſaying, My lord would be glad to know how ye do. I anſwered them, I do like a poor priſoner. They ſaid, My lord would know, whether ye be the ſame man that ye were when ye departed. I ſaid, I am no changeling. They ſaid, My lord would be glad that ye ſhould do well. I ſaid, if my lord will do me any good, I pray you deſire him to ſuffer my friends to come to me. So they ſaid they would ſpeak for me, but I heard no more of them.

This is the firſt examination of me Thomas Haukes, bing examined by Edmund Bonner, then biſhop of London, and by his chaplains and doctors at Fulham, four miles from London, where I lay, till I came to priſon at Weſtminſter: and after his two men had been with me, I heard no more of him till the third day of September.

Here followeth the ſecond Time of mine Examination, which was the third Day of September, for the Biſhop did ſend his Men for me to come to his Palace of London; and ſo my Keeper and his Men brought me to his Palace the ſame Day.

THE biſhop of Wincheſter, then being chancellor, preached that day at Paul's Croſs, and the biſhop of London ſaid to my keeper, I think your man will not go to the ſermon to-day.

Haukes. Yes, my lord, I pray you let me go: and that that is good I will receive, and the reſt I will leave behind me; and ſo I went. And when the ſermon was done, I and my keeper came to the biſhop's houſe, and there we remained till dinner was done: and after dinner the biſhop called for me, and aſked me, if I were the ſame man that I was before.

Haukes. I am no changeling, nor none will be.

Bonner. Ye ſhall find me no changeling neither. And ſo he returned into his chamber, and there he did write the ſide of a ſheet of paper, and all that while I ſtood in the great chamber, and as many with me as might well ſtand in the chamber. And as I ſtood there, Dr. Smith came unto me (who once recanted, as it appeared in print), ſaying, That he would be glad to talk brotherly with me. I aſked him what he was. Then ſaid they that ſtood by, He is Dr. Smith. Then ſaid I, Are you he that did recant? And he ſaid, It was no recantation, but a declaration.

Haukes. You were beſt to term it well for your own honeſty.

Smith. Shall I term it as it pleaſeth you?

Haukes. To be ſhort with you, I will know whether ye will recant any more or no, before that I talk with you, credit you, or believe you: and ſo I departed from him to the other ſide of the chamber. Then ſaid the biſhop's men and his chaplains, that my lord commanded me to talk with him. Then they that ſtood by cried with a great noiſe, Hang him, burn him; it is pity that he liveth, that diſobeyeth my lord's commandment.

Then ſaid one Miles Huggard, Where prove you that infants were baptized?

Haukes. "Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt." Sir, here is none excepted.

Mr. Huggard. What ſhall we go to teach children?

Haukes. That word doth trouble you; it might be left out full well: it is too much for you to teach. Is not your name Miles Huggard?

Mr. Hug. So am I called.

Haukes. Be you not a hoſier, and dwell in Pudding-lane?

Mr. Hug. Yes that I am, and there I do dwell.

Haukes. It ſhould ſeem ſo, for ye can better ſkill to eat a pudding, and make a hoſe, than in the ſcripture either to anſwer or oppoſe. With that he was in great rage, and chafed up and down. Then I deſired that ſome man would take ſome pains to walk the gentleman, he did fret ſo for anger. Then one that ſtood by me (who was parſon of Hornchurch and Rumford in Eſſex) ſaid, Alas, what do you mean? a young man to be ſo ſtubborn? there ſeemeth too much pride in you.

Haukes. Are ye not the parſon of Hornchurch?

Parſon. Yes, that I am.

Haukes. Did you not ſet ſuch a prieſt in your benefice?

Parſon. Yes, for a ſhift.

Haukes. Like will to like; ſuch maſter, ſuch man. For I know the prieſt to be a very vile man, as any could be. I aſked the parſon, what kin he was to the weather-cock of St. Paul's? and he fell into a great laughter with the reſt of his companions. He ſaid, that I did rail.

Then ſaid another that ſtood by unto me; What books have you here? I anſwered, the New Teſtament. May I look in it? ſaid he. Yea, that ye may, ſaid I. And ſo he looked in my book, and ſaid it was corrupt. I anſwered him, If the things contained in it be true, then are ye falſe prophets. He ſaid, that he would oppoſe me in the firſt word of the Teſtament, ſaying, Here is a generation of Chriſt: and Iſaiah ſaith, No man can tell his generation.

Haukes. What meaneth Iſaiah by that?

I would learn of you, ſaid he.

Haukes. Ye would be angry if the ſcholar ſhould teach the maſter: but if ye will have me to teach you, I will tell you Iſaiah's meaning.

Then ſaid he, No man can tell the generation between the Father and the Son: but you (I dare ſay) did know it before.

Haukes. Why then Iſaiah denieth not the generation.

Then ſaid he, Why is Chriſt called Chriſt?

Haukes. Becauſe he is a Meſſias.

Then ſaid he, Why is he called a Meſſias?

Haukes. Becauſe he was ſo propheſied by the prophets.

Then ſaid he, Why is your book called a book?

Haukes. Theſe words do breed more ſtrife than godly edifying.

Beware, ſaid he, that ye do not decline from the church, for if you do, you will prove yourſelf an heretic.

Haukes. Even as you do call us heretics, that do incline to Chriſt's church from your church: ſo are ye all falſe prophets that do decline from Chriſt's church to your own church. And by this ſhall all men know you to be falſe prophets, if ye ſay, This ſaith the church: and will not ſay, This ſaith our Lord. And ſo he went his way, as tho' he had a flea in his ear.

Then came another, and ſaid unto me, He would talk with me; for he perceived (as he ſaid) that I was angry and out of patience.

Haukes. I will ſee your commiſſion, before I talk with you, or with any man more. For I knew not how to be rid of them, they came ſo thick about me. For I ſaid, that I came to talk with my lord, and not with any of them.

With that came the biſhop, bringing a letter in his hand, which he had written in my name, and read it unto me after this manner: I Thomas Haukes do here confeſs and declare before my ſaid ordinary Edmund biſhop of London, that the maſs is abominable and deteſtable, and full of all ſuperſtition; and alſo as concerning the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt (commonly called the ſacrament of the altar), that Chriſt is in no part thereof, but only in heaven: this I have believed, and this I do believe, &c.

Haukes. Stop there, my lord: what I have believed, what have you to do withal? But what I do believe, to that ſtand I, and will. Then he took his pen, and ſaid that he would ſcrape it out for my pleaſure, and ſo he did to my thinking.

Then he went further with his writing, and ſaid, I Thomas Haukes have talked with my ſaid ordinary, and with certain good, godly, and learned men. Notwithſtanding I ſtand ſtill in mine opinion.

Haukes. Shall I grant you to be good, godly, and learned men, and yet grant myſelf to ſtand in a contrary opinion? No, I will not grant you to be good, godly, and learned men.

Bonner. Ye will grant that ye have talked with us: the other I will put out for your pleaſure. Then ſaid all his doctors, If your lordſhip be ruled by him, he will cauſe you to put out all together: and then read more to me. Here unto this bill have I ſet my hand; and then he offered me the bill and his pen, and bade me ſet my hand to it.

Haukes. Ye ſhall not have my hand to any thing of your making or deviſing.

Bonner. Wilt not thou ſet to thy hand? It ſhall be to thy ſhame for the denying of it.

And then he called all his doctors, and ſaid, he would have every man's hand to it that was in the chamber; and ſo he had all their hands to it, and ſaid; he that will not ſet his hand to it, I would he were hanged; and ſo ſaid all his chaplains and doctors with a great noiſe.

Then the biſhop thruſt me on the breaſt with great anger; and ſaid he would be even with me, and with all ſuch proud knaves in Eſſex.

Haukes. Ye ſhall do no more than God ſhall give you leave.

Bonner. This jeer ſhall not be unpuniſhed, truſt to it.

Haukes. As for your curſings, railings and blaſphemings, I care not for them: for I know the moths and worms ſhall eat you, as they eat cloth or wool.

Bonner. I will be even with you when time ſhall come.

Haukes. You may in your malice deſtroy a man: but when ye have done, ye cannot do ſo much as make a finger; and ye be meetly even with ſome of us already.

Bonner. If I do thee any wrong, take the law of me.

Haukes. Solomon ſaith, "Go not to law with a judge; for he will judge according to his honour."

Bonner. Solomon ſaith, "Give not a fool an anſwer."

Haukes. What, do you count me a fool?

Bonner. Yea, by my troth do I, and ſo doſt thou me too: but God forgive thee, and ſo do I.

Haukes. Thought is free, my lord. Then the biſhop took the bill and read it again; and when he ſaw that he could not have my hand to it, then he would have had me to take it into my hand, and to give it to him again.

Haukes. What needeth that ceremony? neither ſhall it into my hand, heart, or mind. Then he wrapt it up, and put it in his boſom, and went away in great anger, and called for his horſe, for the ſame day he rode on his viſitation into Eſſex: and ſo I went to priſon again with my keeper. This was the ſecond time of my examination.

Written by me Tho. Haukes, who deſireth all faithful men and brethren to pray unto God, to ſtrengthen me in his truth unto the end. Pray, pray, pray, gentle brethren, pray.

After all theſe private conferences, perſuaſions and long debates with Mr. Haukes in the biſhop's houſe, as hitherto hath been declared, the biſhop ſeeing no hope to win him to his wicked ways, was fully ſet to proceed openly againſt him after the ordinary courſe of his popiſh law. Whereupon Mr. Haukes was ſhortly after cited with the reſt of his other companions abovementioned, namely, T. Tomkins, S. Knight, W. Pyget, J. Lawrence, and W. Hunter, to appear in the biſhop's conſiſtory, the eighth day of February, this preſent year 1555. Upon which appearance was laid againſt him, in like order as to the others, firſt the bill of his confeſſion, written with Bonner's own hand, to which bill ye heard before how this worthy man denied to ſubſcribe.

This bill of confeſſion being read, and he ſtanding ſtedfaſtly to the ſame, the biſhop then aſſigned him with the other five the next day following, which was the 9th of February, to appear before him again, to give a reſolute anſwer what they would ſtick to. Which day being come, and the aforeſaid ſix priſoners being ſeverally called before the biſhop, at the coming of Thomas Haukes, the biſhop deſired him to remember what was ſaid to him yeſterday, and now while he had time and ſpace, to adviſe with himſelf what he would anſwer, for he ſtood upon life and death. Well, ſaid Mr. Haukes again, I will willingly receive whatſoever ſhall be put upon me. Then certain other interrogatories or articles were commenced againſt him by the ſaid biſhop (in like manner as to the others), to the number of four, with another bill alſo which biſhop Bonner brought out of his boſom, containing private matters againſt the ſaid Thomas Haukes, which the biſhop called hereſies and errors, but we may better call them chriſtian verities. To which matter being read, the ſaid Haukes anſwered openly again, ſaying that it was true, and that he was glad it was ſo true as it was, with more words to the like effect. And this was in the forenoon, the eleventh day of February. In the afternoon again the ſaid Haukes appearing and hearing the aforeſaid bill of his confeſſion, with the articles and interrogatories read unto him, with like conſtancy in anſwering again to the biſhop; My lord (ſaith he) as you being my friend have cauſed theſe my ſayings to be written; ſo do you cauſe them to be read: and yet I will never go from them. And then being exhorted by the biſhop, with many fair words, to return again to the boſom of the mother church: No, my lord (ſaid he) that will I not: for if I had an hundred bodies, I would ſuffer them all to be torn in pieces, rather than I will abjure or recant. And ſo continuing ſtill in the ſame ſong, notwithſtanding that the doctors and lawyers were ever calling upon him to come again to the unity of the church, he ever kept them off with this anſwer, that he would never go from the belief he was in, ſo long as he lived. Whereupon biſhop Bonner at laſt read the ſentence of death upon him, and ſo was he condemned the ſame day with the reſidue of his fellows, which was the ninth of February. Nevertheleſs his execution was prolonged, and he remained in priſon till the tenth day of June. Then he was committed to the hands and charge of the lord Rich, who, being ſufficiently aſſiſted with power by the worſhipful of the ſhire, had the aforeſaid Thomas Haukes down into Eſſex, with ſix other fellow-priſoners whoſe ſtories hereafter follow, there to ſuffer martyrdom, Haukes at Coxhall, the others in ſeveral other places.

Thomas Haukes by the way uſed much exhortation to his friends; and whenſoever opportunity ſerved to talk with them, he would familiarly admoniſh them.

A little before his death there were ſeveral of his familiar acquaintance and friends, who frequented his company more familiarly, who ſeemed to be greatly confirmed both by the example of his conſtancy, and by his talk; yet notwithſtanding, being feared with the ſharpneſs of the puniſhment which he was going to ſuffer, privately deſired that in the midſt of the flame he would ſhew them ſome token, if he could, whereby they might be more certain, whether the pain of ſuch burning were ſo great, that a man might not therein keep his mind quiet and patient. Which thing he promiſed them to do; and ſo ſecretly between them it was agreed, that if the rage of the pain were tolerable and might be ſuffered, then he ſhould lift up his hands above his head toward heaven, before he gave up the ghoſt.

Not long after, when the hour was come, T. Haukes was led away to the place appointed for the ſlaughter, by the lord Rich and his aſſiſtants, who being now come to the ſtake, there mildly and patiently addreſſed himſelf to the fire, having a ſtrait chain caſt about his middle, with a multitude of people on every ſide compaſſing him about. Unto whom after he had ſpoken many things, eſpecially unto the lord Rich, reaſoning with him of the innocent blood of ſaints, at length after his fervent prayers firſt made and poured out unto God, the fire was kindled.

In which when he continued long, and when his ſpeech was taken away by violence of the flame, his ſkin alſo drawn together, and his fingers conſumed with the fire, ſo that now all men thought certainly he had been gone, ſuddenly and contrary to all expectation this good man being mindful of his promiſe before made, reached up his hands burning on a light fire, which was marvellous to behold, over his head to the living God, and with great rejoicing, as it ſeemed, ſtruck or clapped them three times together. At the ſight whereof there followed ſuch applauſe and out-cry of the people, and eſpecially of them which underſtood the matter, that the like hath not commonly been heard: and ſo the bleſſed martyr of Chriſt ſtraitway ſinking down into the fire,

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gave up his ſpirit, June 10. 1555. And thus have we plainly and expreſſly deſcribed unto you the whole ſtory, as well of the life, as of the death of T. Haukes, a moſt conſtant and faithful witneſs of Chriſt's holy goſpel.

Mr. Thomas Haukes's Letter to the Congregation.

GRACE, mercy, and peace, from God the Father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, be alway with you all (my dear brethren and ſiſters in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt) for ever; and his Holy Spirit conduct and lead you all in all your doings, that you may always direct your deeds according to his holy word; that when he ſhall appear to reward every man according to their works, ye may as obedient children, be found watching, ready to enter into his everlaſting kingdom, with your lamps burning; and when the bridegroom ſhall ſhew himſelf, ye need not be aſhamed of this life which God hath lent you, which is but tranſitory, vain, and like unto a vapour, that for a ſeaſon appeareth and vaniſheth away: ſo ſoon paſſeth away all our terreſtrial honour, glory, and felicity. "For all fleſh (ſaith the prophet) is graſs, and all his glory as the flower of the field, which for a ſeaſon ſheweth her beauty, and as ſoon as the Lord bloweth upon it, it withereth away, and departeth." For in this tranſitory and dangerous wilderneſs, we are as pilgrims and ſtrangers following the footſteps of Moſes, among many unſpeakable dangers, beholding nothing with our outward man, but idle vanities and vexation of mind, ſubject to hunger, cold, nakedneſs, bonds, ſickneſs, loſs, labours, baniſhment, in danger of that dreadful dragon, and his ſinful ſeed, to be devoured, tempted, and tormented, who ceaſeth not behind every buſh to lay a bait, when we walk awry to have his pleaſure upon us, caſting abroad his apples in all places, times, and ſeaſons, to ſee if Adam will be allured and enticed to leave the living God and his moſt holy commandments, whereby he is aſſured of everlaſting life, promiſing the world at will, to all that will fall down in all ages, and for a meſs of pottage ſell and ſet at nought the everlaſting kingdom of heaven. So frail is fleſh and blood; "And in eſpecial Iſrael is moſt ready to walk awry, when he is filled with all manner of riches," as ſaith the prophet.

Therefore I am bold in bonds (as entirely deſiring your everlaſting health and felicity) to warn you, and moſt heartily deſire you to watch and pray; for our eſtate is dangerous, and requireth continual prayer. For on the high mountains doth not grow moſt plenty of graſs, neither are the higheſt trees fartheſt from danger, but ſeldom ſure, and always ſhaken by every wind that bloweth. Such a deceitful thing (ſaith our Saviour), is honour and riches, that without grace it choketh up the good ſeed ſown on his creatures, and ſo blindeth their eyes, that they go groping at noon-day in darkneſs: it maketh a man think himſelf ſomewhat, that is nothing at all. For though for our honour we eſteem ourſelves and ſtand in our own light, yet when we ſhall ſtand before the living God, there ſhall be no reſpect of perſons. For riches helpeth not in the day of vengeance: neither can we make the Lord partial for money. But as ye have miniſtered unto the ſaints, ſo ſhall ye receive the reward, which I am fully perſuaded and aſſured ſhall be plenteouſly poured upon you all, for the great goodneſs ſhewed unto the ſervants of the living God. And I moſt heartily beſeech Almighty God to pour forth a plenteous reward upon you for the ſame, and that he will aſſiſt you with his Holy Spirit in all your doings, that ye may grow, as ye have begun, unto ſuch a perfection as may be to God's honour, your own ſalvation, and the ſtrengthening of the weak members of Chriſt. For though the world rage, and blaſpheme the elect of God, ye know that it did ſo unto Chriſt, his apoſtles, and to all that were in the primitive church, and ſhall be unto the world's end.

Therefore believe in the light while ye have it, leſt it be taken away from you; if you ſhall ſeem to neglect the great mercy of God that hath been opened unto you, and your hearts conſented unto it, that it is the very and only truth pronounced by God's only Son Jeſus Chriſt, by the good will of our heavenly Father. Therefore I ſay in the bowels of my Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſtick faſt unto it; let it never depart out of our hearts and converſation, that you with us and we with you at the great day, being one flock, as we have one ſhepherd, may riſe to the life immortal, through Jeſus Chriſt our only Saviour, Amen.

Yours in him that liveth for ever,
Thomas Haukes.

Mr. Haukes's Letter to his Wife.

GRACE be with you, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which gave himſelf for our ſins, to deliver us from this preſent evil world, through the good will of God our Father, to whom be praiſe for ever and ever, Amen.

My dear yoke-fellow in the Lord, foraſmuch as the Lord hath not only called me to work in his vineyard, but hath alſo fulfilled his good work in me (I truſt to his glory, and to the comfort of all thoſe that look for his coming), I thought it my duty, dear yoke-fellow, to write unto you ſome leſſons out of God's book; and if you will direct yourſelf thereafter, doubt not of it but God, who refuſeth none that will come to him with their whole heart, will aſſiſt you with his Holy Spirit, and direct you in all his ways, to his honour and glory, who grant it for for his mercy ſake, Amen.

Firſt, I exhort you to fear God, to ſerve and honour his holy name, to love him with all your heart, ſoul, and mind, to believe faithfully all his promiſes, to lay ſure hold upon them, that in all your troubles whatſoever they are, ye may run ſtraight to the great mercy of God, and he will bring you forth of them: keep you within his wings: then ſhall ye be ſure that neither devil, fleſh, nor hell ſhall be able to hurt you.

But take heed; if you will not keep his holy precepts and laws, and to the uttermoſt of your power call for the help of God to walk in the ſame, but will leave them, and run to all abominations with the wicked world, and do as they do; then be ſure to have your part with the wicked world in the burning lake that never ſhall be quenched. Therefore beware of idolatry, which doth moſt of all ſtink before the face of Almighty God, and was by all good men moſt deteſted from the beginning of the world. For which, what kingdoms, nations, and realms God hath puniſhed with moſt terrible plagues, with fire, brimſtone, hunger, ſword and peſtilence, &c. to the utter ſubverſion of them, it is manifeſtly to be ſeen through the whole Bible. Yea, his own peculiar people, whom he had done ſo much for, when they fell from him, and went and ſerved other gods, contrary to his commandment, he utterly deſtroyed and rooted them out from off the earth: and as many as died in that damnable ſtate, not repenting their abominable evil, he threw them into the pit of hell. Again, how he hath preſerved thoſe that abhor ſuperſtition and idolatry, and that have only taken hold upon God with their whole heart, to ſerve him, to love him, and to fear him, &c. it is moſt manifeſtly to be ſeen even from the beginning, out of what great dangers he hath always delivered them: yea when all hope of deliverance was paſt as touching their expectation, even then in the ſight of all his enemies would he work his godly will and purpoſe, to the utter amazing and deſtruction of all thoſe that were his manifeſt enemies.

Further, I exhort you in the bowels of Chriſt that you will exerciſe and be ſtedfaſt in prayer; for prayer is the only means to pierce the heavens, to obtain at the hand of God whatſoever we deſire, ſo that it be aſked in faith.

Oh what notable things do we read in the ſcriptures that have been obtained through fervent prayer! We are commanded to call upon him for help, aid, and ſuccour in neceſſities and troubles, and he hath promiſed to help us. Again, they that will not call upon him with their whole heart, but upon other dead creatures, in whom there is no help (for there was none found worthy to open the book, but only the Lamb Chriſt which was killed for our ſins), I ſay, who that will refuſe his help, muſt even by the terrible judgments of God come utterly to confuſion: as it hath, and is daily manifeſt to be ſeen. And whatſoever you deſire of God in your prayer, aſk it for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, for whom and in whom, God hath promiſed to give us all things neceſſary. And though that which we aſk come not at the firſt and ſecond calling, yet continue ſtill knocking, and he will at length open his treaſures of mercy, ſo that ye ſhall be ſure to obtain; for he hath ſo promiſed, if ye continue in faith, hoping ſurely in him. Theſe former leſſons, with all ſuch inſtructions as I have told you by mouth, I do wiſh that you would moſt earneſtly learn; and then I doubt not, but God who is the giver of all grace, will aſſiſt you in all your doings, that ye may be found worthy of his kingdom, which is prepared through Chriſt.

Further, whereas it pleaſed God to ſend us children: my deſire is, that they may be brought up in the fear of God, and in his laws. And this is to certify you, that ye deliver in any wiſe my eldeſt ſon unto Mr. Throgmorton, who upon his good will hath promiſed me to bring him up according to my deſire; and I truſt as God hath put into his heart. See therefore that ye deliver him in any wiſe without delay: and as for the other, if ye ſhall ſeem to be burdened with him (which I think nature will not ſuffer), my deſire is, that it be brought up in the fear of God to the uttermoſt of your endeavour, with ſome honeſt man that hath the fear of God before his eyes; and let us give thanks unto God which hath given them us, beſeeching him that they may be counted worthy to be of that flock that ſhall ſtand on the right hand of the majeſty of God, when he ſhall judge the world, Amen,

Yet once again I warn you, that ye continue in fervent prayer, as I ſaid before; then ſhall ye be ſure, that God even of his own mercy, according as he hath promiſed, will be an huſband unto you, and provide better for you than ever I was able to do; yea, he will cauſe all men that fear him to pity you, to help you, to ſuccour you in all your neceſſities, ſo that if any do you wrong, he will be avenged on him. Moreover, I wiſh you to keep company with thoſe of whom ye may learn to come to a more perfect knowledge in God, and I doubt not but God will provide that ſuch will be glad to receive you, if you ſhall profeſs and go forward in his truth.

Finally, and to make an end, I deſire you that ye take heed with whom ye couple yourſelf. See that he be a man that feareth God, loveth his laws, and will walk in the ſame to the uttermoſt of his power; ſuch a one as can be content to love you, and to care for you. Take heed he be no brawler, no drunkard, no wicked perſon, not given to filthineſs, no worldling, no dicer nor carder. In fine, no filthy perſon, but chuſe you ſuch a one as God may be glorified in both your lives. And again on your part, love him, ſerve him, obey him in all godlineſs, as long as God ſhall give you life in this world. Then ſhall ye both be ſure to obtain that kingdom which God the Father hath prepared, and Jeſus Chriſt obtained for you, that never ſhall have end, where I truſt to abide your coming, Amen.

By your huſband, Thomas Haukes.

A Letter of Thomas Haukes to Mr. Clement Throgmorton.

GRACE, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, be with you, and aſſiſt you in all your thoughts, words, and works, that he in all things, as moſt worthy, may be glorified, and that the bleſſing of Abraham may be poured plenteouſly on you and all your poſterity.

Whereas the love of God hath moved you to require my ſon to be brought up before your eyes, and the ſelf-ſame love hath alſo moved me in like caſe to leave him in your hands, as unto a father in mine abſence, I ſhall require you in God's behalf, according to your promiſes, that ye will ſee him brought up in the fear of the Lord, and inſtructed in the knowledge of his holy word, that he may thereby learn to leave the evil, and know the good, and always be pricked forward with fatherly inſtructions to follow my footſteps, that as Almighty God hath made me worthy through his ſpecial grace to work his will in obedience, he may learn to follow me his father in the like, to God's honour and praiſe: and this I require you in God's behalf to fulfil, or cauſe to be fulfilled, as ye before the living God will make anſwer for the ſame. I have left for the child certain books which ſhall be delivered unto you, wherein his inſtruction and ſalvation lieth, if he learn and practiſe the ſame. And thus moſt humbly beſeeching you once again, to be as good to him, as your promiſe was unto me, that is, to be a father, and a wall of defence unto him in all troubles, I leave him in your hand through the Lord Jeſus, and deſire him to bleſs both him and you according to his good promiſe: and all that good which ye ſhall do unto him, I ſhall moſt heartily deſire the everlaſting God to recompenſe unto you in his kingdom, where I hope to meet both him and you among all God's elect. To which God be all praiſe, honour, and glory, Amen.

Yours, and all mens in Chriſt Jeſus, Thomas Haukes.

The Hiſtory of Mr. Thomas Wats.

THomas Wats of Billerica within the county of Eſſex, of the dioceſe of London, was by his occupation a linnen-draper; who before he was apprehended had ſold and made away his cloth in his ſhop, and his things being ſet in order to his wife and children, gave away much of his cloth unto the poor. For he daily expected to be taken by God's adverſaries and his, as ſhortly after came to paſs: ſo that upon the 26th day of April, he was apprehended and brought before the lord Rich, and other commiſſioners at Chelmsford, and there being accuſed for not coming to the church, was upon the ſame examined before the lord Rich, Sir Henry Tyrel, Anthony Browne, Edmund Tyrel, Thomas Mildman, John Wiſeman, Roger Appleton, Richard Weſton, juſtice Gaudy, &c. The ſum and principal effect of which examination, hereunder followeth briefly expreſſed.

When Thomas Wats came before the lord Rich and the juſtices, whoſe names are ſpecified in the following letter (which they ſent unto the biſhop of London againſt him), at the ſeſſions at Chelmsford, the lord Rich ſpoke to him as follows:

Wats, ye be brought hither, as I underſtand, becauſe of diſobedience to the king and the queen's laws. Ye will not come to the church, ye will not hear maſs, &c. but have your conventicles a ſort of you in corners, contrary to the king and queen's proceedings. To which words Mr. Wats anſwered and ſaid:

My lord, if I have offended a law, I am ſubject here to the law. Then Anthony Browne, juſtice, ſaid unto him;

him; Wats, I pray thee tell me who hath been thy ſchoolmaſter to teach thee this religion, or where didſt thou firſt learn it? Forſooth, ſaid Wats, even of you, Sir, you taught it me, and none more than you. For in king Edward's days in open ſeſſions you ſpake againſt this religion now uſed, no preacher more. You then ſaid the maſs was abominable, and all their trumpery beſides, wiſhing and earneſtly exhorting that none ſhould believe therein, and that our belief ſhould be only in Chriſt: and you ſaid then, whoſoever ſhould bring in any ſtrange nation to rule here, it were treaſon, and not to be ſuffered. Then Mr. Browne ſaid to my lord Rich, He belyes me, my lord. What a knave is this? He will ſoon bely me behind my back, when he doth it before my face. And my lord Rich ſaid again, I dare ſay he doth ſo.

After theſe words, Mr. Wats took occaſion to ſpeak ſomewhat of king Philip and of his coming in, but what it was I could not juſtly learn. But thus much was heard, that after thoſe words ſpoken, the bench among themſelves ſtood up, and ſaid one to another, Treaſon: except one good man called juſtice Gaudy, who a little before was about to ſpeak; but when he heard them cry Treaſon, he held down his head as one grieved and troubled at their doings.

In concluſion, the commiſſioners being weary of him, or elſe not willing to meddle further in ſuch matters, ſent him up to the biſhop of London, together with a letter, declaring the cauſe of his being ſent up, as by the contents thereof may be ſeen.

A Letter ſent by certain Juſtices in Eſſex to Bonner Biſhop of London.

AFTER our moſt hearty commendation to your good lordſhip, theſe ſhall be to advertiſe you, that at our ſeſſions of oyer and terminer held at Chelmsford the 26th day of April laſt paſt, there came before us in open court, one Thomas Wats of Billerica within your dioceſe, by ordinary proceſs, and then and there being examined why he refuſed to come to his pariſh church, and there to receive the ſacrament of the altar, and hear divine ſervice, according to the inſtitution of holy church, he openly there anſwered generally; that like as the ſervice of the church ſet out in the days of the late king Edward VI. was ſaid by us now to be abominable, heretical, ſchiſmatical, and all naught; ſo he ſaid, that all that is now uſed and done in the church is abominable, heretical, ſchiſmatical, and naught, with divers other erroneous and arrogant words: and therefore we have thought good to ſend him to your lordſhip, to be further examined by you of his particular opinions, as to your paſtoral office ſhall ſeem convenient, certifying you further, that in our opinion he is one of the moſt arrogant heretics that hath been heard ſpeak, or ever came before you, and not meet to be kept here in any jail, as well for fear of corrupting others, as for divers and ſundry other ſpecial cauſes hereafter to be more declared. Thus leaving to moleſt your good lordſhip, we commit you to the Holy Ghoſt. Given at Chelmsford April 27. 1555.

Your good lordſhip's moſt aſſured,

R. Rich.	Thomas Mildman.
Henry Tyrel.	John Wiſeman.
Anthony Browne.	Roger Appleton.
Edmund Tyrel.	Richard Weſton.

Now when the biſhop had received him, how he uſed him it is eaſy (by his common practices with others), to judge. What his private conferences were I know not, but what was publicly done in the conſiſtory at St. Paul's (the common ſtage for theſe tragedies), you ſhall here ſee.

The firſt Appearance of Thomas Wats in the Biſhop's Conſiſtory.

FIRST upon Thurſday, being the ſecond day of May, Thomas Wats was brought thither before the biſhop of London, and there being examined upon his words had before the lord Rich and others, as is contained in their letter, he did earneſtly affirm the ſame to be true. Whereupon the biſhop objected, and examined him upon theſe articles following, to which he anſwered, as under may appear.

Articles objected againſt Thomas Wats of Billerica in the County of Eſſex, within the Dioceſe of London, by Biſhop Bonner.

1. THAT the ſaid Thomas Wats was of Billerica, and ſo of the juriſdiction of the biſhop of London.

2. Item, That he believed not in the ſacraments of the holy and catholic church, as the catholic church of Rome, and all other churches members of the ſame, ever hitherto have believed, and is taught by all good and faithful people, nor hath allowed the ſacraments, rites, uſages, or ceremonies of the ſaid church, but hath deſpiſed the ſame.

3. Item, That he believeth, and hath alſo taught others, that the ſubſtance of material bread and wine do remain in the ſacrament of the altar after the conſecration, and that the ſaid material bread and wine are the ſigns and tokens of Chriſt's body hanged upon the croſs, and of his blood there ſhed, and that in the ſaid ſacrament there is only a memory or remembrance of Chriſt's body and blood, and nothing elſe.

4. Item, That he believeth, and doth preciſely affirm, that the very true preſence of Chriſt's body and blood in ſubſtance, is not in the ſacrament of the altar, but only in heaven, and no where elſe.

5. Item, That he believeth, affirmeth, and ſaith, that the maſs now uſed in the church of Rome, here in England, and other places, is full of idolatry, abomination, and wickedneſs, and that Chriſt did never inſtitute it, nor ordain it, nor yet allow it as a good and laudable thing to be uſed in his church.

6. Item, That he believeth and affirmeth, that auricular confeſſion to be made unto the prieſt is not neceſſary, but ſuperfluous; and that it is enough for a man to believe only, and to confeſs himſelf unto God. without any prieſt or miniſter at any time, though he may have the prieſt to confeſs him unto.

7. Item, That he believeth that Luther, Wickliffe, Dr. Barnes, and all others that have held againſt the ſacrament of the altar, and ſuffered death by fire or otherwiſe for the maintenance of the ſaid opinion, were good men and faithful ſervants and martyrs of Chriſt in ſo believing and dying.

8. Item, That he hath and doth believe, that to faſt, pray, or to do alms-deeds, is a thing utterly unprofitable; for if a man ſhall be ſaved, he ſhall be ſaved without doing of them; and if he ſhall be damned, they ſhall not help him, or do him any good at all.

9. Item, That the ſaid Wats of late coming into open court at the ſeſſions before the lord Rich, Sir Henry Tyrel knight, Anthony Browne eſquire, and others, and being then and there examined, did openly confeſs, that he had refuſed to come to the church, and to hear there the divine ſervice, and to receive the ſacrament of the altar, according to the order of the church: becauſe that like as the ſervice of the church ſet out in the days of the late king Edward the ſixth, was ſaid and alledged to be abominable, heretical, ſchiſmatical, and altogether naught; ſo he the ſaid Thomas Wats then and there ſaid openly before the ſaid commiſſioners, that all that is now uſed

and done in the church, is abominable, heretical, ſchiſmatical, and altogether naught: and that he did alſo then utter before the ſaid commiſſioners other erroneous and arrogant words, to the hurt of his ſoul, and to the evil example of the people there preſent.

10. Item, That he the ſaid Thomas by reaſon of the premiſſes, was, and is to be taken, had, reputed, and judged as a manifeſt and open heretic, and for the ſame, by the order of eccleſiaſtical laws is to be declared accurſed; and being obſtinate and incorrigible, is to be delivered to the ſecular power, there to be puniſhed as an heretic.

11. Item, That he over and beſides all theſe offences and treſpaſſes aforeſaid, had alſo added this treſpaſs, namely, that he had believed and deliberately ſpoken that the church of Rome in her rites, ceremonies, ſacraments, conſtitutions, and traditions, is the ſynagogue of Satan; and therefore that he had conſented and agreed in opinion with one John Tooly, of late hanged at Charing-croſs, who at the time of his execution, deſired the people to pray to be delivered from the tyranny of the biſhop of Rome, with all his enormities; as who ſhould ſay, that his authority and doings were tyranny, and had all enormities and iniquities in them.

12. Item, That the premiſſes and every part thereof be true, notorious, manifeſt, and openly ſpoken and talked of amongſt the honeſt and credible perſons in great multitude, and that of all and ſingular the ſame within Billerica aforeſaid, and other places thereabout, being of the dioceſe of London, there is a common voice and fame thereof.

The Anſwer of Thomas Wats to the aforeſaid Articles.

TO the firſt he ſaid and confeſſed the ſame to be true in every part thereof.

To the ſecond article he anſwered, that he believeth in all the ſacraments according to Chriſt's inſtitution, and the catholic church; but not according to the biſhop of Rome's church: and further ſaid, that he doth not believe now as he had done in times paſt; for in time paſt he believed as the church then believed, but now he doth not ſo believe; for the church of Rome had deceived us, and therefore he ſaid he did not believe as the church of Rome believeth, but as Chriſt hath taught him; and further ſaid, that he was ſo taught to believe by the preaching of Mr. Alvey, and others whoſe names he remembereth not: who did preach the word of God truly and ſincerely.

To the third he anſwered, that he hath and doth believe, that Chriſt's body is in heaven, and no where elſe: and further, that he will never believe that Chriſt's body is in the ſacrament.

To the fourth he anſwered, confeſſing and firmly believing the ſame to be true.

To the fifth, That he did believe that the maſs is abominable, and that he will not go one jot from that his belief.

To the ſixth, That he never did, nor yet doth believe, that the prieſt can abſolve him from his ſins: howbeit, he denieth not that it is good to aſk counſel at the prieſt's mouth.

To the ſeventh he ſaid, That he knew not what the opinions of the ſaid perſons named in the ſaid article were; and in caſe the ſaid perſons did believe, that the body and blood of Chriſt were really and in very deed in the ſacrament of the altar, then that they were not good men. But in caſe they did believe that the body and blood of Chriſt was not in the ſacrament of the altar really and truly, then he believed that they were good men.

To the eighth, That he had not ſpoken as is contained in this article; but ſaid, that he hath and doth believe, that faſting, prayers, and alms-deeds be works of a lively faith.

To the ninth he confeſſed, That he did utter and ſpeak, as in this article is contained, and further he deſired God that he might die in that faith and belief wherein he now is.

To the tenth he anſwered and ſaid, That he will ſubmit himſelf herein to the order of the law: and further ſaid, that he truſteth that with God he ſhall be bleſſed, although with men he be accurſed.

To the eleventh he ſaid, He believed that the biſhop of Rome is a mortal enemy to Chriſt and his church. And as for Tooly he ſaid, he did never ſee or know him: but in caſe the ſaid Tooly did wiſh and pray as is contained in the article, then he did likewiſe wiſh and conſent with him therein.

To the twelfth he anſwered, that all which before he confeſſed to be true, is alſo true: and all that he hath denied to be true, he denieth again to be true, and believeth the ſame to be according to ſuch things as he hath confeſſed. By me Thomas Wats.

Theſe articles thus propounded and anſwered, the biſhop commanded him to appear again in the ſame place at three of the clock in the afternoon, upon the ſame day. At which hour being brought thither by his keeper, the biſhop began with him in this wiſe:

Wats, you know what I ſaid unto you to-day, and what I appointed unto you at this time. The time is now come; weigh and conſider with yourſelf, that you are but a man, and albeit that you will wilfully caſt away your body, yet caſt not away your ſoul, but while ye have time return and confeſs the truth.

Whereunto Thomas Wats anſwered and ſaid, I am weary to live in ſuch idolatry as ye would have me to live in. Upon which anſwer the biſhop cauſed his articles again to be read. He thereto anſwered as before, and farther, ſubſcribed the ſame with his own hand.

The biſhop after many perſuaſions to cauſe him to recant, ordered him to depart, and to come again on Saturday at eight of the clock in the morning. Where the biſhop being abſent, Dr. Nicholas Harpsfield, as then being his deputy, did ſit, and earneſtly exhorted him to deny his opinions. To whom in the end he anſwered,

Well, ye have a law to condemn me, and I ſubmit myſelf to the laws of the church (as you call it): and farther I do affirm, and ſtill ſtand to mine anſwers that I have made.

Whereupon Dr. Harpsfield ordered him to appear there again upon Friday, being the 10th day of the ſame month of May. Upon which day the biſhop privately ſent for the ſaid Thomas Wats into his chamber, and there with many fair promiſes tempted and tried him, whether he would revoke his errors, as he then termed them. But Wats anſwered him in this ſort; I will not believe your church, neither the Romiſh church, and therefore you do but labour in vain thus to travail with me. He was hereupon again diſmiſſed for that time until Friday the 17th of May, and then commanded to appear in the conſiſtory; which command he obeyed, and having the accuſtomed former articles miniſtered unto him, made then ſuch anſwers as before.

Being thus toſt to and fro from day to day, and hour to hour, he was at the laſt, the 18th of May, brought into the conſiſtory, where firſt was made a brief recital of all the former proceſs: and there the ſaid Wats being (by the biſhops and others) deſired to deny his profeſſion, made this final anſwer; God keep me from the doctrine that ye would have me to come unto, which ye have now declared. And I beſeech God that I may perſevere in that that I have done; for I will ſtand to mine anſwers.

The biſhop perceiving his fair flattering promiſes prevailed not (and having no great ſtore of other reaſons to perſuade with), put forth his laſt and ſtrongeſt argument of condemnation. Which being ended, he was delivered to the ſheriffs of London, and by them was ſent to New-

gate, where he remained until the 9th of June, or (as ſome record) to the 22d of May: at which time he was carried to Chelmsford, and there was brought to Mr. Scot's houſe, keeping then an inn in Chelmsford, where, as they were eating meat with Haukes and the reſt that came down to their burning; they prayed together both before and after their meat.

Then Mr. Wats went and prayed privately to himſelf, and afterward came to his wife and his ſix children being there, and ſaid theſe words in effect; Wife, and my good children, I muſt now depart from you. Therefore henceforth know I you no more, but as the Lord hath given you unto me, ſo I give you again unto the Lord, whom I charge you ſee you do obey, and fear him: and beware ye turn not to this abominable popery, againſt which I ſhall anon, by God's grace, give my blood. Let not the murdering of God's people cauſe you to relent, but take occaſion thereby to be the ſtronger in the Lord's quarrel, and I doubt not but he will be a merciful father unto you. All theſe and ſuch like words ſpake he unto them, and they unto him: of whom two, as it is ſaid, offered to be burnt with him. In the end he bade them farewel, and kiſſed them all, and was carried to the fire.

At the ſtake, after he had kiſſed it, he ſpake to my lord Rich theſe or the like words: My lord, ſaid he, beware, beware, for you do againſt your own conſcience herein, and without you repent, the Lord will revenge it: for you are the cauſe of this my death.

Long perſuaſion had been in England with great expectation, for the ſpace of half a year or more, that the queen was conceived with child. This report was made by the queen's phyſicians, and others about the court; ſo that ſeveral were puniſhed for ſaying the contrary. And a command was given, that in all churches ſupplication and prayer ſhould be made for the queen's good delivery: the certificate whereof ye may read before in the letter of the council ſent to biſhop Bonner [See page 77.] And alſo the ſame moreover may appear by proviſion made before by act of parliament for the child.

And now foraſmuch as in the beginning of this month of June, about Whitſuntide, the time was thought to be nigh that this young maſter ſhould come into the world, and that midwives, rockers, nurſes, with the cradle and all, were prepared and in a readineſs; ſuddenly, upon what cauſe or occaſion is uncertain, a certain vain rumour was blown in London of the proſperous deliverance of the queen, and the birth of the child. Inſomuch that the bells were rung, bonfires and proceſſions made, not only in the city of London, and in moſt other parts of the realm, but alſo in the town of Antwerp guns were ſhot off upon the river by the Engliſh ſhips, and the mariners thereof rewarded with an hundred piſtolets or Italian crowns by the lady regent, who was the queen of Hungary. Such great rejoicing and triumph was made for the queen's delivery, and that there was a prince born. Yea, divers preachers, namely one the parſon of St. Ann within Alderſgate, after proceſſion and Te Deum ſung, took upon him to deſcribe the proportion of the child, how fair, how beautiful, and great a prince he was, as the like had not been ſeen.

In the midſt of this great ado, there was a ſimple man (this I ſpeak but upon information) dwelling within four miles of Barwick, that had never been half way to London, who ſaid concerning the bonfires made for queen Mary's child, Here is a joyful triumph, but at length all will not prove worth a meſs of pottage; as indeed it came to paſs: for in the end all proved clean contrary, and the joy and expectations of men were much deceived. For the people were certified, that the queen neither was as then delivered, nor after was in hope to have any child.

At this time many talked diverſly. Some ſaid this rumour of the queen's conception was ſpread for a policy; others affirmed, that ſhe was deceived by a tympany or ſome other like diſeaſe, to think herſelf with child, and was not; ſome thought ſhe was with child, and that it did by ſome chance miſcarry, or elſe that ſhe was bewitched; but what was the truth thereof the Lord knoweth, to whom nothing is ſecret. One thing of mine own hearing and ſeeing, I cannot paſs over unwitneſſed.

There came to me, whom I did both hear and ſee, one Iſabel Malt, a woman dwelling in Alderſgate-ſtreet in Horn-alley, not far from the houſe where this preſent book was printed, who before witneſs made this declaration unto us, That ſhe being delivered of a man-child upon Whitſunday in the morning, which was the 11th day of June, 1555. there came to her the lord North, and another lord to her unknown, dwelling then about Old Fiſh-ſtreet, demanding of her if ſhe would part with her child, and would ſwear that ſhe never knew nor had any ſuch child. Which, if ſhe would, her ſon, they ſaid, ſhould be well provided for, ſhe ſhould take no care for it, with many fair offers if ſhe would part with the child.

After that came ſome women alſo, of whom one they ſaid ſhould have been the rocker; but ſhe in no wiſe would let go her ſon, who at the writing hereof being alive, and called Timothy Malt, was of the age of thirteen years, and upward.

Thus much, I ſay, I heard of the woman herſelf. What credit is to be given to her relation, I deal not withal, but leave it to the liberty of the reader, to believe it they that liſt; to them that liſt not, I have no further warrant to aſſure them.

Among many other great preparations made for the queen's deliverance of child, there was a cradle very ſumptuouſly and gorgeouſly trimmed, upon which cradle for the child appointed, theſe verſes were written, both in Latin and Engliſh.

"Quam Maria ſobolem, Deus optime, ſumme dediſti,
"Anglis incolumem redde, tuere, rege."
The child which thou to Mary, O Lord of might, do'ſt ſend,
To England's joy, in health preſerve, keep and defend.

About this time there came over into England a certain Engliſh book, giving warning to Engliſhmen of the Spaniards, and diſcloſing ſome ſecret practices for the recovery of abbey lands, which book was called, A Warning for England. Whereof ye ſhall underſtand more, God willing, when we come to the Spaniſh Inquiſition. So that by the occaſion of this book, upon the 13th day of this month came out a certain proclamation, ſet forth in the name of the king and queen, repealing and diſannulling all manner of books written or printed, whatſoever ſhould tend to impair the pope's dignity, whereby not only much pious edification was hindered, but alſo great peril grew among the people. The copy of which proclamation here followeth.

A Proclamation ſet out by the King and Queen, for the reſtraining of all Books and Writings, tending againſt the Doctrine of the Pope and his Church.

WHEREAS by the ſtatute made in the ſecond year of king Henry IV. concerning the repreſſing of hereſy, there is ordained and provided a great puniſhment, not only for the authors, makers, and writers of books containing wicked doctrine, and erroneous and heretical opinions, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of the holy church, and likewiſe for their favourers and ſupporters; but alſo for ſuch as have or keep any ſuch books or writings, and do not make delivery of them to the ordinary of the dioceſe or his miniſters, within a certain time limited in the ſaid ſtatute, which act

act or ſtatute being by authority of parliament of late revived, was alſo openly proclaimed, to the intent the ſubjects of the realm upon ſuch proclamation ſhould the rather eſchew the danger and penalty of the ſaid ſtatute, and as yet nevertheleſs in moſt parts of the realm the ſame is neglected, and little regarded: the king and queen our ſovereign lord and lady, therefore, &c. ſtraitly charge and command, that no perſon or perſons, of what eſtate, degree, or condition ſoever he or they be, from henceforth preſume to bring or convey, or cauſe to be brought or conveyed into this realm, any books, writings, or works hereafter mentioned; that is to ſay, any book or books, writings or works made or ſet forth, by, or in the name of Martin Luther, or any book or books, writings or works made and ſet forth, by, or in the name of Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, John Calvin, Pomerane, John Alaſco, Bullinger, Bucer, Melancthon, Bernardinus, Ochinus, Eraſmus, Sarcerius, Peter Martyr, Hugh Latimer, Robert Barnes, otherwiſe called Friar Barnes, John Bale, otherwiſe called Friar Bale, Juſtus Jonas, John Hooper, Miles Coverdale, William Tindal, Thomas Cranmer late archbiſhop of Canterbury, William Turner, Theodore Baſil, otherwiſe called Thomas Beacon, John Frith, Roy, and the book commonly called Hall's Chronicle, or any of them in the Latin tongue, Dutch tongue, Engliſh tongue, Italian tongue, or French tongue, or any other like book, paper, writing, or work, made, printed, or ſet forth by any other perſon or perſons, containing falſe doctrine contrary and againſt the catholic faith, and the doctrine of the catholic church. And alſo that no perſon or perſons preſume to write, print, utter, ſell, read, or keep any, or cauſe to be written, printed, uttered, or kept any of the ſaid books, papers, works, or writings, or any book or books written or printed in the Latin or Engliſh tongue, concerning the common ſervice and adminiſtration ſet forth in Engliſh to be uſed in the churches of this realm, in the time of king Edward VI. commonly called the communion book, or book or common ſervice and ordering of miniſters, otherwiſe called, The book ſet forth by authority of parliament, for common prayer and adminiſtration of the ſacraments, or to be uſed in the mother tongue within the church of England, but ſhall within the ſpace of fifteen days next after the publication of this proclamation, bring or deliver, or cauſe the ſaid books, writings, and works, and every of them remaining in their cuſtody and keeping, to be brought and delivered to the ordinary of the dioceſe, where ſuch books, works, or writings be or remain, or to his chancellor or commiſſaries, without fraud, colour or deceit, at the ſaid ordinary's will and diſpoſition to be burnt, or otherwiſe to be uſed or ordered by the ſaid ordinary, as by the canons or ſpiritual laws it is in that caſe limited or appointed, upon pain that every offender contrary to this proclamation ſhall incur the danger and penalties contained in the ſaid ſtatute, and as they will avoid their majeſties high indignation and diſpleaſure, and further anſwer at their uttermoſt perils.

And their majeſties by this proclamation give full power and authority to all biſhops and ordinaries, and all juſtices of the peace, mayors, ſheriffs, bailiffs of cities and towns corporate, and other head officers within this realm and the dominions thereof, and expreſly commandeth and willeth the ſame and every of them, that they and every of them, within their ſeveral limits and juriſdictions, ſhall in the default and negligence of the ſaid ſubjects, after the ſaid fifteen days expired, enquire and ſearch out the ſaid books, writings, and works; and for this purpoſe enter into the houſe or houſes, cloſets and ſecret places of every perſon, of whatſoever degree, being negligent in this behalf, and ſuſpected to keep any ſuch book, writing, or works, contrary to this proclamation: and that the ſaid juſtices, mayors, ſheriffs, bailiffs, or other head officers above ſpecified, and every of them within their ſaid limits and juriſdictions finding any of the ſaid ſubjects negligent and faulty in this behalf, ſhall commit every ſuch offender to ward, there to remain without bail or mainprize, till the ſame offender or offenders have received ſuch puniſhment as the ſaid ſtatute doth limit and appoint in this behalf. Given under our ſigns manual, at our manor of Hampton-court, the 13th day of June, the firſt and ſecond years of our reign.

Articles to be enquired upon by the Wardens of every company, touching ſeditious Books, eſpecially concerning the Book called, A Warning for England.

1. Whether they have ſeen any of the aforeſaid books.
2. Whether they have heard of any of the ſaid books.
3. Where they were, and in what place they have ſeen them.
4. Whom they know to have lately come from beyond the ſea, eſpecially from Zurich, Straſburgh, Frankfort, Wezel, Embden, and Diſburge.
5. Whom they know or vehemently ſuſpect to be common carriers of letters, or money thither from hence.
6. That they bring to my lord mayor all ſuch ſeditious books as they have, or ſhall find hereafter.

In this proclamation thou haſt heard, chriſtian reader, the profound and learned cenſure of the catholic church of England, what books they miſlike and reject as heretical, ſchiſmatical, and pernicious. Againſt which catholic cenſures of theſe learned fathers, I have not at this time to infer: neither doth any leiſure now ſerve to write apologies in defence of theſe authors here condemned. Only ſo much leave it may pleaſe the reader to grant me, to ſet before him here a pair of balance, wherein to weigh the books on the one ſide condemned, with the books on the other ſide allowed, to the end that we weigning the one with the other, may diſcern the better between them, which part weigheth beſt with God's holy truth and true catholic church, againſt manifeſt idolatrry and palpable abomination. And now therefore, as they have in this preſent proclamation given their condemnation upon theſe books above recited: ſo I deſire thee to give thy cenſure upon their books by them allowed, and upon the matter in them contained, and mark well what good ſtuff it is.

And firſt to begin with the primmer in Engliſh, for children after the uſe of Saliſbury, imprinted with a privilege according to the king and queen's majeſties letters patents in the reign of queen Mary. Let us repeat and ſurvey ſome part of the ſaid primmer (for to expreſs all it were too long), beginning with the firſt leſſon of our lady, in theſe words:

" Holy Mary, mother moſt pure of virgins all;
Mother and daughter of the king celeſtial,
So comfort us in our deſolation,
That by thy prayer and ſpecial meditation,
We enjoy the reward of thy heavenly reign."

Confer this with the ſcriptures, good reader, and judge uprightly whether this doctrine be tolerable in the church or not.

In the ſecond Leſſon.

" Holy Mary, of all godly the godlieſt,
Pray for us, of all holy the holieſt;
That he our prayers accept may in good wiſe,
Which of thee was born, and reigneth above the ſkies," &c.

In the third Leſſon.

" Thy Son beſeech with humble interceſſion,
To purge us clean of our tranſgreſſion;
That ſo being redeemed we may the place aſcend,
Where thou dwelleſt with him world without end."

The Verſicle.

" Pray for the people, intreat for the clergy, make interceſſion for the devout woman-kind; let all feel thy help, that worthily ſolemnize thy memorial, &c."

Another Verſicle.

" Holy mother of God, make thy petition, that we may deſerve Chriſt's promiſſion, &c."

And in the Anthem after Benedictus, thus it followeth:

" We beſeech thee of thy pity to have us in remembrance, and to make means for us unto Chriſt, that we being ſupported by thy help, may deſerve to attain the kingdom of heaven."

Furthermore in the Collect after it followeth:

" And grant, that through the gracious interceſſion of the virgin thy mother, we may be delivered from this preſent heavineſs, and have the fruition of eternal gladneſs.

It followeth moreover in the ſaid primmer thus, concerning the material croſs.

" O God, which haſt aſcended thy moſt holy croſs, and haſt given light to the darkneſs of the world, vouchſafe by the virtue of thy croſs to illuminate, viſit and comfort both our hearts and bodies, &c."

Moreover, in the name of St. John Baptiſt thus it prayeth:

" O Lord, defend us alway through the continual ſuccours of St. John Baptiſt. For the more frail we be, the more need we have to be relieved with neceſſary prayers, &c."

In which words note (good reader) not only the abſurdity of doctrine, but alſo the fooliſhneſs of the reaſon. For where their doctrine pretendeth that St. John Baptiſt ſhould pray for us, here we pray to God for St. John Baptiſt, that he will hear his prayer praying for us. It followeth furthermore in the name of Peter and Paul:

" Hear us mercifully, and grant that through the merits of them both, we may obtain the glory everlaſting, &c."

Of St. Andrew.

" So let him, O Lord, be a continual petitioner for us to thee, &c."

Of St. Laurence thus:

" St. Laurence the deacon did work a great work. For by the virtue of the holy croſs he gave ſight to the blind, &c."

And how can this be true, when the holy croſs was not yet found in the time of St. Laurence? For Helen which firſt found the croſs, as they ſay, came after St. Laurence more than forty years.

To Thomas Becket Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

" By the blood of Thomas, which he for thee did ſpend, make us, Chriſt, to climb, whither Thomas did aſcend."

Of St. Nicholas.

" O God, which haſt glorified bleſſed Nicholas, thy holy biſhop, with innumerable miracles, grant, we beſeech thee, that by his merits and prayers we may be delivered from the fire of hell."

Of Mary Magdalen.

" Grant, we beſeech thee, through thy mercy, to let her purchaſe for us the bliſs everlaſting, &c."

Another Prayer to our Lady.

" The dolorous compaſſion of God's ſweet mother,
Bring us to the bliſs of Almighty God the Father, &c."

Another prayer in the ſaid Primmer to our Lady.

" Eſtabliſh us in peace and tranquillity,
And change the name of ſinful Eva:
Looſe thy priſoners from captivity,
Unto the blind give ſight again.
Deliver us from malignity,
To the end we may ſome grace attain.
Shew thyſelf to be a mother,
So that he accept our petition.
Deliver us from bondage of ſin, &c."

Item,

" Holy mother, ſuccour the miſerable, comfort the weak-ſpirited, give courage to the deſperate, pray for the people, make interceſſion for the clergy, and be a mean for the devout woman-kind, &c."

Another blaſphemous Prayer.

" O thou meek mother, have mercy therefore
On wretches, for whom thou hadſt theſe pains all,
Seeing thy Son that vine-cluſter preſſed ſore:
And from the peſtilence of death eternal,
Keep us, by 'vaiding the fiend infernal,
And join us with them which rewarded be
With eternal life, ſeeing the Deity."

Another blaſphemy in the ſaid Primmer.

" Hail queen, mother of mercy, our life, our ſweetneſs, our hope. Unto thee do we cry and ſigh, weeping and wailing. Come off therefore our patroneſs; caſt upon us thy pitiful eyes, and after this our baniſhment ſhew to us the bleſſed fruit of thy womb. O gate of glory, be for us a reconciliation unto the Father and the Son. From the wretched their faults expel: wipe the ſpots of ſin unclean, &c."

Item, To our Lady.

" The fruit of thy womb everlaſting,
We may behold through thy deſerving, &c."

Item,

" Grant, we beſeech thee, that by her merits and prayers we may attain to that unſpeakable joy, whereas ſhe being aſcended, doth now rejoice with thee in heaven for ever."

And thus much hitherto of this catholic Primmer, called our Lady's Mattins. Whereunto, if it were not tedious for the reader, we would alſo adjoin our Lady's Pſalter, to the intent that all indifferent readers, as they have ſeen what books theſe catholic fathers have condemned and do condemn for heretical; ſo they may alſo ſee and judge, what books on the other ſide they approve as lawful and catholic. And foraſmuch as it is not known to all men what our Lady's Pſalter is, or what it meaneth; yea, and ſome peradventure will deny any ſuch book of our Lady's Pſalter to be written or approved, here therefore we will firſt produce the name of the author, who was Bonaventure, a ſeraphical doctor, biſhop alſo and cardinal, canonized moreover by pope Sixtus IV. in the year 1482, for a ſaint in the kalendar, whoſe book is thus intitled in Latin, " Incipit Pſalterium beatæ virginis, compilatum per ſeraphicum doctorem ſanctum Bonaventuram epiſcopum Albanenſem, necnon ſanctæ Romanæ eccleſiæ preſbyterum cardinalem, in honorem genetricis, &c. Fol. 84." In the ſecond part of his whole works (which were printed at Argentine, An. 1495.) to ſhew himſelf a devout ſervant to his lady, hath taken every pſalm of David's Pſalter (which he peculiarly made and referred to Almighty God), and hath in ſeveral of the ſaid pſalms and verſes put out the name of the Lord, and hath placed in the name of our Lady. This being done through the whole pſalms and every one of them, it is now called our Lady's Pſalter, uſed to be ſung and ſaid in the praiſe and ſervice of our

Lady. A brief taſte whereof for example ſake (for it were too long to ſhew all) we thought here to exhibit unto the reader in order, as followeth.

The Title of the Pſalter in Engliſh.

" Here beginneth the Pſalter of the bleſſed Virgin, made by the ſeraphical Doctor St. Bonaventure, the Biſhop of Alban, and Cardinal of the holy Church of Rome.

" BLeſſed is the man which underſtandeth thy name, O virgin Mary, thy grace ſhall comfort his ſoul. Thou ſhalt bring forth in him the moſt plentiful fruit of juſtice, being watered as it were with fountains of water. All women thou paſſeſt in the beauty of thy body; all angels and archangels in the excellency of thy holineſs. Thy mercy and thy grace is magnified every where, &c. Glory be to the Father, &c.

2. " Why do our enemies fret and imagine vain things againſt us? Let thy right hand defend us, O mother of God, terribly confounding and deſtroying them as a ſword. Come unto her all ye that labour and are troubled, and ſhe will give reſt unto your ſouls. Come unto her in your temptations, and her loving countenance ſhall ſtabliſh and comfort you. Bleſs her with all your heart; for the earth is full of her mercy. Glory be to the Father, &c.

3. " Why are they ſo many, O lady, that trouble me? In thy fury thou ſhalt perſecute and deſtroy them. Looſe the bonds of our impiety, and take away the burden of our ſins. Have mercy upon me, O lady, and heal my infirmity. Take away my ſorrow and the anguiſh of my heart. Deliver me not into the hands of mine enemies, and in the day of my death comfort my ſoul. Bring me unto the haven of ſalvation, and reſtore my ſpirit unto my maker and creator. Glory be to the Father, &c."

4. " When I called to thee, thou heardeſt, O my lady, and out of thy high throne thou didſt vouchſafe to think upon me. From the roaring of them that prepare themſelves to devour me, and out of the hands of ſuch as ſeek after my life, thy grace ſhall deliver me: becauſe thy mercy and thy pity are great towards all them that call upon thy holy name. Bleſſed be thou, O lady, for ever, and thy majeſty for ever and ever. Glorify her, all nations of the earth, &c."

5. " Hear my words, O lady, &c. turn our mourning into gladneſs, and our trouble into rejoicing. Let our enemies fall before our feet, and with thy power daſh their heads in pieces."

6. " O lady, ſuffer me not to be rebuked in God's anger, nor to be chaſtened in his heavy diſpleaſure, &c. From the gate and deep pit of hell, with thy holy prayers deliver us. Let the everlaſting gates be opened, that we may ſhew forth thy marvellous works for ever. Becauſe the dead, nor they that be in hell, ſhall not praiſe thee, O lady, but they which obtain by thy grace life everlaſting."

7. " O my lady, in thee will I put my truſt; deliver me from mine enemies, O lady. Stop the mouth of the lion, and bind the lips of the perſecutors. Make no tarrying, for thy name's ſake, to ſhew thy mercy upon me. Let the brightneſs of thy countenance ſhine upon us, that our conſcience may be ſaved before the moſt higheſt. If the enemy do perſecute my ſoul, O lady, help me that he deſtroy me not."

9. " I will give thanks to thee, O lady, with my whole heart, and will ſhew forth among the nations thy praiſe and glory, &c. They ſhall find grace through thee, the finder out of grace and ſalvation; the humble and penitent groan for pardon and forgiveneſs; heal thou the ſores of their heart, &c."

11. " In thee, O lady, do I put my truſt, &c. Seek her even from your youth, and ſhe ſhall glorify you. &c. Her mercy take from us the multitude of our ſins, and give unto us plenteouſneſs of merits, &c."

12. " Save me, O mother of love, and fountain of mercy, &c. Thou thyſelf alone haſt gone about the compaſs of the earth, to help them that call upon thee."

13. " How long doſt thou forget me, O lady, and doſt not deliver me in the day of my trouble? How long ſhall mine enemy triumph over me? With thy mighty power deſtroy him, &c. We magnify thee the finder and the author of grace, by whom the world is repaired, &c."

16. " Preſerve me, O lady, for in thee have I put my truſt, &c. Bleſſed be thy breaſts, which with thy deifying milk didſt nouriſh the Saviour, &c."

18. " I will love thee, O lady of heaven and earth; I will call upon thy name among the nations. Confeſs yourſelves unto her, ye that are troubled in heart, and ſhe ſhall ſtrengthen you againſt your enemies, &c. All ye cloyſterers honour her, for ſhe is your helper and ſpecial advocate. Be thou our refreſhing and reſt, for thou art the marvellous foundation of all religion."

20. " Hear us, O lady, in the day of trouble, &c. Caſt us not away in the time of our death, but ſuccour our ſoul when it forſaketh the body. Send an angel to meet it, that it may be defended from the enemies, &c. In torments and pain let it feel thy comfort, and grant to it a place among the elect of God."

25. " To thee, O lady, do I lift up my ſoul, &c. Let not the ſnares of death prevail againſt me, &c. Be thou my guide to the heavenly reſt, and to the company of angels aſſociate me."

26. " Judge thou me, O lady, for I am fallen from mine innocency: but becauſe I put my truſt in thee, therefore I ſhall not fall, &c."

27. " O lady, let the brightneſs of thy face be my ſight, and let the clearneſs of thy grace ſhine unto my mind, &c."

28. " To thee, O lady, &c. Have mercy upon me in the day of my trouble, and in the light of thy truth deliver me, &c."

31. " In thee, O lady, do I put my truſt, let me not be confounded for ever, in thy glory receive me. Thou art my ſtrength and my refuge, my conſolation and protection, &c. Deliver me from the ſnare that they have laid for me, becauſe thou art my helper. Into thy hands I commend my ſpirit, &c."

34. " I will always praiſe our lady, &c. In perils, in adverſity call upon her, and in time of need ye ſhall find ſuccour. Let her converſation be an example unto you, and follow the virtue of her humility. Becauſe therefore, O lady, thou waſt humble and lowly. Thou didſt compel the Word increate to take fleſh of thee."

36. " The wicked man ſaid, &c. Let him depart from his evil purpoſe; O mother of God, turn the countenance of God towards us: compel him to be merciful unto ſinners. Bleſſed be thy power and dominion in heaven, and bleſſed be thy magnificence upon the earth."

45. " My heart is inditing a good matter, O lady, &c. By thy holineſs let my ſins be purged, by thy integrity let me obtain incorruption, &c."

47. " Clap your hands, all ye people, &c. For ſhe is the gate of life, the door of ſalvation, the reconciler of our life; the hope of the penitent, the comfort of the ſorrowful, the bleſſed peace of hearts and ſalvation. Have mercy upon me, O lady, have mercy upon me; for thou art the light and hope of all that put their truſt in thee."

51. " Have mercy upon me, O lady, which art called the mother of mercy, and in the bowels of thy great compaſſion cleanſe me from mine iniquities."

54. " O lady, in thy name ſave me, and from mine unrighteouſneſs deliver me, &c."

70. " Make haſte, O lady, to help me, &c. Have mercy on thy ſervants, upon whom thy name is invocated, &c."

71. " In thee, lady, have I put my truſt: let me not be confounded for ever, in thy mercy deliver me, &c."

79. "O lady, the gentiles are come into the inheritance of God, whom thou didſt join unto Chriſt by thy merits, &c."

89. "Thou that ruleſt Iſrael, &c. The Saviour of life cometh from her, and all health floweth out of her heart, &c."

91. "Whoſo dwelleth in the help of the mother of God, ſhall dwell in the ſhadow of her protection, &c. Cry unto her in your dangers, and the ſcourge ſhall not come near your tabernacle. The fruit of grace ſhall be to him whoſo truſteth in her, and the gate of paradiſe ſhall be open unto him."

95. "Come let us rejoice to our lady, &c." Receive our ſouls at our laſt end, and bring them into everlaſting reſt, &c."

105. "Praiſe our lady, and call upon her name, &c. Everlaſting ſalvation is in thy hand, O lady, &c."

110. "The Lord ſaid unto our lady; Sit here, my mother, on my right hand, &c."

114. "In the paſſing of my ſoul out of this world, come and meet it, O lady, and receive it, &c. Be to it a ladder to the kingdom of heaven, and a right way to the paradiſe of God, &c."

119. "The whole earth is full of thy mercies, and therefore I will ſearch out the way of thy juſtifications, &c. I will covet for ever to praiſe thee, O lady, when thou ſhall teach me thy juſtifications, &c."

125. "They that put their truſt in thee, O mother of God, ſhall not be afraid of the face of their enemy, &c."

127. "Except our lady ſhall build the houſe of our heart, the building thereof ſhall not continue."

128. "Bleſſed is every one that feareth our lady, and bleſſed be all they which know to do her will, &c."

130. "Out of the deep I have called unto thee, O lady, O lady, hear my voice, &c."

132. "O lady, remember David, and all them that call upon thy name, &c."

134. "Behold and bleſs now our lady, all ye that put your truſt in her holy name."

136. "At the floods of Babylon, &c." There is no propitiation to be found without her, &c."

140. "Deliver me, O lady, from all evil, and from the infernal enemy defend me, &c."

145. "Our eyes look up and truſt in thee. Do thou ſend us meat and food convenient, &c. My tongue ſhall ſpeak thy praiſe, and ſhall bleſs thee for ever."

148. "Praiſe thou our lady, O Jeruſalem, and glorify her alſo, O thou Sion: For ſhe buildeth up thy walls, and bleſſeth thy children. Her grace maketh thee fat, and giveth peace unto thy coaſts, &c."

I could recite alſo other things of like blaſphemy, following immediately after this pſalter of our lady, in the ſeraphical doctor aforeſaid, as theſe:

"Behold my lady my ſaviour, I will be bold in thee, and will not fear, &c. Becauſe thou art my ſtrength, &c. And art become my ſalvation, &c."

"Rejoice, O all mankind, becauſe the Lord thy God hath given unto thee ſuch a mediatrix, &c."

"I will confeſs to thee, O lady, becauſe thou haſt hid theſe things from the wiſe, and haſt revealed them to the little ones."

"O thou wicked and peeviſh generation, acknowledge our lady thy ſaviour. Is not ſhe the mother that hath poſſeſſed thee, and in faith hath begotten thee?"

"O thou bleſſed, in thy hands is laid up our ſalvation, &c.."

"In thy name let every knee bend, in heaven and earth, and in hell."

"Like as an infant cannot live without the nurſe, ſo neither canſt thou have ſalvation without our lady."

"Whoſo will be ſaved, before all things he muſt needs hold this belief of our lady; which belief, unleſs every one ſhall hold perfect and ſound, he ſhall periſh without doubt for ever."

Moreover, after theſe ſo horrible things and intolerable to be heard, conſequently in the next tractation followeth the roſary or garland of our lady, compiled by the ſaid Bonaventure: wherein theſe words are to be read as followeth: "O mediatrix between God and man, the Lord hath worthily magnified thee, that thou only ſhouldeſt conceive his ſon. Wherefore, O good Mary our mediatrix, mother of grace, and mother of mercy, &c." And moreover, within few lines it followeth in theſe words, "Therefore, O our empreſs and lady moſt bountiful, by the authority of a mother command, command (I ſay) thy well-beloved Son, that he will ſtir up our minds from the love of worldly things, to heavenly deſires, &c."

Item, "O the advocate of the miſerable, the eyes of thy ſervants be directed to thee, &c."

To theſe premiſſes, I might alſo adjoin the horrible and moſt blaſphemous words of the ſaid Bonaventure in the ſaid book, fol. 100. pag 2. col. 1. which I beſeech thee to read and note. "What greater goodneſs can be, than that Chriſt is content to be captive upon the altar?"

Whereupon he ſpeaketh in the perſon of Jeremy, ſaying, "Behold I am in your hands, do with me as you ſee good, &c. Where note, ſaith he, that when any duke or prince is taken priſoner for his ſubjects, he is not let go, before he pay ſome great ſum of money for his ranſom. Even ſo neither we ought to let Chriſt go out of our hands being our priſoner and captive, except he grant to us remiſſion of our ſins and his heavenly kingdom. The prieſt therefore lifteth up the body of Chriſt upon the altar, as though he ſaid thus, Behold him whom the whole world is not able to comprehend, he is holden here our captive, wherefore let us hold him faſt, and not let him go before we obtain of him our requeſts, &c."

NOTES.

Is not here good catholic ſtuff (chriſtian reader) think you? Confer, I beſeech you, this doctrine with the doctrine of the apoſtles, which teach us that we are fully compleat in Chriſt, and I will refer me to no better judge than to your own conſcience. And now therefore, if any man have been in doubt in times paſt of the doctrine and proceeding of the church of Rome, whether it be rightly charged with blind errors, with blaſphemy intolerable, and idolatry abominable or not, here now he may be fully certified and reſolved. For where was ever idolatry or blaſphemy to be found, if it be not here in this mattins and pſalter of our lady? If idolatry be to make an idol to be worſhipped as God, which is no god, what do we here but make an idol of our lady (as we call her) to be worſhipped with no leſs dignity, glory, authority, reverence, and ſervice, than is the Lord God himſelf? And as he is called our Lord, ſo ſhe is called our lady. And if he be king, yet ſhe is the queen of heaven. And though he have the name of God, yet ſhe beareth ſo the title of the mother of God; that as mothers have authority over their children, ſo ſhe is willed to ſhew herſelf to be his mother, to cauſe him to grant our petitions. Finally, if he be our patron, yet ſhe is our patroneſs. The commandment ſaith, "Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve." And what worſhip or ſervice can we give to God, more than we do aſcribe unto her? And what benefit is to be aſked at the hands of Chriſt our Saviour, which is not equally aſked of her? To ſave our ſouls, to give us peace, to grant grace, to comfort the deſperate, to looſe our captivity, to releaſe our ſins, to deliver from the fiend, to bring to heaven, &c. To her we pray, we cry, we weep, we ſigh, we groan, we knock and kneel, to her we truſt, and if we believe not alſo in our lady, we be heretics ipſo facto.

Further-

Furthermore, as Chriſt our only Lord and Saviour hath his church and congregation which profeſs his name, of whom we are called chriſtians; ſo neither is ſhe likewiſe without her chapels, her cloiſters, her chapters, fraternities, and brotherhoods, which profeſſing her name in like ſort, are called our lady's brethren, or white friers, beſides an innumerable ſort of other patrons of churches, of whom every one hath his peculiar church and religion by himſelf, yet all theſe together be included under the general devotion of our lady their ſupreme patroneſs and governeſs.

Now to proceed further to the other part of the commandment, which ſaith, "Him only ſhalt thou ſerve." What ſervice hath the Lord in all the church, but our lady alſo jointly with him hath the like? Her maſs, her mattins, her even-ſong, her hours and complin, her roſaries, her anthems, her collects, her primmer, her pſalter, her holy-days likewiſe, yea five to one. Finally, as the Lord hath his prayer called the Lord's prayer, ſo hath ſhe her Ave Mary's, yea ten Ave's to one Pater noſter; yea, and read further in the ſaid Bonaventure, and ye ſhall ſee her alſo to have her Te Deum, her Benedictus, her Magnificat, and alſo her Quicunque vult.

If the Lord our God had not expreſſed unto us his own will by plain words, limiting unto us by expreſs injunction what to believe, what to follow, and how to worſhip and ſerve him, and how to receive from him our ſalvation; but had left us to the imagination of our own inventions, every man to ſhift for himſelf after his own policy, then peradventure this way taken by the pope's church, to make friends and mediators between God and us, for reconciliation, remiſſion, and ſalvation, might have ſome rhime or reaſon; but now God's word doth bind us, doth preſcribe and limit us preciſely in every point touching ſalvation, what to believe, and what to do, ſhewing us plainly that we cannot be ſaved but by the blood of his Son only, neither can be juſtified but by faith only in the ſame Chriſt his Son: Wherefore not to believe that which he hath promiſed, is infidelity; and to follow any other belief than he hath ſet us, is plain idolatry. Which two ſpecial errors moſt commonly do follow the doctrine of the Romiſh church, as not only in this Primmer and Pſalter of our Lady aforeſaid, but alſo in all their proceedings, teachings and preachings beſides may well appear. For where the ſcripture doth perfectly promiſe and pronounce us to be juſtified through our faith in Chriſt, and willeth us to ſeek our ſalvation nowhere elſe, but only in the merits of Jeſus: the inſtitution of the church of Rome neither will receive that God hath freely given (wherein ſtandeth infidelity), neither yet will ſeek the ſame there where they ſhould, but in the merits and prayers of our Lady, St. John Baptiſt, St. Peter and Paul, St. Andrew, St. Nicholas, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and by the worthineſs of the material croſs, and ſuch other unlawful means, wherein ſtandeth plain idolatry. And yet ſuch books as theſe can be ſuffered among the catholics to be current, as good, wholeſome and lawful books; whereas the others, which lead us the true way from infidelity and blind idolatry to true chriſtianity, in no wiſe can be ſuffered. But of this to complain it is vain. Wherefore to paſs from this proclamation, let us proceed (God willing) in the courſe of our hiſtory.

The Hiſtory of Thomas Oſmond, William Bamford, and Thomas Oſborne, &c.

MEntion was made before in the ſtory of Thomas Haukes, of ſix priſoners beſides, which were ſent down with him to Eſſex the ſame time as he went to execution. Of which ſix priſoners, three were ſent to be burnt, the other three to recant, and to do penance: of whom it followeth next to intreat. The names of which ſix were theſe, Thomas Oſmond fuller, William Bamford, alias Butler, weaver, Thomas Oſborne fuller, Nicholas Chamberlain weaver, Thomas Brodehill weaver, Richard Web weaver, being all of the town of Coxhall. All which men, next after the examinations of Thomas Haukes and Thomas Wats, were ſent up to biſhop Bonner to be examined, by the earl of Oxford and Sir Philip Paris knight, a letter alſo being ſent with them, the copy whereof here followeth.

The Earl of Oxford's Letter to Biſhop Bonner.

AFTER our hearty commendations unto your good lordſhip, this ſhall be to advertiſe the ſame, that the conſtables of Coxhall within your dioceſe, have brought before us this day ſix perſons dwelling in the town of Coxhall aforeſaid, whoſe names do follow, to wit, Nicholas Chamberlain weaver, John Wallet fuller, Thomas Brodehill weaver, Richard Web weaver, William Bamford, alias Butler, weaver, and Thomas Oſborne fuller, for that they at the feaſt of Eaſter now laſt, have not obeyed to the order of the holy catholic church in receiving of the ſacraments, but obſtinately refuſing the ſame; beſides of holding divers other opinions contrary to the faith of the ſaid church. Wherefore we have thought it good to ſend the ſame perſons unto your good lordſhip further to be ordered, as in ſuch caſe ſhall appertain. Thus we commit your good lordſhip to the keeping of Almighty God. From Hedingham, the firſt of May 1555.

Your lordſhip's aſſuredly,
Oxford, Philip Paris.

The ſaid priſoners being ſent up the firſt of May, were brought before the ſaid biſhop the 17th of the ſaid month, to be examined upon divers and ſundry articles miniſtered and objected againſt them; whereunto they were compelled to anſwer, and to put their hands to the ſame; the copy of which their articles and anſwers, being all in one form and effect (if the regiſter ſay true) here followeth.

The Copy of the Articles objected againſt Thomas Oſmond, William Bamford, and Nicholas Chamberlain.

FIRST, That thou Thomas Oſmond fuller, waſt and art of the pariſh of Coxhall within the dioceſe of London, and thou haſt not believed nor doſt believe, that there is here in the earth one catholic and univerſal whole church, which doth hold and believe all the faith and religion of Chriſt, and all the neceſſary articles and ſacraments of the ſame.

2. Item, That thou haſt not believed nor doſt believe, that thou art neceſſarily bounden under the pain of the damnation of thy ſoul, to give full faith and credence unto the ſaid catholic and univerſal church, and to the faith and religion of the ſame in all neceſſary points of the ſaid faith and religion, without doubting or wavering in the ſaid faith and religion, or in any part thereof.

3. Item, That thou haſt not believed that the faith and religion, which both the church of Rome, Italy, Spain, England, France, Ireland, Scotland, and all other churches in Europe, being true members and parts of the ſaid catholic and univerſal church, do believe and teach, is both agreeing with the faith and religion of Chriſt, and alſo is the very true faith and religion which all chriſtian people ought to believe, obſerve, follow and keep; but contrariwiſe, thou haſt believed and doſt believe, that that faith and religion, which the ſaid church of Rome, and all the other churches aforeſaid, have heretofore believed, and do believe, is falſe, erroneous, and naught, and in no wiſe ought to be believed, obſerved, kept, and followed of any chriſtian perſon.

4. Item,

4. Item, That albeit it be true, that in the ſacrament of the altar there is in ſubſtance the very body and blood of our Saviour Chriſt under the forms of bread and wine; and albeit that it be ſo believed, taught and preached undoubtedly in the ſaid church of Rome, and all other churches aforeſaid, yet thou haſt not ſo believed, nor doſt ſo believe, but contrariwiſe, thou haſt believed, and doſt believe firmly and ſtedfaſtly, that there is not in the ſaid ſacrament of the altar, under the ſaid forms of bread and wine, the very ſubſtance of Chriſt's body and blood, but that there is only the ſubſtance of material and common bread and wine, with the forms thereof, and that the ſaid material and common bread and wine are only the ſigns and tokens of Chriſt's body and blood, and are by faith to be received only for a remembrance of Chriſt's paſſion and death, without any ſuch ſubſtance of Chriſt's body and blood at all.

5. Item, That thou haſt believed and taught, and haſt openly ſpoke and defended, and ſo doſt believe, think, maintain, and defend, that the very true receiving and eating of Chriſt's body and blood, is only to take material and common bread, and to break it and diſtribute it among the people, remembering thereby the paſſion and death of Chriſt only.

6. Item, That thou haſt likewiſe believed, taught, and ſpoken, that the maſs, now uſed in the realm of England, and other the churches aforeſaid, is abominable and naught, and full of idolatry, and is of the ordinance of the pope, and not of the inſtitution of Chriſt, and hath no goodneſs in it, ſaving the Gloria in Excelſis, the epiſtle and goſpel, and therefore thou haſt not, nor will not come and be preſent at maſs, nor receive the ſacrament of the altar, nor any other ſacrament of the church, as they are now uſed in the realm of England, &c.

7. Item, That thou haſt in times paſt believed, and yet doſt now believe, that auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to be made unto the prieſt, but is a thing ſuperfluous, void, and naught, only to be made to God and to none other perſon. And likewiſe thou haſt condemned as ſuperfluous, vain, and unprofitable, all the ceremonies of the church, and the ſervice of the ſame, and haſt ſaid that no ſervice in the church ought to be ſaid but in the Engliſh tongue, and if it be otherwiſe, it is unlawful and naught.

8. Item, That thou being notoriouſly and openly ſuſpected for an heretic, and a perſon culpable in the premiſſes, waſt of late called and convented before the earl of Oxford, and Mr. Philip Paris, and there waſt charged with the ſaid hereſies, eſpecially againſt the ſacrament of the altar. And becauſe thou didſt maintain and ſtand to thy ſaid hereſies, and wouldeſt not come to the church and be confeſſed, and receive the ſaid ſacrament as other chriſtian people did, but utterly didſt refuſe to do the ſame, thou waſt by the ſaid earl of Oxford, and Mr. Philip Paris, ſent up by a conſtable unto me biſhop of London, and waſt by them denounced, detected, and put up to me as an heretic and miſbelieving perſon.

9. Item, That thou haſt known and believed, thou doſt know and believe, or at leaſt thou haſt credibly heard, reported, ſpoken, and ſaid, that all and all manner of perſons, which do teach, preach, or hold any thing concerning the ſacraments of the church, or any the articles of faith, otherwiſe than is found already diſcuſſed and determined by our mother the holy church, or doth call into doubt or queſtion that thing which is already decided or determined by the church, or that willingly and wittingly do utter, openly or privily, any ſlanderous or blaſphemous words concerning the ſaid ſacraments or any of them, or that do preach, teach, or keep any ſect or kind of hereſy againſt the wholeſome doctrine of the church, and do wittingly or obſtinately defend the ſect or kind of hereſy, are by the canons of the whole and univerſal catholic church, and alſo by the eccleſiaſtical laws of this church of England, by their ſo doing, accurſed with that curſe which doth ſeparate them from the entry into the church, from the receiving of the ſacraments, and from the company of faithful people, and are (in continuing in this ſaid ſect and hereſy) to be pronounced, declared, and taken for heretics, and to be delivered to the ſecular power, and by the laws temporal of this realm of England, and the cuſtom of the ſame, to be by the ſaid ſecular power put to death, and burnt for this ſaid ſect and hereſy.

10. Item, That thou by reaſon of the premiſſes waſt and art to be pronounced, taken, had, reputed, and judged for a manifeſt and open, wilful and obſtinate heretic, for a wicked and curſed perſon, and to be puniſhed accordingly for the ſame, according to the ſaid canon laws, uſages, and cuſtoms.

The Anſwers of Tho. Oſmond, W. Bamford, and Nicholas Chamberlain, to the aforeſaid Articles.

TO the firſt they anſwered and confeſſed the ſame to be true, except that they do believe that there is here in earth one catholic and whole church, and that the ſame church doth hold and believe as is contained in this article.

To the ſecond they anſwer and believe the ſaid article not to be true; for they ſay that they have and do believe that they are neceſſarily bounden, under pain of damnation of their ſoul, to give full faith and credence unto the ſaid catholic church, and to the faith and religion of the ſame, in all neceſſary points of the ſame faith and religion, without wavering or doubting in any part thereof.

To the third they anſwer, That the church of Rome, and other churches mentioned in this article, be not true members and parts (as they be uſed in faith and religion) of the catholic church of Chriſt and that the faith and religion uſed in the ſaid churches, is not agreeable with the church of Chriſt, but are falſe and erroneous.

To the fourth they anſwer and ſay, That howſoever the ſaid churches of Rome and others of Chriſtendom have and do believe touching the ſacrament of the altar, yet they do believe that in the ſacrament under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very ſubſtance of Chriſt's body and blood, but that there is only the ſubſtance of material bread and wine, and that the ſame material bread and wine be only the ſigns and tokens of Chriſt's body and blood, and are to be received only for a remembrance of Chriſt's paſſion and death, without any ſubſtance of Chriſt's body and blood at all.

To the fifth article they anſwer, That the true receiving and eating of Chriſt's body, according to Chriſt's inſtitution, is to take, diſtribute, and eat material bread, and thereby to remember the paſſion and death of Chriſt, and ſo receive by faith (as they believe) Chriſt's body and blood, and not otherwiſe.

To the ſixth they anſwer, The ſame to be true in every part thereof, except that over and beſides the Gloria in Excelſis, the epiſtle and goſpel, which they believe to be good, they believe the Pater-noſter and Creed uſed in the maſs, be alſo good.

To the ſeventh they anſwer and confeſs, That auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to be made to the prieſt; nevertheleſs they think that it is neceſſary to go to ſuch a prieſt as is able to give good counſel: and that for counſel only, and not otherwiſe. And as concerning the ceremonies of the church, they anſwer the ſame to be vain and unprofitable. No ſervice in the church ought to be ſaid, but only in the Engliſh tongue.

To the eighth they anſwer and believe the ſame to be true in every part thereof, except that they do not believe that they be heretics, or ſuſpected of hereſy.

To the ninth Oſmond and Bamford anſwered, That they referred themſelves to the ſaid laws mentioned in that

article; but Chamberlain made no anſwer at all to this article.

To the tenth, the ſaid Oſmond and Bamford anſwered and ſaid, That by reaſon of their belief before by them confeſſed, they are not to be reputed, taken or adjudged for wilful and obſtinate heretics, nor to be puniſhed therefore, as is declared in that article. The other anſwered nothing.

Remarks upon the aforeſaid Articles.

THESE articles, in the ſame form and manner of words, are commonly objected to all others that follow after, with the ſame anſwers alſo thereunto annexed. In which articles thou may'ſt note, reader, the crafty and ſubtle handling of theſe lawyers and regiſters, who ſo deceitfully frame their articles and poſitions, that unleſs a man do adviſedly conſider them, it is hard for a ſimple man to anſwer to them, but he ſhall be enſnared and entangled. So they paint their church with ſuch a viſage of univerſal, whole, holy, catholic, as who ſhould ſay, He that denieth Rome, denieth the holy church of Chriſt here in earth. Likewiſe in examining them, and eſpecially the ſimple ſort in the matter of the ſacrament, to the material bread in the ſacrament they put their word [only] very captiouſly and fraudulently, to take them at the worſt advantage, making the people believe that they take the holy ſacrament to be no better than only common bread: when they do not ſo, but make a difference between the ſame, both in the uſe, honour, and name thereof.

Again, when the examinates hold but only againſt the erroneous points of Romiſh religion, theſe biſhops in their interrogatories give out the matter ſo generally, as though the ſaid examinates in general ſpake againſt all the articles of faith taught in Rome, Spain, England, France, Scotland, &c.

Moreover, concerning Latin ſervice, in ſuch crafty form of words they propound their article, that it might appear to the people theſe men do deny any ſervice to be lawful in any place, country, or language, but only in Engliſh.

And as theſe articles are craftily, captiouſly and deceitfully in form of words deviſed by the biſhops and their notaries: ſo the anſwers again to the ſame be no leſs ſubtilly framed, and after the moſt odious manner put down in the name of the examinates, which being thus read unto them, without further advice they were conſtrained upon a ſudden to ſubſcribe the ſame with their hands. Whereby if any word eſcaped their hand, peradventure not conſiderately ſubſcribed; there the papiſts take their advantage againſt them, to defame them, and to bring them into hatred with the people.

Theſe articles thus propounded and anſwered, they were diſmiſſed till the afternoon. At which time they did again appear, and there were examined and perſuaded by fair and flattering ſpeeches, as well by the biſhop as of others his aſſiſtants, to recant and revoke their opinions, who notwithſtanding remained conſtant and firm; and therefore, after the common uſage of their eccleſiaſtical laws, were ſent away again until the next day, being Saturday, the 18th of May. Then in the forenoon the biſhop uſing his accuſtomed manner of proceeding, which he had uſed before as well with them as with others, did likewiſe diſmiſs them, and at laſt in the afternoon condemned them as heretics, and ſo delivered them to the ſheriffs, in whoſe cuſtody they remained till they were delivered to the ſheriff of Eſſex, and by him were executed, Chamberlain at Colcheſter, the 14th of June; Thomas Oſmond at Maningtree, the 15th of June; and William Bamford, alias Butler, at Harwich, the ſame 15th of June.

The Life and Acts of the worthy Martyr Mr. John Bradford.

MR. John Bradford was born at Manchester in Lancaſhire; his parents brought him up in learning from his infancy, until he attained ſuch knowledge in the Latin tongue, and ſkill in writing, that he was able to gain his own living in ſome honeſt condition. Then he became ſervant to Sir John Harrington, knight, who in the great affairs of king Henry the eighth, and king Edward the ſixth, which he had in hand when he was treaſurer of the king's camps and buildings, at divers times in Bullonois, had ſuch experience of Mr. Bradford's activity in writing, his expertneſs in the art of auditors, as alſo of his faithful truſtineſs, that not only in thoſe affairs, but in many others of his private buſineſs, he truſted Mr. Bradford before others.

Mr. Bradford continued for ſeveral years in an honeſt and thriving way, after the courſe of this world, if his mind could have ſo liked, or had been given to the world as many others be. But the Lord which had elected him unto a better function, and pre-ordained him to preach the goſpel of Chriſt, called this his choſen ſervant to the underſtanding and partaking of the ſame goſpel of life. In which call he was ſo truly taught, that forthwith his effectual call was perceived by the fruits. For then he forſook his worldly affairs and forwardneſs in worldly wealth, and, after the juſt account given to his maſter of all his doings, he departed from him, and with marvellous favour to further the kingdom of God by the miniſtry of his holy word, he gave himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures. And the better to accompliſh his deſign, he departed from the Temple at London, and went to the univerſity of Cambridge, to learn by God's law how to further the building of the Lord's temple. In Cambridge his diligence in ſtudy, his profiting in knowledge and pious converſation ſo pleaſed all men, that within a year after he had been there, the univerſity gave him the degree of Maſter of Arts.

Immediately after, the maſter and fellows of Pembroke-Hall gave him a fellowſhip in their college with them: yea that good man Martin Bucer ſo liked him, that he had him not only moſt dear unto him, but alſo oftentimes exhorted him to beſtow his talent in preaching. To which Mr. Bradford always anſwered, that he was unable to ſerve in that office through want of learning. To which Bucer was wont to reply, ſaying, If thou have not fine manchet bread, yet give the poor people barley bread, or whatſoever elſe the Lord hath committed unto thee. And while Mr. Bradford was thus perſuaded to enter into the miniſtry, Dr. Ridley, that worthy biſhop of London, and glorious martyr of Chriſt, according to the order that then was in the church of England, called him to take the degree of a deacon. Which order, becauſe it was not without ſome ſuch abuſe, as to which Mr. Bradford would not conſent, and the biſhop perceiving that he was willing to enter into the miniſtry, was content to order him deacon without any abuſe, even as he deſired. This being done, he obtained for him a licence to preach, and gave him a prebend in his cathedral church of St. Paul's.

In this preaching office Mr. Bradford diligently laboured for the ſpace of three years. Sharply he opened and reproved ſin, ſweetly he preached Chriſt crucified, pithily he diſproved hereſies and errors, earneſtly he perſuaded to godly life. After the death of bleſſed king Edward the ſixth, when queen Mary had gotten the crown, Mr. Bradford ſtill continued diligent in preaching, till he was unjuſtly deprived both of his office and liberty by the queen and her council. To the doing whereof, becauſe they had no juſt cauſe, they took occaſion to do this injury for ſuch an act, as among Turks and Infidels would have been rewarded with thankfulneſs,

neſs, and with great favour accepted, as indeed it did no leſs deſerve.

The fact was this: The 13th of Auguſt, in the firſt year of the reign of queen Mary, Mr. Bourne, then biſhop of Bath, made a ſeditious ſermon at Paul's Croſs in London, as partly is declared before, [See pag. 5.] to ſet popery abroad in ſuch ſort, that it moved the people to great indignation, being almoſt ready to pull him out of the pulpit. Neither could the reverence of the place, or the preſence of biſhop Bonner, who then was his maſter, nor yet the command of the mayor of London, whom the people ought to have obeyed, ſtay their rage: but the more they ſpake, the more the people were incenſed. At length Mr. Bourne ſeeing the people in ſuch a mood, and himſelf in ſuch peril (whereof he was ſufficiently warned by the hurling of a drawn dagger at him as he ſtood in the pulpit), and that he was hindered from ending his ſermon, fearing leſt (againſt his will) he ſhould there end his wretched life, deſired Mr. Bradford, who ſtood in the pulpit behind him, to come forth, and to ſtand in his place and ſpeak to the people. Good Bradford at his requeſt was content, and there ſpake to the people of godly and quiet obedience. Whom as ſoon as the people ſaw to begin to ſpeak unto them, ſo glad they were to hear him, that they cried with a great ſhout; Bradford, Bradford, God ſave thy life, Bradford: well declaring not only what affection they bare unto him, but alſo what regard they gave unto his words. For after he had entered a little to preach unto them, and to exhort them to quiet and patience, the tumult ſoon ceaſed, and in the end each man departed quietly to his houſe. Yet in the mean ſeaſon (for it was a long time before ſo great a multitude could all depart) Mr. Bourne thought, and truly, himſelf not yet full ſure of his life till he were ſafely houſed, notwithſtanding that the mayor and ſheriffs of London were there at hand to help him: wherefore he deſired Mr. Bradford not to depart from him till he were in ſafety: which Mr. Bradford according to his promiſe performed. For while the mayor and ſheriffs did lead Mr. Bourne to the ſchool-maſter's houſe, which is next to the pulpit, Mr. Bradford went at his back, ſhadowing him from the people with his gown, and ſo ſet him ſafe.

Let the reader now conſider the peril of Mr. Bourne, the charity of Mr. Bradford, and the headineſs of the multitude, and alſo the grudging minds of ſome, who yet ſtill there remained behind, greatly grieved in their minds, to ſee that ſo good a man ſhould ſave the life of ſuch a popiſh prieſt, ſo impudently and openly railing againſt king Edward. Among whom one gentleman ſaid theſe words: "Ah Bradford, Bradford, thou ſaveſt him that will burn thee. I give thee his life: if it were not for thee, I would, I aſſure thee, run him through with my ſword." Thus Bourne for that time, through Bradford's means, eſcaped bodily death; but God hath his judgment to be ſhewed in the time appointed.

The ſame Sunday in the afternoon Mr. Bradford preached at Bow church in Cheapſide, and reproved the people ſharply for their ſeditious miſdemeanor. After this he abode ſtill in London with an innocent conſcience, to try what would come of his juſt doing.

Within three days after he was ſent for to the Tower of London, where the queen then was, to appear before the council. There was he charged with this act of ſaving of Bourne, which act they there called ſeditious, and alſo objected againſt him for preaching, and ſo by them he was committed firſt to the Tower, then unto other priſons, out of which neither his innocency, piety, nor charitable dealing could purchaſe to him liberty of body, till by death (which he ſuffered for Chriſt's cauſe) he obtained the heavenly liberty, of which neither pope nor papiſt ſhall ever deprive him. From the Tower he came to the King's Bench in Southwark; and after his condemnation, he was ſent to the Compter in the Poultry in London: in which two places, for the time he did remain priſoner, he preached twice a day continually, unleſs ſickneſs hindered him; where alſo the ſacrament was often adminiſtered; and through his means (the keepers ſo well did bear with him) ſuch reſort of good folks were daily at his lecture, and the adminiſtration of the ſacrament, that commonly his chamber was well nigh filled therewith. Preaching, reading, and praying was all his whole life. He did not eat above one meal a day, which was but very little when he took it; and his continual ſtudy was upon his knees. In the midſt of dinner he uſed often to muſe with himſelf, having his hat over his eyes, from whence came commonly plenty of tears. Very gentle he was to man and child, and in ſo good credit with his keeper, that at his deſire in an evening (being priſoner in the King's Bench in Southwark) he had licence, upon his promiſe to return again that night, to go into London without any keeper, to viſit one that was ſick, lying by the Still-yard. Neither did he fail his promiſe, but returned to his priſon again, rather preventing his hour, than breaking his fidelity; ſo conſtant was he in word and in deed.

Of perſonage he was ſomewhat tall and ſlender, ſpare of body, of a faint ſanguine colour, with a dark brown beard. He ſlept not commonly above four hours in the night; and in his bed, till ſleep came, his book went not out of his hand. His chief recreation was in no gaming or other paſtime, but only in honeſt company, and comely talk, wherein he would ſpend a little time after dinner at the table, and ſo to prayer and his book again. He counted that hour not well ſpent, wherein he did not ſome good, either with his pen, ſtudy, or in exhorting of others, &c. He was no niggard of his purſe, but would liberally participate that he had to his fellow-priſoners. And commonly once a week he viſited the thieves, pick-purſes, and ſuch others that were with him in priſon where he lay on the other ſide, unto whom he would give pious exhortation, to learn the amendment of their lives by their trouble, and after that ſo done, diſtribute among them ſome portion of money to their comfort.

By the way, this I thought not to conceal. While he was in the King's Bench, and Mr. Saunders in the Marſhalſea, both priſoners, on the backſide of thoſe two priſons they met many times, and conferred together when they would; ſo mercifully did the Lord work for them, even in the midſt of their trouble: and the ſaid Bradford was ſo truſted by his keeper, and had ſuch liberty in the backſide, that there was no day, but that he might have eaſily eſcaped away, if he would, but that the Lord had another work to do for him. In the ſummer time, while he was in the ſaid King's Bench, he had liberty of his keeper to ride into Oxfordſhire, to a merchant's houſe of his acquaintance, and horſe and all things prepared for him for that journey, and the party in readineſs that ſhould ride with him; but God prevented him by ſickneſs that he went not at all.

One of his old friends and acquaintance came unto him whilſt he was priſoner, and aſked him, if he ſued to get him out, what then he would do, or whither he would go? Unto whom he made anſwer, as not caring whether he went out or no; but if he did, he ſaid he would marry, and abide ſtill in England ſecretly, teaching the people as the time would ſuffer him, and occupy himſelf that way. He was had in ſo great reverence and admiration with all good men, that a multitude, which never knew him but by fame, greatly lamented his death: yea, and a number alſo of the papiſts themſelves wiſhed heartily his life. There were few days in which he was thought not to ſpend ſome tears before he went to bed, neither was there ever any priſoner with him, but he greatly profited by his company, as all they will yet witneſs, and have confeſſed of him no leſs, to the glory of God, whoſe ſociety he frequented, as among many, one ſpecial thing I thought to note, which is this:

Biſhop

Biſhop Farrar being priſoner in the King's Bench, as before you have heard, was perſuaded by the papiſts in the end of Lent, to receive the ſacrament at Eaſter in one kind, who after much perſuaſion yielded to them, and promiſed ſo to do. Then (ſo it happened by God's providence) the Eaſter-Eve, the day before he ſhould have done it, Mr. Bradford was brought priſoner to the King's Bench, where the Lord making him his inſtrument, Mr. Bradford only was the means that the ſaid biſhop Farrar revoked his promiſe and word, and would never after yield to be ſpotted with that papiſtical pitch; ſo effectually the Lord wrought by this worthy ſervant of his.

The night before he was had to Newgate, which was the Saturday night, he was ſore troubled divers times in his ſleep by dreams, how the chain for his burning was brought to the Compter gate, and how the next day being Sunday he ſhould be had to Newgate, and on the Monday after burned in Smithfield, as indeed came to paſs accordingly, as ſhall hereafter be ſhewed. Now he being vexed oftentimes in this ſort with theſe dreams, about three of the clock in the morning he awaked him that lay with him, and told him his unquiet ſleep, and what he was troubled withal. Then after a little talk, Mr. Bradford roſe out of the bed, and gave himſelf to his old exerciſe of reading and prayer, as always he had uſed before: and at dinner according to his accuſtomed manner he did eat his meat, and was very merry, nobody being with him from morning till night but he that lay with him, with whom he had many times on that day communication of death, of the kingdom of heaven, and of the ripeneſs of ſin in that time.

In the afternoon they two walking together in the keeper's chamber, ſuddenly the keeper's wife came up, as one half amazed, and ſeeming much troubled, being almoſt out of breath, ſaid, Oh Mr. Bradford, I come to bring you heavy news. What is that, ſaid he? Marry, quoth ſhe, to-morrow you muſt be burned; and your chain is now a buying, and you muſt ſoon go to Newgate. With that Mr. Bradford put off his cap, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, ſaid, I thank God for it; I have looked for the ſame a long time, and therefore it cometh not now to me ſuddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour, the Lord make me worthy thereof. And ſo thanking her for her gentleneſs, departed up into his chamber, and called his friend with him, who when he came thither, he went ſecretly himſelf alone a long time, and prayed; which done, he came again to him that was in the chamber, and took divers writings and papers, and ſhewed him his mind in thoſe things what he would have done; and after they had thus ſpent the afternoon, at night half a dozen of his friends came to him, with whom he ſpent all the evening in prayer and other good exerciſes.

A little before he went out of the Compter, he made a notable prayer of his farewel, with ſuch plenty of tears, and abundant ſpirit of prayer, that it raviſhed the minds of the hearers. Alſo when he ſhifted himſelf with a clean ſhirt that was made for his burning (by Mr. Walter Marlar's wife, who was a good nurſe to him, and his very good friend), he made ſuch a prayer of the wedding-garment, that ſome of thoſe that were preſent were in ſuch great admiration, that their eyes were as throughly occupied in looking on him, as their ears gave place to hear his prayer. At his departing out of his chamber, he made likewiſe a prayer, and gave money to every ſervant and officer in the houſe, with exhortation to them to fear and ſerve God, continually labouring to eſchew all manner of evil. Then being beneath in the court, all the priſoners cried out to him and bade him farewel, as the reſt of the houſe had done before with weeping tears.

The time they carried him to Newgate was about 11 or 12 a-clock in the night, when it was thought none would be ſtirring abroad; and yet contrary to their expectation, there was in Cheapſide and other places (between the Compter and Newgate) a great multitude of people that came to ſee him, who moſt gently bade him farewel, praying for him with moſt lamentable and pitiful tears; and he again as gently bade them farewel, praying moſt heartily for them and their welfare. Now whether it were a command from the queen and her council, or from Bonner and his adherents, or whether it were merely deviſed by the lord mayor, aldermen, and ſheriffs of London, or no, I cannot tell; but a great noiſe there was over-night about the city by ſeveral, that Mr. Bradford ſhould be burnt the next day in Smithfield, by four of the clock in the morning, before it ſhould be greatly known to any. In which rumour many heads had divers minds; ſome thinking the fear of the people to be the cauſe thereof; others thought, that it was becauſe the papiſts judged his death would convert many to the truth, and give a great overthrow to their kingdom. So ſome thought one thing, and ſome another, that no juſt conjecture of the cauſe could be known that ever I heard yet. But this was certain, the people prevented the device ſuſpected; for the next day, at the ſaid hour of four o'clock in the morning, there was in Smithfield ſuch a multitude of men and women, that many being in admiration thereat, thought it was not poſſible that they could have notice of his death, being ſo great a number in ſuch ſhort time, unleſs it were by the ſingular providence of Almighty God.

Well, this took not effect as the people thought, for it was nine o'clock in the morning before Mr. Bradford was brought into Smithfield; who in going through Newgate thitherward, eſpied a friend of his whom he loved, ſtanding on one ſide the way, unto whom he reached his hand over the people, and plucked him to him, and delivered to him from his head his velvet night-cap, and alſo his handkerchief, with other things. And after a little private talk with him, they parted, when immediately came to him a brother-in-law of his, called Roger Beſwick, who as ſoon as he had taken the ſaid Mr. Bradford by the hand, one of the ſheriffs of London, Mr. Woodroſe, came with his ſtaff and brake the ſaid Roger Beſwick's head, that the blood ran about his ſhoulders. Which ſight Mr. Bradford beholding with grief, bade his brother farewel, deſiring him to commend him to his mother, and the reſt of his friends, and ſpeedily to go to ſome ſurgeon; ſo they parting, had little or no talk together. Then was he led forth to Smithfield, with a great company of armed men to guard him thither, as the like was not ſeen at any man's burning: for in every corner of Smithfield there were ſome, beſides thoſe that ſtood about the ſtake. Mr. Bradford being come to the place, fell flat to the ground, ſecretly making his prayers to Almighty God. Then riſing again, and putting off his cloaths unto his ſhirt, he went to the ſtake, and there ſuffered with a young man of twenty years of age, joyfully and conſtantly, whoſe name was John Leaf. Concerning the manner and order of whoſe burning, more ſhall be ſaid (God willing) hereafter. In the mean time we will ſhew forth the ſundry examinations, conflicts, and conferences between him and his adverſaries during the time of his impriſonment, which was in all two years lacking one month and a half. Which examinations here follow.

It was a little above declared, that John Bradford, within three days after the ſermon of Mr. Bourne, was by order of the council committed to the Tower, where he remained from the month of Auguſt 1553, to the 22d of January 1555, upon which day he was called out to examination before Stephen biſhop of Wincheſter and other commiſſioners. The effect of which examination and communication which paſſed between him and them, proceeded in manner as followeth.

After the lord chancellor, and the reſt of the queen's council in commiſſion with him, had ended their talk with Mr. Farrar late biſhop of St. David's, the under-

marſhal of the King's Bench was commanded to bring in John Bradford: who being come into the preſence of the council ſitting at a table, kneeled down on his knee, but the lord chancellor immediately commanded him to ſtand up, and ſo he did.

When he was riſen, the lord chancellor ſpake thus to him in effect; That he had been a long ti ne juſtly impriſoned for his ſeditious behaviour at Paul's Croſs, the 13th of Auguſt, in the year 1553. for his falſe preaching and arrogancy, taking upon him to preach without authority. But now, quoth he, the time of mercy is come, and therefore the queen's highneſs, minding to offer unto you mercy, hath by us ſent for you, to declare and give the ſame, if ſo be ye will with us return: and if you will do as we have done, you ſhall find as we have found, I warrant you. This was the ſum of his words, and in manner the ſame words which he ſpake.

To theſe words John Bradford ſpake (after reverent obeiſance made) in this manner: My lord and lords all, I confeſs that I have been long impriſoned, and (with humble reverence be it ſpoken) unjuſtly, for that I did nothing ſeditiouſly, falſely, or arrogantly, in word or fact, by preaching or otherwiſe, but rather ſought truth, peace, and all godly quietneſs, as an obedient and faithful ſubject, both in going about to ſave the biſhop of Bath now, then Mr. Bourne, the preacher at the croſs, and in preaching for quietneſs accordingly.

At theſe words, or rather before he had fully finiſhed, the ſaid lord chancellor ſomething ſnuffed, and ſpake with an admiration, that there was a loud lye: for, ſaid he, the fact was ſeditious, as you my lord of London can bear witneſs.

Bonner. You ſay true, my lord; I ſaw him with mine own eyes, when he took upon him to rule and lead the people impudently, thereby declaring that he was the author of the ſedition.

Brad. My lords, notwithſtanding my lord biſhop's ſeeing and ſaying, yet the truth I have told, as one day my Lord God Almighty ſhall reveal to all the world, when we ſhall all come and appear before him: in the mean ſeaſon, becauſe I cannot be believed by you, I muſt and am ready to ſuffer, as now your ſayings be, whatſoever God ſhall licence you to do unto me.

Lord Chan. I know thou haſt a glorious tongue, and goodly ſhews thou makeſt; but all is lyes thou ſpeakeſt. And again, I have not forgot how ſtubborn thou waſt when thou waſt before us in the Tower, whereupon thou waſt committed to priſon concerning religion: I have not forgotten thy behaviour and talk, for which cauſe thou haſt been kept in priſon, as one that would have done more hurt than I will ſpeak of.

Brad. My lord, as I ſaid I ſay again, that I ſtand as before you, ſo before God, and one day we ſhall all ſtand before him: the truth then will be the truth, though now ye will not ſo take it. Yea, my lord, I dare ſay, that my lord of Bath, Mr. Bourne, will witneſs with me, that I ſought his ſafeguard with the peril of mine own life, I thank God therefore.

Bonner. This is not true: for I myſelf did ſee thee take upon thee too much.

Brad. No, I took nothing upon me undeſired, and that of Mr. Bourne himſelf, as, if he were here preſent, I dare ſay he would affirm. For he deſired me both to help him, to pacify the people, and alſo not to leave him till he was in ſafety. And as for my behaviour in the Tower, and talk before your honours, if I did or ſaid any thing that did not beſeem me, if your lordſhips would tell me wherein it was, I ſhould and would ſhortly make you anſwer.

Lord Chan. Well, to leave this matter: how ſay'ſt thou now? wilt thou return again, and do as we have done, and thou ſhalt receive the queen's mercy and pardon?

Brad. My lord, I deſire mercy with God's mercy, but mercy with God's wrath, God keep me from; although (I thank God therefore) my conſcience doth not accuſe me, that I did ſpeak any thing why I ſhould need to receive the queen's mercy or pardon. For all that ever I did or ſpake, was both agreeable to God's laws, and the laws of the realm at that preſent, and did make much to quietneſs.

Lord Chan. Well, if thou make this babbling rolling in thy eloquent tongue, and yet being altogether ignorant and vain-glorious, and wilt not receive mercy, offered to thee, know for truth, that the queen is minded to make a purgation of all ſuch as thou art.

Brad. The Lord before whom I ſtand, at well as before you, knoweth what vain-glory I have ſought, and ſeek in this behalf: his mercy I deſire, and alſo would be glad of the queen's favour, to live as a ſubject without a clog of conſcience. Bur otherwiſe the Lord's mercy is better to me than life. And I know to whom I have committed my life, even into his hands which will keep it, ſo that no man may take it away before it be his pleaſure. There are twelve hours in the day, and as long as they laſt, ſo long ſhall no man have power thereon. Therefore his good will be done; life in his diſpleaſure is worſe than death, and death with his true favour, is true life.

Lord Chan. I know well enough, that we ſhall have glorious talk enough of thee; be ſure, that as thou haſt deceived the people with falſe and deviliſh doctrine, ſo ſhalt thou receive.

Brad. I have not deceived the people, nor taught any other doctrine, than by God's grace I am, and hope ſhall be ready to confirm with my life. And as for the deviliſhneſs and falſeneſs in the doctrine, I would be ſorry you could ſo prove it.

Durham. Why, tell me, what ſay you by the miniſtration of the communion, as now you know it is?

Brad. My lord, here I muſt deſire of your lordſhip and of all your honours a queſtion, before I dare make you an anſwer to any interrogatory or queſtion, wherewith you now begin. I have been ſix times ſworn that I ſhall in no caſe conſent to the practiſing of any juriſdiction, or any authority on the biſhop of Rome's behalf within this realm of England. Now, before God, I humbly pray your honours to tell me whether you aſk me this queſtion by his authority, or no? If you do, I dare not, nor may anſwer you any thing in his authority, which you ſhall demand of me, except I would be forſworn, which God forbid.

Secretary Bourne. Haſt thou been ſworn ſix times? what office haſt thou borne?

Brad. Forſooth! was thrice ſworn in Cambridge, when I was admitted Maſter of arts, when I was admitted fellow of Pembroke-hall, and when I was there, the viſitors came thither, and ſware the univerſity. Again, I was ſworn when I entered into the miniſtry, when I had a prebend given me, and when I was ſworn to ſerve the king a little before his death.

Lord Chan. Tuſh, Herod's oaths a man ſhould make no conſcience at.

Brad. But my lord, theſe were no Herod's oaths, no unlawful oaths, but oaths according to God's word, as you yourſelf have well affirmed in your book De vera obedientia.

Mr. Roch. My lords (ſaid another of the council that ſtood by the table, Mr. Rocheſter I think), I never knew wherefore this man was in priſon before now: but I ſee well that it had not been good that this man had been abroad: what the cauſe was that he was put in priſon, I know not; but I now well know that not without a cauſe he was, and is to be kept in priſon.

Sec. Bourne. Yea, it was reported this parliament-time by the earl of Derby, that he hath done more hurt by letters, and exhorting thoſe that have come to him in religion, than ever he did when he was abroad by preaching. In his letters he curſeth all that teach any falſe doctrine (for ſo he calleth that which is not according to that he

taught), and moſt heartily exhorteth them to whom he writeth to continue ſtill in that they have received by him, and ſuch like as he is. All which words ſeveral of the council affirmed. Whereunto the ſaid Mr. Bourne added, ſaying, How ſay you, Sir, have you not thus ſeditiouſly written and exhorted the people?

Brad. I have not written, nor ſpoken any thing ſeditiouſly, neither (I thank God therefore) have I admitted any ſeditious thought, nor I truſt ever ſhall do.

Sec. Bourne. Yea, thou haſt written letters.

Lord Chan. Why ſpeakeſt thou not? Haſt thou not written as he ſaith?

Brad. That I have written, I have written.

Southwell. Lord God, what an arrogant and ſtubborn boy is this, that thus ſtoutly and dallyingly behaveth himſelf before the queen's council? Whereat one looked upon another with diſdainful countenances.

Brad. My lords and maſters, the Lord God which is, and will be judge to us all, knoweth, that as I am certain I ſtand now before his Majeſty: ſo with reverence in his ſight I ſtand before you, and unto you accordingly in words and geſture I deſire to behave myſelf. If you otherwiſe take it, I doubt not but God in his time will reveal it: in the mean ſeaſon, I ſhall ſuffer with all due obedience your ſayings and doings too, I hope.

Lord Chan. Theſe be gay and glorious works of reverence, but as in all other things, ſo herein alſo thou doeſt nothing but lye.

Brad. Well, I would God the author of truth, and abhorrer of lyes, would pull my tongue out of my head before you all, and ſhew a terrible judgment on me here preſent, if I have purpoſed, or do purpoſe to lye before you, whatſoever you ſhall aſk me.

Lord Chan. Why then doeſt thou not anſwer? Haſt thou written ſuch letters as here is objected againſt thee?

Brad. As I ſaid, my lord, that I have written, I have written; I ſtand now before you, which either can lay my letters to my charge, or no: if you lay any thing to my charge that I have written, if I deny it, I am then a lyar.

Lord Chan. We ſhall never have done with thee, I perceive now: be ſhort, be ſhort, wilt thou have mercy?

Brad. I pray God give me his mercy, and if therewith you will extend yours, I will not refuſe it, but otherwiſe I will have none.

Here now was much ado, one ſpeaking this, and another that of his arrogancy, in refuſing the queen's pardon, which ſhe ſo lovingly did offer unto him; whereto Mr. Bradford anſwered thus:

My lords, if I may live as a quiet ſubject without clog of conſcience, I ſhall heartily thank you for your pardon; if otherwiſe I behave myſelf, then I am in danger of the law: in the mean ſeaſon I aſk no more than the benefit of a ſubject till I be convinced of tranſgreſſion. If I cannot have this, as hitherto I have not had, God's good will be done.

Upon theſe words my lord chancellor began a long proceſs of the falſe doctrine wherewith the people were deceived in the days of king Edward, and ſo turned the end of his talk to Bradford, ſaying: How ſay'ſt thou?

Brad. My lord, the doctrine taught in king Edward's days was God's pure religion: which as I then believed, ſo do I now more believe it than ever I did, and therein I am more confirmed, and ready to declare it by God's grace even as he will, to the world, than I was when I firſt came into priſon.

Durham. What religion mean you in king Edward's days? What year of his reign?

Brad. Forſooth even the ſame year, my lord, that the king died, and I was a preacher. Here wrote ſecretary Bourne I know not what.

Now after a little pauſing, my lord chancellor beginneth again to declare, that the doctrine taught in king Edward's days was hereſy, uſing for probation and demonſtration thereof, no ſcripture nor reaſon, but this; that it ended with treaſon and rebellion, ſo that (ſaid he) the very end were enough to prove that doctrine to be naught.

Brad. Ah my lord, that you could enter in God's ſanctuary, and mark the end of this preſent doctrine that you now ſo magnify.

Lord Chan. What meaneſt thou by that? I am of opinion we ſhall have a ſnatch of rebellion even now.

Brad. My lord, I mean no ſuch end as you would gather: I mean an end which no man ſeeth, but ſuch as enter into God's ſanctuary. If a man look on preſent things, he will ſoon deceive himſelf.

Here my lord chancellor again offered mercy, and Bradford anſwered as before: Mercy with God's mercy ſhould be welcome, but otherwiſe he would have none. Whereupon the lord chancellor rang a little bell, belike to call in ſomebody: for there were few preſent beſides thoſe before named, and the biſhop of Worceſter. Now when one was come in; It is beſt, ſaid Mr. Secretary Bourne, that you give the keeper a charge of this fellow. So the under-marſhal was called in.

Lord Chan. Ye ſhall take this man to you, and keep him cloſe without conference with any man, but by your knowledge, and ſuffer him not to write any letters, &c. for he is of another manner of charge to you now than he was before. And ſo they departed, Bradford looking as chearfully as any man could do, declaring thereby even a deſire to give his life for the confirmation of his faith and doctrine.

The ſecond Examination of John Bradford in St. Mary Overie's Church, before the Lord Chancellor and other Biſhops, January 29. 1555.

AFTER the excommunication of John Rogers, John Bradford was called in, and ſtanding before the lord chancellor and other biſhops ſet with him, the ſaid lord chancellor ſpake thus in effect.

Lord Chan. Whereas before the 22d of January the ſaid Bradford was called before them (ſaid he), and they offered unto him the queen's pardon, although he had contemned the ſame; and further ſaid, that he would ſtiffly and ſtoutly maintain and defend the erroneous doctrine taught in the days of king Edward VI. yet in conſideration that the queen's highneſs was wonderful merciful, they thought good to offer the ſame mercy again, before it was too late: therefore adviſe you well, ſaid he, there is yet ſpace and grace before we ſo proceed, that you be committed to the ſecular power, as we muſt and will do, if you will not follow the example of Mr. Barlow and Mr. Cardmaker, whom he there commended, adding many arguments to move the ſaid Bradford to yield to the religion then ſet forth.

After the lord chancellor's long talk, Mr. Bradford began to ſpeak on this ſort: My lord and my lords all, as now I ſtand in your ſight before you, ſo I humbly beſeech your honours to conſider, that you ſit in the ſeat of the Lord, who (as David doth witneſs) is in the congregation of judges, and ſitteth in the midſt of them judging: and as you would have your place to be by us taken as God's place, ſo demonſtrate yourſelves to follow him in your ſitting, that is, ſeek no guiltleſs blood, nor hunt not by queſtions to bring into the ſnare them which are out of the ſame. At this preſent I ſtand before you guilty or guiltleſs, then proceed and give ſentence accordingly: if guiltleſs, then give me the benefit of a ſubject, which hitherto I could not have.

Here the lord chancellor replied, and ſaid, that the ſaid Bradford began with a true ſentence, Deus ſtetit in ſynagoga, &c. But, ſaid he, this and all thy geſture declareth but hypocriſy and vain-glory. And further he endeavoured to clear himſelf, that he ſought not guiltleſs blood; and ſo began a long proceſs how that Bradford's fact at Paul's Croſs was preſumptuous, arro-

gant,

gant, and declared a taking upon him to lead the people, which could not but turn to much diſquietneſs, in that thou (ſpeaking to Bradford) waſt ſo refractory and ſtout in religion at that preſent. For which, as thou wert then committed to priſon, ſo hitherto thou haſt been kept in priſon, where thou haſt written letters to the great hurt of the queen's ſubjects, as was credibly declared by the earl of Derby in the parliament-houſe. And to this he added, that the ſaid Bradford did ſtubbornly behave himſelf the laſt time he was before them: and therefore not for any other thing now I demand of thee, ſaid he, but of and for thy doctrine and religion.

Brad. My lord, where you accuſe me of hypocriſy and vain-glory, I muſt and will leave it to the Lord's declaration, who will one day open yours and my truth and hearty meanings: in the mean ſeaſon, I will content myſelf with the teſtimony of mine own conſcience, which if it yield to hypocriſy, could not but have God to be my foe alſo; and ſo both God and man were againſt me. And as for my fact at Paul's Croſs, and behaviour before you at the Tower, I doubt not but God will reveal it to my comfort. For if ever I did any thing which God uſed to public benefit, I think that my deed was one, and yet for it I have been and am kept a long time in priſon. And as for letters and religion, I anſwer as I did the laſt time I was before you.

Lord Chan. There didſt thou ſay ſtubbornly and ſaucily, that thou wouldſt manly maintain the erroneous doctrine in king Edward's days.

Brad. My lord, I ſaid the laſt time I was before you, that I had ſix times taken an oath, that I ſhould never conſent to the practiſing of any juriſdiction on the biſhop of Rome's behalf, and therefore durſt I not anſwer to any thing that ſhould be ſo demanded, leſt I ſhould be forſworn, which God forbid. Howbeit, ſaving mine oath, I ſaid that I was more confirmed in the doctrine ſet forth publicly in the days of king Edward, than ever I was before I was put in priſon: and ſo I thought I ſhould be, and think yet ſtill I ſhall be found more ready to give my life as God will, for the confirmation of the ſame

Lord Chan. I remember well that thou madeſt much ado about needleſs matter, as though the oath againſt the biſhop of Rome were ſo great a matter. So others have done before thee, but yet not in ſuch ſort as thou haſt done: for thou pretendeſt a conſcience in it, which is nothing elſe but mere hypocriſy.

Brad. My conſcience is known to the Lord: and whether I deal herein hypocritically or no, he knoweth. As I ſaid therefore then, my lord, ſo I ſay again now: Thus for fear leſt I ſhould be perjured, I dare not make anſwer to any thing you ſhall demand of me, if my anſwering ſhould conſent to the confirming or practiſing of any juriſdiction for the biſhop of Rome here in England.

Lord Chan. Why didſt thou begin to tell that we are gods, and ſit in God's place, and now wilt thou not make us an anſwer?

Brad. My lord, I ſaid, you would have your place taken of us now as God's place: and therefore I brought forth that piece of ſcripture, that ye might the more be admoniſhed to follow God and his ways at this preſent, who ſeeth us all, and well perceiveth whether of conſcience I pretend this matter of the oath, or not.

Lord Chan. No, all men may well ſee thine hypocriſy: for if for thine oath's ſake thou didſt not anſwer, then wouldeſt thou not have ſpoke as thou didſt, and have anſwered me at the firſt: but now men well perceive, that this is but a ſtarting-hole to hide thyſelf in, becauſe thou dareſt not anſwer, and ſo wouldeſt eſcape, blinding the ſimple people's eyes, as though of conſcience you did all you do.

Brad. That which I ſpake at the firſt was not a replication or an anſwer to that you ſpake to me: and therefore I needed not to lay for me mine oath. For I thought you would have more weighed what I did ſpeak, than you did: but when I perceived you did not conſider it, but came to aſk matter, whereto by anſwering I ſhould conſent to the practiſing of juriſdiction on the biſhop of Rome's behalf here in England, and ſo be forſworn; then of conſcience and ſimplicity I ſpake as I do yet again ſpeak, that I dare not for conſcience ſake anſwer you. And therefore I ſeek no ſtarting-holes, nor go about to blind the people, as God knoweth. For if you of your honours ſhall tell me, that you do not aſk me any thing, whereby mine anſwering ſhould conſent to the practiſing of the biſhop of Rome's juriſdiction, aſk me wherein you will, and you ſhall hear that I will anſwer you as flatly as ever any did that came before you. I am not afraid of death, I thank God; for I look, and have looked for nothing elſe at your hands a long time: but I am afraid, when death cometh, I ſhould have matter to trouble my conſcience by the guiltineſs of perjury, and therefore do I anſwer as I do.

Lord Chan. Theſe be gay glorious words, full of hypocriſy and vain glory, and yet doſt thou not know that I ſit here as biſhop of Wincheſter in mine own dioceſe, and therefore may do this which I do, and more too?

Brad. My lord, give me leave to aſk you this queſtion, that my conſcience may be out of doubt in this matter. Tell me here before God, all this audience being witneſs, that you demand of me nothing whereby mine anſwering ſhould conſent to and confirm the practice of juriſdiction for the biſhop of Rome here in England, and yet your honour ſhall hear me give you as flat and as plain anſwers briefly, to whatſoever you ſhall demand me, as ever any did.

Here the lord chancellor was greatly offended, and ſpake much how the biſhop of Rome's authority needed no confirmation of Bradford's anſwering, nor no ſuch as he was; and turned his diſcourſe to the people, how that Bradford followed crafty covetous merchants, which becauſe they would lend no money to their neighbours when they were in need, would ſay that they had often ſworn, that they would never lend any more money, becauſe their debtors had ſo often deceived them. Even ſo thou, ſaid he to Bradford, doſt at this preſent, to caſt a miſt in the people's eyes, to blear them with an hereſy (which is greater and more hurtful to the commonwealth than the other is), pretend thine oath, whereby the people might make a conſcience, whereas they ſhould not. Why ſpeakeſt thou not?

Brad. My lord, as I ſaid, I ſay again, I dare not anſwer you for fear of perjury, from which God defend me, or elſe I could tell you there is a difference between oaths. Some be according to faith and charity, as the oath againſt the biſhop of Rome; ſome be againſt faith and charity; as this, to deny by oath my help to my brother in his need.

Here my lord chancellor again was much offended, ſtill ſaying that Bradford durſt not anſwer, and further endeavoured to prove, that the oath againſt the biſhop of Rome was againſt charity.

But Bradford anſwered, that howſoever his honour took him, yet he was aſſured of his meaning, that no fear but the fear of perjury made him unwilling to anſwer: for as for death, my lord, ſaid he, as I know there are twelve hours in the day, ſo with the Lord my time is appointed. And when it ſhall be his good time, then I ſhall depart hence: but in the mean ſeaſon I am ſafe enough, though all the people had ſworn my death. Into his hands have I committed it, and do, his good will be done. And ſaving mine oath, I will anſwer you in this behalf, that the oath againſt the biſhop of Rome was not, nor is againſt charity.

Lord Chan. How prove you that?

Brad. Forſooth I prove it thus:

Nothing is againſt charity, which is with God's word, and not againſt it.

The oath againſt the biſhop of Rome's authority in England, is with God's word, and is not againſt it.

Ergo, The oath againſt the biſhop of Rome's authority in England, is not againſt charity.

Lord Chan. Is it againſt God's word, that a man ſhould take a king to be ſupreme head of the church in this realm?

Brad. No, ſaving ſtill mine oath, it is not againſt God's word, but with it, being taken in ſuch ſenſe as it may well be taken: that is, attributing to the king's power, the ſovereignty in all his dominion.

Lord Chan. I pray you where find you that?

Brad. I find it in many places, but eſpecially in the 13th of the Romans, where St. Paul writeth, "Every ſoul to be ſubject to the higher powers;" but what power? "The power verily which beareth the ſword;" which is not the ſpiritual, but the temporal power. As Chryſoſtom full well noteth upon the ſame place, which your honour knoweth better than I. He (Chryſoſtom I mean) there plainly ſheweth that biſhops, prophets, and apoſtles, are obedient to the temporal magiſtrates.

Here the lord chancellor was angered yet more, and ſaid, how that Bradford went about to deny all obedience to the queen for his oath: and ſo, ſaid he, this man would make God's word a warrant of diſobedience: for he will anſwer the queen on this ſort, that when ſhe ſaith, Now ſwear to the biſhop of Rome, or obey his authority: No (will he ſay), for I ſhould be forſworn, and ſo he makes the queen no queen.

Brad. No, I go not about to deny all obedience to the queen's highneſs, but denying obedience in this part, if ſhe ſhould demand it. For I was ſworn to king Edward, not ſimply, that is, not only concerning his own perſon, but alſo concerning his ſucceſſors, and therefore in denying to the queen's requeſt herein, I deny not her authority, nor become diſobedient.

Lord Chan. Yes, that thou doſt; and ſo he began to tell a long tale, how if a man ſhould make an oath to pay to me an hundred pounds by ſuch a day, and the man to whom it was due would forget the debt, the debtor ſhould ſay, No, you cannot do it; for I am forſworn then.

Here Bradford deſired my lord chancellor not to trifle it, ſaying, that he wondered his honour would make ſolemn oaths made to God trifles in that ſort; and make ſo great a matter concerning vows (as they call it) made to the biſhop for marriage of prieſts.

At theſe words the lord chancellor was much offended, and ſaid, he did not trifle: but, quoth he, thou goeſt about to deny obedience to the queen, which now requireth obedience to the biſhop of Rome.

Brad. No, my lord, I do not deny obedience to the queen, if you would diſcern between Genus and Species. Becauſe I may not obey in this, Ergo, I may not obey in the other, is no good reaſon. As if a man let or ſell a piece of his inheritance, yet this notwithſtanding, all his inheritance is not let or ſold: and ſo in this caſe, all obedience I deny not, becauſe I deny obedience in this branch.

Lord Chan. I will none of theſe ſimilitudes.

Brad. I would not uſe them, if that you went not about to perſuade the people, that I meant that which I never meant: for I myſelf not only mean obedience, but will give enſample of all moſt humble obedience to the queen's highneſs, ſo long as ſhe requireth not obedience againſt God.

Lord Chan. No, no, all men may ſee your meaning well enough. There is no man, though he be ſworn to the king, that doth therefore break his oath, if he afterwards be ſworn to the French king and to the emperor.

Brad. It is true, my lord, but the caſes be not like. For here is an exception; Thou ſhalt not ſwear to the biſhop of Rome at any time. If we in like manner were ſworn; Thou ſhalt not ſerve the emperor, &c. you ſee there were ſome alteration and more doubt. But I beſeech your honour remember what ye yourſelf have written, anſwering the objections hereagainſt in your book, De vera obedientia. "Let God's word, and the reaſon thereof, bear the bell away."

Here the lord chancellor was greatly moved, and ſaid ſtill, how that Bradford had written ſeditious letters, and perverted the people thereby, and did ſtoutly ſtand, as though he would defend the erroneous doctrine in king Edward's time, againſt all men: and now, quoth he, he ſaith he dare not anſwer.

Brad. I have written no ſeditious letters, I have not perverted the people: but that which I have written and ſpoken, that will I never deny, by God's grace. And where your lordſhip ſaith, that I dare not anſwer you: that all men may know that I am not afraid, ſave mine oath, aſk me what you will, and I will plainly make you anſwer, by God's grace, although I now ſee my life lieth thereon. But, O Lord, into thy hands I commit it, come what will: only ſanctify thy name in me, as in an inſtrument of thy grace, Amen. Now aſk what you will, and you ſhall ſee I am not afraid, by God's grace, flatly to anſwer.

Lord Chan. Well then, how ſay you to the bleſſed ſacrament? Do you not believe there Chriſt to be preſent concerning his natural body?

Brad. My lord, I do believe that Chriſt is corporally preſent at and in the due adminiſtration of the ſacrament. By this word (corporally) I mean that Chriſt is there preſent corporally unto faith.

Lord Chan. Unto faith: we muſt have many more words to make it plain.

Brad. You ſhall ſo: but firſt give me leave to ſpeak two words.

Lord Chan. Speak on.

Brad. I have been now a year and almoſt three quarters in priſon, and in all this time you never queſtioned with me hereabout, when I might have ſpoken my conſcience frankly without peril: but now have you a law to hang up and put to death, if a man anſwer freely, and not to your appetite, and ſo now you come to demand this queſtion. Ah my lord, Chriſt uſed not this way to bring men to faith. No more did the prophets or apoſtles. Remember what Bernard writeth to Eugenius the pope; "I read, that the apoſtles ſtood to be judged, but I read not, that they ſate to judge. This ſhall be, that was," &c.

Here the lord chancellor was appalled, as it ſeemed, and ſaid moſt gently, that he uſed not this means. It was not my doing, ſaid he, although ſome there be that think this to be the beſt way: for I, for my part, have been challenged for being too gentle oftentimes: which thing the biſhop of London confirmed, and ſo did almoſt all the audience, that he had been too mild and too gentle.

At which words Bradford ſpake thus: My lord, I pray you ſtretch out your gentleneſs, that I may feel it, for hitherto I never felt it.

As ſoon as ever he had ſpoke thus; the lord chancellor belike thinking that Bradford would have had mercy and pardon, ſaid that with all his heart, not only he, but the queen's highneſs would ſtretch out mercy, if with them he would return.

Brad. Return, my lord? God ſave me from that going back: I mean it not ſo, but I mean, that I was three quarters of a year in the Tower: you forbad me paper, pen, and ink, and never in all that time, nor ſince, did I feel any gentleneſs from you. I have rather hitherto found, as I looked for, extremity. And I thank God that I perceive now ye have kept me in priſon thus long, not for any matter ye had, but for matter ye would have; God's good will be done.

Here now divers telling my lord it was dinner-time. And ſo he roſe up, leaving Mr. Bradford ſpeaking, ſaying,

ing, that in the afternoon they would ſpeak more with him. And he was had into the veſtry, and was there all that day till night, and then was carried to priſon again.

In the mean time, about four of the clock in the afternoon, a gentleman called Mr. Thomas Huſſey of Lincolnſhire, who was once an officer in the duke of Norfolk's houſe, came into the veſtry to inquire for one Stoning; and when it was anſwered him by the under-marſhal's officers of the King's Bench, that there was none ſuch, he entered into the houſe, and took acquaintance with John Bradford, ſaying, that he would commune and ſpeak with him the next morning for old acquaintance.

The next morning about ſeven of the clock, this gentleman came into the chamber wherein John Bradford did lie, and being with him, he began a long oration, how that of love and acquaintance he came to him to ſpeak that which he would further utter. You did (ſaid he) ſo wonderfully behave yourſelf before the lord chancellor, and other biſhops yeſterday, that even the greateſt enemies you have, did ſee that they have no matter againſt you: and therefore I adviſe you (ſpeaking as though it came of his own good will, without making any other man privy, or any other procuring him, as he ſaid) this day, for anon you ſhall be called before them again, to deſire a time, and men to confer withal, ſo ſhall all men think a wonderful wiſdom, gravity, and piety in you: and by this means you ſhall eſcape preſent danger, which elſe is nearer than you are aware of. To this John Bradford anſwered, I neither can nor will make ſuch requeſt. For then ſhall I give occaſion to the people and to all others to think that I doubt of the doctrine which I confeſs, which thing I do not, for thereof I am moſt aſſured, and therefore I will give no ſuch offence.

As they were thus talking, the chamber door was unlocked, and Dr. Seton came in, whom when Mr. Bradford ſaw, he ſpake thus in his heart to God, What, Sir, goeth the matter thus? This man told me, no man knew of his coming: Lord, give me grace to remember thy leſſon, "Beware of thoſe men, &c. Caſt not your pearls before dogs:" for I ſee theſe men be come to hunt for matter, that the one may bear witneſs with the other.

Dr. Seton, after ſome by-talk of Mr. Bradford's age, of his country, and ſuch like, began a gay and long diſcourſe of my lord of Canterbury, Mr. Latimer, and Mr. Ridley, and how they at Oxford were not able to anſwer any thing at all; and that therefore my lord of Canterbury deſired to confer with the biſhop of Durham and others: all which talk tended to this end, that John Bradford ſhould make the like ſuit, being in nothing to be compared in learning to my lord of Canterbury.

To this John Bradford briefly anſwered as he did before to Mr. Huſſey.

With this anſwer neither the Doctor nor gentleman being contented, after many perſuaſions, Mr. doctor ſaid, I have heard much good talk of you, and even yeſternight a gentleman made report of you at the lord chancellor's table, that ye were able to perſuade as much as any that he knew. And I (though I never heard you preach, and to my knowledge did never ſee you before yeſterday), yet methought your modeſty was ſuch, your behaviour and talk ſo without malice and impatience, that I would be ſorry you ſhould do worſe than myſelf. And I tell you further, I do perceive my lord chancellor hath a favour towards you: wherefore be not ſo obſtinate, but deſire reſpite and ſome learned man to confer withal, &c.

But John Bradford kept ſtill one anſwer: I cannot, nor I will not ſo offend the people. I doubt not, but I am moſt certain of the doctrine I have taught.

Here Mr. Doctor waxed hot, and called Mr. Bradford arrogant, proud, and vain-glorious.

But Bradford anſwered, Beware of judging, leſt you condemn yourſelf. But ſtill Dr. Seton urged him, ſhewing him how merciful my lord chancellor was, and how charitably they entertained him.

Brad. I never ſaw any juſtice, much leſs love, I ſpeak for my part, quoth Bradford, in my lord chancellor. Long have I been unjuſtly impriſoned, and handled in the ſame uncharitably: and now my lord hath no juſt matter againſt me.

This talk ſerved not the doctor's purpoſe: wherefore he went from matter to matter, from this point to that point. Bradford ſtill gave him the hearing, and anſwered not: for he perceived that they both did come but to fiſh for ſome things which might make a ſhew that my lord chancellor had juſtly kept him in priſon.

When all their diſcourſe took no ſuch effect as they expected, Mr. Huſſey aſked Mr. Bradford, Will ye not admit conference, if my lord chancellor ſhould offer it publicly?

Brad. Conference, if it had been offered before the law had been made, or if it were offered ſo that I might be at liberty to confer, and as ſure as he with whom I ſhould confer, then it were ſomething: but elſe I ſee not to what other purpoſe conference ſhould be offered, but to defer that which at length will come, and the lingering may give more offence than do good. Howbeit, if my lord ſhall make ſuch an offer of his own motion, I will not refuſe to confer with whomſoever he ſhall appoint.

Mr. Doctor hearing this, called Bradford arrogant, proud, and whatſoever it pleaſed him.

Then Bradford perceiving by them that he ſhould ſhortly be called for, beſought them both to give him leave to talk with God, and to beg wiſdom and grace of him; for, ſaid he, otherwiſe I am helpleſs: and ſo they with much ado departed. Then Mr. Bradford went and made his prayers to God, which the Lord of his goodneſs did graciouſly accept in his need, praiſed therefore be his holy name. Shortly after they were gone, Mr. Bradford was led to the aforeſaid church, and there tarried uncalled for till eleven of the clock, that is, till Mr. Saunders was excommunicated.

The laſt Examination of Mr. Bradford, in the Church of St. Mary Overy's.

AFTER the excommunication of Laurence Saunders, John Bradford was called in, and being brought in before the lord chancellor and other biſhops there ſitting, the lord chancellor began to ſpeak thus in effect: That if Bradford, being now come before them, would anſwer with modeſty and humility, and conform himſelf to the catholic church with them, he yet might find mercy, becauſe they would be loth to uſe extremity. Therefore he concluded with an exhortation, that Bradford would recant his doctrine.

After the lord chancellor had ended his long oration. Mr. Bradford began to ſpeak thus: As yeſterday I beſought your honours to ſet in your ſight the majeſty and preſence of God to follow him, who ſeeketh not to ſubvert the ſimple by ſubtle queſtions: ſo I humbly beſeech every one of you to do this day; for you know well enough, that guiltleſs blood will cry for vengeance. And this I pray not your lordſhips to do, as one that taketh upon me to condemn you utterly herein, but that ye might be more admoniſhed to do that, which none doth ſo much as he ſhould do: for our nature is ſo much corrupt, that we are very forgetful of God. Again, as yeſterday I pretended mine oath and oaths againſt the biſhop of Rome, that I ſhould never conſent to the practiſing of any juriſdiction for him, or on his behalf in the realm of England: ſo do I again at this day, leſt I ſhould be perjured. And laſt of all, as yeſterday the anſwers I made were by proteſtation and ſaving mine oath, ſo I would your honours ſhould know that mine anſwers ſhall be this day: and this I do, that when death (which I look for at your hands) ſhall come, I may not be troubled with the guilt of perjury.

At which words the lord chancellor was wroth, and ſaid, that they had given him reſpite to deliberate till this day, whether he would recant his errors of the bleſſed ſacrament, which yeſterday, ſaid he, before us you uttered.

Brad. My lord, you gave me no time for any ſuch deliberation, neither did I ſpeak any thing of the ſacrament which you do diſallow. For when I had declared a preſence of Chriſt to be there to faith, you went from that matter, to clear yourſelf that you were not cruel, and ſo went to dinner.

Lord Chan. What? I perceive we muſt begin all again with thee. Did I not yeſterday tell thee plainly, that thou madeſt a conſcience where none ſhould be? Did I not make it plain, that the oath againſt the biſhop of Rome was an unlawful oath?

Brad. No indeed, my lord: you ſaid ſo, but you proved it not yet, nor ever can do.

Lord Chan. O Lord God, what a fellow art thou! Thou wouldeſt go about to bring into the people's heads, that we, all the lords of the parliament-houſe, the knights and burgeſſes, and all the whole realm, be perjured. O what an heretic is this! here, good people, you may ſee what a ſenſeleſs heretic this fellow is. If I ſhould make an oath I would never help my brother, nor lend him money in his need; were this a good anſwer to tell my neighbour deſiring my help, that I had made an oath to the contrary? or that I could not do it?

Brad. O my lord, diſcern betwixt oaths that be againſt charity and faith, and oaths that be according to faith and charity, as this is againſt the biſhop of Rome.

Here the lord chancellor made much ado, and a long time was ſpent about oaths, which were good and which were evil, he captiouſly aſking often of Bradford a direct anſwer concerning oaths: which Bradford would not give ſimply, but with a diſtinction. Whereat the chancellor was much offended: but Bradford ſtill kept him at the bay, that the oath againſt the biſhop of Rome was a lawful oath, uſing thereto the lord chancellor's own book, De vera obedientia, for confirmation.

At length they came to this iſſue, who ſhould be judge of the lawfulneſs of the oath? and Bradford ſaid, the word of God, according to Chriſt's word, John 12. My word ſhall judge; and according to the teſtimony of Iſaiah and Micah, That God's word coming out of Jeruſalem, ſhall give ſentence among the Gentiles. By this Word, quoth Bradford, my lord, I will prove the oath againſt the biſhop of Rome's authority, to be a good, a godly, and a lawful oath. So that the lord chancellor left his hold, and as the other day he pretended a denial of the queen's authority and obedience to her highneſs, ſo did he now.

But Bradford, as the day before, proved, that obedience in this point to the queen's highneſs, if ſhe ſhould demand an oath to the biſhop of Rome, being denied, was not a general denial of her authority, and of obedience to her; no more, ſaid he, than the ſale, gift, or leaſe of a piece of a man's inheritance, proveth it a ſale, gift, or leaſe of the whole inheritance.

And thus much ado was made about this matter: the lord chancellor talking much, and uſing many examples of debt, of going out of town to-morrow by oath, and yet tarrying till Friday, and ſuch like. Which trifling talk Bradford did touch, ſaying, That it was a wonder his honour weighed conſcience no more in this, and would be ſo earneſt in vows of prieſts marriages made to biſhops, and be careleſs for ſolemn oaths made to God and to princes. Summa, this was the end. The lord chancellor ſaid, The queen might diſpenſe with it, and did ſo to all the whole realm. But Bradford ſaid, That the queen's highneſs could do no more but remit her right; as for the oath made to God, ſhe could never remit, foraſmuch as it was made unto God.

At which words the lord chancellor chafed wonderfully, and ſaid, That in plain ſenſe I ſlandered the realm with perjury; and therefore, quoth he to the people, you may ſee how this fellow taketh upon him to have more knowledge and conſcience than all the wiſe men of England, and yet he hath no conſcience at all.

Brad. Well, my lord, let all the ſtanders-by ſee who hath conſcience: I have been a year and a half in priſon: now before all this people, declare wherefore I was impriſoned, or what cauſe you had to puniſh me. You ſaid the other day in your own houſe, my lord of London witneſſing with you, that I took upon me to ſpeak to the people undeſired. There he ſitteth by you, I mean my lord of Bath, who deſired me himſelf, for the paſſion of Chriſt, I would ſpeak to the people. Upon whoſe words I coming into the pulpit, had like to have been ſlain with a dagger (which was hurled at him, I think), for it touched my ſleeve. He then prayed me I would not leave him; and I promiſed him, as long as I lived, I would take hurt before him that day, and ſo went out of the pulpit and intreated with the people, and at length brought him myſelf into an houſe.

Beſides this, in the afternoon I preached at Bow-church, and there going up into the pulpit, one deſired me not to reprove the people; for, ſaid he, you will never come down alive, if you do it. And yet notwithſtanding I did in that ſermon reprove their fact, and called it ſedition at leaſt twenty times. For all which my doing, I have received this recompence, impriſonment for a year and a half and more, and death now, which you go about. Let all men be judge where conſcience is.

They endeavoured to interrupt him while he was ſpeaking theſe words, but Mr. Bradford ſtill ſpake on, and gave no place till he had made an end. And then the lord chancellor ſaid, That for all that fair tale, his fact at the Croſs was naught.

Brad. No, my fact was good, as you yourſelf did bear me witneſs. For when I was at firſt before you in the Tower, you yourſelf did ſay, that my fact was good, but, quoth you, thy mind was evil. Well, quoth I, then my lord, in that you allow the fact, and condemn my mind; for ſo much as otherwiſe I cannot declare my mind to man but by ſaying and doing. God one day, I truſt, will open it to my comfort, what my mind was, and yours is.

Here the lord chancellor was offended, and ſaid, that he never ſaid ſo. I, quoth he, had not ſo little wit, as not to diſcern betwixt meaning and doing: and ſo brought forth many examples little to the purpoſe, to prove that men conſtrue things by the meaning of men, and not by their doings. But when this would not ſerve, then cometh he to another matter, and ſaid, That Bradford was put in priſon at firſt becauſe he would not yield, nor be conformable to the queen's religion.

Brad. Why, my lord, your honour knoweth that you would not reaſon with me in religion, but ſaid a time ſhould afterwards be found out, when I ſhould be talked withal. But if it were as your lordſhip ſaith, that I was put in priſon for religion, in that my religion was then authorized by public laws of the realm, could conſcience puniſh, or caſt me in priſon therefore? Wherefore let all men be judges, in whom conſcience is wanting.

Here came forth Mr. Chamberlain of Woodſtock, and told my lord chancellor, that Bradford had been a ſerving-man, and was with Mr. Harrington.

Lord Chan. True, and did deceive his maſter of ſeven-ſcore pounds, and becauſe of this, he went to be a goſpeller and a preacher, good people, and yet you ſee how he pretendeth conſcience.

Brad. My lord, I ſet my foot by his, whoſoever he be, that can come forth and juſtly vouch to my face, that ever I deceived my maſter. And as you are chief juſticer by office in England, I deſire juſtice upon them that ſo ſlander me, becauſe they cannot prove it.

Here my lord chancellor and Mr. Chamberlain were ſmitten blank, and ſaid they heard it. But, quoth my lord chancellor, we have another manner of matter than this againſt you: for you are an heretic.

Yea, quoth the biſhop of London, he did write letters to Mr. Pendleton, which knoweth his hand as well as his own; your honour did ſee the letters.

Brad. This is not true, I never did write to Pendleton ſince I came to priſon, and therefore I am not juſtly ſpoken of.

Lond. Yea, but you indited it.

Brad. I did not, nor know not what you mean, and this I offer to prove.

Then came in another, I believe they call him Mr. Allen, one of the clerks of the council, putting the lord chancellor in remembrance of letters written into Lancaſhire.

Lord Chan. You ſay true: for we have his hand to ſhew.

Brad. I deny that you have my hand to ſhew of letters ſent into Lancaſhire, otherwiſe than before you all I will ſtand to, and prove them to be good and lawful.

Here was all anſwered, and then the lord chancellor began a new matter. Sir, quoth he, in my houſe the other day you did moſt contemptuouſly contemn the queen's mercy, and further ſaid, that you would maintain the erroneous doctrine in king Edward's days againſt all men, and this you do moſt ſtoutly.

Brad. Well, I am glad that all men ſee now you have had no matter to impriſon me before that day juſtly. Now ſay I, that I did not contemptuouſly contemn the queen's mercy, but would have had it (though if juſtice might take place, I need it not) ſo that I might have had it with God's mercy, that is, without doing or ſaying any thing againſt God and his truth. And as for maintenance of doctrine, becauſe I cannot tell how you will ſtretch this word maintenance, I will repeat again that which I ſpake. I ſaid I was more confirmed in the religion ſet forth in king Edward's days, than ever I was: and if God ſo would, I truſt I ſhould declare it by giving my life for the confirmation and teſtification thereof. So I ſaid then, and ſo I ſay now. As for otherwiſe to maintain it, than pertaining to private perſon by confeſſion, I thought not, nor think not.

Lord Chan. Well, yeſterday thou didſt maintain falſe hereſy concerning the bleſſed ſacrament, and therefore we gave thee reſpite till this day to deliberate.

Brad. My lord, as I ſaid at the firſt, I ſpake nothing of the ſacrament, but that which you allowed, and therefore reproved it not, nor gave me any thing to deliberate.

Lord Chan. Why? didſt thou not deny Chriſt's preſence in the ſacrament?

Brad. No, I never denied nor taught, but that to faith, whole Chriſt, body and blood, was as preſent as the bread and wine to the due receiver.

Lord Chan. Yea, but doſt thou not believe that Chriſt's body naturally and really is there, under the forms of bread and wine?

Brad. My lord, I believe Chriſt is preſent there to the faith of the due receiver: as for tranſubſtantiation, I plainly and flatly tell you, I believe it not.

Here was Bradford called Diabolus, a ſlanderer: for we aſk no queſtion, quoth my lord chancellor, of tranſubſtantiation, but of Chriſt's preſence.

Brad. I deny not his preſence to the faith of the receiver, but deny that he is included in the bread, or that the bread was tranſubſtantiate.

Worceſt. If he be not included, how is he then preſent?

Brad. Forſooth, though my faith can tell how, yet my tongue cannot expreſs it, nor you otherwiſe than by faith hear it, or underſtand it.

Here was much ado, now one doctor ſtanding up and ſpeaking thus, and others ſpeaking that, and the lord chancellor talking much of Luther, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius; but ſtill Bradford kept him at that point, that Chriſt is preſent to faith; and that there is no tranſubſtantiation nor including of Chriſt in the bread: but all this would not ſerve them.

Therefore another biſhop aſked this queſtion, Whether the wicked man received Chriſt's very body or no? And Bradford anſwered plainly, No. Whereat the lord chancellor made a long oration, how that it could not be that Chriſt was preſent, except the evil man received it. But Bradford put away all his oration in few words, that grace was at that time offered to his lordſhip, although he received it not: ſo that, ſaid he, the receiving maketh not the preſence, as your lordſhip would infer; but God's grace, truth, and power is the cauſe of the preſence, which grace, the wicked that lack faith cannot receive. And here Bradford prayed my lord, not to divorce that which God had coupled together. He hath coupled all theſe together; "Take, eat, this is my body:" He ſaith not, See, peep, this is my body; but, Take, eat. So that it appeareth this is a promiſe depending upon condition, if we take and eat.

Here the lord chancellor and other biſhops made a great ado, that Bradford had found out a toy that no man elſe ever did, of the condition, and the lord chancellor made many words to the people thereabout.

But Bradford ſaid thus, My lord, are not theſe words, Take, eat, a commandment? And are not theſe words, This is my body, a promiſe? If you will challenge the promiſe, and do not the commandment, may you not deceive yourſelf?

Here the lord chancellor denied Chriſt to have commanded the ſacrament, and the uſe of it.

Brad. Why, my lord, I pray you tell the people what mood Accipite, Manducate, is; Is it not plain to children, that Chriſt in ſo ſaying, commandeth?

At theſe words the lord chancellor made a great toying and trifling at the Imperative mood, and fell to parſing or examining, as he ſhould teach a child, and ſo concluded that it was no commandment, but ſuch a phraſe as this, I pray you give me drink, which, ſaid he, is no commandment, I think.

But Bradford prayed him to leave toying and trifling, and ſaid thus; My lord, if it be not a commandment of Chriſt to take and eat the ſacrament, why dare any take upon them to command and make that of neceſſity, which God leaveth free; as you do in making it a neceſſary commandment, once a year for all that be of diſcretion to receive the ſacrament?

Here the lord chancellor called him again Diabolus or Calumniator, and began out of theſe words, "Let a man prove himſelf, and ſo eat of the bread (yea bread, quoth Bradford) and drink of the cup," to prove that it was no commandment to receive the ſacrament: for then (ſaid he) if it were a commandment, it ſhould bind all men, in all places, and at all times.

Brad. O my lord, diſcern between commandments: ſome be general, as the ten commandments, that they bind always, in all places, and all perſons: ſome be not ſo general, as this of the ſupper, the ſacrament of baptiſm, of the thrice appearing before the Lord yearly at Jeruſalem, of Abraham offering of Iſaac, &c.

Here my lord chancellor denied the cup to be commanded by Chriſt: for then, ſaid he, we ſhould have eleven commandments.

Brad. Indeed I believe you think as you ſpeak: for elſe you would not take the cup from the people, in that Chriſt ſaith, "Drink ye all of it." But how ſay you, my lords? Chriſt ſaith to you biſhops eſpecially, "Go and preach the goſpel: feed Chriſt's flock, &c." Is this a commandment, or no?

Here was my lord chancellor in a chafe, and ſaid as pleaſed him.

Then

Then the biſhop of Durham aſked Bradford, when Chriſt began to be preſent in the ſacrament? whether before the receiver received it, or no?

Mr. Bradford anſwered, that the queſtion was curious, and not neceſſary; and further ſaid, that as the cup was the New Teſtament, ſo the bread was Chriſt's body to him that received it duly, but yet ſo that the bread is bread. For, ſaid he, in all the ſcripture ye ſhall not find this propoſition, There is no bread. And ſo he brought forth Chryſoſtom, Si in corpore eſſemus, Hom. in 83. Mat. 34. Summa. Much ado was here, they calling Bradford heretic, and he deſiring them to proceed on in God's name, he looked for that which God appointed for them to do.

Lord Chan. This fellow is now in another hereſy of fatal neceſſity, as though all things were ſo tied together, that of mere neceſſity all muſt come to paſs.

But Mr. Bradford deſired him to take things as they be ſpoken, and not wreſt them to a contrary ſenſe. Your lordſhip, ſaid he, doth diſcern betwixt God and man. Things are not by fortune to God at any time, though to man they ſeem ſo ſometimes. I ſpeak but as the apoſtles did, "Lord (ſaid they) ſee how Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the prelates, are gathered together againſt thy Chriſt, to do that which thy hand and counſel hath before ordained for them to do."

Here the lord chancellor began to read the excommunication. And in the excommunication, when he came to the name of John Bradford, lay man: Why (quoth he) art thou no prieſt?

Brad. No, nor never was either prieſt, either beneficed, either married, either any preacher, before public authority had eſtabliſhed religion, or preacher after public authority had altered religion, and yet I am thus handled at your hand: but God, I doubt not, will give his bleſſing where you curſe. And ſo he fell down on his knees, and heartily thanked God that he counted him worthy to ſuffer for his name ſake; and prayed to God to give him repentance and a good mind. After the excommunication was read, he was delivered to the ſheriff of London, and ſo had to the Clink, and afterwards to the Compter in the Poultry, in the city of London, this being purpoſed by his murderers, that he ſhould be delivered from thence to the earl of Derby, to be conveyed into Lancaſhire, and there to be burned in the town of Mancheſter, where he was born: but their purpoſe concerning the place was afterward altered, for he ſuffered in London.

After the condemnation of Mr. Bradford, which was the laſt day of January, Mr. Bradford being ſent to priſon, remained there till the firſt of July, during which time he ſuſtained divers other conferences and conflicts with ſundry adverſaries, who repaired to him in the priſon. Of whom firſt biſhop Bonner, coming to the Compter to degrade Dr. Taylor, the fourth day of February, began to diſcourſe with the ſaid Mr. Bradford; the effect whereof here enſueth.

On the fourth of February, the ſame day Mr. Rogers was burned, Bonner biſhop of London came to the Compter in the Poultry, to degrade Dr. Taylor, about one of the clock in the afternoon. But before he ſpake to Dr. Taylor, he called for John Bradford who was priſoner there, whom when he ſaw he put off his cap, and gave him his hand, ſaying, Becauſe I perceive that ye are deſirous to confer with ſome learned men, therefore I have brought Mr. archdeacon Harpsfield to you. And I tell you, you do like a wiſe man. But I pray go roundly to work, for the time is but ſhort.

Brad. My lord, as roundly as I can I will go to work with you: I never deſired to confer with any man, nor yet do. Howbeit, if ye will have one to talk with me, I am ready.

Bonner. What! (ſaid the biſhop in a fume to the keeper) did you not tell me that this man deſired conference?

Keeper. No, my lord, I told you that he would not refuſe to confer with any; but I did not ſay that it was his deſire.

Bonner. Well, Mr. Bradford, you are well beloved, I pray you conſider yourſelf, and refuſe not charity when it is offered.

Brad. Indeed, my lord, this is ſmall charity, to condemn a man as you have condemned me, who never brake your laws. In Turky a man may have charity, but in England I could not yet find it. I was condemned for my faith as ſoon as I uttered it at your requeſts, before I had committed any thing againſt the laws. And as for conference, I am not afraid to talk with whom ye will. But to ſay that I deſire to confer, that do I not.

Bonner. Well, well. And ſo he called for Dr. Taylor, and Bradford went his way.

Upon another day in February, Mr. Willerton, chaplain to the biſhop of London, came to confer with Mr. Bradford; but when he perceived that Mr. Bradford deſired not his company, and therefore rather wiſhed for his departing than his ſtay: Well, Mr. Bradford, ſaid he, I pray you let us confer a little, perchance you may do me good, if I can do you none. Upon which words Mr. Bradford was content, and ſo they began to talk. Willerton ſpake much of the doctors, of the fathers, of the bread in the ſixth of St. John, &c. labouring to prove tranſubſtantiation, and that wicked men do receive Chriſt.

But Bradford on the contrary improved his authorities, ſo that they came to this iſſue, that Willerton ſhould draw his reaſons out of the ſcriptures and doctors, and Bradford would peruſe them; and if he could not anſwer them, then he would give place. Likewiſe alſo Mr. Bradford ſhould draw his reaſons out of the ſcriptures and doctors, to which Willerton ſhould anſwer if he could: and ſo they departed for that day.

The next morning Mr. Willerton ſent half a ſheet of paper written on both ſides, containing no reaſons how he gathered his doctrine, but only bare ſentences; "The bread which I will give is my fleſh:" and the places in the 26th of St. Matthew, the 14th of Mark, the 22d of Luke, and the 10th and 11th to the Corinthians, with ſome ſentences of the doctors, all which made as much againſt him as for him.

In the afternoon he came himſelf, and there they had a long talk to little effect. At length Willerton began to talk of the church, ſaying, that Bradford ſwerved from the church.

Brad. No, that I do not, but ye do. For the church is Chriſt's ſpouſe, and Chriſt's obedient ſpouſe, which your church is not, which robbeth the people of the Lord's cup, and of ſervice in the Engliſh tongue.

Willer. Why? It is not profitable to have the ſervice in Engliſh; for it is written, "The lips of the prieſt ſhould keep the law, and out of his mouth man muſt look for knowledge."

Brad. Should not the people then have the ſcriptures? Wherefore ſerveth this ſaying of Chriſt, "Search the ſcriptures?"

Willer. This was not ſpoke to the people, but to the ſcribes and learned men.

Brad. Then the people muſt not have the ſcriptures?

Willer. No, for it is written, "They ſhall be all taught of God."

Brad. And muſt we learn all from the prieſts?

Willer. Yea.

Brad. Then I ſee you would bring the people to hang up Chriſt, and let Barabbas go, as the prieſts did then perſuade the people. At which words Mr. Willerton was ſo offended, that he had no deſire to talk any more. In the end Mr. Bradford gave him the reaſons which he had

had gathered againſt tranſubſtantiation, and deſired him to frame his into the form of reaſons, and then, quoth Bradford, I will anſwer them.

Willer. Well, I will do ſo. But firſt I will anſwer yours. Which he never performed.

On the 12th of February one of the earl of Derby's ſervants came to Mr. Bradford, ſaying, My lord hath ſent me to you, he deſireth you to tender yourſelf, and he will be a good lord to you.

Brad. I thank his lordſhip for his good will towards me: but in this caſe I cannot tender myſelf more than God's honour will allow.

Servant. Ah Mr. Bradford, conſider your mother, ſiſters, friends, kinsfolk, and country, what a great diſcomfort will it be unto them to ſee you die as an heretic?

Brad. I have learned to forſake father, mother, brother, ſiſter, friends, and all that ever I have, yea, even mine ownſelf, for elſe I cannot be Chriſt's diſciple.

Serv. If my lord ſhould obtain for you that ye might depart the realm, would ye not be content to be at the queen's appointment, where ſhe would appoint you beyond the ſea?

Brad. No, I had rather be burned in England, than be burned beyond the ſeas. For I know that if ſhe ſhould ſend me to Paris, Lovain, or ſome ſuch place, forthwith they would burn me.

Upon the fourteenth of February, Percival Creſwell, an old acquaintance of Mr. Bradford's, came to him, bringing with him a kinſman of Mr. Fecknam's, who, after many words, ſaid;

Creſ. I pray you let me intercede for you.

Brad. You may do what ye will.

Creſ. But tell me what ſuit I ſhall make for you.

Brad. Forſooth what you pleaſe, do it not at my requeſt, for I deſire nothing at your hands. If the queen will give me life, I will thank her. If ſhe will baniſh me, I will thank her. If ſhe will burn me, I will thank her. If ſhe will condemn me to perpetual impriſonment, I will thank her.

Hereupon Creſwell went away, and about eleven of the clock he and the other man came again, and brought a book wrote by one More, deſiring Mr. Bradford to read it over.

Bradford taking the book, ſaid, Good Percival, I am immovably ſettled in this article.

Creſ. Oh, if ever ye loved me, do one thing for me.

Brad. What is that?

Creſ. Deſire and name what learned man or men ye will have to come unto you. My lord of York, my lord of Lincoln, my lord of Bath, and others will gladly come unto you.

Brad. No, never will I deſire them, or any other, to come to confer with me; for I am as certain of my doctrine as I am of any thing. But for your pleaſure, and alſo that all men may know I am not aſhamed to have my faith ſifted and tried, bring whom ye will, and I will talk with them. So they went their way.

About three of the clock in the afternoon, Dr. Harding, who was then the biſhop of Lincoln's chaplain, came to Mr. Bradford, and after a great and ſolemn proteſtation, declaring that he had prayed to God before he came, to turn his talk to Bradford's good, he began to tell the good opinion he had of Bradford, and ſpent the time in ſuch tattling, ſo that their talk was to little purpoſe; ſave that Bradford prayed him to conſider from whence he was fallen, and not follow the world, nor to love it: for the love of God is not where the world is.

But Harding counted Bradford in a damnable ſtate, as one being out of the church, and therefore deſired him to take heed of his ſoul, and not to die in ſuch an opinion.

What? Mr. Harding, ſaid Bradford; I have heard you with theſe ears maintain this what I now ſtand in.

Harding. I grant that I have taught that the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation was a ſubtle doctrine, but otherwiſe I never taught it. And ſo he inveighing againſt marriages of prieſts, and namely againſt Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Luther, and ſuch, who for breaking their vows were juſtly given up into hereſies (as he ſaid); Mr. Bradford ſeeing him altogether given up to popery, after admoniſhing him thereof, bade him farewel.

Upon the 25th of February, Percival Creſwell came with Mr. Harpsfield archdeacon of London, and a ſervant waiting upon him. After formal ſalutations, he made a long oration, of which this is a ſhort ſum; That all men, even the Infidels, Turks, Jews, Anabaptiſts, and Libertines, deſire felicity as well as the chriſtians, and that every one thinketh they ſhall attain to it by their religion. To which Bradford anſwered briefly, that he ſpake not far amiſs.

Then ſaid Harpsfield, But the way thither is not all alike; for the Infidels by Jupiter, Juno, &c. the Turk by his Alcoran, the Jew by his Talmud, do believe to come to heaven. For ſo may I ſpeak of ſuch as believe the immortality of the ſoul.

Brad. You ſpeak truly.

Harpſ. Well, then here is the matter, to know the way to this heaven.

Brad. We are not to invent ways. There is but one way, and that is Jeſus Chriſt, as he himſelf doth witneſs; I am the way.

Harpſ. What you ſay is true, and alſo falſe. I ſuppoſe what you mean by Chriſt, is believing in Chriſt.

Brad. I have learned to diſcern betwixt faith and Chriſt. Albeit I confeſs, that whoſo believeth in Chriſt, the ſame ſhall be ſaved.

Harpſ. No, not all that believe in Chriſt; for ſome ſhall ſay, "Lord, Lord, have we not caſt out devils? &c." But Chriſt will anſwer in the day of judgment to theſe, "Depart from me, I know you not."

Brad. You muſt make a difference betwixt believing, and ſaying I believe: as for example, If one ſhould ſay and ſwear he loveth you, for all his ſaying and ſwearing ye will not believe him, when you ſee he goeth about to utter and do all the evil againſt you that he can.

Harpſ. Well, this is not much material. There is but one way, Chriſt. How come we to know him? where ſhall we ſeek to find him?

Brad. Forſooth, we muſt ſeek him by his word, and in his word, and after his word.

Harpſ. Very good: but tell me now how firſt we came into the company of them that could tell us this, but by baptiſm?

Brad. Baptiſm is the ſacrament, by which outwardly we are ingrafted into Chriſt: I ſay outwardly, becauſe I dare not exclude from Chriſt all that die without baptiſm. I will not tie God, where he is not bound. Some infants die, whoſe parents deſire baptiſm for them, and cannot have it.

Harpſ. To theſe we may think perchance that God will ſhew mercy.

Brad. Yea, the children whoſe parents do condemn baptiſm, will not I condemn, becauſe the child ſhall not bear the father's offence.

Harpſ. Well, we agree, that by baptiſm then we are brought and (as a man would ſay) begotten to Chriſt. For Chriſt is our father, and the church his ſpouſe is our mother. As all men naturally have Adam for their father, and Eve for their mother; ſo all ſpiritual men have Chriſt for their father, and the church for their mother: and as Eve was taken out of Adam's ſide, ſo was the church taken out of Chriſt's ſide, whereout flowed blood for the ſatisfaction and purgation of our ſins.

Brad. All this is truly ſpoken.

Harpſ. Now then tell me whether this church of Chriſt hath not been always?

Brad. Yea, ſince the creation of man, and ſhall be for ever.

Harpſ. Very good. But yet tell me whether this church is a viſible church, or no?

Brad. It is no otherwiſe viſible, than Chriſt was here on earth; that is, by no exterior pomp or ſhew that ſetteth her forth commonly; and therefore to ſee her we muſt put on ſuch eyes, as good men put on to ſee and know Chriſt when he walked here on earth: for as Eve was of the ſame ſubſtance that Adam was of, ſo was the church of the ſame ſubſtance that Chriſt was of, "Fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bones;" as St. Paul ſaith, Epheſ. 5. Look therefore how Chriſt was viſibly known to be Chriſt when he was on earth, that is, by conſidering him after the word of God, ſo is the church known.

Harpſ. I do not come to reaſon at this preſent, and therefore I will go on forward. Is not this church a multitude?

Brad. Yes, that it is. Howbeit, Latet anguis in herba, as the proverb is. For in your queſtion is a ſubtilty. What viſible multitude was there in Elijah's time, or when Moſes was on the mount, Aaron and all Iſrael worſhipping the calf?

Harpſ. Ye divert from the matter.

Brad. No, nothing at all. For I do prevent you, knowing well whereabout you go. And therefore fewer words might very well ſerve.

Harpſ. Well, I perceive you have knowledge, and by a little perceive I the more. Tell me yet further, whether this multitude have not the miniſtry or preaching of God's word?

Brad. Sir, you go about the buſh. If ye underſtand preaching for the confeſſing of the goſpel, I will go with you: for elſe, if you will, you may know that perſecution often hindereth preaching.

Harpſ. Well, I mean it ſo. Tell me yet more: hath it not the ſacraments adminiſtered?

Brad. It hath the ſacraments, howbeit the adminiſtration of them is often hindered. But I will put you from your purpoſe, becauſe I ſee whereabout you go. If heretics have baptiſm, and do baptize, as they did in St. Cyprian's time, you know this baptiſm is baptiſm, and not to be reiterated. This Bradford ſpake, that the ſtanders by might obſerve, that tho' the Popiſh church hath baptiſm which we have received of them, yet notwithſtanding it is not the true church, neither need we be baptized again.

Harpſ. You go far from the matter, and I perceive you have more errors than one.

Brad. So you ſay, but that is not enough till you prove it.

Harpſ. Well, this church is a multitude. Hath it not the preaching of the goſpel, and the adminiſtration of the ſacraments? And yet more, hath it not the power of juriſdiction?

Brad. What juriſdiction is exerciſed in perſecution and affliction?

Harpſ. I mean by juriſdiction, admoniſhing one another, and ſo forth.

Brad. Well, go to, what then?

Harpſ. It hath alſo ſucceſſion of biſhops. And here he made much ado to prove that this was an eſſential point.

Brad. You ſay as you would have it; for if this part fail you, all the church that you go about to ſet up will fall down. You ſhall not find in all the ſcripture, this your eſſential part of ſucceſſion of biſhops. In Chriſt's church Antichriſt will ſit. And Peter telleth us, as it went in the old church before Chriſt's coming, ſo it will be in the new church ſince Chriſt's coming: that is, as there were falſe prophets, and ſuch as bare rule were adverſaries to the true prophets; ſo ſhall there be (ſaith he) falſe teachers, even of ſuch as are biſhops, and bear rule among the people.

Harpſ. You go always out of the matter: but I will prove further the ſucceſſion of biſhops.

Brad. Do ſo.

Harpſ. Tell me, were not the apoſtles biſhops?

Brad. No, except you will make a new definition of a biſhop; that is, give him no certain place.

Harpſ. Indeed, the apoſtle's office was not the biſhop's office: for it was univerſal, but yet Chriſt inſtituted biſhops in his church, as St. Paul ſaith, he hath given paſtors, prophets, &c. So that I think it may be proved by the ſcriptures, that the ſucceſſion of biſhops is an eſſential point.

Brad. The miniſtry of God's word and miniſters, be an eſſential point. But to tranſlate this to the biſhops and their ſucceſſion, is a plain ſubtilty: and therefore that it may be plain, I will aſk you a queſtion. Tell me, whether the ſcripture knew any difference between biſhops and miniſters, which ye call prieſts?

Harpſ. No.

Brad. Well, then go on forwards, and let us ſee what ye ſhall get now by the ſucceſſion of biſhops: that is, of miniſters which can be underſtood of ſuch biſhops as miniſter not, but lord it.

Harpſ. I perceive that you are far out of the way. By your doctrine you can never ſhew in your church, a multitude which miniſtereth God's word and his ſacraments, which hath juriſdiction and ſucceſſion of biſhops, which hath from time to time believed as you believe, beginning now, and ſo going upwards, as I will do of your doctrine, and therefore are ye out of the church, and ſo cannot be ſaved. Perchance you will bring me downwards a ſhew to blear people's eyes; but to go upwards, that you can never do, and this is the true trial.

Brad. Ye muſt and will, I am aſſured, give me leave to follow the ſcriptures and examples of good men.

Harpſ. Yea.

Brad. Well then, Stephen was accuſed and condemned as I am, that he had taught a new and falſe doctrine, before the fathers of the church then as they were taken. Stephen for his purgation improveth their accuſation. But how? doth he it by going upwards? no, but by coming downwards, beginning at Abraham, and continuing ſtill till Iſaiah's time, and the people's captivity. From whence he maketh a great leap until the time he was in, which was (I think) about 400 years, and called them by their right names, hell-hounds, rather than heaven-hounds. In this manner will I prove my faith, and that you can never do yours.

Harpſ. Yea, Sir, if we knew that you had the Holy Ghoſt, then could we believe you. Here Bradford would have anſwered, that Stephen's enemies would not believe he had the Holy Ghoſt, therefore they did as they did: but as he was ſpeaking, Mr. Harpsfield roſe up, and the keeper and others that ſtood by began to talk gently, praying Bradford to take heed to what Mr. Archdeacon ſpake, who ſtill ſaid that Bradford was out of the church.

Brad. Sir, I am moſt certain that I am in Chriſt's church, and I can ſhew a demonſtration of my religion from time to time continually.

"God our Father, for the name and blood of his Chriſt be merciful unto us, and unto all his people, and deliver them from falſe teachers, and blind guides, thro' whom (alas) I fear, much hurt will come to this realm of England. God our Father bleſs us, and keep us in his truth and poor church for ever. Amen."

Then the archdeacon departed, ſaying, that he would come again the next morning.

Upon the 16th of February in the morning, the archdeacon and the other two with him, came again, and after a few by-words ſpoken, they ſat down.

Mr. Archdeacon began a very long oration, firſt repeating what they had ſaid, and how far they had gone overnight, and therewith began to prove upwards ſucceſſion of biſhops here in England for 800 years: in France at Lyons for 1200 years: at Spain in Hiſpalen for 800 years: in Italy at Milan for 1200 years, labouring

ing by this to prove his church. He uſed all his ſucceſſion of biſhops in the Eaſt church for the more confirmation of his words, and ſo concluded with an exhortation and interrogation: the exhortation was, that Bradford would obey this church; the interrogation, whether Bradford could ſhew any ſuch ſucceſſion, for the demonſtration of his church (for ſo he called it) which followed?

Unto this his long oration, Bradford made this ſhort anſwer; My memory is evil, ſo that I cannot particularly anſwer your oration. Therefore I will do it generally, becauſe your oration is rather to perſuade than to prove, and therefore a ſmall anſwer will ſerve. If Chriſt or his apoſtles, being here on earth, had been required by the prelates of the church then, to have made a demonſtration of that church by ſucceſſion of ſuch high prieſts as had approved the doctrine which he taught, I think that Chriſt would have done as I do: that is, have alledged that which upholdeth the church, even the verity, the word of God, taught and believed, not by the high prieſts, which of long time had perſecuted it, but by the prophets and other good ſimple men, which perchance were counted heretics of the church: which church was not tied to ſucceſſion, but to the word of God. And thus to think, St. Peter giveth me occaſion when he ſaith, that as it went in the church before Chriſt's coming, ſo ſhall it go in the church after his coming: but then the pillars of the church were perſecutors of the church: therefore the like we muſt look for now.

Harpſ. I can gather and prove ſucceſſion in Jeruſalem of the high prieſts from Aaron's time.

Brad. I grant, but not ſuch ſucceſſion as allowed the truth.

Harpſ. Why, did they not allow Moſes's law?

Brad. Yes, and keep it, as touching the books thereof, as you do the bible, and holy ſcriptures. But the true interpretation and meaning of it they did corrupt, as you have done and do; and therefore the perſecution which they ſtirred up againſt the prophets and Chriſt, was not for the law, but for the interpretation of it. For they taught as you do now, that we muſt fetch the interpretation of the ſcriptures at your hand. But to make an end, death I look for daily, yea hourly, and I think my time is but very ſhort; therefore I had need to ſpend as much time with God as I can whilſt I have it, for his help and comfort, and therefore I pray you bear with me, that I do not now particularly and in more words anſwer your long talk. If I ſaw death not ſo near me as it is, I would then weigh every piece of your oration, if you would give me the ſum of it, and I would anſwer accordingly: but becauſe I dare not, nor I will not leave off looking and preparing for that which is at hand, I ſhall deſire you to hold me excuſed, though I do as I do, and I heartily thank you for your gentle good will: I ſhall heartily pray God our Father to give you the ſame light and life I do wiſh to myſelf. And ſo Bradford began to riſe up.

But then Mr. Archdeacon began to tell him he was in a very perilous caſe, and that he was ſorry to ſee him ſo ſettled. As for death, whether it be nigh or far off, I know not, neither matters it, ſo you die well.

Brad. I doubt not in this caſe but that I ſhall die well: for as I hope and am certain my death ſhall pleaſe the Lord, ſo I truſt I ſhall die chearfully to the comfort of his children.

Harpſ. But what if you be deceived?

Brad. What if you ſhould ſay the ſun doth not now ſhine? (The ſun ſhone through the window where they ſat.)

Harpſ. Well, I am ſorry to ſee you ſo ſecure and careleſs.

Brad. Indeed I am more carnally ſecure and careleſs than I ſhould be: God make me more vigilant. But in this caſe I cannot be ſo ſecure, for I am moſt aſſured I am in the truth.

Harpſ. That ye are not; for you are out of the catholic church.

Brad. No, though you have excommunicated me out of your church, yet I am in the catholic church of Chriſt, and am, and by God's grace ſhall be a child, and an obedient child of it for ever. I hope Chriſt will have no leſs care for me, than he had for the blind man excommunicated out of the ſynagogue: and further, I am ſure that the neceſſary articles of the faith, I mean the twelve articles of the creed, I confeſs and believe with that you call the holy church, ſo that even your church hath taken too much upon her to excommunicate me for that, which by the teſtimony of my lord of Durham, in the book of the ſacrament lately put forth, was free many an hundred years after Chriſt, to believe or not believe.

Harpſ. What is that?

Brad. Tranſubſtantiation.

Harpſ. Why: ye are not condemned only for that.

Brad. For that, and becauſe I deny that wicked men do receive Chriſt's body.

Harpſ. You agree not with us in the preſence, nor in any thing elſe.

Brad. How you believe, you know: for my part, I confeſs a preſence of whole Chriſt, God and man, to the faith of the receiver.

Harpſ. Nay, you muſt believe a real preſence in the ſacrament.

Brad. In the ſacrament? Nay, I will not ſhut him in, nor tie him to it otherwiſe than faith ſeeth and perceiveth. If I ſhould include Chriſt really preſent in the ſacrament, or tie him to it otherwiſe than to the faith of the receiver; then the wicked men ſhould receive him, which I do not believe, and by God's grace never will.

Harpſ. More pity: but a man may eaſily perceive, you make no preſence at all, and therefore you agree not therein with us.

Brad. I confeſs a preſence, and a true preſence, but to the faith of the receiver.

What (quoth one that ſtood by) of Chriſt's very body which died for us?

Brad. Yea, even of whole Chriſt, God and man, to feed the faith of him that receiveth it.

Harpſ. Why; this is nothing elſe but to exclude the omnipotency of God, and all kind of miracle in the ſacrament.

Brad. I do not exclude his omnipotency, but you do it rather: for I believe that Chriſt can accompliſh his promiſe, the ſubſtance of bread and wine being there, as well as the accidents, which you believe not. When we come to the ſacrament, we come not to feed our bodies, and therefore we have but a little piece of bread; but we come to feed our ſouls with Chriſt by faith, which the wicked do want, and therefore they receive nothing but Panem Domini, as Judas did, and not Panem Dominum, as the other apoſtles did.

Harpſ. The wicked do receive the very body of Chriſt, but not the grace of his body.

Brad. They receive not the body. For Chriſt's body is no dead carcaſe: he that receiveth it, receiveth the Spirit, which is not without grace.

Harpſ. Well, you have many errors. You count the maſs for abomination, and yet St. Ambroſe ſaid maſs. And ſo he read out of a written book a ſentence of St. Ambroſe to prove it.

Brad. Why, Sir, the maſs, as it is now, was nothing ſo in St. Ambroſe's time. Was not the moſt part of the canon made ſince by Gregory and Scholaſticus?

Harpſ. Indeed a great piece of it was made (as ye ſay) by Gregory: but Scholaſticus was before St. Ambroſe's time.

Brad. I think not: however I will not contend. St. Gregory ſaith, that the apoſtles ſaid maſs without the canon, only with the Lord's prayer.

Harpſ. You ſay true: for the canon is not the greateſt part of the maſs, the greateſt part is the ſacrifice, elevation, tranſubſtantiation, and adoration.

Brad. I can away with none of thoſe.

Harpſ. No, I think the ſame: but yet Hoc facite telleth plainly the ſacrifice of the church.

Brad. You confound ſacrifices, not diſcerning betwixt the ſacrifice of the church, and for the church. The ſacrifice of the church is no propitiatory ſacrifice, but a gratulatory ſacrifice. And as for Hoc facite, it is not referred to any ſacrificing, but to the whole action of taking, eating, &c.

Harpſ. You ſpeak not learnedly now: for Chriſt made his ſupper only to the twelve apoſtles, not admitting his mother or any of the ſeventy diſciples to it. Now the apoſtles do ſignify the prieſts.

Brad. I think that you ſpeak as you would men ſhould underſtand it: for elſe you would not keep the cup away from the laity. We have great cauſe to thank you, that you will give us of your bread. For I perceive you order the matter ſo, as though Chriſt had not commanded it to his whole church.

Then Harpsfield would have proved elevation by a place of Baſilius.

Brad. I have read the place, which ſeemeth to make nothing for elevation: but be it as it is, this is no time for me to ſcan the doubtful places of the doctors with you. I have been in priſon long without books and all neceſſaries for ſtudy, and now death draweth nigh, and by your leave I muſt now leave off, to prepare for it.

Harpſ. If I could do you good, I would be right glad, either in ſoul or body. For you are in a perilous caſe both ways.

Brad. Sir, I thank you for your good will. My caſe is as it is. I thank God it was never ſo well with me; for death to me ſhall be life.

Creſwell. It were beſt for you to deſire Mr. Archdeacon that he would make ſuit for you, that you might have a time to confer.

Harpſ. I will do the beſt I can: for I pity his caſe.

Brad. I will not deſire any body to ſue for time for me. I am not wavering, neither would I that any body ſhould think I were ſo. But if you have the charity and love you pretend towards me, and do think that I am in an error, I think the ſame ſhould move you to do as you would be done to. As ye think of me, ſo do I of you, that you are far out of the way, and I do not only think it, but alſo am thereof moſt aſſured. And in this and ſuch like gentle talk they departed.

On the 23d of the ſame month, the archbiſhop of York, and the biſhop of Chicheſter came to the Compter to ſpeak with Mr. Bradford. When he was come before them, they both, and eſpecially the biſhop of York, uſed him very gently: they would have him to ſit down, and becauſe he would not, they alſo would not ſit. So they all ſtood, and whether he would or not, they would needs have him put on, not only his night-cap, but his upper cap alſo, ſaying unto him, That obedience was better than ſacrifice.

While they were thus ſtanding together, my lord of York began to tell Mr. Bradford, that they came to him out of pure love and charity, without being ſent: and himſelf alſo for the acquaintance which he had with Mr. Bradford, more than the biſhop of Chicheſter had: and after commending Bradford's godly life, he concluded with this queſtion, How he was certain of ſalvation and of his religion?

After thanks for their good wili, Bradford anſwered, By the word of God, even by the ſcriptures, I am certain of ſalvation and religion.

York. Very well ſaid; but how do ye know the word of God and the ſcriptures, but by the church?

Brad. Indeed, my lord, the church was and is a means to bring a man more ſpeedily to know the ſcriptures and the word of God, as the woman of Samaria was the means by which the Samaritans knew Chriſt: but when they had heard him ſpeak, they ſaid, Now we know that he is Chriſt, not becauſe of thy words, but becauſe we ourſelves have heard him; ſo after we come to the hearing and reading of the ſcriptures ſhewed unto us, and diſcerned by the church, we do believe them, and know them as Chriſt's ſheep, not becauſe the church ſaith they are the ſcriptures, but becauſe they be ſo, being aſſured thereof by the ſame Spirit which wrote and ſpake them.

York. You know in the apoſtles time at firſt the word was not written.

Brad. True, if you mean it for ſome books of the New Teſtament: but elſe for the Old Teſtament St. Peter telleth us, "We have a more ſure word of prophecy:" not that it is ſimply ſo, but in reſpect of the apoſtles, which being alive and compaſſed with infirmity, attributed to the word written more weight, as wherewith no fault could be found, whereas for the infirmity of their perſons men perchance might have found ſome fault at their preaching; albeit in very deed no leſs obedience and faith ought to have been given to the one, than to the other; for all proceedeth from one Spirit of truth.

York. That place of St. Peter is not ſo to be underſtood of the word written.

Brad. Yea, Sir, that it is, and of none other.

Chicheſter. Yea, indeed Mr. Bradford doth tell you truly in that point.

York. Well, you know that Irenæus and others do magnify much, and alledge the church againſt the heretics, and not the ſcripture.

Brad. True, for they had to do with ſuch heretics as did deny the ſcriptures, and yet did magnify the apoſtles, ſo that they were enforced to uſe the authority of thoſe churches wherein the apoſtles had taught, and which had ſtill retained the ſame doctrine.

Chich. You ſpeak the very truth: for the heretics did refuſe all ſcriptures, except it were a piece of St. Luke's goſpel.

Brad. Then the alledging of the church cannot be principally uſed againſt me, which am ſo far from denying of the ſcriptures, that I appeal unto them utterly, as to the only judge.

York. A pretty matter, that you will take upon you to judge the church. I pray you where hath your church been hitherto? For the church of Chriſt is catholic and viſible hitherto.

Brad. My lord, I do not judge the church, when I diſcern it from that congregation, and thoſe which be not the church; and I never denied the church to be catholic and viſible, although at ſome times it is more viſible than at other times.

Chich. I pray you tell me where the church which allowed your doctrine, was theſe 400 years.

Brad. I will tell you, my lord, or rather you ſhall tell yourſelf, if you will tell me this one thing, where the church was in Elijah's time, when Elijah ſaid that he was left alone.

Chich. That is no anſwer.

Brad. I am ſorry that you ſay ſo: but this will I tell your lordſhip, that if you had the ſame eyes wherewith a man might have eſpied the church then, you would not ſay it were no anſwer. The fault why the church is not ſeen by you, is not becauſe the church is not viſible, but becauſe your eyes are not clear enough to ſee it.

Chich. You are much deceived in making this collation betwixt the church then and now.

York. Very well ſpoken, my lord: for Chriſt ſaid, "I will build my church;" and not I do, or have built it: but I will build it.

Brad. My lords, St. Peter teacheth me to make this collation, ſaying; as in the people "there were falſe prophets, which were moſt in eſtimation before Chriſt's coming, ſo ſhall there be falſe teachers amongſt the people after

ter Chriſt's coming, and very many ſhall follow them." And as for your future tenſe, I hope your grace will not thereby conclude Chriſt's church not to have been before, but rather that there is no building in the church but by Chriſt's work only: for Paul and Apollos be but waterers.

Chich. In good faith, I am ſorry to ſee you ſo light in judging the church.

York. He taketh upon him, as they all do, to judge the church. A man ſhall never come to certainty that doth as they do.

Brad. My lords, I ſpeak ſimply what I think, and deſire reaſon to anſwer my objections. Your affections and ſorrows cannot be my rules. If you conſider the order and caſe of my condemnation, I cannot think but that it ſhould ſomething move your honours. You know it well enough (for you heard it), no matter was laid againſt me, but what was gathered upon my own confeſſion. Becauſe I denied tranſubſtantiation, and the wicked to receive Chriſt's body in the ſacrament, therefore I was condemned and excommunicated, but not by the church, although the pillars of the church (as they be taken) did it.

Chich. No, I heard ſay the cauſe of your impriſonment was, for that you exhorted the people to take the ſword in one hand, and the mattock in the other.

Brad. My lord, I never meant any ſuch thing, nor ſpake any thing in that matter.

York. Yea, and you behaved yourſelf before the council ſo ſtoutly at firſt, that you would defend the religion then; and therefore worthily were you impriſoned.

Brad. Your grace heard me anſwer my lord chancellor to that point. But ſuppoſe I had been ſo ſtout as they and your grace make it, were not the laws of the realm then on my ſide? wherefore unjuſtly was I impriſoned; only that which my lord chancellor propounded, was my confeſſion of Chriſt's truth againſt tranſubſtantiation, and of that which the wicked do receive, as I ſaid.

York. You deny the preſence.

Brad. I do not, to the faith of the worthy receivers.

York. Why? what is that to ſay other, than that Chriſt lieth not on the altar?

Brad. My lord, I believe no ſuch preſence.

Chich. It ſeemeth you have not read St. Chryſoſtom: for he proveth it.

Brad. Hitherto I have been kept well enough without books: howbeit this I do remember of Chryſoſtom, that he ſaith that Chriſt lieth upon the altar, as the ſeraphims with their tongs touch our lips with the coals of the altar in heaven; which is an hyperbolical locution, of which you know Chryſoſtom is full.

York. It is evident that you are too far gone: but let us come then to the church, out of which ye are excommunicate.

Brad. I am not excommunicate out of Chriſt's church, my lord, although they which ſeem to be in the church, and of the church, have excommunicated me, as the poor blind man was, John 9. I am ſure Chriſt receiveth me.

Here, after much talk of excommunication, at length Mr. Bradford ſaid,

Aſſuredly, as I think you did well to depart from the Romiſh church, ſo I think ye have done wickedly to couple yourſelves to it again; for you can never prove that, which you call the mother church, to be Chriſt's church.

Chich. Ah Mr. Bradford, you were but a child when this matter began. I was a young man, and then coming from the univerſity, I went with the world, but I tell you it was always againſt my conſcience.

Brad. I was but a child then, howbeit as I told you, I think you have done evil. For ye are come, and have brought others to that wicked man which ſitteth in the temple of God, that is, in the church: for it cannot be underſtood of Mahomet, or any out of the church, but of ſuch as bear rule in the church.

York. See how you build your faith upon ſuch places of ſcripture as are moſt obſcure, to deceive yourſelf, as though you were in the church where you are not.

Brad. Well, my lord, though I might by fruits judge of you and others, yet will I not utterly exclude you out of the church. And if I were in your caſe, I would not condemn him utterly that is of my faith in the ſacrament, knowing as you know, that at leaſt 800 years after Chriſt, as my lord of Durham writeth, it was free to believe or not to believe tranſubſtantiation.

York. This is a toy that you have found out of your own brain; as though a man not believing as the church doth, that is, tranſubſtantiation, were of the church.

Chich. He is an heretic, and ſo none of the church, that doth hold any doctrine againſt the definition of the church, as a man to hold againſt tranſubſtantiation. Cyprian was no heretic, though he believed re-baptizing of them who were baptized by heretics, becauſe he held it before the church had defined it, whereby if he had held it after, then had he been an heretic.

Brad. Oh my lord, will ye condemn to the devil any man that believeth truly the 12 articles of the faith (wherein I take the unity of Chriſt's church to conſiſt), although in ſome points he believe not the definition of that which ye call the church? I doubt not but that he which holdeth firmly the articles of our belief, though in other things he diſſent from your definitions, yet he ſhall be ſaved.

York. Chich. Yea, ſaid both the biſhops, this is your divinity.

Brad. No, it is St. Paul's; who ſaith, that if they hold the foundation, Chriſt, though they build upon him ſtraw and ſtubble, yet they ſhall be ſaved.

York. Lord God! how you delight to lean to ſo hard and dark places of the ſcriptures.

Chich. I will ſhew you that Luther did excommunicate Zuinglius for this matter. And ſo he read a place of Luther making for his purpoſe.

Brad. My lord, what Luther writeth, as you mind it not, no more do I in this caſe. My faith is not built on Luther, Zuinglius, or Oecolampadius, in this point: and indeed to tell you truly, I never read any of their works in this matter. As for them, I do think aſſuredly, that they were God's children, and are ſaints with him.

York. Well, you are out of the communion of the church.

Brad. I am not, for it conſiſteth and is in faith.

York. Lo, how you make your church inviſible; for you would have the communion of it conſiſt in faith.

Brad. For to have communion with the church, needeth no viſibleneſs of it; for communion conſiſteth, as I ſaid, in faith, and not in exterior ceremonies, as appeareth both by St. Paul, who would have one faith, and by Irenæus to Victor, for the obſervation of Eaſter, ſaying, that diſagreeing about faſting ſhould not break the agreement of faith.

Chich. The ſame place hath often even wounded my conſcience, becauſe we ſeparated ourſelves from the ſee of Rome.

Brad. Well, God forgive you; for you have done evil in bringing England thither again.

Here my lord of York took a paper-book of common places, and read a piece of St. Auguſtine, how that there were many things that held St. Auguſtine in the boſom of the church; conſent of people and nations, authority confirmed with miracles, nouriſhed with hope, increaſed with charity, eſtabliſhed with antiquity: beſides this, there holdeth me in the church, ſaid St. Auguſtine, the ſucceſſion of prieſts from Peter's ſeat until this preſent biſhop. Laſt of all, the very name of catholic did hold me, &c. Lo (quoth he) how ſay you to this of St. Auguſtine? Paint me out your church thus.

Brad. My lord, these words of St. Augustine make as much for me as for you: although I might answer, that all this, if they had been so firm as you make them, might have been alledged against Christ and his apostles. For there was the law and the ceremonies consented to by the whole people, confirmed with miracles, antiquity, and continual succession of bishops from Aaron's time until that present.

Chich. In good faith, Mr. Bradford, you make too much of the state of the church before Christ's coming.

Brad. Therein I do but as Peter teacheth, 2 Pet. 2. and St. Paul very often. You would gladly have your church here very glorious, like a most pleasant lady. But Christ saith, and so may his church say, "Blessed are they that are not offended at me."

York. Yea, you think that none is of the church, but such as suffer persecution.

Brad. What I think, God knoweth: I pray your grace to judge me by my words, and mark what St. Paul saith, "All that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution." Sometimes Christ's church hath rest here; but commonly it is not so, and especially towards the end her form will be more unseemly.

York. But what say you to St. Augustine? where is your church that hath the consent of the people and nations?

Brad. Even all people and nations that be God's people have consented with me, and I with them in the doctrine of faith.

York. Lo, ye go about to shift off all things.

Brad. No, my lord; I mean simply, and God knoweth I so speak.

York. St. Augustine doth here talk of succession, even from St. Peter's seat.

Brad. Yea, that seat then was not so much corrupt as it is now.

York. Well, you always judge the church.

Brad. No, my lord, Christ's sheep discern Christ's voice, but they judge it not: so they discern the church, but judge her not.

York. Yes, that they do.

Brad. No, and it please your grace; and yet full well may one not only doubt, but judge also of the Romish church; for she obeyeth not Christ's voice, as Christ's true church doth.

York. Wherein?

Brad. In Latin service, and robbing the laity of Christ's cup in the sacrament, and in many other things, in which it committeth most horrible sacrilege.

Chich. Why? Latin service was in England when the pope was gone.

Brad. True; the time was in England when the pope was away, but not all popery; as in king Henry's days.

York. Latin service was appointed to be sung and had in the quire, where only were Clerici, that is, such as understood Latin, the people sitting in the body of the church praying their own private prayers; and this may well be yet seen by making of the chancel and quire, so as the people could not come in, or hear them.

Brad. Yea, but in St. Chrysostom's time, and also in the Latin church in St. Jerom's time, all the church, said he, answereth again mightily, Amen. Whereby we may see that the prayers were made so, that both the people heard them and understood them.

Chich. Ye are to blame, to say that the church robbeth the people of the cup.

Brad. Well, my lord, term it as you please: all men know that the laity hath none of it.

Chich. Indeed I wish the church would define again, that they might have it, for my part.

Brad. If God make it free, who can define to make it bond?

York. Well, Mr. Bradford, we lose our labour; for you seek to put away all things which are told you for your good: your church no man can know.

Brad. Yes, that ye well may.

York. I pray you whereby?

Brad. Forsooth Chrysostom saith, only by the scriptures; and this you well know he speaketh very often.

York. Indeed that of Chrysostom is in Opere imperfecto, which may be doubted of. The church is best known by succession of bishops.

Brad. No, my lord, Lyra upon Matthew writeth full well, that "The church consisteth not in men by reason either of secular or temporal power, but in men endued with true knowledge, and confession of faith, and of verity."

And in Hilary's time, you know he writeth to Auxentius, that the church was hidden rather in caves and holes, than did glister and shine in thrones of pre-eminence.

Then came one of the servants and told them, that my lord of Durham tarried for them at the archbishop of York's house; and this was after that they had tarried three hours with Mr. Bradford. And after that their man was come they put up their written books of common places, and said that they lamented his case: they desired him to read over a book which did Dr. Crome good; and so wishing him good in words, they went their way, and poor Bradford to his prison.

After this communication with the bishops was ended, within two days following came into the Compter two Spanish friers to talk with Mr. Bradford, sent (as they said) by the earl of Derby; of whom one was the king's confessor, the other was Alphonsus, who had before written a popish book against heresies: the effect of which their reasoning here likewise followeth.

Upon the 25th day of February, about eight of the clock in the morning, two Spanish friers came to the Compter where Mr. Bradford was prisoner; to whom Bradford was called. Then one frier, who was the king's confessor, asked in Latin (for all their discourse was in Latin), of Bradford, whether he had seen or heard of one Alphonsus that had written against heresies?

Brad. I do not know him.

Confes. Well, this man (pointing to Alphonsus), is he. We are come to you of love and charity, by the means of the earl of Derby, because you desired to confer with us.

Brad. I never desired your coming, nor to confer with you, or any other. But seeing you are come out of charity, as you say, I cannot but thank you: and as concerning conference, though I desire it not, yet I will not refuse to talk with you if you will.

Alphonsus. It were requisite that you did pray to God, that ye might follow the direction of God's Spirit, that he would inspire you, so that ye be not addicted to your own self-will or wit.

Whereupon Mr. Bradford made a prayer, and besought God to direct all their wills, words, and works, as the will, words, and works of his children for ever.

Alph. Yea, you must pray with your heart. For if you speak but with tongue only, God will not give you his grace.

Brad. Sir, do not judge, lest ye be judged. You have heard my words, now charity would have you leave the judgment of the heart to God.

Alph. You must be as it were a Neuter, and not wedded to yourself, but as one standing in doubt: pray and be ready to receive what God shall inspire; for in vain laboureth our tongue to speak else.

Brad. Sir, my sentence, if you mean it for religion, must not be in a doubting or uncertain, as I thank God I am certain in that for which I am condemned; I have no cause to doubt of it, but rather to be more certain of it; and therefore I pray God to confirm me more in it.

For it is his truth, and becauſe it is ſo certain and true that it may abide the light, I dare be bold to have it looked on, and confer it with you, or any man; in reſpect whereof I am both glad of your coming, and thank you for it.

Alph. What is the matter whereof you were condemned? we know not.

Brad. Sir, I have been in priſon almoſt two years: I never tranſgreſſed any of their laws for which I might juſtly be impriſoned; and now I am condemned, only becauſe I frankly confeſſed, whereof I repent not, my faith concerning the ſacrament, when I was demanded in theſe two points; one, that there is no tranſubſtantiation; the other, that the wicked do not receive Chriſt's body.

Alph. Let us look a little on the firſt. Do you not believe that Chriſt is preſent really and corporally in the form of bread?

Brad. No, I do believe that Chriſt is preſent to the faith of the worthy receiver, as there is preſent bread and wine to the ſenſes and outward man: as for any ſuch preſence of including and placing Chriſt, I believe not, nor dare I believe.

Alph. I am ſure you believe Chriſt's natural body is circumſcriptible. And here he made much ado of the two natures of Chriſt, how that the one is every where, and the other is in his proper place, demanding ſuch queſtions as no wiſe man would have ſpent any time about. At length, becauſe the frier had forgot to conclude, Mr. Bradford put him in mind of it, and thus then at length he concluded: How that becauſe Chriſt's body was circumſcriptible, concerning the human nature in heaven, therefore it was ſo in the bread.

Brad. How hangeth this together? Even as if you ſhould ſay; becauſe you are here, Ergo, it muſt needs follow that you are at Rome. For thus you reaſon; becauſe Chriſt's body is in heaven: Ergo, it is in the ſacrament under the form of bread: which no wiſe man will grant.

Alph. Why? will you believe nothing but that which is expreſly ſpoken in the ſcriptures?

Brad. Yes, Sir, I will believe whatſoever you ſhall by demonſtration out of the ſcriptures declare unto me.

He is obſtinate, quoth Alphonſus to his fellow: and then turning to Bradford, ſaid, Is not God able to do it?

Brad. Yes; but here the queſtion is of God's will, and not of his power.

Alph. Why? doth he not ſay plainly, This is my body?

Brad. Yes, and I deny not but that it is ſo, to the faith of the worthy receiver.

Alph. To the faith; how is that?

Brad. Forſooth, Sir, as I have no tongue to expreſs it: ſo I know ye have no ears to hear and underſtand it. For faith is more than man can utter.

Alph. But I can tell all that I believe.

Brad. You believe not much then. For if you believe the joys of heaven, and believe no more thereof than you can tell, you will not yet deſire to come thither. For as the mind is more capable and receivable than the mouth, ſo it conceiveth more than tongue can expreſs.

Alph. Chriſt ſaith it is his body.

Brad. And ſo ſay I, after a certain manner.

Alph. After a certain manner; that is, after another manner that it is in heaven.

Brad. St. Auguſtine telleth it more plainly, that it is Chriſt's body after the ſame manner as circumciſion was the covenant of God, and the ſacrament of faith is faith; or, to make it more plain, as baptiſm and the water of baptiſm is regeneration.

Alph. Very well ſaid, baptiſm, and the water thereof, is a ſacrament of God's grace and Spirit in the water cleanſing the baptized.

Brad. No, Sir, away with your incloſing: but this I grant, that after the ſame ſort Chriſt's body is in the bread, on which ſort the grace and Spirit of God is in the water.

Alph. God's grace is in water by ſignification.

Brad. So is the body in the bread in the ſacrament.

Alph. You are much deceived, in that you make no difference between the ſacraments that be ſtanders, and the ſacraments that are tranſitory and paſſers by. As for example, the ſacrament of orders, which you deny, tho' St. Auguſtine affirmeth it, it is a ſtander, although the ceremony be paſt. But in baptiſm, ſo ſoon as the body is waſhed, the water ceaſeth to be a ſacrament.

Brad. Very good, and ſo it is in the ſupper of the Lord; no longer than it is in uſe, is it Chriſt's ſacrament.

Here the frier was in a wonderful rage, and ſpake ſo loud (as he had often done before), that the whole houſe rang again. This frier had the character of being a very learned man, but ſurely by his behaviour here he had very little patience, for if Bradford had been any thing hot, one houſe could not have held them. At length they came to this point, That Bradford could not find in ſcripture that baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper bare any ſimilitude together. And here he triumphed before the conqueſt, ſaying, that theſe men would have nothing but ſcripture, and yet are able to prove nothing by the ſcripture.

Brad. Be patient, and you ſhall ſee that by the ſcripture I will find baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper coupled together.

Alph. No, that thou canſt never do. Let me ſee a text of it.

Brad. St. Paul ſaith, "That as we are baptized into one body, ſo were we Potati in uno ſpiritu, i. e. we have drank of one Spirit," meaning the cup in the Lord's ſupper.

Alph. St. Paul hath no ſuch words.

Brad. Yes, that he hath.

Confef. I think he hath not.

Brad. Give me a Teſtament, and I will ſhew you.

So a prieſt that ſate by them gave him his Teſtament, and he ſhewed them the plain text. Then they looked one upon another. In fine, the frier found this ſimple ſhift, that St. Paul ſpake not of the ſacrament.

Brad. Well, the text is plain enough, and there are many of the fathers which do ſo underſtand the place: for Chryſoſtom doth expound it ſo.

Alphonſus which had the Teſtament in his hand, deſirous to ſuppreſs this foil, turned the leaves of the book from leaf to leaf, till he came to the place, 1 Cor. 11. and there he read how that he was guilty, which made no difference of the Lord's body.

Brad. Yea, but therewith he ſaith, "He that eateth of the bread:" calling it bread ſtill: and that after conſecration (as ye call it) as in the tenth of the Corinthians he ſaith; "The bread which we break, &c."

Alph. Oh how ignorant are ye, who know not that things after converſion do retain the ſame names which they had before, as Moſes's rod: and calling for a Bible, after he had found the place, he began to triumph: but Bradford cooled him quickly, ſaying;

Sir, There is mention made of the converſion, as well as that the ſame appeared to the ſenſe. But here ye cannot find it ſo. Find me one word how the bread is converted, and I will then ſay, ye bring ſome matter that maketh for you.

At theſe words Alphonſus was troubled, and at length he ſaid, That Bradford hanged on his own ſenſe.

Brad. No, that I do not; for I will bring you the fathers of the church eight hundred years after Chriſt, to confirm what I ſpeak.

Alph. No, you have the church againſt you.

Brad. I have not Chriſt's church againſt me.

Alph. Yes that you have. What is the church?

Brad. Chriſt's wife, the chair and ſeat of truth.

Alph

Alph. Is ſhe viſible?

Brad. Yea, that ſhe is to them that will put on the ſpectacles of God's word to look on her.

Alph. This church hath defined the contrary, and that I will prove by all the good fathers from Chriſt's aſcenſion, even for 800 years at leaſt continually.

Brad. What will you ſo prove? Tranſubſtantiation?

Alph. Yea, that the bread is turned into Chriſt's body.

Brad. You ſpeak more than you can do.

Alph. That do I not.

Brad. Then will I give place.

Alph. Will you believe?

Brad. Belief is God's gift; therefore I cannot promiſe: but I tell you that I will give place; and I hope I ſhall believe his truth always, ſo good is he to me in Chriſt my Saviour.

Here the frier found a great fault with Bradford, that he made no difference betwixt Habitus and Actus; as though Actus, which he called credulity, had been in our power. But this he let paſs, and came again, aſking Bradford, if he could prove it as he ſaid, whether he would give place?

Brad. Yea, that I will. Then called he for paper, pen, and ink, to write; and then ſaid I, Suppoſe that I prove by the teſtimony of the fathers, that continually for 800 years after Chriſt, at leaſt, they did believe that the ſubſtance of bread doth remain in the ſacrament; what will ye do?

Alph. I will give place.

Brad. Then write you here that you will give place if I ſo prove, and I will write that I will give place if you ſo prove: becauſe ye are the ancient, ye ſhall have the pre-eminency.

Here the frier fumed marvelloufly, and ſaid; I came not to learn from thee; are not here witneſſes? (meaning the prieſts) be not they ſufficient? But the man was ſo angry, that if Mr. Bradford had not paſſed over this matter of writing, the frier would have gone to plain ſcolding.

At length the king's confeſſor aſked Bradford what the ſecond queſtion was?

Brad. That wicked men receive not Chriſt's body in the ſacrament, as St. Auguſtine ſpeaketh of Judas, that he received Panem Domini, but not Panem Dominum.

Alph. St. Auguſtine ſaith not ſo.

Brad. Yes, that doth he. So they aroſe and talked no more of the matter. Thus went they away, without bidding Bradford farewel.

After they were gone, one of the prieſts came, and deſired Bradford not to be ſo obſtinate.

Brad. Sir, be not you ſo wavering; in all the ſcriptures cannot you find me, Non eſt Panis.

Prieſt. Yes, that I can in five places.

Brad. Then I will eat your book. So the book was opened, but no place found; and he went his way ſmiling. God help us.

It followed after this, upon the twenty firſt of March, that by means of one of the earl of Derby's men, there came to the Compter to dinner one Mr. Collier, once warden of Mancheſter, and the ſaid ſervant of the earl of Derby, of whom Mr. Bradford learned, that Dr. Weſton dean of Weſtminſter would be with him in the afternoon about two of the clock. At dinner time, when the ſaid warden diſcommended king Edward, and went about to ſet forth the authority of the pope, which Bradford withſtood, defending the king's faith, that it was catholic, and that the authority of the biſhop of Rome's ſupremacy was uſurped, bringing forth the teſtimony of Gregory, which affirmeth the name of ſupreme head, to be a title of the forerunner to Antichriſt; a woman priſoner was brought in, whereupon the ſaid Bradford took occaſion to riſe from the table, and ſo went to his priſon chamber to pray to God for his grace and aſſiſtance therein, continuing there till he was called down to ſpeak with Dr. Weſton, who was then come in.

Mr. Bradford then being called down, ſo ſoon as he was entered into the hall, Dr. Weſton very gently took him by the hand, and aſked how he did, with ſuch other talk. At length he deſired them to go out of the chamber: ſo they all went out, ſave Dr. Weſton himſelf, Mr. Collier, the earl of Derby's ſervant, the ſubdean of Weſtminſter, the keeper, Mr. Clayden, and the parſon of the church near the Compter.

Now when he began with Mr. Bradford, to tell how that he was often minded to have come unto him, being deſired by the earl of Derby; and (quoth he) after I perceived by this man, that you could be contented rather to ſpeak with me, than any other; I could not but come to do you all the good I can: for you may be ſure I will never hurt you.

Sir, quoth Mr. Bradford, when I perceived by the report of my lord's ſervant, that you did bear me good will: more (as he ſaid) than any other of your ſort, I told him then, that I could be better content and more willing to talk with you, if you ſhould come unto me. This did I ſay, quoth he, otherwiſe I deſired not your coming.

Weſt. Well, quoth he, now I am come to talk with you: but before we ſhall enter into any talk, certain principles we muſt agree upon, which ſhall be this day's work.

Firſt, quoth he, I ſhall deſire you to put away all vain-glory, and not hold any thing for the praiſe of the world.

Brad. Sir, St. Auguſtine maketh that indeed a piece of the definition of an heretic; which if I cannot put away clean (for I think there will a ſpice of it remain in us, as long as this fleſh liveth), yet I promiſe you by the grace of God, that I purpoſe not to yield to it. God I hope will never ſuffer it to bear rule in them that ſtrive againſt it, and deſire all the dregs of it utterly to be driven out of us.

Weſt. I am glad to hear you ſay ſo, although indeed I think you do not ſo much eſteem it as others do.

Secondly, I would deſire you that you will put away ſingularity in your judgment and opinions.

Brad. Sir, God forbid that I ſhould ſtick to my ſingularity or private judgment in God's religion. Hitherto I have not deſired it, neither do, nor mind at any time to hold any other doctrine than is public and catholic, underſtanding catholic as good men do, according to God's word.

Weſt. Very well, this is a good day's work, I hope to do you good: and therefore now, thirdly, I ſhall pray you to write me the heads of thoſe things whereupon you ſtand in the ſacrament, and to ſend them to me betwixt this and Wedneſday next: until which time, yea, until I come to you again, be aſſured that you are without all peril of death. Of my fidelity, I warrant you, therefore away with all dubitations, &c.

Brad. Sir, I will write to you the grounds I lean to in this matter. As for death, if it come, welcome be it; this which you require of me, ſhall be no great hindrance to me therein.

Weſt. You know that St. Auguſtine was a Manichean, yet was he converted at length; ſo have I good hope of you.

Brad. Sir, becauſe I will not flatter you, I would you ſhould flatly know, that I am even ſettled in that religion for which I am condemned.

Weſt. Yea, but if it be not the truth, and you ſee evident matter to the contrary, will you not then give place?

Brad. God forbid, but that I ſhould always give place to the truth.

Weſt. I would have you ſo to pray.

Brad. So I do, and that he will more and more confirm me in it, as I thank God he hath done and doth.

Weſt. Yea, but pray with a condition, if you be in it.

Brad. No, Sir, I cannot pray ſo, becauſe I am ſettled and aſſured of his truth.

Well, quoth Weſton, as the learned biſhop anſwered St. Auguſtine's mother, that though he was obſtinate, yet the tears of ſuch a mother could not but win her ſon: ſo, quoth he, I hope your prayers (for then Bradford's eyes did ſhew that he had wept in prayer) cannot but be heard by God, though not as you would, yet as beſt ſhall pleaſe him. Do ye not, quoth he, remember the hiſtory thereof?

Yea, Sir, quoth Bradford, I think it be of St. Ambroſe.

Weſt. No, that it is not. And here Weſton would have laid a wager, and began to triumph, ſaying to Bradford; As you are overſeen herein, ſo are you in other things.

Brad. Well, Sir, I will not contend with you for the name. This (I remember) St. Auguſtine writeth in his confeſſions.

After this talk, Dr. Weſton began to tell Mr. Bradford, that the people were perſuaded by him to withſtand the queen.

Whereunto Bradford anſwering again, bade him hang him up as a traitor and a thief, if ever he encouraged any to rebellion: his keeper and the prieſts that were there affirmed the ſame. At that time there was much talk to little purpoſe. Dr. Weſton declared moreover how he had ſaved men going in the cart to be hanged, and ſuch like.

The end was this, that Bradford ſhould ſend unto him the heads of the doctrine of the ſupper, and after Wedneſday he would come unto him again; and thus he departed, after he had drank to him in beer and wine. I omit here talk of Oxford, of books of Germany writers, of the fear of death, and ſuch other talk, which are to no purpoſe.

In the mean time, when Mr. Bradford had written his reaſons and arguments, and had ſent them to Dr. Weſton, ſoon after, about the 28th of March, there came to the Compter Dr. Pendleton, and with him the aforeſaid Mr. Collier, ſometime warden of Mancheſter, and Stephen Bech. After ſalutations, Dr. Pendleton began to ſpeak to Mr. Bradford, that he was ſorry for his trouble. And further, ſaid he, after that I knew you could be content to talk with me, I made the more ſpeed, being as ready to do you good, and pleaſure you what I can, as ye would wiſh.

Brad. Sir, the manner how I was content to ſpeak with you was on this ſort: Mr. Bech often aſked me whom he could bring unto me, and named you amongſt others: and I ſaid, that I had rather ſpeak with you than with any other. Now the cauſe why I ſo would, I will briefly tell you. I remember that once you were (as far as a man might judge) of the religion that I am of at this preſent, and I remember that you have earneſtly ſet forth the ſame. Gladly therefore would I learn of you what thing it was that moved your conſcience to alter; and gladly would I ſee what thing it is that you have ſeen ſince which you ſaw not before.

Pendleton. I do not know for what you are condemned.

Brad. Tranſubſtantiation is the cauſe for which I am condemned, and becauſe I deny that wicked men do receive Chriſt's body: wherein I would deſire you to ſhew me what reaſons, which before you knew not, did move your conſcience now to alter. For once (as I ſaid) you were as I am in religion.

Here Mr. Pendleton, half amazed, began to excuſe himſelf, as though he had not fully denied tranſubſtantiation indeed, although I ſaid, quoth he, that the word was not in ſcripture; and ſo he made an endleſs tale of the thing that moved him to alter: but (ſaid he) I will gather to you the places which moved me, and ſend you them. And here he deſired Mr. Bradford that he might have a copy of that which he had ſent to Dr. Weſton; which Mr. Bradford promiſed him.

Some reaſoning alſo they had, whether evil men did receive Chriſt's body, Bradford denying, and Pendleton affirming. Bradford ſaid, that they received not the Spirit: Ergo, not the body: for it is no dead carcaſe. Hereto Bradford brought alſo St. Auguſtine, how Judas received Panem Domini, and not Panem Dominum, and that he muſt be in Chriſt's body which muſt receive the body of Chriſt. But Pendleton went about to put it away with Idem, and not Ad idem, and how that In Corpore Chriſti was to be underſtood of all that be in the viſible church with God's elect. Bradford denied this to be St. Auguſtine's meaning, and ſaid alſo that the allegation of Idem, and not Ad idem, could not make for that purpoſe. They talked more of tranſubſtantiation, Pendleton bringing forth Cyprian, Panis natura mutatur, &c. And Bradford ſaid, that in that place Natura did not ſignify Subſtance. As the nature of an herb is not the ſubſtance of it; ſo the bread changed in nature is not to be taken for changed in ſubſtance; for now it is ordained not for the food of the body ſimply, but rather for the ſoul. Here alſo Bradford alledged the ſentence of Gelaſius. Pendleton ſaid, that he was a pope. Yea, ſaid Bradford, but his faith is my faith in the ſacrament, if ye would receive it.

They reaſoned alſo whether Accidentia were Res, or no. If they be properly Res, ſaid Bradford, then are they ſubſtances; and if they be ſubſtances, they are earthly, and then there are earthly ſubſtances in the ſacrament, as Irenæus ſaith, which muſt needs be bread. But Pendleton ſaid, that the colour was the earthly thing, and called it an accidental ſubſtance.

I omit the talk they had of my lord of Canterbury, of Peter Martyr's Book, of Pendleton's letter laid to Bradford's charge when he was condemned, with other talk about the church; whether Dic Eccleſiæ was ſpoken of the univerſal church, or of a particular church (at length Mr. Pendleton granted that it was ſpoken of a particular church); alſo of vain-glory, which he deſired Bradford to beware of, and ſuch-like talk. A little before his departing, Mr. Bradford ſaid thus; Maſter Doctor, as I ſaid to Dr. Weſton before, ſo ſay I to you now, that I am the ſame man in religion againſt tranſubſtantiation ſtill, as I was when I came into priſon; for hitherto I have ſeen nothing in any one point to convince me of the contrary. At which words Mr. Pendleton was ſomething moved, and ſaid that it was no catholic doctrine. Yes, quoth Mr. Bradford, and that I will prove even by the teſtimony of the catholic fathers until the council of Lateran, or thereabout. Then Pendleton went his way, ſaying that he would often come to Mr. Bradford.

God our Father be with us all, and give us the Spirit of his truth for ever. Amen.

The ſame day in the afternoon, about five of the clock, Dr. Weſton came to Bradford, and after gentle ſalutations, he deſired the company every man to depart, and ſo they two ſat down. And after he had thanked Bradford for his writing to him, he pulled out of his boſom the ſame writing which Bradford had ſent him. The writing is this that followeth.

Certain Reaſons againſt Tranſubſtantiation, gathered by John Bradford, and given to Dr. Weſton and others.

THAT which is former (ſaith Tertullian) is true; that which is latter, is falſe. But the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation is a late doctrine: for it was not defined generally before the council of Lateran, about 1215 years after Chriſt's coming, under pope Innocent III. of that name. For before that time it was free for all men to believe it, as the biſhop of Durham doth witneſs in his book of the preſence of Chriſt in his ſupper, lately put forth: Ergo, The doctrine of tranſubſtantiation is falſe.

2 That the words of Chriſt's ſupper be figurative, the circumſtances of the ſcripture, the analogy or proportion of the ſacraments, and the ſentences of all the holy fathers which were wrote for the ſpace of one thouſand years after Chriſt's aſcenſion, do teach: whereupon it followeth, that there was no tranſubſtantiation.

3. That the Lord gave to his diſciples bread, and called it his body, the ſcriptures do witneſs. For he gave that, and called it his body, which he took in his hand, whereupon he gave thanks, which alſo he brake, and gave to his diſciples, that is to ſay, bread, as the fathers Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Auguſtine, and all the reſidue which are of antiquity, do affirm: but inaſmuch as the ſubſtance of bread and wine is another thing than the ſubſtance of the body and blood of Chriſt, it plainly appeareth that there is no tranſubſtantiation.

4. The bread is no more tranſubſtantiate than the wine: but that the wine is not tranſubſtantiate, St. Matthew and St. Mark do teach us: for they witneſs, that Chriſt ſaid that he would drink no more of the fruit of the vine, which was not blood, but wine: and therefore it followeth, that there is no tranſubſtantiation. Chryſoſtom upon St. Matthew, and Cyprian, do affirm this reaſon.

5. As the bread in the Lord's ſupper is Chriſt's natural body, ſo it is his myſtical body: for the ſame ſpirit that ſpake of it, This is my body, did ſay alſo, For we many are but one bread, one body, &c. but now it is not the myſtical body by tranſubſtantiation, and therefore it is not his natural body by tranſubſtantiation.

6. The words ſpoken over the cup in St. Luke and St. Paul, are not ſo mighty and effectual, as to tranſubſtantiate it: for then the cup, or that which is in it, ſhould be tranſubſtantiated into the New Teſtament: therefore the words ſpoken over the bread, are not ſo mighty as to make tranſubſtantiation.

7. All that doctrine which agreeth with thoſe churches which be apoſtolical mother churches, or original churches, is to be counted for truth, in that it holdeth that which theſe churches received of the apoſtles, the apoſtles of Chriſt, Chriſt of God. But it is manifeſt, that the doctrine taught at this preſent by the church of Rome, concerning tranſubſtantiation, doth not agree with the apoſtolical and mother churches in Greece, of Corinthus, of Philippos, Coloſſia, Theſſalonica, and Epheſus, which never taught tranſubſtantiation; yea, it agreeth not with the doctrine of the church of Rome, as it was taught in times paſt. For Gelaſius the pope, ſetting forth the doctrine which that ſee then held, doth manifeſtly confute the error of tranſubſtantiation, and reproveth them for ſacrilege, who divided the myſtery, and kept the cup from the laity: therefore the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation agreeth not with the truth.

This was the writing which Weſton pulled out of his boſom; and yet before he began to read it, he told Mr. Bradford that he had enquired of his converſation at Cambridge ſince his laſt being with him; and, ſaid he, becauſe you are a man not given to the glory of the world, I will ſpeak it before your face. Your life I have learned was always ſuch there, as all men, even the greateſt enemies you have, cannot but praiſe it, and therefore I love you much better than ever I did: but now I will read over your arguments, and ſo we will confer them. They are ſuch that a man may well perceive you ſtand on conſcience, and therefore I am the more ready and glad to pity you. So he began to read the firſt; to which he ſaid, that tho' the word tranſubſtantiation began but lately, yet the thing always was, and hath been ſince Chriſt's inſtitution.

Brad. I do not contend, or inſiſt upon the word only, but upon the thing, which is as new as the word.

Then Dr. Weſton went to the ſecond, and there brought out St. Auguſtine, how that if any evil man going to the devil, did make his will, his ſon and heir would not ſay his father did lye in it, or ſpeak tropically: much more Chriſt, going to God, did never lye, or uſe any figurative ſpeech in his laſt will and teſtament. Do you not remember this place of St. Auguſtine? ſaid he.

Brad. Yea, Sir, but I do not remember that St. Auguſtine has thoſe words tropically, or figuratively, as you rehearſe them: for any man may ſpeak a thing figuratively, and not lye: and ſo Chriſt did in his laſt ſupper.

After this Dr. Weſton went to the third, and brought forth Cyprian, how that the nature of bread is turned into fleſh. Here, ſaith he, my lord of Canterbury expoundeth Nature for Quality, by Gelaſius. Which interpretation ſerveth for the anſwer of your argument, that Chriſt called bread his body: that is, the quality, form, and appearance of bread. And further, the ſcripture is wont to call things by the ſame names which they had before, as Simon the leper; he was not ſo at that time, but becauſe he had been ſo.

Brad. Cyprian wrote before Gelaſius: therefore Cyprian muſt not expound Gelaſius, but Gelaſius Cyprian: and ſo they both teach, that bread remaineth ſtill. As for things having ſtill the names they had, is no anſwer, except you could ſhew that this now were not bread, as eaſily as a man might have known and ſeen then Simon to have been healed and clear from his leproſy.

After this Dr. Weſton went to the fourth, of the cup, which he did not fully read, but digreſſed into a long talk of Cyprian's epiſtle De Aquatiis: alſo of St. Auguſtine, expounding the breaking of the bread by Chriſt to his two diſciples going to Emmaus, to be the ſacrament; with ſuch other talk to no certain purpoſe: and therefore Mr. Bradford prayed him, that inaſmuch as he had written the reaſons that eſtabliſhed his faith againſt tranſubſtantiation, ſo he would likewiſe do to him, that is, anſwer him by writing, and ſhew him more reaſons in writing to confirm tranſubſtantiation. Which Dr. Weſton promiſed to do, and ſaid that he would ſend or bring it to Mr. Bradford again within three days.

Thus when he had read over the arguments, and here and there ſpoke little to the purpoſe for the avoiding of them, and Bradford had prayed him to give him his anſwers in writing: then he began to tell Mr. Bradford how and what he had done for Mr. Grimoald, and that Bradford needed not to fear any reproach or ſlander he ſhould ſuffer, meaning belike to have Bradford ſecretly to come to them as Grimoald did: for he ſubſcribed.

Brad. Mr. Dean, I would not have you conceive that I mind the ſhame of men in this matter: I would rather have you think as the very truth is, that hitherto as I have not heard or ſeen any thing to weaken my faith againſt tranſubſtantiation, ſo I am no leſs ſettled in it than I was at my firſt coming hither. I love to be plain with you, and to tell you at firſt as you ſhall find at the laſt.

Weſt. In good faith, Mr. Bradford, I love you the better for your plainneſs; and do not think otherwiſe of me, but that you ſhall find me plain in all my talk with you.

Here Weſton began to aſk Bradford of his impriſonment and condemnation; and Bradford told him altogether how he had been handled. Whereat Weſton ſeemed to wonder. yea, in plain words he ſaid, that Bradford had been handled otherwiſe than he had given cauſe; and ſo ſhewed him, that my lord of Bath reported that he had deſerved a benefit at the queen's hand, and at all the council's.

In this kind of talk they ſpent almoſt an hour, and Mr. Bradford, being weary, roſe up, and Weſton called the keeper, and before him he bade Bradford be of good comfort, and told him he was in no danger of death.

Sir, quoth the keeper, but it is in every man's mouth, that he ſhall die to-morrow.

Whereat Weſton ſeemed half amazed, and ſaid, he would go ſay even-ſong before the queen, and ſpeak to her in his behalf. But it is to be thought that the queen had

had almoſt ſupped at that preſent: for it was paſt ſix of the clock.

Before the keeper, Bradford told Weſton again, that ſtill he was one man, and even as he was at the firſt; and till he ſhould ſee matter to teach his conſcience the contrary, he ſaid he muſt needs ſo continue.

The keeper deſired Bradford to hearken to Mr. Doctor's counſel, and prayed Mr. Doctor to be good unto him: and ſo after they had drank together, Mr. Doctor with moſt gentle words took his leave for three days.

Now when he was gone, the keeper told Bradford, that Mr. Doctor ſpake openly, that he ſaw no cauſe why they ſhould burn him. Which ſentence, for the ambiguity of the meaning, made him ſomewhat ſorry, leſt he had behaved himſelf in any thing, wherein he had gathered any conformableneſs to them in their doctrine, which God knoweth, ſaid Bradford, I never as yet did. God our Father bleſs us, and his children, and keep us from all evil for ever. Amen.

Upon the 5th day of April Dr. Weſton came to the Compter about two of the clock in the afternoon, who excuſed himſelf for being ſo long abſent; partly by ſickneſs, partly for that Dr. Pendleton told him that he would come unto him; and partly for that, ſaid he, I withſtood certain monks which would have come again into Weſtminſter; telling him moreover, that the pope was dead, and alſo declared unto him, that he had ſpoken to the queen in his behalf, and that death was not near to him. Laſt of all he excuſed himſelf for not anſwering his arguments againſt tranſubſtantiation; becauſe my coming to-day, ſaid he, was more by fortune, than of purpoſe.

Brad. I would gladly, Mr. Doctor, if it pleaſe you, ſee your anſwers to my arguments.

Weſt. Why? you have remembered ſomething that I ſpake to you, when I was laſt with you.

Brad. No, Sir, I never called them in manner to mind, ſince that time, as well becauſe I hoped you would have written them, as alſo for that they ſeemed not to be ſo material.

Weſt. In good faith I cannot ſee any other or better way for you, than to ſubmit yourſelf to the judgment of the church.

Brad. Marry ſo will I, Sir, if ſo be by the church you underſtand Chriſt's church.

Weſt. Lo, you take upon you to judge the church.

Brad. No, Sir, that do I not; in taking upon me to diſcern, I do not judge the church.

Weſt. Yea, that you do; and make it inviſible.

Brad. I do neither.

Weſt. Why, who can ſee your church?

Brad. Thoſe Sir, that have ſpiritual eyes, wherewith they might have diſcerned Chriſt's viſible converſation here upon earth.

Weſt. Nay, Chriſt's church hath three tokens, that all men may look upon: namely, unity, antiquity, and conſent.

Brad. Theſe three may be as well in evil as in good, as well in virtue as in vice, as well in the devil's church, as in God's church. As for an example, idolatry amongſt the Iſraelites had all thoſe three. Chryſoſtom telleth plainly, as you well know, that the church is well known only by the ſcriptures.

Weſt. In good faith, you make your church inviſible, when you would have it known only by the ſcriptures.

Brad. No, Sir, the ſcriptures do plainly ſet forth to us the church, that all men may well enough know her thereby, if they pleaſe to look.

Weſt. The church is like a tower or town, that all men may ſee.

Brad. True, Sir, all men that be not blind. Viſible enough is the church, but men's blindneſs is great. Impute not therefore to the church, that which is to be imputed to men's blindneſs.

Weſt. Where was your church 40 years ago? Or where is it now, except in a corner of Germany?

Brad. Forſooth, Sir, the church of God is diſperſed, and not tied to this or that place, but to the word of God: ſo that where it is, there is God's church, if it be truly taught.

Weſt. Lo, is not this to make the church inviſible? point me out a realm 100 years paſt, which maintained your doctrine.

Brad. Sir, if you will, or would well mark the ſtate of the church before Chriſt's coming, with it now (as St. Peter and Paul willeth us), I think you would not look for ſuch ſhews of the church to be made, as to point it by realms. You know that in Elijah's time, both in Iſrael and elſewhere, God's church was not pointable; and therefore he cried out that he was left alone.

Weſt. No marry, did not God ſay, that there were 7000 which had not bowed their knees to Baal? Lo then 7000, ſhew me 7000 a hundred years ago of your religion?

Brad. Sir, Theſe 7000 were not known to men: for then Elijah would not have ſaid, that he had been left alone. And this is plain enough by the text, namely, that God ſaith "I have reſerved to me ſeven thouſand." Mark that it ſaith, God hath reſerved to himſelf, to his own knowledge; as I doubt not but 100 years ago God had his 7000 in his proper places, tho' men knew not thereof.

Weſt. Well, Mr. Bradford, I will not make your caſe worſe, than for tranſubſtantiation: altho' I know that we agree not in other matters. And I pray you make it not worſe yourſelf. If I can do you good, I will: hurt you I will not. I am no prince, and therefore I cannot promiſe you life, except you will ſubmit yourſelf to the definition of the church.

Brad. Sir, If you will define your church, and bring no falſe church into that definition, you ſhall ſoon ſee that I will be at a point with you.

Weſt. In good faith, Mr. Bradford, I ſee no good will be done; and therefore I wiſh you as much good as I can; and perhaps I may come or ſend to you again: and ſo he departed, and went for Mr. Weal.

After his departure, the keeper, Mr. Claydon, and Stephen Bech, came to Mr. Bradford, and ſpake to him in ſuch a manner as if they had been his utter enemies, notwithſtanding the friendſhip they hitherto pretended. If God be with us, it matters not who is againſt us.

Divers came to Mr. Bradford in priſon, ſome to diſpute, ſome to confer, ſome to give counſel, ſome to take comfort, and be confirmed in their faith, and others came to viſit him. There was a certain gentlewoman's ſervant, which gentlewoman had been cruelly afflicted, and miſerably handled by her father and mother, and all her kindred in her father's houſe, for not coming to maſs, and ſhe had been put to death, had not the providence of God delivered her from her father's houſe, altho' at the loſs of all ſhe had.

This gentlewoman's ſervant therefore coming to Mr. Bradford, and taking him by the hand, ſaid, God be thanked for you. How do you?

Mr. Bradford anſwered, Well, I thank God. For as men in ſailing, which be near to the ſhore or haven where they would be, would be nearer; even ſo the nearer I am to God, the nearer I would be.

Serv. Sir, I have never ſeen you ſo ſtrong and healthful in body, as methink you be now, God be thanked for it.

Why, ſaid Bradford, I have given over all care and ſtudy, and only do I covet to be talking with him, whom I have always ſtudied to be withal.

Serv. Well, God hath done much for you ſince the time that I firſt knew you, and hath wrought wonderouſly in you to his glory.

Brad. Truth it is, for he hath dealt favourably with me, in that he hath not puniſhed me according to my

ſins, but hath ſuffered me to live, that I might ſeek repentance.

Serv. Truly, we hear ſay, there is a rod made ſo grievous, out of which I think no man ſhall pluck his head.

Brad. Well, let all that be of Chriſt's flock, arm themſelves to ſuffer: for I think verily, God will not have one of his to eſcape untouched, if he love him, let them ſeek what means or ways they can.

Serv. Well, Sir, there is a diſcourſe of a frier that preached before the king, who told him, that he ſhould be guilty of the innocent blood that hath been ſhed of late.

Verily, quoth Bradford, I had a book within theſe two days of his writing, and therein he ſaith, that it is not meet nor convenient that the heretics ſhould live: and therefore I do marvel how that talk ſhould ariſe: for I have heard of it alſo; and I have alſo talked with this frier (he is named frier Fonſo) and with divers others, and I praiſe God they have confirmed me: for they have nothing to ſay but that which is moſt vain.

Ser. Sir, father Cardmaker commendeth himſelf unto you.

Brad. How doth he? how doth he?

Serv. Well, God be thanked.

Brad. I am very glad thereof: for indeed my lord chancellor did caſt him in my teeth: but, as David ſaith, God hath diſappointed him.

Serv. Forſooth, God's name be praiſed, he is very ſtrong.

Brad. And I truſt, ſo are we. What elſe? our quarrel is moſt juſt: therefore let us not be afraid.

Serv. My miſtreſs commendeth herſelf unto you.

Brad. How doth ſhe?

Serv. Well, God be praiſed; but ſhe hath been ſorer afflicted with her own father and mother, than ever you were with your impriſonment; and yet God hath preſerved her, I truſt, to his glory.

Brad. I pray you tell her, I read this day a godly hiſtory, written by Baſilius Magnus, of a virtuous woman which was a widow, and was named Juleddo. She had great lands and many children, and nigh her dwelled a cormorant, who, for her virtue and pious living, had great indignation againſt her, and of very malice he took away her lands, ſo that ſhe was conſtrained to go to law with him: and in concluſion, the matter came to a trial before the judge, who demanded of this tyrant why he wrongfully with-held theſe lands from this woman? He made anſwer and ſaid, he might ſo do: for (ſaid he) this woman is diſobedient to the king's proceedings; for ſhe will in no wiſe worſhip his gods, nor offer ſacrifice unto them. Then the judge hearing that, ſaid unto her, Woman, if this be true, thou art not only like to loſe thy land, but alſo thy life, unleſs that thou worſhip our gods, and do ſacrifice unto them. This good woman hearing that, ſtept forth to the judge, and ſaid, Is there no remedy but either to worſhip your falſe gods, or elſe to loſe my lands and life? Then farewel ſuit, farewel lands, farewel children, farewel friends, yea, and farewel life too: and in reſpect of the true honour of the everliving God, farewel all. And with that ſaying the judge committed her to priſon, and afterward ſhe ſuffered moſt cruel death: and being brought to the place of execution, ſhe exhorted all women to be ſtrong and conſtant. For, ſaith ſhe, ye were redeemed with as dear a price as men. For altho' ye were made of the rib of the man, yet be you all of his fleſh: ſo that alſo, in the caſe and trial of your faith towards God, ye ought to be as ſtrong. And thus died ſhe conſtantly, not fearing death. I pray you tell your miſtreſs of this hiſtory.

Serv. That I ſhall, Sir, by God's grace: for ſhe told me that ſhe was with you and Mr. Saunders, and received your gentle counſel.

Brad. We never gave her other counſel but the truth, and in witneſs thereof, we have and will ſeal it with our blood. For I thought this night that I had been ſent for, becauſe at eleven of the clock there was ſuch rapping at the door.

Then anſwered a maid, and ſaid, Why then I perceive you were afraid.

Brad. Ye ſhall hear how fearful I was. For I conſidered that I had not ſlept, and I thought to take a nap before I went: and after I was aſleep, theſe men came into the next chamber, and ſang, as it was told me, and yet for all my fearfulneſs, I heard them not: therefore belike I was not afraid that ſlept ſo faſt.

Serv. Do you lack any thing towards your neceſſity?

Brad. Nothing but your prayers, and I truſt I have them, and you mine.

Serv. I ſaw a prieſt come to you to-day in the morning.

Brad. Yea, he brought me a letter from a frier, and I am writing an anſwer.

Serv. Then we hinder you, therefore the living God be with you.

Brad. And with you alſo, and bleſs you.

Serv. Amen, ſaid he, and gave him thanks and departed.

Mr. Bradford continued ſtill in priſon, until the month of July, in ſuch labours and ſufferings as he always before had ſuſtained in priſon: but when the time of his determined death was come, he was ſuddenly conveyed out of the Compter where he was priſoner, in the night ſeaſon to Newgate, as is declared before (p. 204), and from thence he was carried the next morning to Smithfield, where he conſtantly abiding in the ſame truth of God, which before he had confeſſed, earneſtly exhorting the people to repent, and to return to Chriſt, and ſweetly comforting the pious young man of 19 or 20 years of age, who ſuffered with him, chearfully he ended his painful life to live with Chriſt.

With whom was burnt John Leaf, apprentice to Humphry Gawdy, tallow-chandler, of the pariſh of Chriſt-church in London, born at Kirkly Moreſide in the county of York; who upon the Friday before Palm-Sunday was committed to the Compter in Bread-ſtreet, by an alderman of the ward where the ſaid John Leaf dwelt. Afterwards he coming to examination before biſhop Bonner, gave a firm and chriſtian teſtimony of his doctrine and profeſſion, anſwering to ſuch articles as were objected to him by the ſaid biſhop.

1ſt. As touching his belief and faith in the ſaid ſacrament of the altar, he anſwered, that after the words of conſecration ſpoke by the prieſt over the bread and wine, there was not the very true and natural body and blood of Chriſt in ſubſtance; and further did hold and believe, that the ſaid ſacrament of the altar, as it is now called, uſed, and believed in this realm of England, is idolatrous and abominable; and alſo ſaid further, that he believed, that after the words of conſecration ſpoke by the prieſt over the material bread and wine, there is not the ſelf-ſame ſubſtance of Chriſt's body and blood there contained; but bread and wine as it was before. And further ſaid, that he believed, that when the prieſt delivereth the ſaid material bread and wine to the communicants, he delivereth but only material bread and wine; and the communicants do receive the ſame in remembrance of Chriſt's death and paſſion, and ſpiritually in faith they receive Chriſt's body and blood, but not under the forms of bread and wine; and alſo affirmed, that he believed auricular confeſſion not neceſſary to be made unto a prieſt: for it is no point of ſoul health: neither that the prieſt hath any authority given him by the ſcripture to abſolve and remit any ſin.

Upon theſe his anſwers, and teſtimony of his faith, he was at that time diſmiſſed, ordering him to appear again on the next Monday, June 10, in the ſaid place, there and then to hear the ſentence of his condemnation. At which time the aforeſaid biſhop propounded the ſaid articles again to him as before, endeavouring by all manner of ways to bring him to renounce his religion; but notwithſtanding all his perſuaſions, threats, and promiſes,

ſes, found him the ſame man ſtill, ſo planted upon the ſure rock of truth, that no words or deeds of men could remove him.

Then the biſhop, after many words to and fro, at laſt aſk'd him, if he had been Mr. Rogers's ſcholar? To whom the aforeſaid John Leaf anſwered again, granting it ſo to be; and that he believed in the doctrine of the ſaid Rogers, and in the doctrine of biſhop Hooper, Cardmaker, and others of their opinion, who were lately burned for the teſtimony of Chriſt, and that he would die in that doctrine that they died for: and after other replications again by the biſhop, moving him to return to the unity of the church, he anſwered again in theſe words: My lord, ſaid he, you call mine opinion hereſy, it is the true light of the word of God: And again repeating the ſame, he profeſſed that he would never forſake his ſtayed and well grounded opinion, while the breath ſhould be in his body. Whereupon the biſhop being too weak, either to refute his ſentence, or to remove his conſtancy, proceeded conſequently to read the popiſh ſentence of condemnation; whereby this pious and conſtant young man being committed to the ſecular power of the ſheriffs there preſent, was then adjudged, and not long after ſuffered, the ſame day with Mr. Bradford, confirming with his death that which he had ſpoken and profeſſed in his life.

It is reported of the ſaid John Leaf, by one that was in the Compter at the ſame time, and ſaw the thing, that after his examinations before the biſhop, when two bills were ſent unto him in the Compter in Bread-ſtreet, the one containing a recantation, the other his confeſſions, to know to which of them he would put his hand, firſt hearing the bill of recantation read unto him (becauſe he could not read nor write himſelf) which he refuſed. And when the bill of his confeſſions was read unto him, inſtead of a pen he took a pin, and pricking his hand, ſprinkled the blood upon the ſaid bill, deſiring the reader thereof to ſhew the biſhop, that he had ſealed the ſame bill with his blood already.

The Behaviour of Mr. Bradford and John Leaf at their Martyrdom.

FIRST, when they came to the ſtake in Smithfield to be burned, Mr. Bradford lying proſtrate on one ſide the ſtake, and the young man John Leaf on the other ſide, they lay flat on their faces, praying to themſelves the ſpace of a minute. Then one of the ſheriffs ſaid to Mr. Bradford, Ariſe, and make an end; for the preſs of the people is great.

At that word they ſtood up, and Mr. Bradford took a faggot in his hand and kiſſed it, and likewiſe the ſtake. And when he had ſo done, he deſired of the ſheriffs, that his ſervant might have his raiment. For (ſaid he) I have nothing elſe to give him: and beſides that, he is a poor man. And the ſheriff ſaid he ſhould have it. And then Mr. Bradford immediately took off his raiment, and went to the ſtake: and holding up his hands, and caſting his eyes towards heaven, he ſaid thus, "O England, England, repent of thy ſins, repent of thy ſins; beware of idolatry; beware of Antichriſt; take heed they do not deceive you." And as he was ſpeaking theſe words, the ſheriff ordered his hands to be tied if he would not be quiet: O maſter ſheriff, ſaid he, I am quiet; God forgive you this, maſter ſheriff. And one of the officers who was to make the fire, hearing Mr. Bradford ſo ſpeaking to the ſheriff, ſaid, If you have no better learning than this, you are but a fool, and you had beſt hold your peace. To which Mr. Bradford gave no anſwer; but aſked all the world forgiveneſs, and forgave all the world, and deſired the people to pray for him: then he turned his head to the young man that ſuffered with him, and ſaid, Be of good comfort, brother; for we ſhall have a merry ſupper with the Lord this night: and then embracing the reeds, he ſaid thus: "Strait is the gate and narrow is the way that leadeth to eternal ſalvation, and few there be that find it."*

And thus they both ended this mortal life, like two lambs, without any alteration of their countenance, being void of all fear, hoping to obtain the prize that they had long run for; to which I beſeech Almighty God happily to conduct us, through the merits of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord and Saviour, Amen.

Mention was made a little above how churliſhly Mr. Woodrofe the ſheriff anſwered Mr. Bradford at the ſtake, not ſuffering him to ſpeak, but commanding his hands to be tied, &c. The like extremity, or worſe, he uſed alſo before to Mr. Rogers, whereof ye have heard before, [page 102.]

The ſaid Woodrofe was ſheriff along with Sir William Cheſter, in the year 1555, who was a much better man, both in temper and religion; he behaved himſelf with great mildneſs towards thoſe pious martyrs, who ſuffered for their conſcience, and was very ſorry to ſee them at any time miſuſed; and this I ſpeak to the honour of that worthy gentleman, although I never had the happineſs of being much acquainted with him. But Woodrofe was ſo churliſh and ill-natured, that he was wont to beat and abuſe the friends of thoſe who were going to die; he would not ſo much as let them ſhake hands with their departing friends; a privilege never denied to malefactors, and the vileſt criminals under proteſtant government.

But now, by the way, let us take notice of the ſevere puniſhment which God inflicted on this cruel perſecutor Mr. Woodrofe: it is ſaid, that within half a year after the burning of this bleſſed martyr, the ſaid ſheriff was ſo ſtruck on the right ſide with a palſy (or ſtroke of God's hand, whatſoever it was) that for the ſpace of eight years after (till his dying day) he was not able to turn himſelf in his bed, but as two men with a ſheet were fain to move him; and withal ſuch an inſatiable devouring came upon him, that was monſtrous to behold. And thus he continued for eight years together.

On the Death of John Bradford.

LET no diſciple 'bove his maſter be;
God's ſervants are not from affliction free.
God, whom he loves, chaſtiſes every ſon:
Strait is the way to the celeſtial throne.
Theſe words whilſt, Bradford, thou doſt ruminate:
No human threats, no fears, no diſmal ſtate
Can ſhock thy ſteady ſoul; no fiery dart
Of Satan's malice wound thy conſtant heart:
But thou doſt freely (arm'd with grace divine)
Thy body to the flaming pile reſign.

Mr. Bradford during the time of his impriſonment wrote ſeveral comfortable treatiſes, and many pious letters, of which, ſome he wrote to the city of London, Cambridge, Welden, to Lancaſhire and Cheſhire, and divers to his other private friends. By which letters, to the intent it may appear how well this good man occupied his time in priſon, what ſpecial zeal he bare to the ſtate of Chriſt's church, what care he had to perform his office, how earneſtly he admoniſhed all men, how tenderly he comforted the heavy-hearted, how faithfully he confirmed them whom he had taught, I thought good here to place the ſame. All the letters that he wrote cannot be here exhibited, being ſo many in number that they alone would make a large volume; however the beſt of them ſhall be here inſerted, and the reader may find the reſt in a book called, The book of letters of the martyrs.

It has been mentioned before [p. 229.] how the earl of Derby complained in the parliament-houſe, of certain

letters written by John Bradford out of priſon, to Lancaſhire; and he was likewiſe charged by the biſhop of Wincheſter, and Mr. Allen, with ſome other letters. Now to the intent that the reader may more perfectly underſtand what ſort of letters theſe were, which he wrote to his mother, brethren and ſiſters, out of the Tower, before his condemnation, we will here produce the copy and contents as followeth.

A comfortable Letter from Mr. Bradford to his Mother, a pious Matron, dwelling in Manchester, and to his Brethren and Siſters, and other Friends there.

OUR dear and ſweet Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe priſoner at this preſent (praiſed be his name) I am, preſerve and keep you, my good mother, with my brothers and ſiſters, my father John Traves, Thomas Sorrocold, Laurence and James Bradſhaw, with their wives and families, &c. now and for ever, Amen.

I am now in priſon, ſecure enough from ſtarting, to confirm what I have preached unto you, as I am ready (I thank God) to ſeal the ſame with my life and blood, if God ſhall vouchſafe to make me worthy of that honour. For, good mother and brethren, it is a moſt ſpecial benefit from God, to ſuffer for his name's ſake and goſpel, as now I do: I heartily thank God for it, and am ſure that with him I ſhall be partaker of his glory, as St. Paul ſaith, "If we ſuffer with him, we ſhall reign with him." Therefore be not faint-hearted, but rather rejoice, at leaſt for my ſake, who am now in the right and high-way to heaven: for by many afflictions we muſt enter into the kingdom of heaven. Now will God make known his children. When the wind doth not blow, a man cannot know the wheat from the chaff; but when the blaſt cometh, then the chaff flieth away, but the wheat remaineth, and is ſo far from being hurt, that by the wind it is more cleanſed from the chaff, and known to be wheat. Gold, when it is caſt in the fire, is the more precious; ſo are God's children by the croſs of affliction. God always beginneth his judgment at his houſe. Chriſt and the apoſtles were in moſt miſery in the land of Jewry, but yet the whole land ſmarted for it after: ſo now the children of God are firſt chaſtiſed in this world, that they ſhould not be damned with the world: for ſurely the great plagues of God hang over this realm.

Ye all know there was never more knowledge of God, and leſs godly living, and true ſerving of God. It was counted a fooliſh thing to ſerve God truly; and earneſt prayer was not minded. Preaching was but a paſtime. The communion was counted too common. Faſting to ſubdue the fleſh was quite out of uſe. Alms was almoſt nothing. Malice, covetouſneſs, and uncleanneſs, was common every where, with ſwearing, drunkenneſs, and idleneſs. God therefore now is come, and you have heard me preach, and becauſe he will not damn us with the world, he beginneth to puniſh us: as me for carnal living. For, as for my doctrine, I am very certain that it is and was God's truth, and by his grace I reſolve to give my life for it: but becauſe I loved not the goſpel as ſincerely as I ought, therefore doth he thus puniſh me; nay, in puniſhing, he rather bleſſeth me. Indeed I thank him more for this priſon, than for any parlour, yea, than for any pleaſure that ever I had; for in it I always find God my ſweeteſt and greateſt good. The fleſh is now puniſhed to admoniſh us heartily to live as we profeſs; and to certify the wicked of their juſt damnation, if they repent not.

Perhaps you are weakened in that which I have preached, becauſe God doth not defend it, as you think, but ſuffereth the popiſh doctrine to come again and prevail: but you muſt know, good mother, that God by this doth prove and try his children and people, whether they will unfeignedly and ſimply ſtand ſtedfaſt to him and his word. He did ſo with the Iſraelites, bringing them into a deſart, after their coming out of Egypt, where (I mean in the wilderneſs) was want of all things, in compariſon of that which they had in Egypt. Chriſt, when he came into this world, brought no worldly wealth, nor quietneſs with him, but rather war: "The world (ſaith he) ſhall rejoice, but ye ſhall mourn and weep, but your weeping ſhall be turned into joy: and therefore happy are they that mourn and weep, for they ſhall be comforted." They are marked then with God's mark in their foreheads, and not with the beaſt's mark, I mean the pope's ſhaven crown, who now with his ſhavelings rejoice: but woe unto them, for they ſhall be caſt down, they ſhall weep and mourn. The rich glutton had here his joy, and Lazarus ſorrow, but afterwards the caſe was changed. The end of carnal joy is ſorrow. Now let the whoremonger joy with the drunkard, ſwearer, covetous, malicious, and blind buzzard Sir John: for the maſs will not bite them, nor make them bluſh as preaching doth. Now they may do what they will, come devils to church, and go devils home again, for no man muſt ſpeak againſt it. They are glad of all this; now they have their heart's deſire, as the Sodomites had when Lot was gone; but what followed? forſooth, when they cried peace, all ſhall be well, then came God's vengeance, fire and brimſtone from heaven, and burnt up every mother's child; even ſo (dear mother) will it be to our papiſts.

Wherefore fear God; ſtick to his word, though all the world ſwerve from it. Die you muſt once, and when and how, you cannot tell. Die therefore with Chriſt, ſuffer for ſerving him truly, according to his word: for we may be ſure, that of all deaths it ought to be our greateſt deſire to die for the cauſe of God. This is the ſafeſt way of dying; we need not doubt but that we ſhall go to heaven, if we die for his name's ſake. And that you ſhall ſo die, the word of God will warrant you, if you ſtick to that which God by me hath taught you. You ſhall ſee that I ſpeak as I think; for by God's grace I will drink before you of this cup, if it be put to me.

I doubt not but God will give me grace and ſtrength to undergo what I purpoſe: pray for me, that I may be immoveable in the fiery trial. I am ready whenever God ſhall be pleaſed to call me. Death nor life, priſon nor pleaſure, I truſt in God, ſhall be able to ſeparate me from my Lord God and his goſpel. In peace, when no perſecution was, then were ye content and glad to hear me, then you believed me, and will you not do ſo now, ſeeing I ſpeak nothing but that which by God's grace I will verify with my life? Good mother, I write to you before God, as before him I have preached.

I have taught the pure word of God: it is the ſame infallible truth whereof he ſaid, "Heaven and earth ſhall paſs, but my word ſhall not paſs." The maſs, and ſuch baggage as the falſe worſhippers of God, and the enemies of Chriſt's croſs (the papiſts) have brought in again, to poiſon the church of God, highly diſpleaſeth him, and is abominable in his ſight. Happy may he be who for conſcience-ſake will ſuffer the loſs of life or goods, in contending againſt it. Come not near it. If God be God, follow him: if the maſs be God, let who will ſee it, hear, or be preſent at it, go to the devil with it. What is there which God ordained? His ſupper was ordained to be received by us as a memorial of his death, for the confirmation of our faith, that his body was broken for us, and his blood ſhed for the pardon of our ſins; but in the maſs there is no receiving, but the prieſt alone keepeth all to himſelf. Chriſt ſaith, Take, eat: No, ſaith the prieſt, Gape, peep. Here (in the maſs) is a ſacrificing, yea, crucifying Chriſt again as much as they can. Here is idolatry in worſhipping the outward ſign of bread and wine; here is all in Latin, you cannot tell what is ſaid. In ſhort, here is nothing as God ordained. Wherefore (my good mother) come not near it.

I preſume ſome will ſay, that it will be worſe for you, if you refuſe to go to maſs, and do as others do. But

be assured, that God will assist and protect you, as you shall one day find: he hath promised to them who suffer for his cause, his great blessing in this world, and in the world to come life everlasting.

You shall be counted an heretic: but they are the heretics that so call you, whose praise is a scandal.

You are not able to reason against the priests, but God will, that they shall not be able to withstand you. I doubt not but father Traves, and others of my brothers and sisters, will comfort and assist you by their counsel and pious examples: but if they do not, I your son in God, by his grace, will so do, and go before you: pray that I may be constant: rejoice in my sufferings, for it is for your sakes, that thereby I may confirm the truth I have taught. Beware that this letter come not abroad, but only into father Traves his hands: for if it should be known that I have pen and ink in prison, it would be much worse for me. Therefore keep it to yourselves, and commend me to God's mercy through Jesus Christ, and pray that he would make me worthy to give my life for the sake of his church and gospel. From the Tower of London, October 26. 1553.

My name I write not, you know the reason well enough: like the letter never the worse. Commend me to all our good brethren and sisters in the Lord. Howsoever you do, be obedient to the higher powers, that is, in no point either in hand or tongue rebel, but rather if they command that which with good conscience you cannot obey, lay your head on the block, and suffer whatsoever they shall do or say. By patience possess your souls.

After the time that Mr. Bradford was condemned, and sent to the Compter, his adversaries purposed (as ye heard before) to send him to Manchester to be burned. Whereupon he writeth to the city of London, thinking to take his last farewel of them in this letter.

To the City of London.

TO all that profess the gospel and true doctrine of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in the city of London, John Bradford a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now not only in prison, but also excommunicated and condemned to be burned for the same true doctrine, wisheth mercy, grace and peace, with increase of all godly knowledge and piety from God the Father of mercy, through the merits of our alone and all-sufficient Redeemer Jesus Christ, by the operation of the Holy Spirit for ever, Amen.

My dearly beloved brethren in our Saviour Christ, although the time I have to live is very little (for I hourly look when I shall be had hence to be conveyed into Lancashire there to be burned, and to render my life, by the providence of God, where I received it), and although there is great charge given to keep me from all things whereby I might signify any thing to the world of my estate: yet having, as I now have, pen and ink, through God's working, in spite of Satan and his soldiers, I thought good to write a short confession of my faith, and join thereto a little exhortation to you all to live according to your profession.

First, For my faith, I do confess and pray all the whole congregation of Christ to bear witness with me of the same, that I believe constantly, through the gift and goodness of God (for faith is God's only gift), all the twelve articles of the symbol and creed, commonly attributed to the collection of the apostles. This my faith I would gladly particularly declare and expound to the confirmation and comfort of the simple; but alas! by starts and stealth I write in manner that I write, and therefore I shall desire you all to take this brevity in good part. And this faith I hold, not because of the creed itself, but because of the word of God, which teacheth and confirmeth every article accordingly. This word of God written by the prophets and apostles, left and contained in the canonical books of the whole Bible, I do believe to contain plentifully all things necessary to salvation, so that nothing (as necessary to salvation) ought to be added thereto, and therefore the church of Christ, nor none of his congregation, ought to be burdened with any other doctrine, than what hath its foundation and ground from thence. In testimony of this faith, I render and give my life, being condemned as well for not acknowledging the Antichrist of Rome to be Christ's vicar general and supreme head of his catholic and universal church here or elsewhere upon earth; as for denying the horrible and idolatrous doctrine of transubstantiation, and Christ's real, corporal, and carnal presence in his supper, under the forms and accidents of bread and wine.

To believe Christ our Saviour to be the head of his church, and kings in their realms to be the supreme powers, to whom every soul oweth obedience, and to believe that in the supper of Christ (which the sacrament of the altar, as the papists call it and use it, doth utterly overthrow) is a true and very presence of whole Christ, God and Man, to the faith of the receiver, but not to the stander by, and looker upon, as it is a true and very presence of bread and wine to the senses of men: to believe this, I say, will not serve, and therefore as an heretic I am condemned, and shall be burned; whereof I heartily ask God mercy that I do no more rejoice than I do, having so great cause, as to be an instrument wherein it may please my dear Lord God and Saviour to suffer.

For albeit my manifold sins, even since I came into prison, have deserved at the hands of God, not only this temporal, but also eternal fire in hell, much more than my former sinful life, which the Lord pardon for Christ's sake, as I know he of his mercy hath done, and will never lay mine iniquities to my charge to condemnation, so great is his goodness (praised therefore be his holy name), although, I say, my late manifold and grievous sins have most justly deserved all the tyranny that man or devil can do unto me; and therefore I confess that the Lord is just, his judgments be true, and I have deserved them: yet the bishops and prelates, instead of persecuting them in me, do persecute Christ himself, his word, his truth, and his religion. And therefore I have great cause to rejoice that ever I was born, and hitherto preserved by the Lord; that by my death, which I deserve for my sins, it pleaseth him to glorify his name, to testify and confirm his truth, and to repugn his adversaries. O good God and merciful Father, forgive my great unthankfulness, especially herein.

And you, my dearly beloved, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, I humbly and heartily in his bowels and blood do now, for my last farewel in this present life, beseech you and every one of you, that you will consider this work of the Lord accordingly. By me be admonished to beware of hypocrisy and carnal security; profess not the gospel with tongue and lips only, but in heart and in truth; frame your lives accordingly; beware God's name be not evil spoken of, and the gospel less regarded by your conversation. God forgive me that I have not so heartily professed it as I should have done, but have sought myself, and too much consulted my own ease therein. The gospel is a new doctrine to the old man; it is new wine, and therefore cannot be put into old bottles, without greater harm than good to those bottles, If we will talk with the Lord, we must put off our shoes and carnal affections; if we will hear the voice of the Lord, we must wash our garments and be holy; if we will be Christ's disciples, we must deny ourselves, take up our cross, and follow him; we cannot serve two masters. If we seek Christ's kingdom, we must seek the righteousness thereof. To this petition, Thy kingdom come, we must join, Thy will be done, done on earth as it is in heaven. If we will not be doers of the word, but hearers only, we miserably deceive ourselves. If we hear the gospel,

pel, and love it not, we declare ourſelves to be but fools, and builders upon the ſand. Deceitfulneſs the Lord abhorreth; if we come to him, we muſt beware that we come not with a double heart; for then God will anſwer us according to our own folly; and we ſhall deceive ourſelves and others.

To faith ſee that we join a good conſcience, leſt we make a ſhip-wreck. To the Lord we muſt come with fear and reverence. If we will be goſpellers, we muſt be Chriſt's; if we be Chriſt's, we muſt crucify our fleſh with the luſts and concupiſcences thereof; if we will be under grace, ſin muſt not bear rule in us. We may not come to the Lord, and draw nigh to him with our lips, and leave our hearts elſewhere, leſt the Lord's wrath wax hot, and he take from us the good remaining. In no caſe can the kingdom of Chriſt approach to them that repent not. Therefore, my dearly beloved, let us repent, and be heartily ſorry that we have ſo carnally, ſo hypocritically, ſo covetouſly, ſo vain-glorioufly profeſſed the goſpel. For all theſe I confeſs myſelf to the glory of God, that he may cover mine offences in the day of judgment. Let the anger of God, moſt juſtly fallen upon us, be applied to every one of our deſerts, that from the bottom of our hearts we may ſay, It is I, Lord, that have ſinned againſt thee: it is my hypocriſy, my vain-glory, my covetouſneſs, uncleanneſs, carnality, ſecurity, idleneſs, unthankfulneſs, ſelf-love, and ſuch like, which have deſerved the taking away of our good king, of thy word and true religion, of thy good miniſters by exile, impriſonment and death; it is my wickedneſs that cauſeth ſucceſs and increaſe of authority and peace to thine enemies. Oh be merciful, be merciful unto us. Turn to us again, O Lord of hoſts, and turn us unto thee; correct us, but not in thy fury, leſt we be conſumed in thine anger: chaſtiſe us not in thy wrathful diſpleaſure; reprove us not, but in the midſt of thine anger remember thy mercy. For if thou mark what is done amiſs, who ſhall be able to abide it? But with thee is mercifulneſs, that thou mighteſt be worſhipped. Oh then be merciful unto us, that we might truly worſhip thee. Help us, for the glory of thy name: be merciful unto our ſins, for they are great: O heal us, and help us for thine honour. Let not the wicked people ſay, Where is their God, &c.

On this ſort, my right dearly beloved, let us heartily bewail our ſins, repent us of our former evil life, heartily and earneſtly purpoſe to amend our lives in all things, continually watch in prayer, diligently and reverently attend, hear, and read the holy ſcriptures, labour after our vocation to amend our brethren. Let us reprove the works of darkneſs. Let us fly from all idolatry. Let us abhor the antichriſtian and Romiſh rotten ſervice, deteſt the Popiſh maſs, renounce their Romiſh god, prepare ourſelves to the croſs, be obedient to all that are in authority, in all things that be not againſt God and his word; for then anſwer with the apoſtles, "It is more meet to obey God than man." Howbeit never for any thing reſiſt, or riſe againſt the magiſtrates. Avenge not yourſelves, but commit your cauſe to the Lord, to whom vengeance belongeth, and he in his time will reward it. If you feel in yourſelves an hope and truſt in God, that he will never tempt you above that he will make you able to bear, be aſſured the Lord will be true to you, and you ſhall be able to bear all brunts. But if you want this hope, fly and get you hence, rather than by your tarrying God's name ſhould be diſhonoured.

In ſum, caſt your care on the Lord, knowing for moſt certain, that he is careful for you: with him all the hairs of your head are numbered, ſo that not one of them ſhall periſh without his good pleaſure: much more then nothing ſhall happen to our bodies, which ſhall not be profitable, howſoever for a time it ſeem otherwiſe to your ſenſes. Depend on the providence of God, not only when you have means to help you, but alſo when you have no means, yea, when all means be againſt you. Give him this honour, which of all other things he moſt chiefly requireth at your hands: namely, believe that you are his children through Chriſt, that he is your Father and God through him, that he loveth you, pardoneth you all your offences, that he is with you in trouble, and will be with you for ever. When you fall, he will put under his hand, you ſhall not lie ſtill: before you call upon him, he heareth you, out of the evil he will finally deliver you, and bring you to his eternal joy. Doubt not herein, my dearly beloved, doubt not (I ſay) this God your Father will do for you, not in reſpect of yourſelves, but in reſpect of Chriſt your captain, your paſtor, your keeper, out of whoſe hands none ſhall be able to catch you, in him be quiet, and often conſider your dignity: namely, how that ye be God's children, the ſaints of God, citizens of heaven, temples of the Holy Ghoſt, the thrones of God, members of Chriſt, and lords over all.

Therefore be aſhamed to think, ſpeak, or do any thing that ſhould be unſeemly for God's children, God's ſaints, Chriſt's members, &c. Marvel not though the devil and the world hate you, though ye be perſecuted here, for the ſervant is not above his maſter. Covet not earthly riches, fear not the power of man, love not this world, nor things that be in this world; but long for the Lord Jeſus his coming, at which time your bodies ſhall be made like unto his glorious body; when he appeareth you ſhall be like unto him, when your life ſhall thus be revealed, then ſhall ye appear with him in glory.

In the mean time live in hope thereof. Let the life you lead be in the faith of the Son of God. "For the juſt do live by faith:" which faith flieth from all evil, and followeth the word of God as a lanthorn to her feet, and a light to her ſteps; her eyes be above where Chriſt is, ſhe beholdeth not the things preſent, but rather things to come; ſhe glorieth in affliction; ſhe knoweth that the afflictions of this life are not like to be compared to the glory which God will reveal to us and in us. Of this glory God grant us here a lively taſte, then ſhall we run after the ſcent it ſendeth forth. It will make us valiant men to take to us the kingdom of God; whither the Lord of mercy bring us in his good time through Chriſt our Lord, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, three Perſons and one God, be all honour and glory, world without end, Amen.

My dearly beloved, I would gladly have given here my body to have been burned for the confirmation of the true doctrine I have taught here unto you. But that my country muſt have. Therefore I pray you take in good part this ſignification of my good will towards all of you. Impute the want herein to time and trouble. Pardon me mine offenſive and negligent behaviour when I was amongſt you. With me repent, and labour to amend. Continue in the truth which I have truly taught unto you, by preaching in all places where I have come; God's name therefore be praiſed. Confeſs Chriſt when you be called, whatſoever cometh thereof, and the God of peace be with us all, Amen. February 11. 1555.

Your brother in bonds for the Lord's ſake,

John Bradford.

To the Univerſity of Cambridge.

TO all that love the Lord Jeſus and his true doctrine, being in the univerſity and town of Cambridge, John Bradford a moſt unworthy ſervant of the Lord, now not only impriſoned, but alſo condemned for the ſame true doctrine, wiſheth grace, peace, and mercy, with increaſe of all godlineſs from God the father of all mercy, through the bloody paſſion of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, by the lively working of the Holy Spirit for ever, Amen.

Although I look hourly when I ſhould be had to the ſtake (my right dearly beloved in the Lord), and although the charge over me is great and ſtrict, yet having by the providence

providence of God ſecretly pen and ink, I could not but ſignify unto you my ſolicitude which I have for all of you in the Lord, though not as I would, yet as I may. You have often and openly heard the truth (eſpecially in this matter wherein I am condemned) diſputed and preached, that it is needleſs to do any more but only to put you in remembrance of the ſame: but hitherto you have not heard it confirmed, and as it were ſealed up, as now you do and ſhall hear by me, that is, by my death and burning. For albeit I have deſerved (through my uncleanneſs, hypocriſy, avarice, vain-glory, idleneſs, unthankfulneſs and carnality, whereof I accuſe myſelf, to my confuſion before the world, that before God through Chriſt I might, as my aſſured hope is I ſhall, find mercy) eternal death and hell-fire, much more than this affliction and fire prepared for me: yet, my dearly beloved, it is not theſe, or any of theſe things, for which the prelates do perſecute me, but God's verity and truth; yea, even Chriſt himſelf is the only cauſe for which I am now condemned, and ſhall be burned as an heretic, becauſe I will not grant the Antichriſt of Rome to be Chriſt's vicar general and ſupreme head of his church here, and every where upon earth, by God's ordinance, and becauſe I will not grant ſuch corporal, real, and carnal preſence of Chriſt's body and blood in the ſacrament, as doth tranſubſtantiate the ſubſtance of bread and wine, and is received by the wicked, yea by dogs and mice. Alſo I am excommunicated and accounted as a dead member of Chriſt's church, as a rotten branch, and therefore ſhall be caſt into the fire.

Therefore ye ought heartily to rejoice with me, and to give thanks for me, that God the eternal Father hath vouchſafed our mother to bring up any child in whom it would pleaſe him to magnify his holy name as he doth, and I hope for his mercy and truth's ſake, will do in me and by me. Oh, what ſuch benefit upon earth can it be, as that I who deſerved death by reaſon of my ſins, ſhould be delivered to a demonſtration, a teſtification and confirmation of God's verity and truth! Thou my mother the univerſity haſt not only had the truth of God's word plainly manifeſted unto thee by reading, diſputing, and preaching publicly and privately; but now to make thee altogether excuſeleſs, and, as it were, almoſt to ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, if thou put to thy helping hand with the Romiſh rout to ſuppreſs the verity, thou haſt my life and blood as a ſeal to confirm thee, if thou wilt be confirmed, or elſe to confound thee, and bear witneſs againſt thee, if thou wilt take part with the prelates and clergy, which now fill up the meaſure of their fathers which ſlew the prophets and apoſtles, that all the righteous blood from Abel to Bradford, ſhed upon earth, may be required at their hands.

Of this therefore I thought good before my death, as time and liberty would ſuffer me (for the love and duty I bear unto thee), to admoniſh thee, good mother, and my ſiſter the town, that you would call to mind from whence you are fallen, and ſtudy to do the firſt works. You know (if you will) theſe matters of the Romiſh ſupremacy, and the antichriſtian tranſubſtantiation, whereby Chriſt's ſupper is overthrown, his prieſthood evacuated, his ſacrifice fruſtrated, the miniſtry of his word unplaced, repentance repelled, faith fainted, piety extinguiſhed, the maſs maintained, idolatry ſupported, and all impiety cheriſhed: you know, I ſay (if you will), that theſe opinions are not only beſides God's word, but even directly againſt it; and therefore to take part with them, is to take part againſt God, againſt whom you cannot prevail.

Therefore for the tender mercy of Chriſt, in his bowels and blood, I beſeech you to take Chriſt's eye-ſalve to anoint your eyes, that you may ſee what you do, and have done, in admitting (as I hear you have admitted, yea, alas, authorized, and by conſent confirmed) the Romiſh rotten rags, which once you utterly expelled. O be not Canis reverſus ad vomitum. Be not Sus lota reverſa ad volutabrum cœni. Beware leſt Satan enter in with ſeven other ſpirits, and then the laſt ſhall be worſe than the firſt. It had been better ye had never known the truth, than after knowledge to run from it. Ah, woe to this world and the things therein, which hath now ſo wrought with you. Oh that ever this dirt of the devil ſhould daub up the eye of the realm. For thou, O mother, art as the eye of the realm. If thou be light and ſhine, all the body ſhall fare the better: but if thou the light be darkneſs, alas, how great will the darkneſs be! What is man whoſe breath is in his noſtrils, that thou ſhould'ſt thus be afraid of him?

Oh what is honour and life here? Bubbles. What is glory in this world, but ſhame? Why art thou afraid to carry Chriſt's croſs? Wilt thou come into his kingdom, and not drink of his cup? Doſt thou not know Rome to be Babylon? Doſt thou not know, that as the old Babylon had the children of Judah in captivity, ſo hath this Rome the true Judah, that is, the confeſſors of Chriſt? Doſt thou not know, that as deſtruction happened unto it, ſo ſhall it do unto this? And thinkeſt thou that God will not deliver his people now when the time is come, as he did then? Hath not God commanded his people to come out from her? And wilt thou give example to the whole realm to run unto her? Haſt thou forgotten the woe that Chriſt threateneth to offence-givers? Wilt thou not remember, that it were better that a mill-ſtone were hanged about thy neck, and thou thrown into the ſea, than that thou ſhouldeſt offend the little ones?

And alas, how haſt thou offended! Yea, and how doſt thou ſtill offend? Wilt thou conſider things according the outward ſhew? Was not the ſynagogue more ſeemly and like to be the true church, than the ſimple flock of Chriſt's diſciples? Hath not the whore of Babylon more coſtly array, and rich apparel, externally to ſet forth herſelf, than the homely houſewife of Chriſt? Where is the beauty of the king's daughter the church of Chriſt? Without or within? Doth not David ſay, within? O remember that as they are happy which are not offended at Chriſt, ſo are they happy which are not offended at his poor church. Can the pope and his prelates mean honeſtly, which make ſo much of the wife, and ſo little of the huſband? The church they magnify, but Chriſt they contemn. If this church were an honeſt woman (that is, Chriſt's wife), except they would make much of her huſband, Chriſt and his word, ſhe would not be made much of by them.

When Chriſt and his apoſtles were upon earth, who was moſt like to be the true church, they or the prelates, biſhops, and ſynagogue? If we ought to have followed cuſtom, unity, antiquity, or the greater part, ſhould not Chriſt and his company have been caſt out of doors? therefore Chriſt ſaith, Search the ſcriptures. Good mother, ſhall the ſervant be above his maſter? Shall we look for better entertainment at the hands of the world, than Chriſt and his dear diſciples found? In Noah's time, who was taken for the church, poor Noah and his family, or all the others that were deſtroyed by the flood? Who was taken for God's church in Sodom, righteous Lot, or the others? And doth not Chriſt ſay, "As it was then, ſo ſhall it go now towards the coming of the Son of man?" What meaneth Chriſt when he ſaith, Iniquity ſhall have the upper hand? Doth not he likewiſe ſay, that Charity ſhall wax cold? And we plainly ſee the greateſt ſcarcity of it in thoſe, who would now be taken for Chriſt's true catholic church. All that fear God in this realm can tell more of this than I can write.

Therefore, dear mother, receive ſome admonition of one of thy poor children, now going to be burnt to aſhes for the teſtimony of Jeſus. Come again to God's truth; come out of Babylon; confeſs Chriſt and his true doctrine; repent of what is paſt; make amends by declaring thy repentance by the fruits. Remember the reading and preaching of God's prophet the true preacher, Martin Bucer. Call to mind the threatenings of God

againſt impenitent ſinners. Let the exile of Leaver, Pilkington, Grindal, Haddon, Horn, Scory, Ponet, &c. awake and ſtrengthen thee. Let the impriſonment of thy dear ſons, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer move thee. Conſider the martyrdom of thy intimate friends, Rogers, Saunders, and Taylor. And now caſt not away the poor admonition of me that am now going to be burnt, and to receive the like crown of glory with my fellows. Take to heart God's calling by us. Be not as Pharaoh was, that it may not happen unto thee as it did unto him. What is that? hardneſs of heart. And what then? deſtruction eternally both of body and ſoul. Ah therefore, good mother, awake, awake, repent, repent, and make haſte to turn to the Lord. For otherwiſe it ſhall be more eaſy for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment than for thee. O harden not your hearts; O ſtop not your ears to-day in hearing God's voice, though it be by a moſt unworthy meſſenger. O fear the Lord, for his anger is begun to kindle. Even now the ax is laid to the root of the tree.

You know I propheſy'd truly before the Sweat came, what would come, if you repented not your carnal preaching. And now I tell you before I depart hence, that the ears of men will tingle to hear the vengeance of God that will fall upon you all, both town and univerſity, if you repent not, if you leave not your idolatry, if you turn not ſpeedily to the Lord, if you ſtill be aſhamed of Chriſt's truth which you know.

O Perne, repent; O Thompſon, repent; O doctors, bachelors, and maſters, repent; O mayor, aldermen, and town-dwellers, repent, repent, repent, that you may eſcape the approaching vengeance of the Lord. Rent your hearts, and make haſte to come unto the Lord. Let us all ſay, We have ſinned, we have done wickedly, we have not hearkened to thy voice, O Lord. Deal not with us after our deſerts, but be merciful to our iniquities, for they are great. O pardon our offences. In thine anger remember thy mercy. Turn us unto thee, O Lord God of hoſts, for the glory of thy name's ſake. Spare us, and be merciful unto us. Let not the wicked people ſay, Where is now their God? O for thine own ſake, for thy name's ſake, deal mercifully with us. Turn thyſelf unto us, and us unto thee, and we ſhall praiſe thy name for ever.

If in this ſort, my dearly beloved, in heart and mouth we come unto our Father, and proſtrate ourſelves before the throne of his grace, then ſurely we ſhall find mercy. Then ſhall the Lord look merrily upon us, for his mercy ſake in Chriſt: then ſhall we hear him ſpeak peace unto his people. For he is gracious and merciful, of great pity and compaſſion: he cannot be chiding for ever: his anger cannot laſt long to the penitent. Though we weep in the morning, yet at night we ſhall have our ſorrow to ceaſe. For he is merciful, and hath no pleaſure in the death of a ſinner: he would rather have him turn from his wickedneſs and live.

Oh turn ye now and repent yet once again, I humbly beſeech you, and then the kingdom of heaven ſhall draw nigh. The eye hath not ſeen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man is able to conceive the joys prepared for us if we repent, amend our lives, and heartily turn to the Lord. But if ye repent not, but be as ye were, and go forwards with the wicked, following the faſhion of the world, the Lord will lead you on with wicked doers, you ſhall periſh in your wickedneſs, your blood will be upon your own heads, your parts ſhall be with hypocrites, where ſhall be weeping and gnaſhing of teeth; ye ſhall be caſt from the face of the Lord, for ever and ever: eternal ſhame, ſorrow, woe, and miſery, ſhall be both in body and ſoul to you world without end. Oh therefore, right dear to me in the Lord, turn you, turn you, repent you, repent you, amend, amend your lives, depart from evil, do good, follow peace and purſue it. Come out from Babylon, caſt off the works of darkneſs, put on Chriſt, confeſs his truth, be not aſhamed of his goſpel, prepare yourſelves for the croſs, drink of God's cup before it come to the dregs, and then ſhall I with you and for you, rejoice in the day of judgment, which is at hand; and therefore prepare yourſelves thereto, I heartily beſeech you. And thus I take my farewel for ever, with you in this preſent life, mine own dear hearts in the Lord. The Lord of mercy be with us all, and give us a joyful and ſure meeting in his kingdom, Amen, Amen.

Out of priſon, February 11. 1555.

Your own in the Lord for ever,

John Bradford.

To Lancaſhire and Cheſhire.

TO all thoſe that profeſs the name and true religion of our Saviour Chriſt in Lancaſhire and Cheſhire, and eſpecially abiding in Mancheſter and thereabouts, John Bradford, a moſt unworthy ſervant of the Lord, now not only in bonds, but alſo condemned for the ſame true religion, wiſheth mercy and grace, peace and increaſe of all godlineſs from God the Father of all pity, through the deſerts of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by the working of the moſt mighty and lively Spirit the Comforter for ever, Amen.

I heard it credibly reported, my dearly beloved in the Lord, that my heavenly Father hath thought it good to provide, that as I have preached his true doctrine and goſpel amongſt you by word, ſo I ſhall teſtify and confirm the ſame by deed, that is, I ſhall leave my life with you, which by his providence I firſt received there (for in Mancheſter I was born) for a ſeal to the doctrine I have taught with you and amongſt you; ſo that if from henceforth you waver in the ſame, you have no excuſe at all. I know the enemies of Chriſt which exerciſe this cruelty upon me (I ſpeak in reſpect of mine offence which is none to themward) think by killing of me amongſt you, to hinder you and others, leſt they ſhould attempt to teach Chriſt truly, or believe his doctrine hereafter. But I doubt not but my heavenly Father will by my death more confirm you in his truth. And therefore I greatly rejoice to ſee ſatan and his ſoldiers ſupplanted in their own wiſdom, which is plain fooliſhneſs amongſt the wiſe indeed, that is, amongſt ſuch as have heard God's word, and do follow it: for they only are counted wiſe of the wiſdom of God our Saviour.

Indeed if I ſhould ſimply conſider my life with that which it ought to have been, and as God in his law requireth, then could I not but cry as I do, Righteous art thou, O Lord, and all thy judgments are true. For I have much grieved thee, and tranſgreſſed thy holy precepts, not only before my profeſſing the goſpel, but ſince alſo: yea, ſince my coming into priſon I do not excuſe myſelf before God and all his church, that I have grievouſly offended my Lord God, I have not loved his goſpel as I ſhould have done, I have ſought myſelf, and not his glory only and my brethren's good, I have been too unthankful, ſecure, carnal, hypocritical, vain-glorious, &c. All which my evils, the Lord of mercy pardon me for his Chriſt's ſake, as I hope and certainly believe he hath done for his great mercy in Chriſt our Redeemer.

But when I conſider the cauſe of my condemnation, I cannot but lament, that I do no more rejoice than I do: for it is God's verity and truth. So that the condemnation is not a condemnation of Bradford ſimply, but rather a condemnation of Chriſt and his truth. Bradford is nothing elſe but an inſtrument in whom Chriſt and his doctrine is condemned. And therefore, my dearly beloved, rejoice and give thanks with me and for me, that ever God did vouchſafe ſo great a benefit to our country, as to chooſe the moſt unworthy (I mean myſelf) to be one, in whom it would pleaſe him to ſuffer any kind of affliction: much more this violent kind of death, which I perceive is prepared for me with you for his ſake. All glory and praiſe be given unto God

our Father, for his great and exceeding mercy towards me through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

But perchance you will say unto me, What is the cause for which you are condemned? We hear say, that ye deny all presence of Christ in his holy supper, and so make it a bare sign and common bread, and nothing else. My dearly beloved, what is said, and what will be said of me I cannot tell. It is told me, that Dr. Pendleton is gone down to preach with you, not as he once recanted (for you all know he hath preached contrary to that he was wont to preach before I came amongst you), but to recant that which he hath recanted. How he will speak of me, and report before I come, when I am come, and when I am burned, I mind not: for he that is so uncertain, and will speak so often against himself, I cannot think he will speak well of me, except it make for his purpose and profit: but of this enough.

Indeed the chief thing which I am condemned for, as an heretic, is, because I deny in the sacrament of the altar (which is not Christ's supper, but a plain perverting of it, being used as the Papists now use it) to be a real, natural, and corporal presence of Christ's body and blood, under the forms and accidents of bread and wine, that is, because I deny transubstantiation, which is the darling of the devil, and daughter and heir to Antichrist's religion, whereby the mass is maintained, Christ's supper perverted, his sacrifice and cross imperfected, his priesthood destroyed, the ministry taken away, repentance repelled, and all true godliness abandoned. In the supper of our Lord, or sacrament of Christ's body and blood, I confess and believe that there is a true and very presence of the whole Christ, God and man, to the faith of the receiver (but not of the stander by or looker on), as there is a very true presence of bread and wine to the senses of him that is partaker thereof. This faith, this doctrine, which consenteth with the word of God, and with the true testimony of Christ's church (which the popish church doth persecute), will I not forsake, and therefore I am condemned as an heretic, and as such I shall be burned. But, my dearly beloved, this truth (for which I lay down my life) I hope in God shall never be burnt, bound, nor overcome; but shall gloriously triumph, have victory, and be at liberty, in spite of the teeth of God's adversaries. For there is no counsel against the Lord, nor can any device of man be able to defeat the truth in any other than such as be children of unbelief, who have no love to the truth, and therefore are given up to believe lyes. From which plague the Lord of mercy deliver you, my dear hearts in the Lord, and all the realm, I humbly beseech his mercy, Amen.

And that you may be delivered from this plague, I shall for my farewel with you for ever in this present life, heartily desire you all in the bowels and blood of our most merciful Saviour Jesus Christ, to attend unto these things which I am now going to write unto you out of the holy scriptures.

You know the heavy plagues of God are fallen upon us, in taking away our king, and true religion, God's true prophets and ministers, &c. and setting over us such as seek not the Lord after knowledge: whose endeavours God prospereth wonderfully to the trial of many, that his people may both better know themselves, and be known. Now the cause hereof is our iniquities and grievous sins. We knew not the time of our visitation; we were unthankful to God; we contemned and carnally abused the gospel, to serve our hypocrisy, vain-glory, viciousness, avarice, idleness, security, &c. Long did the Lord linger, and tarry to have shewed mercy unto us, but we were ever the less deserving. Therefore God dealeth with us most justly, and even now he tempereth his justice with great mercy, by which we are preserved from utter destruction. If the Lord should deal with us according to our deserts, alas, who could bear it? Seeing in his anger he remembereth mercy, undeserved (nay, even undesired by us), let us take occasion the more readily to meet him (not with force of arms, for we are not able to withstand him, much less to prevail against him); and beseech him to be merciful unto us, and according to his wonted mercy to deal with us.

Let us arise with David, and say, "Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord, for in thy sight no man living shall be justified." Let us send ambassadors with the centurion, and say, "Lord, we are not worthy to come ourselves unto thee; speak the word, and we shall have peace." Let us patiently with the publican look down on the earth, knock our hard hearts to burst them, and cry out, "O God, be merciful unto us wretched sinners." Let us with the lost son return, and say, "O Father, we have sinned against heaven and earth, and before thee, we are unworthy to be called thy children." Let us, I say, heartily repent of our former evil life, and turn to God with our whole hearts, hoping in his great mercy through Christ, and heartily calling upon his holy name, and then undoubtedly we shall find and feel otherwise than yet we have felt, both inwardly and outwardly. Inwardly we shall feel peace of conscience between God and us, which peace passeth all understanding; and we shall find that the outward troubles and miseries of this life will be much mitigated, if not quite taken away.

Therefore my dearly beloved in the Lord, I your poorest brother now departing to the Lord, for my eternal farewel in this present life, pray you, beseech you, and even from the very bottom of my heart, by all the mercies of God shewed to you in Christ, most earnestly beg and entreat you out of prison (as I have often done out of your pulpits) that you will repent, and leave your wicked lives, be sorry for your offences, and turn to the Lord, whose arms are wide open to receive and embrace you. For he is the Lord of mercy, and God of all comfort, he desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should repent, and amend. He hath no pleasure in the destruction of men; his long-suffering should draw you to repentance before the time of vengeance, and the day of wrath, which is at hand, doth come.

Now is the ax laid to the root of the tree, utterly to destroy the impenitent. Now is the fire gone out before the face of the Lord, and who is able to quench it? O therefore repent, repent. It is enough to have lived as we have done. It is enough to have played the wanton gospellers, the proud protestants, hypocritical and false christians, as, alas, we have done. Now the Lord speaketh to us in mercy and grace; O turn, before he speaketh in wrath. Yet is there mercy with the Lord, and plenteous redemption: yet he hath not forgotten to shew mercy to those that call upon him. O then call upon him while he may be found. For he is rich in mercy, and plentiful to all them that call upon him. So that he that calleth upon the name of the Lord, shall be saved. If your sins be as red as scarlet, the Lord saith, he will make them as white as snow. He hath sworn, and never will repent him thereof, that he will never remember our iniquities: but as he is good, faithful and true, so will he be our God, and we shall be his people: his law will he write in our hearts, and graft in our minds, and never will he have in mind our unrighteousness.

Therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, turn you, turn you to the Lord your Father, to the Lord your Saviour, to the Lord your Comforter. Oh why do you stop your ears, and harden your hearts to-day, when you hear his voice by me your poorest brother? O forget not how that the Lord hath shewed himself true, and me his true preacher, by bringing to pass these plagues which at my mouth you often heard before they came to pass, especially when I treated of Noah's flood, and when I preached on the twenty-second chapter of St. Matthew's gospel, on St. Stephen's day, the last time that I was with you. And now by me the Lord sendeth you word, dear countrymen, that if you will go forward in your impenitence, carnality, hypocrisy, idolatry, covetousness, swearing,

ſwearing, gluttony, drunkenneſs, whoredom, &c. (wherewith, alas, alas, our country floweth:) if, I ſay, you will not turn and leave off, ſeeing me now burned, amongſt you, to aſſure you on all ſides, how God ſeeketh you, and is ſorry to do you hurt, to plague you, to deſtroy you, to take vengeance upon you. O your blood will be upon your own heads: you have been warned, and warned again, by me in preaching, by me in burning.

As I ſaid therefore, I ſay again, my dear hearts in the Lord, turn you, turn you, repent you, ceaſe from doing evil, ſtudy to do well, away with idolatry, fly the Romiſh god and ſervice, leave off from ſwearing, cut off carnality, abandon avarice, drive away drunkenneſs, fly from fornication and flattery, murder and malice, deſtroy deceitfulneſs, and caſt away all the works of darkneſs. Put on mercy and piety, ſerve God after his word, and not after cuſtom, uſe your tongues to glorify God by prayer, thankſgiving, and confeſſion of his truth, &c. be ſpiritual, and by the Spirit mortify carnal affections; be ſober, holy, true, loving, gentle, merciful, then the Lord's wrath will ceaſe, not for this our doings ſake, but for his mercy's ſake. Go to therefore, good countrymen, take this counſel of the Lord, by me now ſent unto you, as the Lord's counſel, and not as mine, that in the day of judgment I may rejoice with you and for you; which thing I heartily deſire, and not to be a witneſs againſt you. My blood will cry for vengeance, as againſt the Papiſts, God's enemies (whom I beſeech God, if it be his will, heartily to forgive, yea, even them which put me to death and are the cauſers thereof, for they know not what they do), ſo will my blood cry for vengeance againſt you (my dearly beloved in the Lord) if ye repent not, amend not, and turn unto the Lord.

Turn unto the Lord yet once more, I heartily beſeech thee, thou Mancheſter, thou Aſhton-under-line, thou Bolton, Bury, Wigan, Liverpool, Winſley, Eccles, Middleton, and thou city of Weſtcheſter, &c. where I have truly taught and preached the word of God. Turn, I ſay unto you all, and to all the inhabitants thereabouts, unto the Lord our God, and he will turn unto you; he will ſay unto his angel, It is enough, put up the ſword. Which that he may do, I humbly beſeech his goodneſs, for the precious blood ſake of his dear Son our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. Ah good brethren, take in good part theſe my laſt words unto every one of you. Pardon me mine offences and negligences in behaviour amongſt you. The Lord of mercy pardon us all our offences for our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt his ſake, Amen. Out of priſon, ready to come to you, the eleventh of February 1555.

To the Town of Walden.

TO the faithful, and ſuch as profeſs the true doctrine of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, dwelling at Walden and thereabouts, John Bradford, a moſt unworthy ſervant of the Lord, now in bonds and condemned for the ſame true doctrine, wiſheth grace, mercy and peace, with the increaſe of all godlineſs in knowledge and living, from God the Father of all comfort, through the merits of our only Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt, by the mighty working of the moſt Holy Spirit the Comforter for ever, Amen.

When I remember, how that by the providence and grace of God I have been a man by whom it hath pleaſed him, through my miniſtry, to call you to repentance and amendment of life, ſomething effectually, as it ſeemed, and to ſow amongſt you his true doctrine and religion, leſt that by my affliction, and ſtorms now ariſen to try the faithful, and to conform them to the image of the Son of God, into whoſe company we are called, you might be faint-hearted; I could not but out of priſon ſecretly (for my keepers may not know that I have pen and ink) write unto you a ſignification of the deſire I have, that you ſhould be more confirmed in the doctrine I have taught you, which I am aſſured is the plain and infallible truth of God, and alſo that you be warned to govern your lives and converſation agreeable thereto. Dearly beloved in the Lord, had I taught you fables, tales, or lyes, inſtead of this truth, I ſhould not ſo willingly ſeal it with my blood.

Indeed, to confeſs the truth to you and all the church of Chriſt, I do think of myſelf that I have not only moſt juſtly deſerved this kind of death, but alſo all kinds of death, and that eternally, for mine hypocriſy, vain-glory, uncleanneſs, ſelf-love, covetouſneſs, idleneſs, unthankfulneſs, and carnal profeſſing of God's holy goſpel, living therein not ſo purely and induſtriouſly as I ſhould have done: may the God of all mercy pardon me thro' the merits of Chriſt's blood, as I hope, yea, I certainly believe he hath done. My dearly beloved, you and all the world well know, and may plainly perceive, that the prelates perſecute Chriſt in me: they do not trouble me for the evil I have done, but for the good I endeavour to do, in ſtanding up for the honour of God and his goſpel; and becauſe I cannot, dare not, nor will not confeſs tranſubſtantiation, and that wicked men, yea mice and dogs, eating the ſacrament of the altar, as they term it (whereby they utterly overthrow Chriſt's holy ſupper), do eat the natural and real body of Chriſt which was born of the virgin Mary: I ſay, becauſe I will not come into theſe abſurd notions, I am deemed an heretic unworthy to live.

To believe and confeſs as God's word teacheth, the primitive church believed, and all the catholic and good holy fathers taught 500 years at leaſt after Chriſt, that in the ſupper of the Lord (which the maſs overthroweth, as it doth Chriſt's prieſthood, ſacrifice, death and paſſion, the miniſtry of his word, true faith, repentance, and all godlineſs) whole Chriſt, God and man, is preſent by grace to the faith of the receivers, but not of the ſtanders by and lookers on, as bread and wine is to their ſenſes, will not ſerve: and therefore I am condemned, and ſhall be burned out of hand as an heretic. Wherefore I heartily thank my Lord God, that will and doth vouchſafe me worthy to be an inſtrument, in whom he himſelf doth ſuffer. For you ſee my affliction is not ſimply, becauſe I have deſerved no leſs, but much more at his hands and juſtice: but rather becauſe I confeſs his verity and truth, and by his grace, I am not afraid ſo to do, that you alſo might be confirmed in his truth. Therefore, my dearly beloved, I do heartily deſire you, and all that ſincerely love me in God, to give hearty thanks with me and for me to our heavenly Father, through our ſweet Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; for this is his exceeding great mercy towards me and you alſo, that your faith waver not from the doctrine I have taught, and ye have received. For what can ye deſire more, to aſſure your conſciences of the verity taught by your preachers, than their own lives?

Therefore, my dear friends, waver not in Chriſt's religion truly taught you, and ſet forth in the days of king Edward. Never ſhall the enemies be able to burn, impriſon, or keep it in bonds. They may bind and burn us as they pleaſe, ſo long as God ſhall give them leave; but our cauſe, religion, and doctrine which we profeſs, they ſhall never be able to vanquiſh and put away. Their idolatry and popiſh religion ſhall never be built in the conſciences of men that love God's truth. As for thoſe that love not his goſpel, that have no pleaſure in his ways, over thoſe the devil ſhall prevail: for God will give them up to ſtrong deluſions that they may believe lyes. Therefore, dear brethren, I humbly beſeech you in the blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as I am now going to death for the teſtimony of Jeſus, and as I have often preſſed you from the pulpit, that you love the Lord's truth; ſo love it, that you frame your lives according to it. Alas, you know the cauſe of all theſe plagues

now falling upon us, and of the ſucceſs which God's enemies daily triumph in, that it is for our not loving God's word as we ought to do.

You know that we were goſpellers in lips and not in life. We were glutted with, and tired of the word of God: yea, we loathed it, as the children of Iſrael did the manna in the wilderneſs; and therefore as the Lord's wrath waxed hot with them, ſo it doth with us. So that there is no other remedy, but that (for it is better late to turn, than never to turn) we confeſs our faults even from the bottom of our hearts, and with hearty repentance (which God grant to us all) we run unto the Lord our God, who is exorable, merciful, and ſorry for the evil poured out upon us; and cry out unto him with Daniel, ſaying, We have ſinned, we have grievouſly ſinned, O Lord God, againſt thy majeſty; we have heaped iniquity upon iniquity; the meaſure of our tranſgreſſions floweth over, ſo that thy vengeance and wrath is juſtly fallen upon us. For we are very miſerable, we have contemned thy long-ſuffering, we have not hearkened to thy voice. When thou haſt called us by preachers, we hardened our hearts, and therefore now we juſtly deſerve to have our hearts hardened like Pharoah, to have eyes and ſee not, ears and hear not, hearts and underſtand not, leſt we ſhould turn and be ſaved. O be merciful unto us; ſpare us, good Lord, and all thy people whom thou haſt dearly bought. Let not thine enemies triumph altogether and always againſt thee, for then will they be puffed up. Look down and behold the pitiful complaint of the poor; let the ſorrowful ſighing of the ſimple come in thy ſight, and be not angry with us for ever. Turn us, O Lord God of Hoſts, unto thee, and turn thou unto us, that thou may'ſt be juſtified in thy ſweet ſentences, and overcome when thou art judged, as now thou art by our adverſaries. For they ſay, Where is their God? Can God deliver them now? Can their goſpel ſerve them? O Lord, how long? for the glory of thy name, and for thy honour's ſake, in the bowels and blood of Jeſus Chriſt, we humbly beſeech thee come and help us, for we are very miſerable.

In this manner let us publicly and privately bewail our ſins; and at the ſame time endeavour to avoid them as much as poſſible, eſpecially all wilful and habitual ſins; for if we nouriſh it in our heart, the Lord will not hear us, for the prayer of the wicked is abominable in the ſight of God, ſaith the prophet. And in St. John it is written, The impenitent ſinners God heareth not: and they are impenitent who purpoſe not to amend their lives. Thoſe who, for fear or favour of men, worſhip God in a falſe manner, and, contrary to their own conſciences, conſent to the Romiſh rags, and reſort to the rotten religion, communicating in ſervice and ceremonies with the papiſts, thereby declaring, in effect, that they love the world more than God, and fear men more than Chriſt, and dread the loſs of temporal things more than ſpiritual; I ſay, ſuch men do ſin as preſumptuouſly as thoſe who are wilfully guilty of the greateſt immorality; for it is evident that the love of God abideth not in them. He that loveth the world, hath not God's word abiding in them, ſaith St. John: therefore, my dear brethren in the Lord, remember what you have profeſſed, Chriſt's name and religion, and the renouncing the devil, ſin, and the world.

Remember, that before you learned A B C, your leſſon was Chriſt's croſs. Forget not that Chriſt will have no diſciples, but ſuch as will promiſe to deny themſelves, and take up their croſs (mark, take it up) and follow him, and not the multitude, cuſtom, &c. Conſider, for God's ſake, that if we gather not with Chriſt, we ſcatter abroad. What ſhould it profit a man to gain the whole world, and loſe his own ſoul? We muſt not forget that this life is a wilderneſs, and not a paradiſe: here is not our home; we are now in warfare: we muſt needs fight, or elſe be taken priſoners. Of all the things we have in this life, we ſhall carry nothing with us. If Chriſt be our captain, we muſt follow him. If we keep company with him in affliction, we ſhall be ſure of his ſociety in glory everlaſting. If we forſake not him, he will never forſake us. If we confeſs him, he will confeſs us; but if we deny him, he will deny us. If we be aſhamed of him, he will be aſhamed of us. Wherefore, as he forſook his Father and heaven, and all the glory thereof, to come to us, to ſuffer poverty, torments and death for our ſakes, ſurely the leaſt that we can do, is to forſake all the trifles here below, and go to him, eſpecially when by ſo doing we make ſure our eternal intereſt. Whatſoever you loſe for the Lord's ſake, ſhall be reſtored three-fold to your children: and you ſhall find peace of conſcience and friendſhip with God, which is infinitely more worth than all the kingdoms of this world and the glory thereof.

My dearly beloved, therefore for the Lord's ſake conſider theſe things which I now write unto you of love, for my farewel, and laſt farewel for ever in this preſent life. Turn to the Lord, repent of your evil and unthankful life, declare repentance by the fruits, take time while ye have it, come to the Lord while he calleth you, run into his lap while his arms be open to embrace you, ſeek him while he may be found, call upon him while time is convenient, forſake and fly from all evil, both in religion and in the reſt of your life and converſation. Let your light ſo ſhine before men, that they may ſee your good works, and praiſe God in the day of his viſitation. Oh come again, come again, you ſtrange children, and I will receive you, ſaith the Lord. Repent and turn to me, and I will turn to you. Why will ye needs periſh? As ſure as I live (ſaith the Lord) I deſire not your death, turn therefore unto me. Can a woman forget the child of her womb? If ſhe ſhould, yet will I not forget you, ſaith the Lord your God. I am he, I am he which put away your ſins for mine own ſake.

O then, dear friends, turn, I ſay, unto your deareſt Father. Caſt not theſe ſweet and loving words to the ground; for the Lord watcheth on his word to perform it: which is in two ſorts; to them that lay it up in their hearts, and believe it, will he pay all, and eternal joy and comfort. But to them that caſt it at their backs, and will forget it, to them, I ſay, will he pour out indignation and eternal ſhame. Wherefore I heartily yet once more beſeech and pray you, and every of you, not to contemn this poor and ſimple exhortation, which now out of priſon I make unto you, or rather the Lord by me. I am unwilling to be a witneſs againſt you in the laſt day; as of truth I muſt if ye repent not, if ye love not God's goſpel, yea, if ye love it not.

Therefore, to conclude, repent, love God's goſpel, live in it all your converſation, ſo ſhall God's name be praiſed, his plagues be mitigated, his people comforted, and his enemies aſhamed. Grant all this, thou gracious Lord God, to every one of us, for thy dear Son's ſake, our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; to whom with thee and the Holy Ghoſt, be eternal glory for ever and ever, Amen.
February 12. 1555.

By the bondman of our Lord,
and your afflicted poor brother,
John Bradford.

To my loving Brethren, B. C. &c. their Wives and whole Families.

I Beſeech the ever-living God to grant you all, my good brethren and ſiſters, the comfort of the Holy Spirit, and the continual ſenſe of his mercy in Chriſt our Lord, now and for ever, Amen.

The world, my brethren, ſeemeth to have the upper hand, iniquity overfloweth, the truth and verity ſeemeth to be oppreſſed, and they which take part therewith are unjuſtly intreated; as they which love the truth, lament to ſee and hear as they do. The cauſe of all this is

God's anger and mercy: his anger, becauſe we have grievouſly ſinned againſt him; his mercy, becauſe he here puniſheth us, and as a father nurtureth us. We have been unthankful for his word; we have contemned his kindneſs; we have been negligent in prayer; we have been ſo carnal, covetous, licentious, &c. we have not haſtened to heaven-ward, but rather to hell-ward. We were fallen almoſt into an open contempt of God, and all his good ordinances; ſo that of his juſtice he could no longer forbear, but make us feel his anger as now he hath done, in taking his word and true ſervice from us, and permitting Satan to ſerve us with antichriſtian religion; and that in ſuch ſort, that if we will not yield to it, and ſeem to allow it in deed and outward fact, our bodies are like to be laid in priſon, and our goods given we cannot tell to whom.

We ſhould look upon this as a ſign of God's anger procured by our ſins; which, my good brethren, every one of us ſhould often call to our memories, as particularly as we can, that we might heartily lament them, repent them, hate them, earneſtly aſk mercy for them, and ſubmit ourſelves to bear in this life any kind of puniſhment which God will lay upon us for them. This ſhould we do in conſideration of God's anger in this time. Now his mercy in this time of wrath is ſeen, and ſhould be ſeen in us, my dearly beloved, in this, that God doth vouchſafe to puniſh us in this preſent life. If he ſhould not have puniſhed us, do not you think that we would have continued in the evils we were in? Yes verily, we ſhould have been worſe, and have gone forwards in hardening our hearts by impenitence, and negligence of God and true godlineſs. And then if death had come, ſhould not we have periſhed both ſoul and body in eternal fire in perdition? Alas, what miſery we ſhould have fallen into, if God ſhould have ſuffered us to have gone forward in our evils? There is no greater ſign of damnation, than to lie in evil and ſin unpuniſhed by God, as now the papiſts (my dearly beloved) are caſt into Jezebel's bed of ſecurity, which of all plagues is the moſt grievous that can be. They are baſtards and not ſons, they are not under God's rod of correction.

A great mercy it is therefore that God doth puniſh us: for if he loved us not, he would not puniſh us. Now doth he chaſtiſe us, that we ſhould not be damned with the world. Now doth he nurture us, becauſe he favoureth us. Now may we think ourſelves God's houſe and children, becauſe he beginneth his chaſtizing with us. Now he calleth us to remember our ſins paſt. Wherefore? That we might repent and aſk mercy. And why? That he might forgive us, pardon us, juſtify us, and make us his children, and ſo begin to make us like unto Chriſt here, that we might be like unto him elſewhere, even in heaven, where already we are ſet by faith with Chriſt; and at his coming in very deed we ſhall then moſt joyfully enjoy, when our ſinful and vile bodies ſhall be made like to Chriſt's glorious body, according to the power whereby he is able to make all things ſubject to himſelf.

Therefore, my brethren, let us in reſpect hereof not lament, but praiſe God; not be ſorry, but be merry; not weep, but rejoice and be glad, that God doth vouchſafe to offer us his croſs, thereby to come to him to endleſs joys and comforts. For if we ſuffer, we ſhall reign; if we confeſs him before men, he will confeſs us before his Father in heaven; if we be not aſhamed of his goſpel now, he will not be aſhamed of us in the laſt day, but will be glorified in us, crowning us with crowns of glory and endleſs felicity: For, "Bleſſed are they that ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſs ſake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." Be glad (ſaith Peter), for the Spirit of God reſteth upon you. After that you are a little afflicted, God will comfort, ſtrengthen and confirm you. And therefore, my good brethren, be not diſcouraged for croſs, for priſon, or loſs of goods, for confeſſion of Chriſt's goſpel and truth which ye have believed, and was lively taught amongſt you in the days of our late good king and moſt holy prince, king Edward. This is moſt certain, if you loſe any thing for Chriſt's ſake, and for contemning the antichriſtian ſervice, ſet up again amongſt us; as you for your parts even in priſon ſhall find God's great and rich mercy, far paſſing all worldly wealth; ſo ſhall your wives and children in this preſent life find and feel God's providence, more plentifully than tongue can tell. For he will ſhew merciful kindneſs on thouſands of them that love him. The good man's ſeed ſhall not go begging his bread. You are good men, ſo many as ſuffer for Chriſt's ſake.

I truſt you all, my dearly beloved, will conſider this with yourſelves, and in the croſs ſee God's mercy, which is more ſweet than life itſelf, much more than any pelf of this world. This mercy of God ſhould make you merry and chearful; for the afflictions of this life are not to be compared with the joys of the life prepared for you. You know that the way to heaven is not the wide way of the world, which winneth to the devil; but the way to heaven is ſtrait, which few people walk in. For few live godly in Chriſt Jeſus; few regard the life to come; few remember the day of judgment; few remember how Chriſt will deny them before his Father, that do deny him here; few conſider that Chriſt will be aſhamed of them in the laſt day, who are aſhamed of his truth and true ſervice; few imagine how their accounts will ſtand at the day of vengeance; few regard the condemnation of their own conſciences, in doing that which inwardly they diſallow; and few love God better than their goods.

I truſt you are of this few, my dearly beloved, I hope you be of that little flock, who ſhall inherit the kingdom of heaven; I hope you are thoſe mourners and lamenters, who ſhall be comforted with ſuch comfort as ſhall never be taken from you. Repent of your former evils: ſtrive againſt thoſe evil inclinations that are in you: continue to call upon God: defile not your bodies with the idolatrous ſervice of the Antichriſtian church of Rome: moleſt not the good Spirit of God, which is given you as a pledge of your eternal redemption, a counſellor and guide to lead you to his eternal truth; which good Spirit I beſeech the Father of mercy to give to us all, for the ſake of his dear Son Jeſus Chriſt our Lord; to whom I commend you all, and to the word of his grace, which is able to help you all, and ſave all that believe it, and lead their lives according to it.

Of this you may be very certain, that all the hairs of your heads are numbered, ſo that not one of them ſhall periſh, neither ſhall any man or devil be able to hurt, or even attempt to hurt any of you, without the permiſſion of our heavenly Father, who tenderly loveth you; and when he hath given them leave, they ſhall go no farther than he will, nor keep you in trouble any longer than he pleaſes. Therefore caſt your care on him, for he careth for you. Only ſtudy to pleaſe him, and to keep your conſciences clean, and your bodies pure from the idolatrous ſervice, which now every where is uſed, and God will marvellouſly and mercifully defend and comfort you, for the ſake of his holy name in Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

Mr. Bradford's Letter to Erkinalde Rawlins, and his Wife.

GOD our dear and moſt merciful Father, through Jeſus Chriſt, be with you, my good brother and ſiſter, as with his children for ever, and in all things ſo guide you with his Holy Spirit, the leader of his people, as may be to his glory, and your own everlaſting joy and comfort in him, Amen.

As you have often relieved my neceſſities (for which I beſeech God to make me thankful, and to recompence you both here and hereafter), I cannot but endeavour (as I am

am in gratitude bound) to write ſomething for your ſpiritual comfort.

My dearly beloved, look not upon theſe days, and the afflictions which they bring, as diſmal days, and days only of God's vengeance, but rather as good days, or days of God's Fatherly kindneſs towards you, and ſuch as you be, that is, towards ſuch as repent of their paſt ſins, and earneſtly purpoſe to amend their lives, walking not after the way of the world, and the greateſt part of men, for the preſervation of their pelf, which, will they nill they, they ſhall leave ſooner or later, and to whom, and how it ſhall be uſed, they know not. Indeed to ſuch as walk in their wickedneſs, and wind on with the world, this time is a time of wrath and vengeance, and their beginning of ſorrow is but now, becauſe they contemn the phyſic of their Father, which by this purging time and cleanſing days would work for their health, if they did but conſider it: and becauſe they will not have God's bleſſing, which hath been offered to them both by proſperity and adverſity, therefore it ſhall be kept far enough from them. As when the ſick man will receive no kind of phyſic from the hands of the phyſician, he is left alone, and ſo the malady increaſeth, and at length deſtroyeth him. To ſuch men, indeed theſe days are, and ſhould be doleful days, and days of woe and weeping, becauſe their damnation draweth nigh.

But unto ſuch as be penitent, and are deſirous to live after the Lord's will (among whom I do not only count you, but, as far as a man may judge, I know ye are), unto ſuch, I ſay, this time is, and ſhould be comfortable. For now our Father chaſtiſeth us for our ſins: if he had had a mind to deſtroy us, he would have left us to ourſelves, to ſeek our own ways, and work our own ruin; let us patiently embrace his fatherly viſitation, for he chaſtiſeth us in this world, leſt with the world we ſhould periſh. Therefore, dear friends, call to mind and lament your ſins; pray for mercy and forgiveneſs, and undoubtingly believe that God will hear you: he doth not puniſh twice for one thing.

So that, I ſay, we have cauſe to rejoice for theſe days, becauſe our Father ſuffereth us not to lie in Jezebel's bed, ſleeping in our own ſins and ſecurity, but, as mindful of us, doth correct us as his own children; whereby we may be certain that we are no baſtards, but ſons, for he correcteth every ſon whom he receiveth. So that they who are not partakers of his chaſtiſement, or that contemn it, declare themſelves to be baſtards and not ſons, as I know you are, who, being chaſtiſed, improve it accordingly. And therefore, my dear friends, be glad, knowing certainly even by theſe viſitations of the Lord, that ye are his dear and choſen children, whoſe faults your Father doth viſit with the rod of correction, but his mercy will he never take away from us, Amen.

You have cauſe to rejoice for theſe days, becauſe they are days of trial, wherein you yourſelves, and all the world ſhall know that you belong not to it, but are God's darlings. Before theſe days came, Lord God, how many thought themſelves in God's boſom, and ſo were taken, and would be taken by the world? But now we ſee whoſe they are. For whom we obey, his ſervants we be. If we obey the world (which God forbid, and hitherto ye have not done it), then are we the world's; but if we obey God, then are we God's. Which thing (I mean, that ye are God's), theſe days have declared both to you, to me, and to all others that know you, better than ever we knew it. Therefore you have no cauſe to be ſorry, but rather to rejoice at this aſſurance of being the Lord's children, and as you are ſo accounted by all good people.

What though the world repine thereat? what though he kick? what though he ſeek to trouble and moleſt you? he doth but according to his nature: he cannot love the Lord, who liveth not in the Lord: he cannot brook the child, that hateth the Father: he that careth not for the maſter, will not mind the ſervant. If ye were of the world, the world would love you, ye ſhould live quietly, there would be no grief, no moleſtation. If the devil dwelt in you (which God forbid), he would not ſtir up his knights to beſiege your houſe, or ſuffer his fiends to enter into your ſwine: But becauſe Chriſt dwelleth in you (as he doth by faith), therefore the devil ſtirreth up his firſt-begotten ſon, the world, to ſeek how to diſquiet you, to rob you, to ſpoil you, and to dedroy you: and perchance your dear Father, to try, and to make known to you and to the world, that ye are intended for a better habitation than can be found here upon earth, even an houſe not made with hands, eternal in the heavens; hath given, or will give power to Satan, and to the world, to take from you the things which he hath lent you, and by taking them away, to try your fidelity, obedience, and love towards him (for ye muſt not love them above him), as by giving that ye have, and keeping it, he hath declared his love towards you.

Satan, it may be, telleth God (as he did of Job) that ye love God for the ſake of your goods. What then, if the Lord, to try you with Job, ſhould give him power over your goods and body, would ye be diſmayed? would ye deſpair? would ye be faint-hearted? or would ye not rather rejoice, as the apoſtles did, that they were worthy to ſuffer any thing for the Lord's ſake? O forget not the end that happened to Job: for as it happened to him, ſo ſhall it happen unto you. For God is the ſame God, and cannot long forget to ſhew mercy to them that look and long for it, as ye do, and I pray you ſtill ſo to do: for the Lord loveth you, and never can nor will forget to ſhew and pour out his mercy upon you. After he hath afflicted and tried you a little while (ſaith St. Peter), he will viſit, comfort, and confirm you; as he did to Jacob wreſtling with the angel: when at length morning came, and the ſun aroſe; ſo, doubtleſs, it will happen unto you. However, do ye as Job and Jacob did, that is, order and diſpoſe the things that God hath lent you, as well as you can whilſt you have time: who knoweth but God hath given you power thus long, for that end?

Go therefore, diſpoſe of your goods, prepare yourſelves to trial, that ye may either ſtand to it like God's champions; or elſe if you feel ſuch infirmity in yourſelves that ye be not able, give place to violence, and go where you may ſerve the Lord with a free and ſafe conſcience. Think not this counſel to come by chance or fortune, but from the Lord. Other oracles we may not look for now. As God told Joſeph in a dream by an angel, that he ſhould fly, ſo if you feel ſuch infirmity in yourſelves, as ſhould turn to God's diſhonour and your own deſtruction withal, know that at this preſent I am as God's angel, to admoniſh you to take time while ye have it, and to ſee that God's name might not be diſhonoured by you. Joſeph might have objected the omiſſion of his vocation, as perchance ye will do. But (dear hearts) let vocations and all things elſe give place to God's name, and the ſanctifying thereof.

This I ſpeak, not as though I would not have you rather to tarry, and to ſtand to it: but I ſpeak it in reſpect of your infirmity, which if you feel to be ſo great in you, that you are not certain of this hope, that God will never tempt you above your ability; fly and get you hence, and know that thereby God will have you tried to yourſelves and to others. For by it you ſhall know how to take this world, and that your home here is no home, but that ye look for another, and ſo give occaſion to others leſs to love this world, and perchance to ſome to doubt of their religion. Wherein though they be earneſt, yet would they not loſe ſo much as ye do for your religion, which ye do confirm to me and others, by our giving place to violence.

Laſt of all, ye have cauſe to rejoice over theſe our days, becauſe they be the days of confirmation, in which and by which, God our heavenly Father maketh us like to Chriſt's image here, that we may be like unto him elſe-

where

where. For if we ſuffer with him, then ſhall we alſo reign with him; if we be buried with him, then ſhall we riſe with him again; if we accompany with him in all troubles and afflictions, then ſhall we rejoice with him in glory; if we now ſow with him in tears, we ſhall reap with him in gladneſs: if we confeſs him before men, he will confeſs us before his Father in heaven; if we take his part, he will take ours; if we loſe aught for his name ſake, he will give us all things for his truth ſake. So that we ought to rejoice and be glad, for it is not given to every one to ſuffer loſs of country, life, goods, houſe, &c. for the Lord's ſake. What can God the Father do more unto us, than to call us into the camp with his Son? What may Chriſt our Saviour do more for us, than to make us his warriors? What can the Holy Ghoſt do to us above this, to mark us with the cognizance of the Lord of Hoſts?

This cognizance of the Lord ſtandeth not in forked caps, tippets, ſhaven crowns, or ſuch other baggage and anti-chriſtian pelf, but in ſuffering for the Lord's ſake. "The world ſhall hate you," ſaith Chriſt. Lo, there is the cognizance and badge of God's children; The world ſhall hate you. Rejoice therefore (my dearly beloved) rejoice, that God doth thus vouchſafe to begin to conform you, and to make you like to Chriſt. By the trial of theſe days ye are occaſioned more to repent, more to pray, more to contemn this world, more to deſire life everlaſting, more to be holy (for holy is the end for which God doth afflict us), and ſo to come to God's company. Which thing becauſe we cannot do as long as this body is as it is, therefore by the door of death we muſt enter with Chriſt into eternal life, and immortality of ſoul and body; which God of his mercy ſend ſhortly for our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt his ſake, Amen.

To Mrs. A. Warcup.

THE everlaſting peace of Chriſt be more and more lively felt in our hearts, by the operation of the Holy Ghoſt, now and for ever, Amen.

Although I know it to be more than needleſs to write any thing unto you, good ſiſter, being, as I doubt not but you be, diligently exerciſed in reading of the ſcriptures, in meditating of the ſame, and in hearty prayer to God for the help of his Holy Spirit, to have the ſenſe and feeling, eſpecially of the comforts you read in God's word: yet having ſuch opportunity, and not knowing whether hereafter I ſhall ever have the like (as this meſſenger can declare), I thought good in few words to take my farewel in writing, becauſe otherwiſe I cannot. And now methinks I have done it. For what elſe can I, or ſhould I ſay unto you, my dearly beloved in the Lord, but farewel? Farewel, dear ſiſter, farewel; howbeit in the Lord, our Lord (I ſay) farewel. In him ſhall you fare well, and ſo much the better, by how much in yourſelf you fare evil, and ſhall fare evil.

When I ſpeak of yourſelf, I mean alſo this world, this life, and all things properly pertaining to this life. In them as you look not for your welfare, ſo be not diſmayed when accordingly you ſhall not feel it. To the Lord our God, to the Lamb our Chriſt, which hath borne our ſins on his back, and is our Mediator for ever, do I ſend you. In him look for welfare, and that without wavering, becauſe of his own goodneſs and truth, which our wickedneſs cannot take away: not that I would have you flatter yourſelf in any evil or unbelief, but that I may comfort you, that they ſhould not diſmay you. Yours is our Chriſt wholly, yours, I ſay, he is, with all that ever he hath: is not this welfare, think you? Mountains ſhall move, and the earth ſhall fall, before you find it otherwiſe, ſay that lyar Satan what he liſt.

Therefore, good ſiſter, farewel, and be merry in the Lord, be merry, I ſay, for you have good cauſe. If your welfare, joy, and ſalvation, hanged upon any other thing than God's mercy and truth, then you might well be ſad, heavy, and ſtand in doubt: but inaſmuch as it hangeth only upon theſe two (I mean God's mercy and truth), tell Satan he lyeth when he would perſuade you to ſtand heſitating, by cauſing you to caſt your eyes (which only in this caſe ſhould be ſet on Chriſt our ſweet Saviour), on yourſelf. In ſome part, indeed, look on yourſelf, on your faith, on your love, obedience, &c. to awaken you from ſecurity, to ſtir you up to diligence, in doing the things appertaining to your vocation: but when you would be at peace with God, and have true conſolation in your conſcience, altogether look upon the goodneſs of God in Chriſt. Think on this commandment which precedeth all other, That you muſt have no other gods but the Lord Jehovah, which is your Lord God: which he could not be, if he did not pardon your ſins in very deed. Remember that Chriſt commandeth you to call him Father for the ſame intent. And here call to mind all the benefits of God hitherto ſhewed upon you: and ſo ſhall you feel in very deed, that which I wiſh unto you now, and pray you to wiſh unto me. Farewel, or welfare in the Lord Jeſus, with whom he grant us ſhortly to meet us as his children, for his name and mercy ſake, to our eternal welfare, Amen.

To Mr. Laurence Saunders, Priſoner in the Marſhalſea.

MY good brother, I beſeech our good and gracious Father always to continue his gracious favour and love towards us and by us, as by inſtruments of his grace, to work his glory and the confuſion of his adverſaries. "Out of the mouth of infants and babes he will ſhew forth his praiſe, to deſtroy the enemy, &c."

I have peruſed your letters to myſelf, and have read them to others. For anſwer whereof, if I ſhould write what Dr. Taylor and Mr. Philpot do think, then muſt I ſay, that they think the ſalt ſent unto us by your friend is unſeaſonable. And I think they both will declare it heartily, if they ſhould come before men. As for me, if you would know what I think (my good and moſt dear brother), becauſe I am ſo ſinful and ſo defiled (the Lord knoweth that I lye not) with many grievous ſins, which I hope are waſhed away with the blood of Chriſt, I neither can nor would be conſulted withal, but as a cypher in Agrime. Howbeit, to tell you how and what I mind, take this for a ſum: I pray God in no caſe I may ſeek myſelf; and indeed, I thank God for it, I purpoſe it not.

That which remaineth I commit to my Lord God; and I truſt in him, that he will do according to this; Caſt thy care on the Lord, &c. Caſt all your care upon him, &c. Reveal unto the Lord thy way, and truſt, &c. Whoſoever truſteth in the Lord, mercy ſhall compaſs him about. For the Lord is faithful: he will in temptation make a way, that ye may be able to bear it. The Lord knoweth how to rid out of temptation the godly, &c. O would God I were godly, &c. The Lord knoweth how to deliver out of temptation ſuch as truſt in him, &c. I cannot think that they will offer any kind of indifferent or mean conditions: for if we will not Adorare Beſtiam, we never ſhall be delivered, but againſt their will, think I. God our Father and gracious Lord make perfect the good work he hath begun in us.

He will do it, my brother, my dear brother, whom I have in my inward bowels to live and die with. O that I were with you. Pray for me, my own heart root in the Lord.

For ever your own,
John Bradford.

Another Letter to Mr. Saunders.

GOD's ſweet peace in Chriſt be with you, my good brother in the Lord Jeſus, and with all your fellow-captives, Amen.

I was hindered this morning from muſing on that which I purpoſed to have thought on by reaſon of you, againſt whom I ſaw myſelf guilty of negligence, even in this point that I would not write, I ſhould ſay, that I had not written unto you as yet: therefore I prepared myſelf out of hand to clear myſelf hereof, not that I will go about to excuſe my fault (for that were more to load me), but by aſking God and you pardon, to get it no more laid to my charge. Now when I was thus purpoſing, and partly doing, there cometh one with a letter from you: for which as I have cauſe to thank God and you, ſo I ſee myſelf more blame-worthy for thus long holding my peace. Howbeit, good brother, in this I have given a demonſtration to you, to behold my negligence in all other things, and eſpecially in praying for you, and for the church of God, which for my ſins and hypocriſy (hypocriſy indeed even in this writing, God deliver me from it), have deſerved to be puniſhed. God is juſt, for we have deſerved all kinds of plagues at his hands; but yet merciful is he that will on this wiſe chaſtiſe us in this world, that we ſhould not be condemned with the world. He might otherwiſe have puniſhed us, I mean, he might have caſt us in priſon for other cauſes, me eſpecially, than for his goſpel and word ſake. Praiſed therefore be his name, who vouchſafeth us worthy of this honour. Ah good God, forgive us our ſins, and work by this thy fatherly correction on us, on me eſpecially, effectually to love thee and thy Chriſt; and with joyfulneſs carry thy croſs to the end.

Ah good brother, if I could always have God, his majeſty, mercy, heaven, hell, &c. before mine eyes, then ſhould I endure, as St. Paul writeth of Moſes, Heb. 11. "He endured, as he that ſaw him which is inviſible." Pray for me, as I know you do, and give thanks alſo: for, "In the Lord I truſt, I ſhall not waver. If I walk by the valley of the ſhadow of death, I will not fear, for thou art with me, O Lord." I think we ſhall be ſhortly called forth; for now Legem habent, & ſecundum legem, &c. otherwiſe will they not reaſon with us: and I their ſhoot-anchor will be, to have us to ſubſcribe. Which thing if we do, though with this condition (ſo far as the thing ſubſcribed to is not againſt God's word) yet this will be offenſive. Therefore let us all confeſs that we are no changelings, but the ſame as we were in religion, and therefore cannot ſubſcribe, except we will diſſemble both with God, ourſelves, and the world. Theſe things I write to you, dear brother in the Lord. Now I will read your epiſtle. Ah brother, I had the practical underſtanding with you in that vine which you deſcribe: pray the Lord that I may think ſo indeed. God make me thankful for you. All our fellow-priſoners ſalute you, and give thanks to God for you. The ſame do you for us, and pray that, &c.

Your brother in the Lord Jeſus,
to live and die with you,
J. Bradford.

To my dear Fathers, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, and Dr. Latimer.

JESUS Immanuel. My dear fathers in the Lord, I beſeech God our ſweet Father through Chriſt, to make perfect the good he hath begun in us all, Amen.

I had thought that every one of your ſtaves had ſtood next the door, but now it is otherwiſe perceived. Our dear brother Rogers hath broken the ice valiantly; as this day, I think, or to-morrow at the uttermoſt, hearty Hooper, ſincere Saunders, and truſty Taylor end their courſe, and receive their crown. The next am I, which hourly look for the porter to open me the gates after them, to enter into the deſired reſt. God forgive me mine unthankfulneſs for this exceeding great mercy, that amongſt ſo many thouſands it pleaſeth his mercy to chuſe me to be one, in whom he will ſuffer. For although it be moſt true, that I juſtly ſuffer (for I have been a great hypocrite, and a grievous ſinner, the Lord pardon me, yea, he hath done it, he hath done it indeed), yet what evil hath he done? Chriſt, whom the prelates perſecute, his verity which they hate in me, hath done no evil, nor deſerved death. Therefore ought I moſt heartily to rejoice of this tender kindneſs of the Lord towards me, which uſeth remedy, for my ſin as a teſtimonial of his teſtament, to his glory, to my everlaſting comfort, to the edifying of his church, and to the overthrowing of Antichriſt and his kingdom. Oh what am I, Lord, that thou ſhouldſt thus magnify me ſo vile a man and miſer, as always I have been? Is this thy cuſtom, to ſend for ſuch a wretch and hypocrite as I have been, in a fiery chariot, as thou didſt for Elijah? O dear fathers, be thankful for me, that I ſtill might be found worthy in whom the Lord would ſanctify his holy name. And for your part, make you ready: for we are but your gentlemen-uſhers. The marriage of the Lamb is prepared, come unto the marriage. I now go to leave my fleſh there where I received it. I ſhall be conveyed thither, as Ignatius was at Rome, Leopardis; by whoſe evil I hope to be made better. God grant, if it be his will that I aſk, it may make them better by me, Amen.

For my farewel, therefore, I write and ſend this unto you, truſting ſhortly to ſee you where we ſhall never be ſeparated. In the mean ſeaſon I will not ceaſe, as I have done, to commend you to our Father of heaven, and that you would ſo do by me, I moſt heartily pray every one of you: you know now I have moſt need. "Faithful is God, who will not ſuffer us to be tempted above our ſtrength." He never did it hitherto, and I am aſſured he never will, Amen. "He is on my right hand, therefore I ſhall not fall. Wherefore my heart ſhall rejoice, for he ſhall not leave my ſoul in hell, neither ſhall ſuffer me his holy one, by his grace in Chriſt, to ſee corruption."

Out of priſon in haſte, looking for the tormenter, February 8. 1555.

John Bradford.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Ruſſel, now Earl of Bedford, being then in Trouble for the Cauſe of Religion.

THE everlaſting and moſt gracious God and Father of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, bleſs your good lordſhip with all manner of heavenly bleſſings in the ſame Chriſt our only comfort and hope, Amen.

Praiſed be God our Father, who hath thought you worthy of faith in his Chriſt, and of his croſs for the ſame. Magnified be his holy name, who, as he hath delivered you from one croſs, ſo he hath made you willing (I hope) and ready to bear another when he ſhall ſee his time to lay it upon you: for theſe are the moſt ſingular gifts of God, given as to few, ſo to none elſe but to thoſe who are moſt dear in his ſight. Faith is reckoned, and worthily, among the greateſt gifts of God, yea, it is the greateſt that we can enjoy. For by it, as we be juſtified and made God's children, ſo are we temples and poſſeſſors of the Holy Spirit, yea, of Chriſt alſo, (Eph. 4.) And of the Father himſelf (John 14.) By faith we drive the devil away (1 Pet. 5.) We overcome the world (1 John 5.) And are already citizens of heaven, and fellows with God's dear ſaints. But who is able to reckon the riches that this faith bringeth with her unto the

ſoul ſhe ſitteth upon? No man nor angel. And therefore (as I ſaid) of all God's gifts, ſhe may be placed at the head, and have the higheſt ſeat. Which if men would rightly conſider (in that it cometh only from God's mercy-ſeat, not of hearing maſſes, mattins, diriges, or ſuch droſs, but by hearing the word of God in ſuch a tongue as we may underſtand it), as they would be diligent and take great heed for doing or ſeeing any thing which might caſt her down (for then they fall alſo), ſo would they with no leſs care read and hear God's holy word, joining thereto moſt earneſt and hearty prayer, as well for the better underſtanding, as for the loving, living and confeſſing the ſame, in ſpite of the devil, the world, the fleſh, reaſon, goods, poſſeſſions, carnal friends, wife, children, and very life here; if they ſhould pull us back to hearken to their voice and counſel, for more quiet, ſure, and longer uſe of them.

Now notwithſtanding this excellency of faith, in that we read the apoſtle to match therewith, yea (as it were) to prefer ſuffering perſecution for Chriſt's ſake, I ſuppoſe no man will be ſo weak as to think otherwiſe, but that I and all God's children have cauſe to glorify and praiſe him, who hath made you worthy of ſo great a bleſſing. For though the reaſon or the wiſdom of the world think of the croſs according to their reach, and according to their preſent ſenſe, and therefore they fly from it, as from the greateſt ignominy and ſhame: yet thoſe who have been brought up in the ſchool of Chriſt have learned to think otherwiſe of his croſs, that it is the frame-houſe in which God frameth his children like to his Son Chriſt; the furnace that fineth God's gold; the highway to heaven; the livery wherewith God's ſervants are ſerved; the earneſt and beginning of all conſolation and glory. For they (I mean God's ſcholars, as your lordſhip, I hope, is) do enter into God's ſanctuary, leſt their feet ſlip. They look not, as beaſts do, on things preſent only, but on things to come, whereby they have the day of judgment and the glorious coming of Chriſt, as preſent to their faith, as the wicked have now their worldly wealth before their eyes, wherein they wallow, and will wallow till they tumble into hell, into miſeries inexpreſſible, into torments everlaſting. Now they follow the fiend as the bear doth the train of honey, and the ſow the ſwillings, till they be brought into the ſlaughter-houſe, and then they ſhall know (but too late) that their proſperity hath brought them to eternal perdition. Then ſhall they cry, Woe, woe, woe, we went the wrong way: we counted theſe men (I mean ſuch as you be, that ſuffer for God's ſake, loſs of goods, friends and life, whom they ſhall ſee cloathed with rich robes of righteouſneſs, crowns of moſt pure precious gold, and palms of conqueſt in the glorious palace of the Lamb, where is eternal joy and felicity); we counted (they will then ſay) theſe men but fools and mad men, we took their conditions to be but curioſity. But then the time will be turned, laughing ſhall be turned into weeping, and weeping into rejoicing. Read Wiſdom 2, 3, 4 and 5.

Therefore (as before I have ſaid) great cauſe have I to thank God, who hath vouchſafed to make you worthy of his moſt bountiful bleſſing: much more cauſe then have you, my good lord, to be thankful. For look upon your vocation, I pray you, tell me how many noblemen, earls ſons, lords, knights, and men of eſteem, hath God thus dealt with in this realm of England? I dare ſay, you think not that you have deſerved this. Only God's mercy in Chriſt hath wrought this on you, as he did in Jeremiah's time on Abimelech, in Ahab's time on Abdias, in Chriſt's time on Joſeph of Arimathea, in the apoſtles time on Sergius Paulus, and the queen of Candace's chamberlain. Only now be thankful, and continue, continue, my good lord, continue to confeſs Chriſt. Be not aſhamed of him before men, and then he will not be aſhamed of you. Now will he try you; ſtick faſt unto him, and he will ſtick faſt by you; he will be with you in trouble, and deliver you. But then you muſt cry unto him; for ſo it proceedeth, "He cried unto me, and I heard him, I will be with him in trouble, I will deliver him, and honour him."

Remember Lot's wife, who looked back. Remember Francis Spira. Remember that none is crowned but he that ſtriveth lawfully. Remember that all you have is at Chriſt's command. Remember he loſt more for you than you can loſe for him. Remember you loſe not that which is loſt for his ſake; for you ſhall find much more here and hereafter. Remember you ſhall die, and when, where, and how, ye cannot tell. Remember that the death of ſinners is moſt terrible. Remember the death of God's ſaints is moſt precious in his ſight. Remember the multitude goeth the wide way that leadeth to deſtruction. Remember that the ſtrait gate which leadeth to glory, hath but few travellers. Remember Chriſt biddeth you to ſtrive to enter in thereat. Remember he that truſteth in the Lord, ſhall receive ſtrength to ſtand againſt all the aſſaults of his enemies. Be certain that all the hairs of your head are numbered. Be certain that your good Father hath appointed bounds, over which the devil dare not look. Commit yourſelf to him; he is, hath been, and will be your keeper. Caſt your care on him, and he will care for you. Let Chriſt be your ſcope and mark to aim at: let him be your pattern to work by; let him be your enſample to follow: give unto him your heart and hand, mind and tongue, faith and feet, and let his word be your candle, to go before you in all matters of religion. Bleſſed is he that walketh not to theſe popiſh prayers, nor ſitteth nor ſtandeth at them; glorify God both in ſoul and body. He that gathereth not with Chriſt, ſcattereth abroad. Uſe prayer; look for God's help, which is at hand aſſuredly to them that unfeignedly aſk and deſire it. In which prayers I heartily deſire your lordſhip to remember us, who are (God be praiſed) gladly going with you; but if we go before you, we hope that you (if it be God's pleaſure) will follow after, according to your daily prayer, "Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven." The good Spirit of God always guide your lordſhip unto the end, Amen.

Your Lordſhip's own for ever,
John Bradford.

To Mr. Warcup and his Wife, Mrs. Wilkinſon, and other Friends.

THE ſame peace our Saviour Chriſt left with his people, which is not without war with the world, Almighty God work plentifully in your hearts now and for ever, Amen.

I perceive the time is come wherein the Lord's ground will be known, I mean, it will now ſhortly appear who have received God's goſpel into their hearts indeed, to the taking of good root therein: for ſuch will not wither for a little heat or ſun-burning, but ſtiffly will ſtand and grow on, in ſpite of the malice of all burning ſhowers and tempeſts. And foraſmuch as (my beloved in the Lord) I am perſuaded of you, that ye be the children of God, God's good ground, which groweth and will grow on, by God's grace, bringing forth fruit to God's glory after your vocations, as occaſion ſhall be offered, therefore I cannot but ſo ſignify unto you, and heartily pray you and every one of you, accordingly to go forwards after your maſter Chriſt, not ſticking at the foul way and ſtormy weather which you are to come into, and are like ſo to do: being moſt certain of this, that the end of your journey ſhall be pleaſant and joyful in ſuch a perpetual reſt and bliſsfulneſs, as cannot but ſwallow up the ſhowers that ye now feel and are immerged in, if ye often ſet it before your eyes, after St. Paul's counſel in the latter end of the fourth, and beginning of the fifth chapter of the ſecond epiſtle to the Corinthians. Read it, I pray you, and remember it often as a reſtorative to refreſh you, leſt ye faint in the way.

And beſides this, ſet before you alſo, that though the weather be foul, and ſtorms grow apace, yet ye go not alone, but others your brothers and ſiſters tread the ſame path, as St. Peter telleth us: and therefore company ſhould cauſe you to be the more courageous and chearful. But if you had no company at all to go preſently with you, I pray you tell me, if even from the beginning, the beſt of God's friends have found any fairer weather and way to the place whither ye are going (I mean heaven), than ye now find, and are like to do; except ye will with the worldlings, which have their portion in this life, tarry ſtill by the way till the ſtorms are overpaſt, and then either night will ſo approach that ye cannot travel, or the doors will be locked before ye come, and ſo ye then lodge without in evil lodgings. Read Revelations 22. Begin at Abel, and come from him to Noah, Abraham, Iſaac, Jacob, Joſeph, the patriarchs, Moſes, David, Daniel, and all the ſaints of the Old Teſtament, and tell me whether any of them ever found any fairer way than ye now find.

If the Old Teſtament will not ſerve, I pray you come to the New, and begin with Mary and Joſeph, and come from them to Zachary and Elizabeth, John Baptiſt, and every one of the apoſtles and evangeliſts, and ſearch whether they all found any other way into the city we travel towards, than by many tribulations.

Beſides theſe, if ye ſhould call to remembrance the primitive church, Lord God, ye ſhould ſee ſo many to have given chearfully their bodies to moſt grievous torments, rather than they would be ſtopped in their journey, that there is no day in the year, but (I dare ſay) a thouſand was the feweſt that with great joy loſt their homes here, but in the city they went unto, have found other manner of home than man's mind is able to conceive. But if none of theſe were, if ye had no company now to go with you, as you have me your poor brother and bondman of the Lord, with many others, I truſt in God, if you had none of the fathers, patriarchs, kings, prophets, apoſtles, evangeliſts, martyrs, and other holy ſaints and children of God, that in their journey to heaven-ward found as ye now find, and are like to find if ye go forward, as I truſt ye will, yet ye have your maſter and captain Jeſus Chriſt, the only begotten and beloved Son of God, in whom was all the Father's pleaſure, joy and delight, ye have him to go before you, no fairer way, but much fouler, into this our city of Jeruſalem. I need not (I truſt) to rehearſe what manner of way he found. Begin at his birth, and till ye come at his burial, ye will find that every foot of his journey was no better, but much worſe than yours is now.

Wherefore (my dearly beloved in the Lord) be not ſo dainty, as to look for that at God's hands, your dear Father, which the patriarchs, prophets, apoſtles, evangeliſts, martyrs, ſaints, and his own Son Jeſus Chriſt did not find. Hitherto we have had a fair way (I think) and fair weather alſo: now becauſe we have loitered by the way, and not made the ſpeed we ſhould have done, our loving Lord and ſweet Father hath overcaſt the weather, and ſtirred up the ſtorms and tempeſts, that we might with more haſte run our race before night come, and the doors be locked. The devil ſtandeth now at every inn-door in his city and country of this world, crying unto us to tarry and lodge in this or that place till the ſtorms be overpaſt; not that he would not have us wet to the ſkin, but that the time might overpaſs us to our utter deſtruction. Therefore beware of his enticements. Caſt not your eyes on things that be preſent, how this man doth, and how that man doth; but caſt your eyes on the mark ye run at, or elſe ye will loſe the game. Ye know that he which runneth at the game, doth not look on others that ſtand by, and go this way or that way, but altogether he looketh on the mark, and on them that run with him, that thoſe which be behind overtake him not, and that he may overtake them which be before: even ſo ſhould we do, leave off looking on thoſe which will not run the race to heaven's bliſs by the path of perſecution with us, and caſt our eyes on the end of our race, and on them that go before us, that we may overtake them, and on them which come after us, that we may encourage them the faſter to follow.

He that ſhooteth at a mark, will not caſt his eyes on thoſe that ſtand by, but will rather take care of his aim, otherwiſe, he might ſhoot the wrong way: even ſo, my dearly beloved, let your eye and your heart be fixed on the mark you aim at, even Chriſt Jeſus, who for the joy ſet before him, did joyfully carry his croſs, contemning the ſhame, and therefore he now ſitteth at the right hand of the throne of God. Let us follow him; for this he did that we ſhould not be faint-hearted. For we may be aſſured, that if we ſuffer with him, we ſhall undoubtedly reign with him: but if we deny him, he will ſurely deny us: for "He that is aſhamed of me (ſaith Chriſt) and of my goſpel, in this faithleſs generation, I will be aſhamed of him before the angels of God in heaven." O how heavy a ſentence is this to all ſuch as know the maſs to be an abominable idol, full of idolatry, blaſphemy, and ſacrilege againſt God and his Chriſt (as undoubtedly it is), and yet for fear of men, for loſs of life and goods, yea, ſome for advantage and gain, will honour it with their preſence, diſſembling both with God and man, as their own heart and conſcience doth accuſe them. Better it were that ſuch had never known the truth, than thus wittingly, and for fear or favour of man, whoſe breath is in his noſtrils, to diſſemble it, or rather (as indeed he doth) deny it. The end of ſuch is like to be worſe than their beginning. Such had need to take heed of the two terrible places to the Hebrews in the 6th and 10th chapters, leſt by ſo doing they fall therein. Let them beware they do not craftily beguile themſelves, as ſome do I fear, who go to maſs, and becauſe they worſhip not, kneel not, or knock not as others do, but ſit ſtill in their pews, therefore they think they rather do good to others than hurt.

But, alas, if theſe men would look into their own conſciences, there ſhould they ſee that they are very diſſemblers, and in ſeeking to deceive others (for by this means the magiſtrates think them of their ſort), they deceive themſelves. They think at the time of elevation, that the eyes of all men are fixed upon them, to obſerve how they do. They think others, hearing of ſuch men going to maſs, do ſee, or enquire of their behaviour there. O if there were in thoſe men that are ſo preſent at the maſs, either love to God, or to their brethren, they would for the one, or both, openly take God's part, and admoniſh the people of their idolatry. They fear men more than Him who hath power to caſt both ſoul and body into hell fire: they haſten on both knees: they ſerve two maſters. God have mercy upon ſuch, and open their eyes with his eye-ſalve, that they may ſee that they who take no part with God, are againſt him; and that they who gather not with Chriſt, do ſcatter abroad. O that they would read what St. John ſaith will be done to the fearful. The advice given to the church of Laodicea, is good counſel for ſuch.

But to return to you again (dearly beloved) be not aſhamed of God's goſpel: it is the power of God unto ſalvation to all thoſe that do believe it. Be therefore partakers of the afflictions, as God ſhall make you able, knowing for certain that he will never tempt you farther than he will make you able to bear: and think it no ſmall favour from God to ſuffer for his truth: for the Spirit of God reſteth upon you, and ye are happy, as one day ye ſhall ſee. Read 2 Theſſalonians 1. Hebrews 12. As the fire hurteth not gold, but makeh it finer, ſo ſhall ye be more pure by ſuffering with Chriſt, 1 Pet. 1. The flail and the wind hurteth not the wheat, but cleanſeth it from the chaff. And ye (my beloved) are God's wheat; fear not therefore the flail; fear not the fanning wind; fear not the mill-ſtone; fear not the oven: for all theſe make you more meet for the Lord's own tooth.

Soap,

Soap, though it blacken, yet it foileth not the cloth, but rather at length maketh it more clean: so doth the black croſs help us to more whiteneſs, if God ſtrike with his battledore. Becauſe ye are God's ſheep, prepare yourſelves to the ſlaughter, always knowing that in the ſight of the Lord our death ſhall be precious. The ſouls under the altar look for us to fill up their number: happy are we if God hath ſo appointed us. Howſoever it be, dearly beloved, caſt your eyes wholly upon the Lord, with whom all the hairs of your heads are numbered, ſo that not one of them ſhall periſh. Will we, nill we, we muſt drink God's cup if he hath appointed it for us. Drink it willingly, and at the firſt when it is full, leſt peradventure if we linger, we ſhall, with the wicked, drink the dregs thereof, if at the beginning we refuſe to drink with his children: for with them his judgment beginneth, and when he hath wrought his will on mount Sion, then will he viſit the nations round about.

Submit yourſelves therefore under the mighty hand of the Lord. No man ſhall touch you without his knowledge; and whenever they moleſt you, know that it is for your good. God will thereby work to make you like unto Chriſt here, that ye may be like unto him hereafter. Acknowledge your unthankfulneſs and your ſin, and bleſs God that correcteth you in the world, becauſe you ſhall not be damned with the world. He might correct us otherwiſe than in making us to ſuffer for righteouſneſs ſake; but this he doth becauſe we are not of the world. Call upon his name through Chriſt, for his help, as he commandeth us. Believe that he is merciful to you, heareth you, and helpeth you: I am with him in trouble, and will deliver him, ſaith he. Know that God hath appointed bounds, over which the devil and all the world ſhall not paſs. If all things ſeem to be againſt us, let us ſay with holy Job, "If he kill me, I will hope in him." Read the ninety-firſt Pſalm, and pray for me your poor brother and fellow-ſufferer for God's goſpel ſake; his name therefore be praiſed; and may he through his infinite mercy and goodneſs make me and you worthy to ſuffer with good conſcience for the ſame. Die once we muſt, and when we know not: happy are they to whom God giveth to pay nature's debt, I mean, to die for his ſake.

Here is not our home; therefore let us accordingly conſider things, always having before our eyes the heavenly Jeruſalem, Heb. 12. Rev. 21. 22. the way thither to be by perſecutions; the dear friends of God, how they have gone it after the example of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe footſteps let us follow, even to the gallows, if it pleaſe God, not doubting but that as he within three days roſe again immortal, even ſo we ſhall do in our time, that is, when the trump ſhall blow, and the angel ſhall ſhout, and the Son of man ſhall appear in the clouds with innumerable ſaints and angels, in majeſty and great glory: then ſhall the dead ariſe, and we ſhall be caught up into the clouds to meet the Lord, and ſo be always with him. Comfort yourſelves with theſe words, and pray for me for God's ſake. Out of priſon, Nov. 19, 1553.

J. Bradford.

To Sir James Hales Knight, then Priſoner in the Compter.

THE God of mercy, and Father of all comfort, plentifully pour out upon you and in you his mercy, and with his conſolations comfort and ſtrengthen you to the end, for his and our Chriſt's ſake.

Although, right worſhipful Sir, many cauſes might move me to be content with crying for you to your God and my God, that he would give you grace to perſevere well, as he hath right notably begun, to the great glory of his name, and comfort of all ſuch as fear him; as lack of learning, familiarity, yea, acquaintance (for I think I am unknown to you both by face and name), and other ſuch like things; yet I cannot content myſelf, but preſume to ſcribble ſomething unto you; not that I think my ſcribbling can do you any good, but that I might declare my ſympathy and compaſſion, love and affection I bear towards you, who are contented, yea, deſirous with us poor miſers, to confeſs Chriſt's goſpel in theſe perilous times and days of trial. O Lord God, how good art thou, which doſt thus glean out grapes, I mean children for thyſelf, and brethren for Chriſt? Look, good maſter Hales, on your vocation; not many judges, not many knights, not many landed men, not many rich men, and wealthy to live as you are, hath God choſe to ſuffer for his ſake, as he hath now done you. Certainly I dare ſay you think not ſo of yourſelf, as though God were bound to prefer you, or had need of you, but rather attribute this as all good things unto his free mercy in Chriſt. Again, I dare ſay that you being a wiſe man do judge of things wiſely, that is, concerning this your croſs, you judge of it not after the world and people, which is the great maſter of error; not after the judgment of reaſon and worldly wiſdom, which is fooliſhneſs to faith; not after the preſent ſenſe, to which it ſeemeth not to be joyous but grievous, as St. Paul writeth: but after the word of God, which teacheth your croſs to be, in reſpect of yourſelf between God and you, God's chaſtiſing, and your Father's correction, nurture, ſchool, trial, path-way to heaven, glory and felicity, and the furnace to conſume the droſs, and mortify the relics of old Adam, which yet remain, yea, even the frame-houſe to faſhion you like to the deareſt ſaints of God here, yea to Chriſt the Son of God, that elſewhere you might be like unto him.

Now concerning your croſs in reſpect of the world, between the world and you, God's word teacheth it to be a teſtimonial of God's truth, of his providence, of his power, of his juſtice, of his wiſdom, of his anger againſt ſin, of his goodneſs, of his judgment, of your faith and religion, ſo that by it you are to the world a witneſs of God, that he is true, he ruleth all things, he is juſt, wiſe, and at length will judge the world, and caſt the wicked into perdition, but the godly he will take and receive into his eternal habitation. I know you judge of things after faith's fetch, and the effects or ends of things, and ſo you ſee an eternal weight of glory which this croſs ſhall bring unto you, while ye look not on things which are ſeen, but on the things which are not ſeen. Let the worldlings weigh things, and look upon the affairs of men with their worldly and corporal eyes, as many did in the ſubſcription of the king's laſt will; and therefore they did that, for which they afterwards repented. But let us look on things after another manner, as God be praiſed you did, in not doing that which you were deſired; you then beheld things not as a man, but as a man of God; and ſo you do now in religion, at leaſt hitherto you have done, and that you might do ſo ſtill, I humbly beſeech and pray you ſay with David, "Mine eyes fail for thy word, ſaying, when wilt thou comfort me? Though you be like a bottle in the ſmoke (for I hear you want health) yet do not forget the ſtatutes of the Lord: but cry out, How many are the days of thy ſervant? When wilt thou execute judgment on them that perſecute me?" And be certain, "The Lord will ſurely come, and not ſtay; though he tarry, wait for him: for he is but a while in his anger, but in his favour is life: weeping may abide at evening, but joy cometh in the morning." Follow therefore Iſaiah's counſel, Hide thyſelf for a very little while until his indignation paſs over, which is not indignation indeed, but to our ſenſe: and therefore in the ſix and twentieth chapter of Iſaiah, God ſaith of his church and people, that as he keepeth night and day: ſo there is no anger in me, ſaith he.

The mother ſometime beateth the child, but yet her heart melteth upon it, even in the very beating: and, therefore

therefore ſhe caſteth the rod into the fire, and calleth the child, giveth it an apple, and dandleth it moſt motherly. And to ſay the truth, the love of mothers to their children, is but a trace to train us to behold the love of God towards us: and therefore, ſaith he, Can a mother forget the child of her womb? As who ſhould ſay, No? but if ſhe ſhould ſo do, yet will I not forget thee, ſaith the Lord of hoſts. Ah comfortable ſaying! I will not forget thee, ſaith the Lord. Indeed the children of God think oftentimes that God had forgotten them, and therefore they cry, Hide not thy face from me, &c. Forſake me not, O Lord. Whereas in very truth it is not ſo, but only to their preſent ſenſe: and therefore, ſaith David, I ſaid in mine agony, I was clean caſt away from thy face. But was it ſo? No verily. Read his Pſalms, and you ſhall ſee. So he writeth alſo in other places very often, eſpecially in the perſon of Chriſt: as when he ſaith, My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me? he ſaith not, Why doſt thou forſake me? or, Why wilt thou forſake me? but, Why haſt thou forſaken me? whereas, indeed, God had not left him, but that it was ſo to his ſenſe, and that this Pſalm telleth us full well; which I pray you ſometimes to read; it is the twenty-ſecond pſalm, and thereto join the thirtieth, and the hundred and ſixteenth, with divers others. Much the ſame we read in the fortieth chapter of the prophet Iſaiah, where he reproveth Iſrael for ſaying, God had forgotten them, in theſe words, "Haſt thou not known? haſt thou not heard? &c.—They that truſt in the Lord ſhall renew their ſtrength." In his fifty-fourth chapter read the following comfortable words; "Fear not, for a little while I have forſaken thee, but with great compaſſion will I gather thee. For a moment in mine anger I hide my face from thee, for a little ſeaſon: but in everlaſting mercy have I had compaſſion on thee, ſaith the Lord thy Redeemer. For this is unto me as the waters of Noah: for as I have ſworn that the waters of Noah ſhould no more go over the earth, ſo have I ſworn that I would not be angry with thee nor rebuke thee. For the mountains ſhall move, and the hills ſhall fall down, but my mercy ſhall not depart from thee, neither ſhall the covenant of my peace fall away, ſaith the Lord that hath compaſſion on thee."

But the ſcriptures are full of ſuch ſweet places to them that will bear the wrath of the Lord, and wait for his health and help. As of all temptations, this is the greateſt, that God hath forgotten, or will not help us through the pikes, as they ſay: ſo of all the ſervice of God, nothing is more pleaſing to him, than aſſuredly to hope and truſt in him, whoſe help is always ready; for he is an helper in tribulations, and doth more glorioufly ſhew his power by ſuch as be weak, and feel themſelves ſo. The weaker we are, the more ſtrong we are in him. Thus the eyes of the Lord be on them that fear and tremble. He will accompliſh their deſire; he is with them in their trouble; he will deliver them. Before they cry, he heareth them, as all the ſcriptures teach us. To the reading whereof, and hearty prayer, I heartily commend you, beſeeching Almighty God, that of his eternal mercy he would make perfect the good he hath begun in you, and ſtrengthen you to the end, that you might have no leſs hope, but much more of his help to your comfort now againſt your enemies, than already he hath given you againſt N. for not ſubſcribing to the king's will.

Be certain, be certain, good maſter Hales, that all the hairs of your head, your dear Father hath numbered, ſo that one of them ſhall not periſh: your name is written in the book of life. Therefore caſt all your care upon God, who will comfort you with his eternal conſolations, and make you able to go through the fire (if need be) which is nothing to be compared to the fire wherein our enemies ſhall fall, and lie for ever; from which the Lord deliver us, though it be through temporal fire, which muſt be conſtrued according to the end and profit that cometh after it; it ſhall not then much terrify us to ſuffer for Chriſt our maſter's cauſe, which the Lord grant us for his mercies ſake, Amen.

From the King's Bench,
Your humble, John Bradford.

To Dr. Hill, Phyſician.

THE God of mercy, and Father of all comfort, at this preſent and for ever ingraft in your heart the ſenſe of his mercy in Chriſt, and the continuance of his conſolation, which cannot but enable you to carry with joy whatſoever croſs he ſhall lay upon you, Amen.

Hitherto I could not have the liberty to write unto you, as I ſuppoſe you know: but now through God's providence I have now no ſuch reſtraint, and therefore I ſhall write ſomething to clear myſelf of the ſuſpicion of unthankfulneſs towards you, as alſo to ſignify my carefulneſs for you in theſe dangerous days, leſt you ſhould wax cold in God's cauſe (which God forbid), or ſuffer the light of the Lord, once kindled in your heart, to be quenched, and ſo become as you were befote, after the example of the world, and of many others who would have been counted otherwiſe in our days, and yet ſtill beguile themſelves, ſtill would be ſo accounted, although by their outward life they declare the contrary, as if they thought they could keep the heart pure, while the outward man doth curry favour.

In which doings, as they deny God to be jealous, and therefore requireth the whole man as well body as ſoul, being both created for immortality and ſociety with him, and redeemed by the blood of Jeſus Chriſt, and now ſanctified by the Holy Spirit to be the temple of God, and member of his Son (I ſay) by their parting ſtakes to give God the heart and the world the body, they deny God to be jealous (for elſe they would give him both, as the wife would do to her huſband, whether he be jealous or no, if ſhe be honeſt), ſo they play the diſſemblers with the church of God by their fact, offending the godly, whom either they provoke to fall with them, or make them more careleſs and conſcienceleſs if they be fallen, and occaſioning the wicked and obſtinate to triumph againſt God, and the more vehemently to proſecute their malice againſt ſuch as will not defile themſelves in body or ſoul with the Romiſh rags now received amongſt us. Becauſe of this, I mean, leſt you my dear maſter and brother in the Lord, ſhould do as too many of our goſpellers have done for fear of man, whoſe breath is in his noſtrils, and hath power but of the body, not fearing the Lord, who hath power both of ſoul and body, and not only temporally, but alſo eternally: I could not but write ſomething unto you, as well becauſe gratitude requireth it (for many benefits I have received of God by your hands, for which may he reward you, for I cannot), as alſo becauſe charity and love compelleth me; not that I think you have need (for as I may rather learn of you, ſo I doubt not but you have hitherto kept yourſelf upright from halting), but that I might both quiet my conſcience, calling upon me hereabout, and ſignify unto you by ſomething, my carefulneſs for your ſoul, as painfully and often you have done for my body.

Therefore I pray you call to mind, that there be but two maſters, two kinds of people, two ways, and two manſion places. The maſters be Chriſt and Satan, the people be ſervitors to either of theſe, the ways be ſtrait and wide, the manſions be heaven and hell. Again, conſider that this world is the place of trial of God's people, and the devil's ſervants: for as the one will follow his maſter whatſoever cometh of it, ſo will the other. For a time it is hard to diſcern who pertaineth to God, and who to the devil: as in the calm and peace, who is a good ſhipman and warrior, and who is not. But as when

the ſtorm ariſeth, the expert mariner is known; and as in war the good ſoldier is ſeen, ſo in affliction and the croſs, God's children are eaſily known from Satan's ſervants; for then as the good ſervant will follow his maſter, ſo will the godly follow their captain, come what will; whereas the wicked and hypocrites will bid adieu, and deſire leſs of Chriſt's acquaintance. For which cauſe the croſs is called a probation and trial, becauſe it trieth who will go with God, and who will forſake him. And now in England we ſee how ſmall a company Chriſt hath in compariſon of Satan's ſoldiers. Let no man deceive himſelf: for he that gathereth not with Chriſt, ſcattereth abroad. No man can ſerve two maſters; the Lord abhorreth double hearts, the lukewarm, that is, ſuch as are both hot and cold, he ſpitteth out of his mouth. None that halt on both knees, doth God take for his ſervants. The way of Chriſt is the ſtrait way, and ſo ſtrait, that as a few find it, and few walk in it, ſo no man can halt in it, but muſt needs go upright: for as the ſtraitneſs will ſuffer no reeling to this ſide or that ſide; ſo if any halt, he is like to fall off the bridge into the pit of eternal perdition.

Strive therefore, good Mr. Doctor, now you have found it, to enter into it: and if you ſhall be called or pulled back, look not on this ſide or that ſide, or behind you, as Lot's wife did, but ſtraightforwards is the end which is ſet before you (though it be to come), as even now preſent: like as you order your patients to do in purgations, and other your miniſtrations, to conſider the effect that will enſue; whereby the bitterneſs and loathſomeneſs of the purgation is ſo overcome, and the painfulneſs in abiding the working of what is miniſtered, is ſo eaſed, that it maketh the patient willingly and joyfully to receive what is to be received, be it never ſo unpleaſant: ſo, I ſay, ſet before you the end of this ſtrait way, and then doubtleſs, as St. Paul ſaith, it ſhall bring with it an eternal weight of glory, whilſt we look not on the thing which is ſeen, for that is temporal, but on the thing which is not ſeen, which is eternal. So doth the huſbandman in plowing and tilling ſet before him the harveſt-time; ſo doth the fiſher conſider the draught of his net, rather than the caſting in; ſo doth the merchant the return of his merchandize; and ſo ſhould we in theſe ſtormy days ſet before us, not the loſs of our goods, liberty, and very life; but the reaping time, the coming of our Saviour Chriſt to judgment, the fire that ſhall burn the wicked and diſobedient to God's goſpel, the blaſt of the trump, the exceeding glory prepared for us in heaven eternally, ſuch as the eye hath not ſeen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man can conceive. The more we loſe here, the greater joy ſhall we have there. The more we ſuffer, the greater triumph. For corruptible droſs, we ſhall find incorruptible treaſures: for gold, glory; for ſilver, joy without end; for riches, royal robes; for earthly houſes, eternal palaces; mirth without meaſure, pleaſure without pain, felicity endleſs: in fine, we ſhall have God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.

O happy place! O that this day would come! Then ſhall the end of the wicked be lamentable; then ſhall they receive the juſt reward of God's vengeance; then ſhall they cry, Woe, woe, that ever they did as they have done. Read Wiſd. 2, 3, 4, 5. Read Matt. 25. Read 1 Cor. 15. 2 Cor. 5. And by faith (which God increaſe in us), conſider the things there ſet forth. And for your further comfort read Hebrews 11. to ſee what faith hath done, always conſidering the way to heaven to be through many tribulations, and that all they who live godly in Chriſt Jeſus muſt ſuffer perſecution. You know this is your alphabet; He that will be my diſciple, ſaith Chriſt, muſt deny himſelf, and take up his croſs and follow me; not this biſhop, nor that doctor; not this emperor, nor that king; but Me, ſaith Chriſt: For he that loveth father, mother, wife, children, or even life, better than me, is not worthy of me. Remember, that the ſame Lord ſaith; He that will ſave his life ſhall loſe it. Comfort yourſelf with this, that as the devils had no power over the ſwine, or over Job's goods, without God's leave, ſo ſhall they have none over you. Remember alſo that all the hairs of your head are numbered with God. The devil may make a man believe he will drown him, as the ſea in its ſurges threateneth the land: but as the Lord hath appointed bounds for the one, over which it cannot paſs, ſo he doth for the other.

On God therefore caſt your care, love him, ſerve him after his word, fear him, truſt in him, hope at his hand for all help, and always pray, looking for the croſs, and whenſoever it cometh, be aſſured, that the Lord, as he is faithful, ſo he will never tempt you further than he will make you able to bear, but in the midſt of the temptation will make ſuch an evaſion as will be moſt for his glory and your eternal comfort. God for his mercy in Chriſt, with his Holy Spirit endue you, comfort you, under the wings of his mercy ſhadow you, and as his dear child guide you for evermore. To whoſe merciful tuition, as I do with my hearty prayers commit you; ſo I doubt not but you pray for me, and ſo I beſeech you ſtill to do. My brother P. telleth me, you would have the laſt part of St. Jerome's works, to have the uſe thereof for a fortnight. I cannot well ſpare them theſe three days, but on Thurſday next I will ſend them to you, if God preventeth me not. Uſe me and all that I have as your own. The Lord of his mercy in Chriſt direct our ways to his glory.

Out of priſon by yours to command,

John Bradford.

To Mrs. M. H. a pious Gentlewoman.

I Humbly and heartily pray the everlaſting God and Father of mercy to bleſs and keep your heart and mind in the knowledge and love of his truth, and of his Chriſt, through the inſpiration and working of his Holy Spirit, Amen.

Although I have no doubt, but that you proſper and go forward daily in the way of godlineſs, more and more drawing towards perfection, and have no need of any thing that I can write; yet becauſe my deſire is, that you might be more fervent and perſevere to the end, I could not but write ſomething unto you, beſeeching you both often and diligently to call unto your mind, as a means to ſtir you hereunto, yea, as a thing which God moſt ſtraitly requireth you to believe, that you are beloved of God, and that he is your dear Father, in, through, and for Chriſt and his death's ſake. This love and tender kindneſs of God towards us in Chriſt is abundantly herein declared, in that he hath to the godly work of creation of this world made us after his image, redeemed us being loſt, called us into his church, ſealed us with his mark and ſign manual of baptiſm, kept and preſerved us all the days of our life, fed, nouriſhed, and moſt fatherly chaſtiſed us, and now hath kindled in our hearts the ſparkles of his fear, faith, love, and knowledge of his Chriſt and truth, and therefore we lament, becauſe we lament no more our unthankfulneſs, our frailneſs, our diffidence and wavering in things wherein we ſhould be moſt certain.

All theſe things we ſhould uſe as means to confirm our faith of this, that God is our God and Father, and to aſſure us, that he loveth us as our Father in Chriſt; to this end (I ſay) we ſhould uſe the things before touched, eſpecially in that, of all things, God requireth this faith and fatherly perſuaſion of his fatherly goodneſs, as his chief ſervice. For before he aſketh any thing of us, he ſaith, I am the Lord thy God, giving himſelf, and all that he hath to us, to be our own. And this he doth in reſpect of himſelf, of his own mercy and truth, and not in reſpect

reſpect of us, for then were grace no grace. In conſideration whereof, when he ſaith, Thou ſhalt have none other gods but me, Thou ſhalt love me with all thy heart, &c. though of duty we ought to accompliſh all that he requireth, and are culpable and guilty if we do it not, yet he requireth not theſe things further of us than to make us more in love, and more certain of this his covenant, that he is our Lord and God. In certainty whereof, as he hath given us this whole world to anſwer our neceſſities and conveniences, ſo hath he given us his Son Chriſt Jeſus, and in, Chriſt, himſelf to be a pledge, whereof the Holy Ghoſt doth now and then give us ſome comfortable taſte and ſweet ſmell to our eternal joy.

Therefore (as I ſaid) becauſe God is our Father in Chriſt, and requireth of you ſtedfaſtly to believe it, give yourſelf to obedience, although ye do it not with ſuch feeling and readineſs as you deſire. Faith muſt firſt go before, and then, by the operation of love, zealous affections will follow. If our imperfection, frailty, and many evils ſhould be the occaſions whereby Satan would have us to doubt; let us abhor that ſuggeſtion as much as poſſible, as of all others the moſt pernicious; and indeed ſo it is. For when we ſtand in doubt whether God be our Father, we cannot be thankful to him, we cannot heartily pray, or think any thing we do acceptable to him; we cannot even love our neighbours as we ought to do; and therefore Satan is very ſubtil, for he well knoweth that if we doubt of God's eternal mercy towards us through Chriſt, we can neither pleaſe God, nor rightly do our duty to man. He continually caſteth into our thoughts our imperfection, frailty, falls and unwary miſcarriages, to make us deſpair of God's mercy and favour.

Therefore, my good ſiſter, we muſt not be ſluggiſh herein; but as Satan laboureth to weaken our faith, ſo muſt we endeavour to ſtrengthen it by meditating upon the promiſes and covenant of God in Chriſt's blood; namely, that God is our God, with all that ever he hath: which covenant entirely dependeth on God's own goodneſs, mercy, and truth, and not on our obedience or worthineſs in any point; for then we ſhould never be certain. Indeed God requireth of us obedience and worthineſs, but not that thereby we may be his children, and he our Father: but becauſe he is our Father, and we his children through his goodneſs in Chriſt, therefore he requireth faith and obedience. Now if we want this obedience and worthineſs which he requireth, ſhould we doubt whether he be our Father? Nay, that were to make our obedience and worthineſs the cauſe, and ſo to put Chriſt out of place, for whoſe ſake God is our Father: but rather becauſe he is our Father, we ought to be moved with ſhame and remorſe for not being as we ought to be: and thereupon we ſhould take occaſion to go to our Father in prayer on this manner: "Dear Father, thou of thine own mercy in Jeſus Chriſt haſt choſen me to be thy child, and therefore thou wouldeſt that I ſhould be brought into thy church, and faithful company of thy children, wherein thou haſt hitherto kept me, thy name therefore be praiſed. Now I ſee myſelf to want faith, hope, love, &c. which thy children have, and thou requireſt of me, for the want of which the devil would have me to doubt, yea, utterly to deſpair of thy fatherly goodneſs, favour and mercy. Therefore I come to thee as to my merciful Father, through thy dear Son Jeſus Chriſt, and pray thee to help me, good Lord: Help me, and give me faith, hope, love, &c. and grant that thy Holy Spirit may be with me for ever, and more and more to aſſure me that thou art my Father; that this merciful covenant that thou madeſt with me in reſpect of thy grace in Chriſt and for Chriſt, and not in reſpect of any of my worthineſs, is always to me, &c."

On this manner you ought to pray when Satan perſuadeth you to doubt of ſalvation. He doth all he can to prevail againſt you. Do you all you can to withſtand him. Though you are not ſo feelingly affected as you deſire to be, yet doubt not, but hope beyond all hope, as Abraham did. For, as I ſaid before, faith always goeth before love. As certain as God is almighty, as certain as God is merciful, as certain as God is true, as certain as Jeſus Chriſt was crucified, is riſen, and ſitteth on the right hand of the Father, as certain as this is God's commandment: I am the Lord thy God, &c. ſo certain ought you to believe that God is your Father. As you are bound to have no other gods but him, ſo are ye no leſs bound to believe that God is your God. What profit would it be to you to believe this ſentence, "I am the Lord thy God," to be true to others, if you will not believe it to be true to yourſelf? The devil believeth in this manner. And whatſoever it be that would move you to doubt whether God be your God through Chriſt, the ſame undoubtedly cometh of the devil. Wherefore did God make you, but becauſe he loved you? Might he not have made you blind, deaf, lame, lunatic, &c. Might not he have made you a Jew, a Turk, a Papiſt, &c? And why hath he not done ſo? Verily becauſe he loved you. And why did he love you? what was there in you to move him to love you? Surely nothing moved him to love you, neither to create you, nor hitherto to preſerve you, but his own goodneſs in Chriſt. Now then in that his goodneſs in Chriſt ſtill remaineth as much as it was, that is, even as great as himſelf, for it cannot be leſſened; how ſhould it be but that he is your God and Father? believe this, believe this, my good ſiſter, for God is unchangeable: them whom he loveth, he loveth to the end.

Therefore caſt yourſelf wholly upon him, and think without all wavering that you are God's child, that you are a citizen of heaven, that you are a child of God, and the temple of the Holy Ghoſt. If you be aſſured hereof as you ought to be, then ſhall your conſcience be quieted, then ſhall you lament more and more for the want of many things which God loveth; then ſhall you labour to be holy in ſoul and body; then ſhall you deſire and endeavour to make God's glory ſhine in all your words and works: then you ſhall not be afraid what man can do unto you; then you ſhall have wiſdom to anſwer your adverſaries, as ſhall ſerve to their ſhame and your comfort; then ſhall you be certain that no man can touch one hair of your head, further than it ſhall pleaſe your good Father, to your everlaſting joy; then ſhall you be moſt certain that God as your good Father will be more careful for your children, and make better proviſion for them, if all you have were gone, than you can with the peaceable enjoyment of it. Being aſſured, I ſay, of God's favour towards you, give yourſelf over to help and care for others that be in need, then ſhall you contemn this life, and deſire to be at home with your good and ſweet Father; then ſhall you labour to mortify all things that would ſpot either ſoul or body. All theſe things ſpring out of this certain perſuaſion and faith, that God is our Father, and we are his children by Chriſt Jeſus. All things ſhould help our faith herein, but Satan goeth about to hinder us.

Therefore let us uſe earneſt and hearty prayer; let us often remember this covenant, "I am the Lord thy God." Let us look upon Chriſt and his precious blood ſhed for the confirmation of his covenant; let us remember all the free promiſes of the goſpel; let us ſet before us God's benefits generally in making this world, and in governing it, in calling and keeping his church, &c. let us ſet before usGod's benefits particularly, how he hath made his creatures after his image, our bodies in perfect form and beauty, and endow'd our ſouls with underſtanding, memory, and will; how he hath made us chriſtians, and hath given us theſe faculties to enable us to make a right judgment of his religion; how he hath bleſſed, kept, nouriſhed, and defended us ever ſince we were born; how he hath often chaſtiſed, and fatherly corrected us; how he hath ſpared us, and now doth ſpare us, giving us time, place, and grace. If you do this, and uſe earneſt

prayer, and flee from all things which may wound your conſcience, giving yourſelf to diligence in your vocation, you ſhall at length find (which God grant to us both) a ſure certainty of ſalvation, without all ſuch doubt as may trouble the peace of conſcience, to your eternal joy and comfort, Amen, Amen.

Yours in Chriſt,

J. Bradford.

Another Letter to the ſame Perſon.

THE good Spirit of God, which guideth his children, be with you, my good ſiſter in the Lord, for ever, Amen.

Although as I to you, ſo you unto me in priſon are unknown, yet to him whom we deſire to pleaſe, we are not only in perſons but alſo in hearts known and throughly ſeen: and therefore as for his ſake you would by what you ſent to me be perceived how that in God you bear to me a good will; ſo that I might be ſeen to bear you the like good will, I ſend to you theſe few words in writing, wiſhing that in all your doings and ſpeech, yea, even in your very thoughts, you would labour to feel that they are all preſent and open before the ſight of God, be they good or bad. This cogitation often had in mind, and prayer made to God for the working of his Spirit thereby as a means, you ſhall at length feel more comfort and advantage, than any man can know but ſuch as are exerciſed therein. Howbeit this is to be added, that in thinking yourſelf, and all that you have and do to be in the ſight of God; this, I ſay, is to be added, that you think his ſight is the ſight not only of a Lord but rather of a father, which tendereth more your infirmities, than you can tender the infirmities of any of your children. Yea, when you feel in yourſelf a motherly affection to your little one that is weak, let the ſame bring to your remembrance the unſpeakable kind affection of God your Father towards you.

And therefore upon the conſideration of your infirmities and natural evils, which continually cleave unto us, take occaſion to go to God as your Father through Chriſt: and before his merciful heart lay open your infirmities and evils, with deſire of pardon and help after his good will and pleaſure, but in his time, and by what means he will, and not when you will; in the mean time depend on his fatherly goodneſs, and you ſhall never be aſhamed. For if a woman that is natural cannot finally forget the child of her womb, be ſure God which is a Father ſupernatural cannot nor will not forget you. Yea if a woman could be ſo forgetful, yet God himſelf ſaith, he will not be ſo.

This opinion, yea rather certain perſuaſion of God our Father through Chriſt, ſee that you cheriſh, and by all means, as well by diligent conſideration of his benefits, as of his loving corrections, whether they be inward or outward, ſee that you nouriſh, knowing for certain, that as the devil goeth about nothing ſo much as to bring you in a doubt whether ye be God's child or no: ſo whatſoever ſhall move you to admit that dubitation, be aſſured the ſame to come from the devil; if you feel in yourſelf not only the want of good things, but alſo plenty of evil, do not therefore doubt whether you be God's child in Chriſt or no.

For if for your goodneſs or illneſs ſake, which you feel or feel not, ye ſhould believe or doubt, then ſhould you make Chriſt Jeſus, for whoſe ſake only God is your Father, either nothing, or elſe but half Chriſt.

But rather take occaſion of your wants in good, and of your plenty in evil, to go to God as to your Father, and to pray to him, that inaſmuch as he commandeth you to believe that he is your God and Father; ſo he would give you his good Spirit, that you might feel the ſame, and live as his child, to his glory: and ceaſe not upon ſuch prayers to look for comfort in God's good time, ſtill hoping the beſt, and rejecting all dubitation, and ſo all evil works, words, and cogitations, as the Lord ſhall enable you by his good Spirit and grace, which I beſeech him to give unto you, my good ſiſter, for ever. And further I pray you, that as he hath made you to be an helper unto your huſband, ſo you would endeavour yourſelf therein to ſhew the ſame as well in ſoul as body; and beg grace of God, that your endeavour may be effectual to both your comforts in Chriſt, Amen.

John Bradford.

To my well-beloved in the Lord, W. P.

GRACE and peace from God the Father through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Amen.

Dear brother, God moſt juſtly hath caſt me down into a dungeon, but much better than I deſerve; wherein I ſee no man but my keeper, nor can ſee any except they come to me. Something in the earth my lodging is, which is an example and memorial of my earthly affections (which God I hope will mortify) and of my ſepulchre, whereunto I truſt my Lord God will bring me in peace in his good time. In the mean ſeaſon may he give me patience, lively hope, and his good Spirit. I pray you pray for me; for the prayer of the righteous, if it be fervent, prevaileth much with God. I thank God my common diſeaſe doth leſs trouble me than when I was abroad, which doth teach me the merciful providence of God towards me. Uſe true and hearty prayer, and you ſhall perceive God at length will declare himſelf to ſee, where now many think he ſleepeth. Out of the Tower,

John Bradford.

Mr. Bradford's Letter to a faithful Woman inwardly afflicted.

GOD our good Father for his mercy's ſake in Chriſt, with his eternal conſolation ſo comfort you, as I deſire to be comforted of him in my greateſt need: yea, he will comfort you, my good ſiſter, only caſt your care upon him, and he never can nor will forſake you. For his calling and gifts are ſuch that he can never repent of them. Whom he loveth, he loveth to the end; none of his choſen can periſh. Of which number I know you are, my dearly beloved ſiſter: God increaſe the faith thereof daily more and more in you, may he give unto you to depend wholly on him, and on his providence and protection. For whoſo dwelleth under that ſecret thing, and help of the Lord, he ſhall be happy for evermore. He that dwelleth, I ſay, under God's providence and protection, ſhall be ſafe; but if we fly from it as Lot fled from Zoar, where God promiſed him protection, if he had dwelled there ſtill, we ſhall remove to our loſs, as he did into the mountains. Dwell therefore, that is, truſt, and that finally unto the end, in the Lord (my dear ſiſter), and you ſhall be as mount Sion. As mountains compaſs Jeruſalem, ſo doth the Lord all his people. How then can he forget you, which are as the apple of his eye, for his dear Son's ſake? Ah dear heart, that I were now but one half hour with you, to be a Simon to help carry your croſs with you. God ſend you ſome good Simon to be with you, and help you!

You complain in your letters of the blindneſs of your mind, and the troubles you feel. My dearly beloved, God make you thankful for that which he hath given unto you; may he open your eyes to ſee what and how great benefits you have received, that you may be leſs covetous, or rather impatient, for ſo (I fear) it ſhould be called, and more thankful. Have you not received at his hands ſight to ſee your blindneſs, and thereto a deſirous and ſeeking heart to ſee where he lieth in the midday, as his dear ſpouſe ſpeaketh of herſelf in the Canticles? O Joyce, my good Joyce, what a gift is this?

Many have ſome ſight, but none this ſobbing and ſighing, none this ſeeking which you have, I know, but ſuch as he hath married unto him in his mercies. You are not content to kiſs his feet with Mary Magdalen, but you would be kiſſed even with the kiſs of his mouth, Canticles 1. You would ſee his face with Moſes, forgetting how he biddeth us to ſeek his face, Pſalm 27. yea, and that for ever, Pſalm 105. Which ſignifies no ſuch ſight as you deſire to be in this preſent life, which would ſee God now face to face, whereas he cannot be ſeen, but covered under ſomething, yea ſometime in that which is (as you would ſay) clean contrary to God; as to ſee his mercy in his anger. In bringing us to hell, faith ſeeth him to bring us to heaven; in darkneſs, it beholdeth brightneſs; in hiding his face from us, it beholdeth his merry countenance. How did Job ſee God, but (as you would ſay) under Satan's cloak? For who caſt the fire from heaven upon his goods? Who overthrew his houſe, and ſtirred up men to take away his cattle, but Satan? And yet Job pierced through all theſe, and ſaw God's work, ſaying, "The Lord hath given, the Lord hath taken away, &c."

In reading of the Pſalms, how often do you ſee that David in the ſhadow of death ſaw God's ſweet love? And ſo, my dearly beloved, I ſee that you in your darkneſs and dimneſs by faith do ſee clearneſs and brightneſs: by faith, I ſay, becauſe faith is of things abſent, of things hoped for, of things which I appeal to your conſcience whether you deſire not. And can you deſire any thing which you know not? And is there any other true knowledge of heavenly things than by faith?

Therefore be thankful, for (before God I write it) you have great cauſe. Ah, my Joyce, how happy is the ſtay wherein you are? Verily you are in the bleſſed ſtate of God's children; for they mourn, and do not you ſo? And that not for worldly wealth, but for ſpiritual riches, faith, hope, charity, &c. Do you not hunger and thirſt for righteouſneſs? And I pray you, ſaith not Chriſt, who cannot lye, that happy are ſuch? How ſhould God wipe away the tears from your eyes in heaven, if now on earth ye ſhed no tears? How could heaven be a place of reſt, if on earth ye find it? How could ye deſire to be at home, if in your journey you find no grief? How could ye ſo often call upon God, and talk with him, as I know you do, if your enemy ſhould ſleep all day long? How ſhould you elſewhere be made like unto Chriſt, I mean in joy, if in ſorrow you ſobbed not with him? If you will have joy and felicity, you muſt firſt needs feel ſorrow and miſery. If you will go to heaven, you muſt ſail by hell; if you will embrace Chriſt in his robes, you muſt not ſcorn him in his rags. If you will ſit at Chriſt's table in his kingdom, you muſt firſt abide with him in his temptations. If you will drink of his cup of glory, forſake not his cup of ignominy.

Can the head corner-ſtone be rejected, and the other more baſe ſtones in God's building be in this world ſet by? You are one of his lively ſtones, be content therefore to be hewn and perſecuted, that you might be made more meet to be joined to your fellows who ſuffer with you Satan's ſnatches, the world's wounds, contempt of conſcience, and threats of the fleſh, whereby they are enforced to cry, O wretches that we are, who ſhall deliver us? You are of God's corn, fear not therefore the flail, the fan, millſtone or oven. You are one of Chriſt's lambs, look therefore to be fleeced, haled at, and even ſlain.

If you were a market-ſheep, you ſhould go in more fat and graſſy paſture. If you were for the fair, you ſhould be ſtall-fed, and want no wealth: but becauſe you are of God's own occupying, therefore you muſt paſture on the bare common, abiding the ſtorms and tempeſts that will fall. Happy, and thrice happy are you (my dear ſiſter) that God now haleth you whither you would not, that you might come whither you would. Suffer a little and be ſtill. Let Satan rage againſt you, let the world cry out, let your conſcience accuſe, let the law load you and preſs you down, yet they ſhall not prevail, for Chriſt is Emmanuel, that is, God with us. If God be with us, who can be againſt us? The Lord is with you, your Father cannot forget you; your ſpouſe loveth you. If the waves and ſurges ariſe, cry with Peter, Lord, I periſh; and he will put out his hand and help you. Caſt out your anchor of hope, and it will not ceaſe for the ſtormy ſurges, till it take hold of the rock of God's truth and mercy.

Think not that he who hath given you ſo many things corporally; as inductions of ſpiritual and heavenly mercies, and that without your deſerts or deſire, can deny you any ſpiritual comfort, when you deſire it. For if he giveth you a deſire, he will give you the enjoyment of what you deſire. The deſire to have, and the going about to aſk, ought to certify your conſcience, that they be his earneſt of the thing which (you aſking) he will give you; yea, before you aſk, and whilſt you are about to aſk, he will grant the ſame (as Iſaiah ſaith) to his glory, and your eternal conſolation. He that ſpared not his own Son for you, will not, nor cannot think any thing too good for you, my heartily beloved.

If he had not choſen you (as moſt certainly he hath) he would not have ſo called you, he never would have juſtified you; he never would have ſo glorified you with his gracious gifts, which, praiſed be his name, I know; he would never have ſo exerciſed your faith with temptations, as he hath done and doth, if he had not choſen you. If he hath choſen you, ye ſhall never periſh; for if you fall, he will lift you up. Never was a mother ſo careful of a child as he is of you.

Chriſt and his mercy is the only cauſe of our election. This Chriſt, this mercy, and the infallible truth of God remaineth for ever; and if an angel from heaven ſhould tell you the contrary, let him be accurſed. Your thankfulneſs and worthineſs are fruits and effects of your election, but they are no cauſes. Theſe fruits and effects ſhall be ſo much more fruitful and effectual, as you are more ſtedfaſt and ſincere.

Ariſe, and remember from whence you are fallen. You have a Shepherd who never ſlumbereth nor ſleepeth: neither man or devil can pull you out of his hands. Night and day he commandeth his angels to keep you. Have you forgot what I read to you out of the Pſalm, "The Lord is my ſhepherd, I can want nothing?" As God ſpared Noah in the ark, even ſo hath he ſpared you. Ten thouſand ſhall fall on your right hand, and twenty thouſand on your left, yet no evil ſhall touch you. Say boldly with the Pſalmiſt, "Many a time from my youth up have they fought againſt me, but they have not prevailed;" no, nor never ſhall prevail, for the Lord is round about his people; and who are his people but ſuch as love him, ſerve him, and hope in him? Happy are all they that ſo do, as it is manifeſt you do by what you have written and unfeignedly confeſſed unto me. And if you once had that hope, as doubtleſs ye had, though you feel it not at preſent, it is not loſt, you ſhall find it again if you ſeek it: for the anger of the Lord laſteth but for a moment, but his mercy endureth for ever. Tell me who hath weakened you? Surely not a perſuaſion which came from him that calleth you.

Why ſhould you waver, and be ſo heavy-hearted? Whom look you on? On yourſelf? on your worthineſs? on your thankfulneſs? on that which God requireth of you, as faith, hope, love, fear, joy, &c.? then can you not but waver indeed: for what have you as God requireth? do you believe, hope and love as much as you ought? No, no, nor never can in this life. Ah, my dearly beloved, have you ſo ſoon forgotten that which ever ſhould be had in memory? namely, that when you would and ought to be certain and quiet in conſcience, your faith ſhould break through all things that are in earth, heaven, or hell, until you come to Chriſt crucified, and the eternal ſweet mercies and goodneſs of God

in him. Here is the reſting-place, here is your ſpouſe's bed; creep into it, and in your arms of faith embrace him, bewail your weakneſs, unworthineſs, diffidence, &c. and you ſhall ſee he will turn to you: nay, I ſhould rather have ſaid, you ſhall feel he will turn to you. You know that when Moſes went to the mount to talk with God, he entered into a dark cloud; and Elias had his face covered when God paſſed by. Both theſe dear friends of God heard of him, but they ſaw him not, but ye ſhall ſee him when he appeareth in power and great glory. Here is not the time of ſeeing, but as it were in a glaſs. Iſaac was deceived, becauſe he was not content with hearing only.

Therefore to make an end of theſe many words, wherewith I fear I do but trouble you from better exerciſes; inaſmuch as you are indeed the child of God elect in Chriſt before the beginning of all times, inaſmuch as you are given to the cuſtody of Chriſt, as one of God's moſt precious jewels; inaſmuch as Chriſt is faithful, and hitherto hath all power, ſo that you ſhall never periſh, no, one hair of your head ſhall not be loſt. I beſeech you, I pray you, I deſire you, I crave at your hands with all my heart, I aſk of you with hand, pen, tongue and mind, in Chriſt, through Chriſt, for Chriſt, for his name, blood, mercies, power, and truth's ſake, my moſt entirely beloved ſiſter, that you admit no doubting of God's final mercies towards you, howſoever you feel yourſelf; but to complain to God, and crave of him, as of your tender and dear Father, all things, and in that time which ſhall be moſt convenient, you ſhall find and feel far above that your heart or the heart of any creature can conceive, to your eternal joy. Amen, Amen, Amen.

The good Spirit of God always keep us as his dear children: may he comfort you, as I deſire to be comforted, my dearly beloved, for evermore, Amen.

I break up this abruptly, becauſe our common prayer time calleth me. The peace of Chriſt dwell in both our hearts for ever, Amen.

As for the report of W. Po. if it be as you hear, you muſt prepare to bear it. It is written on heaven's door, Do well, and bear evil. Be content therefore to bear whatſoever the enemy ſhall imagine to blot you withal. God's Holy Spirit always comfort and keep you, Amen, Amen.

John Bradford.

Here followeth another letter of Mr. Bradford's to the good lady Vane, wherein he reſolveth certain queſtions which ſhe demanded. This lady Vane was a great ſupporter of the pious martyrs who were impriſoned in queen Mary's time. Unto whom divers letters were wrote by Mr. Philpot, Careleſs, Trahern, Thomas Roſe, and others, wherein they render unto her moſt grateful thanks for her exceeding goodneſs extended towards them, with their ſingular commendation and teſtimony alſo of her chriſtian zeal towards God's afflicted priſoners, and to the truth of his goſpel. She died Anno 1568.

To my good Lady Vane.

THE true ſenſe and ſweet feeling of God's eternal mercies in Chriſt Jeſus be ever more and more lively wrought in your heart by the Holy Ghoſt, Amen.

I moſt heartily thank you, good madam, for your comfortable letter; and whereas you would be adverti ſed what were beſt to be done on your behalf concerning your three queſtions; the truth is, that the queſtions are never well ſeen, nor anſwered, until the thing whereof they ariſe be well conſidered; I mean until it be ſeen how great an evil the thing is. If it be once indeed perceived in your heart, upon probable and pithy places gathered out of the word of God, that there never was any thing upon the earth ſo great and ſo much an adverſary to God's true ſervice, to Chriſt's death, paſſion, prieſthood, ſacrifice and kingdom, to the miniſtry of God's word and ſacraments, to repentance, faith, and all true godlineſs of life, as that is whereof the queſtions ariſe (as moſt aſſuredly it is indeed), then cannot a chriſtian heart but ſo much the more abhor it, and all things that in any point might ſeem to allow it, or any thing pertaining to the ſame, by how much it hath the name of God's ſervice.

Again, your ladyſhip doth know, that as all is to be diſcommended and avoided, which is followed or fled from in reſpect of ourſelves, in reſpect of avoiding Chriſt's croſs: ſo the end of all our doings ſhould be to God-wards, to his glory, to our neighbours, to edification and good example, whereof none can be given in allowing any of the three queſtions by you propounded. But becauſe this which I write now is brief, and needeth the more conſideration or explication; as I doubt not of the one in you, ſo from me by God's grace you ſhall ſhortly receive the other: for I have already written a little book of it, which I will ſend unto you, in which you ſhall have your queſtions fully anſwered and ſatisfied, therefore I now omit writing any more about it: beſeeching God our good Father, to guide you as his dear child with his Spirit of wiſdom, power and comfort, unto eternal life, that you may be ſtrong, and rejoice in him, and with his church, to carry the croſs of Chriſt, if it be his will, 1 Pet. 1. which is a thing to be deſired and embraced, if we look on things after the judgment of God's word, and try them by that touch-ſtone.

If you be accuſtomed to think on the brevity, vanity, and miſery of this life, and on the eternity, truth, and felicity of life everlaſting: if you look on the end of things, and not on their preſent appearance only; if you accuſtom yourſelf to ſet God's preſence, power, and mercy always before your eyes, to ſee them, as God by every creature would we ſhould; I doubt not but you ſhall find ſuch ſtrength and comfort in the Lord, as ſhall not be ſhaken with all the power of Satan. God's mercy in Chriſt be with you, and his good Spirit guide you for ever, Amen.

Another Letter to the Lady Vane.

AS to mine own ſoul, I wiſh to your ladyſhip grace and mercy from God our dear Father in Chriſt our Lord and Saviour.

I thank God that he hath ſomething eaſed you, and mitigated his fatherly correction in us both; I would to God he had done ſo much in the behalf of the grief of the body to you, as he hath done to me. For as for the ſoul, I truſt you feel that which I pray God increaſe in you, I mean his fatherly love, and grant that I may with you feel the ſame in ſuch degree as may pleaſe him; I will not ſay you feel, leſt I ſhould ſeem to aſk too much at one time. God doth often much more plentifully viſit with the ſenſe of his mercy them that humble themſelves under his mighty hand, than others which to the face of the world have a greater ſhew and appearance.

Therefore I wiſh as I do, and that not only for mine own convenience, but alſo that I might occaſion you to conſider the goodneſs of God, which I by your letters do well perceive; which is indeed the high-way, whereby God increaſeth his gifts, and ſheweth his ſalvation more lively, Pſal. 50. 107. I have received God's bleſſing from you, which I have partly diſtributed to my three fellow-priſoners, Mr. Farrar, Mr Taylor, and Mr. Philpot, and the reſidue I will beſtow on four poor ſouls who are impriſoned in the common gaol for religion alſo. As for mine own part, if I had need, I would have ſerved mine own turn alſo. But becauſe I had not, nor (I thank God) have not, I have been, and will be, your almoner, in ſuch a manner as I have already advertiſed you. God reward you in this world and in the world to come. Becauſe

otherwise I cannot talk with you, therefore on this sort, as occasion and opportunity will serve, I am ready to shew my good will and desire of your help and furtherance in the Lord to everlasting life, whereunto God bring us shortly for his mercies sake, Amen.

Good madam, be thankful to God, as I hope you be; be earnest in prayer, continue in reading and hearing God's word, and if God's further cross come, as therein God doth serve his providence (for else it shall not come unto you), so be certain the same shall turn to your eternal joy and comfort, Amen.

John Bradford.

To my dear Friends and Brethren, R. and E. with their Wives and Families.

THE comfort of Christ felt commonly of his children in their cross for his sake, the everlasting God work in both your hearts, my good brethren, and in the hearts of both your yoke-fellows, especially of Mary, my good sister in the Lord, Amen.

If I had not heard something of the hazard which you are in for the gospel's sake, if you continue the profession and confession thereof, as I trust you do and will do, and that, by God's help, to the end, which assistance will not be wanting, if you hope in him (for this bindeth him, as David in the person of Christ witnesseth, "Our fathers hoped in thee, and thou didst deliver them," Psalm 22.) yet by conjectures I could not but suppose (though not so certainly) the time of your suffering and probation to be at hand. For now the power of darkness is fully and justly come upon this realm for our sins, and abusing the light lent us of the Lord, to the setting forth of ourselves more than God's glory, that we might be brought to a better knowledge of our evils, and so heartily repent (which God grant us to do), as well as to increase in us a true sense of our sweet Saviour Jesus Christ, by humbling and dejecting us, thereby to make us more desirous of him, and him more sweet and pleasant to us; which may the good Spirit of God work sensibly in all our hearts for God's holy name's sake.

For this cause I thought it my duty, being now (thanks be to God) where I have some liberty to write, and hearing of you as I hear; to do that which I should have done, if I had heard nothing at all; that is, to desire you to be of good cheer and comfort in the Lord (although in the world you see cause rather to the contrary), and to go on forwards in the way of God whereinto you have entered, considering that the same cannot but so much more wax hard upon the outward man, by how much more you draw nearer to the end of it: even as in the travail of a woman, the nearer she draweth to her delivery, the more her pains increase; so it goeth with us in the Lord's way, the nearer we draw to our deliverance by death to our eternal felicity.

Example whereof we have not only in the holy prophets and apostles of God, who when they were young girded themselves, and went in a manner whither they pleased; but when they grew old, they went girded by others whither they would not, concerning the outward man; but rather, and most lively in our Saviour Jesus Christ, whose life and way was much more painful to him towards the end than it was at the beginning. And no wonder, for Satan can bear with a man that begins well, and if he makes some progress, but rather than he should go on to the end, he will spit his venom, and use a thousand means to prevent his perseverance.

Therefore as we should not be dismayed at this world, as though some strange thing happened unto us, in that it is but as it was wont to be to the godly, in that the devil declareth himself after his old manner, in that we have professed no less, but to forsake the world and the devil, as God's very enemies, in that we learned no less at first, when we came to God's school, than to deny ourselves, and take up our cross and follow our master, who leadeth us no other way than he himself hath gone before us: as, I say, we should not be dismayed, so we ought to go forwards with patience and joy, if we set before us the time to come as present, as the saints of God did, but especially our pattern and Saviour Jesus Christ; for the apostle saith, "He set before him the joy and glory to come, and therefore contemned the shame and sorrow of the cross:" and if we do so, we shall at length find as they have found. For who would grieve if his journey seemeth rough and tedious, if, when he comes to the end of it he shall enjoy infinite pleasure for evermore? who will be afraid, or loth to leave a little pelf, which lasteth but a short time, (even in the possession of which there is no true satisfaction), if he knew that soon after he should enjoy a most plentiful fortune, an eternal inheritance? who would be unwilling for a little while to forsake his wife, children, and friends, when he knows that in a short time they shall again meet together, according to their own hearts desire, and never to be separated? who will be sorry to forsake his life, who cannot but be most certain of eternal life? who loveth the shadow better than the body? who can love this life, but they that regard not the life to come? who can desire the dross of this world, but such as are ignorant of the treasures of the everlasting joy in heaven? I mean, who is afraid to die, but such as expect not to live eternally? Christ hath promised pleasures, riches, joy, felicity, and all good things to them that lose any thing, or suffer any sorrow for his sake: and is he not true? How can he but be true, for guile was never found in his mouth?

Alas, then, why are we so slack and slow, yea hard of heart to believe him, promising us eternal bliss thus plentifully, and are so ready to believe the world promising us many things, and yet paying nothing? If we will not curry favour, and lean to both sides, then it may promise us peace and quietness for a little while, but how doth it pay? and if it doth pay, with what quietness of conscience? or if so; how long, I pray you? Do not we see before our eyes, men to die shamefully, I mean as rebels and other malefactors, who refuse to die for God's cause? What way is so sure to heaven as to suffer for the cause of Christ? If there be any way on horseback to heaven, surely this is the way; "By many troubles, saith the apostle, we must enter into heaven. All that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution." For the world cannot love them that are of God; the devil cannot love his enemies: the world will love none but his own: you are Christ's, therefore look for no love here. Should we look for fire to quench our thirst? as soon shall God's true servants find peace and favour in Antichrist's regiment.

Therefore, my dearly beloved, be stout in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on you his armour; stand in the liberty of Christ which you have learned; rejoice that you may be counted worthy to suffer any thing for God's cause: to all men this is not given. Your reward is great in heaven, though in earth ye find nothing. The journey is almost over, you are almost in the haven. Hale on apace, I beseech you, and merrily hoise up your sails. Cast yourselves on Christ, who careth for you. Keep company with him now still to the end; he is faithful, and will never leave you, nor tempt you further than he will enable you to bear; yea, in the midst of the temptation he will find you a way to escape. Heartily pray unto him, be thankful for his indignation, rejoice in hope of the health you shall receive, and be mindful of us who lead the van, and by God's grace trust in Christ to be made able to break the ice before you, that you following, may find the way more easy. God grant it may so be, Amen, Amen.

Out of Prison, by your brother in Christ,

John Bradford.

To

To Mrs. Wilkinſon.

ALmighty God our moſt loving Father, increaſe in your heart (my dear mother and good miſtreſs in the Lord), his true knowledge and love in Chriſt, to the encouraging and confirming of your faith in theſe ſtormy days; which are neceſſary and will be profitable to us if we perſevere unto the end, which God grant we may, Amen.

My right dearly beloved, I know no better thing to write unto you, than to deſire you to be thankful to the Lord for his great mercies towards you, for many of your ſtate and calling he doth not ſo favour; it pleaſeth him to bleſs you with extraordinary grace, to keep you from that horrid filth wherewith our country is moſt abominably defiled. This bleſſing aſſuredly is rare, as you ſee. But now if he ſhall bleſs you with another bleſſing which is more rare, I mean to call you forth as a martyr, and a witneſs againſt this filth, I hope you will become doubly thankful. For a greater token commonly we have not to judge of our election and ſalvation (next to Chriſt, and faith in him) than the croſs, eſpecially when it is ſo glorious as on this ſort to ſuffer any thing, but chiefly loſs of this life; for true life indeed is never found but by the loſs of this; except the grain of wheat fall down and die, it cannot riſe and flouriſh.

You know that he who was taken into the third heaven, and knew what he wrote, doth ſay, "That as the corn liveth not, except it be dead, and caſt into the earth, ſo truly our bodies." And therefore the croſs ſhould ſo little fear us, that even death itſelf ſhould be deſired by us, as the taylor which putteth off our rags, and arrayeth us with the royal robes of immortality, incorruption and glory. Great ſhame it ſhould be for us, that all the whole creatures of God ſhould deſire, yea groan in their kind for our liberty, and we ourſelves to loath it, as doubtleſs we do, if for the croſs, yea for death itſelf, we with joy ſwallow not up all ſorrow that might hinder us from following the Lord's calling, and obeying the Lord's providence; whereby doubtleſs all croſſes, and death itſelf doth come, and not by hap or chance. In conſideration whereof, right dear mother, that this providence ſtretcheth itſelf ſo unto us, and for us, that even the hairs of our heads are numbered with God, not one of them to fall to our hurt; ſurely we declare ourſelves very faint in faith if we receive not ſuch comfort, that we can willingly offer ourſelves to the Lord, and caſt our whole care upon him, honouring him with this honour, that he is and ever will be careful for us and all we have, as for his dear children. Be therefore of good chear even in the midſt of theſe miſeries; be thankful to the Lord, and prepare yourſelf for a further trial; which if God ſend you, as I hope, ſo do you believe, that God will help and comfort you therein, and make you able to bear whatſoever ſhall happen. And thus much, having this opportunity, I thought good to write, praying God our Father to recompenſe into your boſom all the good that ever you have done, to me eſpecially and to many others, both in this time of trouble, and always heretofore.

Your own in the Lord,
John Bradford.

Another Letter to certain pious Perſons, encouraging them to prepare themſelves to bear the Croſs with Patience.

GRacious God and moſt merciful Father, for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, thy dearly beloved Son, grant us thy mercy, grace, wiſdom, and Holy Spirit to counſel, comfort and guide us in all our thoughts, words and works to thy glory, and our everlaſting joy and peace for ever, Amen.

In my laſt letter you might perceive my conjecturing to be no leſs towards you than I have now learned. But, my dearly beloved, I have learned none other thing than what I before told you would come to paſs, if ye caſt not away that which ye have learned. I do appeal to both your conſciences, whether I ſpeak truth herein, as well of my telling (though not ſo often as I might and ſhould, God forgive me) as alſo of your learning. Now God will try you, to make others learn by you, that which ye learned by others, and by them which have ſuffered this day ye might learn (if already ye had not learned) that life and honour is not to be regarded more than God's commandment. They in no point for all that ever their ghoſtly fathers could do, having Dr. Death to take their part, would conſent, or ſeem to conſent to the popiſh maſs and papiſtical god, otherwiſe than they had received in the days of our late king. And this their faith they have confeſſed with their deaths, to their great glory and all our comforts, if we follow them; but to our confuſion if we ſtart back from the ſame. Wherefore I beſeech you to conſider, as well to praiſe God for them, as to go the ſame way with them if God pleaſe.

Conſider not the things of this life, which is a very priſon to all God's children; but the things of everlaſting life, which is our very home. But to behold this, ye muſt open the eyes of your mind, of faith, I ſhould have ſaid, as Moſes did, who choſe rather to ſuffer affliction with the people of God, than to poſſeſs the riches of Egypt, and the pleaſures of Pharaoh's court. Your houſe, home, and goods, yea life, and all that ever ye have, God hath given you as love-tokens, to admoniſh you of his love, and to win your love to him again. He will try your love, whether ye ſet more by him than by his tokens. If ye for the ſake of his tokens, that is, your houſe, home, goods, yea life, will go with the world rather than loſe them, then be aſſured, your love, as he cannot but eſpy it to be a ſtrumpet's love, ſo will he caſt it away with the world. Remember that he who will ſave his life ſhall loſe it, if Chriſt be true: but he who adventureth, yea, loſeth his life for the goſpel's ſake, the ſame ſhall be ſure to find it eternally. Do not ye know that the way to ſalvation, is not the broad way which many run in, but the ſtrait way which now few walk in?

Before perſecution came, men might partly have ſtood in a doubt by the outward ſtate of the world with us (although by God's word it was plain) which was the high-way (for there were as many that pretended the goſpel as popery), but now the ſun is riſen, and the wind bloweth, ſo that the corn which has not taken faſt root, neither can nor will abide; and therefore ye may eaſily ſee the ſtrait way by the ſmall number of paſſengers. Who will now adventure their goods and life for the ſake of Chriſt, who gave his life for our ſakes? We are now become Gergeſites, that would rather loſe Chriſt than our ſwine. A wife is proved faithful when ſhe rejecteth and withſtandeth other ſuitors. A faithful chriſtian is then found ſo to be, when his faith is aſſaulted.

If we are neither able nor willing to forſake this world for God's glory and goſpel's ſake, ere long ſhall we be obliged to leave it for nature's ſake. Die ye muſt once, and leave all ye have (God only knoweth how ſoon) whether ye will or not; and ſeeing you cannot avoid it, why will ye not voluntarily do it for God's ſake?

If ye go to maſs, and do as the moſt part doth, then may ye live quietly and at reſt; but if ye refuſe to go thither, then ye ſhall go to priſon, loſe your goods, leave your children comfortleſs, yea, loſe your life alſo. But (my dearly beloved) open the eyes of your faith, and conſider the ſhortneſs of this life, that it is even as a ſhadow and a ſmoke. Again, conſider how intolerable the puniſhment of hell-fire is, and that endleſs. Laſt of all, look on the joys incomprehenſible, which God hath prepared for all them, world without end, who loſe either life, land, or goods for his name's ſake, and then reaſon, thus;

thus; if we go to maſs, the greateſt enemy that Chriſt hath, though for a little time we ſhall live in quiet, and leave to our children ſomething to live upon hereafter, yet we ſhall diſpleaſe God, fall into his hands (which is horrible to hypocrites), and be in wonderful hazard of falling from eternal joy into eternal miſery, firſt of ſoul, and then of body, with the devil and all idolaters.

Again, we ſhall want peace of conſcience, which ſurmounteth all the riches of the world: and for our children, who knoweth whether God will viſit our idolatry on them in this life? yea, our houſe and goods, and even our lives, are in danger of being loſt by many caſualties: and when God is angry with us, he can when he pleaſes ſend one means or other to take all from us for our ſins, and to caſt us into greater trouble, who will not come into ſome little for his ſake.

On this ſort reaſon with yourſelves, and then doubtleſs God will work otherwiſe with you, and in you, than ye are aware of. Where now ye think yourſelves unable to abide perſecution, be moſt aſſured, that if you earneſtly purpoſe not to forſake God, that he will make you ſo able to bear his croſs, that you ſhall rejoice therein. "God is faithful (ſaith St. Paul), who will not ſuffer you to be tempted above that you are able: but will with the temptation alſo make a way to eſcape, that ye may be able to bear it." Think how great a benefit it is, if God will make you worthy of this honour, to ſuffer loſs of any thing for his ſake. He might juſtly inflict moſt grievous plagues upon you, and yet now he will correct you with that rod, whereby you ſhall be made like to his Chriſt, that ye may for ever reign with him. Suffer yourſelves therefore now to be made like to Chriſt, for elſe ye ſhall be never made like unto him. The devil would gladly have you now to overthrow that, which ye have a long time ſtedfaſtly profeſſed. O how would he triumph, if he could win his purpoſe! O how would the Papiſts triumph againſt God's goſpel in you! O how would you confirm them in their wicked popery! O how would the poor children of God be diſcomforted, if you ſhould now go to maſs and other idolatrous ſervice, and do as the world doth!

Hath God delivered you from the Sweat, to ſerve him ſo? Hath God miraculouſly reſtored you to health from your grievous agues for ſuch a purpoſe? Hath God given you ſuch bleſſings in this world, and good things all the days of your life hitherto, and now of equity will ye not receive at his hands, and for his ſake, ſome evil? God forbid: I hope better of you. Uſe prayer, and caſt your care upon God; commit your children into his hand; give to God your goods, bodies and lives, as he hath given them, or rather lent them, to you. Say with Job, "God hath given, and God hath taken away, his name be praiſed for ever." Caſt your care upon him, I ſay, for he is careful for you; and take it amongſt the greateſt bleſſings of God, to ſuffer for his ſake. I truſt he hath kept you hitherto to that end.

And I beſeech thee, O merciful Father, for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, that thou wouldeſt be merciful unto us, comfort us with thy grace, and ſtrengthen us in thy truth, that in heart we may believe, and in tongue boldly confeſs thy goſpel, to thy glory, and our eternal ſalvation, Amen. Pray for me, and I by God's grace will do the ſame for you.

John Bradford.

An Admonition to certain Profeſſors of the Goſpel, to beware they fall not from it in conſenting to the Romiſh Religion.

THE peace of Chriſt, which is the true effect of God's goſpel believed, my dearly beloved, be more and more plentifully perceived by you, through the grace of our dear Father, by the mighty working of the Holy Spirit our Comforter, Amen.

No. 20.

Though I have many letters at preſent to hinder me from writing unto you, yet being deſired, I could not but ſignify my ready good will in this behalf as much as I may, when I cannot ſo much as I would.

You hear and ſee how Satan beſtirreth him, raging as a roaring lion to devour us. You ſee and feel partly what ſtorms he hath raiſed up to drown the poor boat of Chriſt, I mean his church. You ſee how terribly he traineth his ſoldiers to give a fierce onſet on the van of God's battle. You ſee he hath received power of God, to moleſt God's children, and to begin at his houſe. By reaſon whereof conſider two things; one, the cauſe on our behalf; the other, what will be the ſequel on ſtrangers.

For the firſt, if we be not blind, we cannot but well ſee that our ſins are the cauſe of all this miſery; our ſins, I ſay, which I wiſh that every one of us would apply to ourſelves after the example of Jonah and David, ſearching our own hearts, that other men's offences might lie behind, and our own before. Not that I would excuſe other men, who outwardly have walked much more groſly than many of you have done; but that I would provoke you all as myſelf to more hearty repentance and prayer. Let us more and more increaſe to know and lament our doubting of God, of his preſence, power, anger, mercy, &c.

Let us better feel and hate our ſelf-love, ſecurity, negligence, unthankfulneſs, unbelief, impatience, &c. and then doubtleſs the croſs ſhall be leſs fearful, yea it ſhall be comfortable, and Chriſt moſt dear and pleaſant: death then ſhall be deſired, as the diſpatcher of us out of miſery, and entrance into eternal felicity and unſpeakable joy, which is ſo much the more longed for, by how much we feel indeed the ſerpent's bites, wherewith he woundeth our heels, that is, our outward Adam and ſenſes. If we had, I ſay, a lively and true feeling of his poiſon, we could not only rejoice over our captain that hath bruiſed his head, but be deſirous to follow his example, that is, to give our lives with him and for him, and ſo fill up his paſſions, that he might conquer and overcome in us and by us, to his glory and comfort of his children.

Now the ſecond (I mean the ſequel, or that which will follow on the ſtrangers), my dearly beloved, let us look well upon. For if God doth juſtly thus permit Satan and his ſeed to vex and moleſt Chriſt and his penitent people; O what and how juſtly may he and will he give to Satan to moleſt the wicked and impenitent ſinners! If judgments begin thus at God's houſe, what will follow on them that be without, if they repent not! certainly the dregs of God's cup is reſerved for them, that is, brimſtone, fire, and tempeſt intolerable. Now are they unwilling to taſte of God's cup of afflictions, which he offereth with his Son Chriſt our Lord, leſt they ſhould loſe their ſwine with the Gerbeſites. They are unwilling to come into the way that bringeth to heaven, even afflictions: they in their hearts cry, "Let us caſt his yoke from us;" they walk two ways, that is, they ſeek to ſerve God and Mammon, which is impoſſible; they will not come nigh the ſtrait way that leadeth to life: they ſet their eyes to behold preſent things only; they judge of religion after reaſon, and not after God's word; they follow the greater part, and not the better: they profeſs God with their mouths, but in their hearts they deny him; they would be counted to live godly in Chriſt, but yet they will ſuffer no perſecution; they love this world, whereby the love of God is driven far from them: they ſavour of thoſe things that be of men, and not that be of God: in ſhort, they love God in their lips, but in their hearts, yea, and in their deeds deny him, as well by not repenting their ſins paſt, as by continuing ſtill in them; by doing as the world, the fleſh, and the devil willeth them, and yet perchance they will pray, or rather prate, Thy will be done in earth, which is generally that every one ſhould take up his croſs and follow Chriſt. But this is a hard ſaying, who is able to abide it? Therefore Chriſt muſt be prayed to depart, leſt all the ſwine be drowned. The devil ſhall have his dwelling again in

themſelves rather than in their pigs, and therefore to the devil they ſhall go, and dwell with him in eternal perdition and damnation, even in hell fire, a torment endleſs, and above all cogitations incomprehenſible, if they repent not.

Wherefore by them, my dearly beloved, be admoniſhed to remember your profeſſion, how that in baptiſm you made a ſolemn vow to forſake the devil, the world, &c, You promiſed to fight under Chriſt's ſtandard. You learned Chriſt's croſs before you began with A B C. Go forwards then, pay your vow to the Lord; fight like men, and valiant men under Chriſt's ſtandard; take up your croſs and follow your maſter, as your brethren Mr. Hooper, Rogers, Taylor and Saunders have done, and as now your brethren, Dr. Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Farrar, Bradford, Haukes, &c. are ready to do. The ice is broke before you, therefore be not afraid, but be content to die for the Lord. You have no cauſe to waver, or doubt of the doctrine thus declared by the blood of the paſtors. Remember that Chriſt ſaith; "He that will ſave his life ſhall loſe it." And what ſhould it profit you to win the whole world, much leſs a little quietneſs, your goods, &c. and to loſe your own ſouls? Render to the Lord that he hath lent you, by ſuch means as he would have you render it, and not as you would. Forget not, Chriſt's diſciples muſt deny themſelves, as well concerning their will, as concerning their wiſdom. Have in mind, that as it is no ſmall mercy to believe in the Lord, ſo it is no ſmall kindneſs of God towards you, to ſuffer any thing, much more death, for the Lord. If they be bleſſed that die in the Lord, how ſhall they be that die for the Lord? O what a bleſſing is it to have death due for our ſins, diverted into a demonſtration and teſtification of the Lord's truth! O that we had a little of Moſes's faith to look upon the end of the croſs, to look upon the reward, to ſee continually with Chriſt and his people greater riches than the riches of Egypt! O let us pray that God would open our eyes to ſee his hid manna, heavenly Jeruſalem, the congregation of his firſt-born, the melody of the ſaints, the tabernacle of God dwelling with men; then ſhould we run and become violent men, and ſo take the kingdom of heaven as it were by force. God our Father give us for Chriſt's ſake to ſee a little what and how great joy he hath prepared for us, he hath called us unto, and moſt aſſuredly giveth us for his own goodneſs and truth ſake, Amen.

My dearly beloved, repent, be ſober, watch and pray; ſtudy to be quiet, and mind your own buſineſs; be obedient to the higher powers in all things that are not contrary to God's word; and if you cannot with a good conſcience obey man without offending God, patiently ſuffer, preſume not to rebel, and the glory and good Spirit of God ſhall dwell upon you. I pray you remember us your afflicted brethren, being in the Lord's bonds for the teſtimony of Chriſt, and waiting for the gracious hour of our moſt merciful Father. The Lord for Chriſt's ſake give us courage to drink heartily of this cup, which daily we groan and ſigh for, lamenting that the time is thus prolonged. The Lord Jeſus give us grace to be thankful, and to ſuffer patiently the provident hour of his moſt gracious will, Amen, Amen.

Yours in Chriſt,
John Bradford.

To my good Brother John Careleſs, Priſoner in the King's Bench.

THE Father of mercy, and God of all comfort, viſit us with his eternal conſolation, according to his great mercies in Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour, Amen.

My very dear brother, I never received ſo much conſolation by any thing ſince I came into priſon, as I have by your laſt letter, God be praiſed. I muſt confeſs that for my unthankfulneſs towards you, and eſpecially to God, I have now more need of his merciful aſſiſtance than ever. Ah that Satan envieth us ſo greatly, ah that our Lord would ſhortly lay his head under our feet. Ah that I may for ever beware, and be a godly example to you and to others to beware of unthankfulneſs. Good brother, we had more need to take heed of a foil after lightening than before. God therefore is to be praiſed even when he hideth (for a ſeaſon) his chearful countenance from us, leſt we, by not knowing how to uſe it as we ought, do hurt ourſelves more thereby; ſo great is our ignorance and corruption. This, my good brother, I write unto you, as to one whom in the Lord I embrace, and I thank God that you do me in like manner. God our Father more and more give us both his good Spirit, that as by faith we may feel ourſelves united unto him in Chriſt, ſo by love we may find ourſelves linked in the ſame Chriſt to one another, I to you, and you to me, we to all the children of God, and all the children of God to us, Amen, Amen.

Commend me to your good brother Skelthrop, for whom I heartily praiſe God, who hath given him at length grace to ſee and profeſs his truth. I doubt not but he will be ſo wary in all his converſation, that his old acquaintance may thereby ever think themſelves aſtray. Wo, and wo again would be unto us, if we by our example ſhould make men to ſtumble at the truth. Forget not ſalutations in Chriſt, as you ſhall think good, to Trew and his companions. The Lord hath his time (I hope) for them alſo, although we perchance think otherwiſe. It is not one or two drops that maketh the ſtone hollow, but the perpetual dropping; ſo, if with hearty prayer for them, and by our good example gently working upon them, we may at length ſee the operation of God. I beſeech God to make perfect all the good he hath begun in us all, Amen. I deſire you all to pray for me the moſt unworthy priſoner of the Lord,

Your brother,
John Bradford.

To Mr. John Hall and his Wife, Priſoners in Newgate.

ALmighty God our heavenly Father through Jeſus Chriſt be with you both, my dearly beloved, as with his dear children for ever, and ſo bleſs you with his Holy Spirit, that you may rejoice in his cauſe and this croſs, and gladly take it up and bear it ſo long as he ſhall think good. I have heard (my good brother and ſiſter) that God hath brought you both into his ſchool-houſe, that thereby you might ſee his love and care for you. If it be a token of a loving and careful father, to prevent the purpoſe, and diſappoint the intent of his children, while they inconſiderately endeavour to keep from ſchool (which they would not do, if they did but know and conſider the advantage of the learning they might there get); how ſhould you take this work of the Lord preventing your purpoſe, but as an evident ſign of that love and fatherly carefulneſs which he beareth towards you? If he had winked at your faults, you might, indeed, have eſcaped beating (I mean the croſs), but then you would have loſt the advantage of learning that which your Father would have you to learn for your future good. He, I ſay, hath brought you where you be; and though your wit and reaſon may tell you, it is by chance or fortune, yet (my dearly beloved) whatſoever was the means, know for certain that God your Father was the worker hereof, and that for your welfare, though your old Adam doth tell you otherwiſe: yet I ſay of truth, that your duty is to think of this croſs, that as it is of God's ſending, and although you deſerve otherwiſe, yet it cometh from him out of pure love and fatherly affection for your welfare and advantage.

You will be apt to object, and ſay, What advantage can ariſe from all this? We are now kept cloſe in priſon; our families and our poor children have nobody to take care of them; our ſubſtance by this means is diminiſhed;

our poverty approacheth, and perchance more dangers alſo, yea, and loſs of life too. Theſe are no advantages, but the greateſt miſeries and misfortunes; ſo that we may juſtly enquire, and ſhould be glad to know, what advantage can come to us from this croſs, which ſeems to be attended with nothing but the moſt miſerable inconveniences.

To theſe things I anſwer, That indeed what you ſay is true of your bodies, families, children, ſubſtance, poverty, life, &c. But then you muſt conſider theſe things in another manner, you muſt view them inwardly as well as well as outwardly, and then perhaps you may find more ſatisfaction. Do not you know that you muſt of neceſſity part from all theſe fine things in a very ſhort time? Tell me then, have you not this advantage from your croſs, to learn to loath and leave this world, and to long for and deſire another, where is perpetuity? You ought of your own head and free-will to have (according to your profeſſion in baptiſm) forſaken the world and all earthly things, uſing the world as though you uſed it not. Your heart muſt be entirely ſet upon your treaſure in heaven, or elſe you can never be Chriſt's true diſciples, nor be ſaved, and be where he is. The advantage that cometh by this croſs, if you rightly and willingly embrace, will moſt aſſuredly bring you to the Lord in endleſs glory. How doth God now, as it were, fatherly pull you by the ears, to remember your former offences, that repentance and remiſſion might enſue? How doth God now compel you to call upon him, and to be earneſt in prayer? Are all theſe no advantages? Doth not the ſcripture ſay that "God doth correct us in this world, becauſe we ſhall not be damned with the world? That God chaſteneth every one whom he loveth?" That the end of this correction ſhall be joy and holineſs? Doth not the ſcripture ſay, that you are now going the right way to heaven? that your ſuffering is Chriſt's ſuffering? My dearly beloved, what greater advantages than theſe can a godly heart deſire?

Therefore ye are commanded to rejoice and be glad when ye ſuffer as now ye do: for through the goodneſs of God great ſhall be your reward. Where? forſooth on earth, firſt your children; for now they are in God's immediate protection. Never was father ſo careful for his children, as God is for yours. God's bleſſing, which is more worth than all the world, you leave indeed to your children. Though all your providence for them ſhall be pulled away, yet God is not poor, he hath promiſed to provide for them moſt fatherly: "Caſt thy burthen upon me, ſaith he, and I will bear it." Do you therefore caſt them, and commend them unto God your Father, and doubt not that he will die in your debt. He never was found unfaithful, and he will not now begin with you. The good man's ſeed ſhall not go begging their bread, for he will ſhew mercy upon thouſands of the poſterity of them that fear him. Therefore, as I ſaid, God's reward firſt upon earth ſhall be felt by your children even corporally, and ſo alſo upon you, if God ſee it moſt for your advantage, at leaſt inwardly you ſhall feel it by quietneſs and comfort of conſcience: And ſecondly, after this life you ſhall find it ſo plentifully, as the eye hath not ſeen, the ear hath not heard, the heart cannot conceive, how great and glorious God's reward will be upon your bodies, much more upon your ſouls. God open our eyes to ſee and feel this indeed! Then ſhall we think the croſs, which is a means hereto, to be commodious. Then ſhall we thank God that he would chaſtiſe us. Then ſhall we ſay with David: "Happy am I that thou haſt puniſhed me: for before I went aſtray, but now I keep thy laws."

That we may do this indeed, my dearly beloved, let us firſt know that our croſs cometh from God. Secondly, that it cometh from God as a Father, that is, for our good. Thirdly, let us call to mind our ſins, and aſk pardon. Fourthly, let us look for certain help at God's hand in his good time: help, I ſay, ſuch as ſhall make moſt to God's glory, and to the comfort and advantage of our ſouls and bodies eternally. This if we certainly conceive, then will there proceed from us hearty thankſgiving, which God requireth as a moſt precious ſacrifice. That we may all offer this through Chriſt, let us uſe earneſt prayer to our God and dear Father, who bleſs us, keep us, and comfort us under his ſweet croſs for ever, Amen, Amen.

My dear hearts, if I could any way comfort you, you ſhould be ſure thereof, though my life lay thereon, but now I muſt do as I may, becauſe I cannot as I would. O that it would pleaſe our dear Father ſhortly to bring us where we ſhall never depart, but enjoy continually the bleſſed fruition of his heavenly preſence! Pray, pray, that it may ſpeedily come to paſs, pray. To-morrow I will ſend to you, to know your eſtate; ſend me word what are the chiefeſt things they charge you withal. From the Compter, by your brother in the Lord,

John Bradford.

To Mrs. Hall, Priſoner in Newgate.

OUR moſt merciful God and Father through Chriſt Jeſus our Lord and Saviour, be merciful unto us, and make perfect the good he hath begun in us unto the end, Amen.

My dear ſiſter, rejoice in the Lord, rejoice; be glad, I ſay, be merry and thankful, not only becauſe Chriſt ſo commandeth us, but alſo becauſe our ſtate wherein we at preſent are, requireth no leſs, for we are the Lord's witneſſes. God the Father hath vouchſafed to chooſe us amongſt many to witneſs and teſtify that Chriſt his Son is king, and that his word is true. Chriſt our Saviour, for his love's ſake towards us, will have us to bear record that he is no uſurper nor deceiver of the people, but God's ambaſſador, prophet and Meſſias; ſo that of all dignities upon earth this is the higheſt. Greater honour had not his prophets, apoſtles, nor deareſt friends, than to bear witneſs with Chriſt, as we now do. The world, following the counſel of their ſire Satan, would gladly condemn Chriſt and his verity, but lo, the Lord hath choſen us to be his champions to hinder this. As ſtout ſoldiers therefore let us ſtand to our maſter, who is with us, and ſtandeth on our right hand, that we ſhall not be much moved if we hope and depend on his mercy; he is ſo faithful and true, that he will never tempt us farther than he will make us able to bear.

Therefore be not careful (for I hear that this day you will be called forth) what you ſhall anſwer. The Lord, who is true and cannot lye, hath promiſed, and will never fail nor forget it, that you ſhall have both what and how to anſwer, as ſhall make his ſhameleſs adverſaries aſhamed. Depend therefore on this promiſe of God, who is an helper at a pinch, and a moſt preſent remedy to them that hope in him. Never was it ever heard of, or ſhall be, that any hoping in the Lord was put to foil.

Therefore as I ſaid, I ſay again, dear ſiſter, be not only not careful for your anſwering, but alſo be joyful for your cauſe. Confeſs Chriſt, and be not aſhamed, and he will confeſs you, and never be aſhamed of you. Though loſs of goods and life be like here to enſue; yet if Chriſt be true (as he is moſt true), it is otherwiſe indeed: for he that loſeth his life, ſaith he, winneth it; but he that ſaveth it, loſeth it. Our ſins have deſerved many deaths. Now if God ſo deal with us, that he will make our deſerved death a demonſtration of his grace, a teſtimonial of his verity, a confirmation of his people, and overthrow of his adverſaries; what great cauſe have we to be thankful! Be thankful therefore, good ſiſter, be thankful. Rejoice and be merry in the Lord; be ſtout in his cauſe and quarrel, be not faint-hearted, but run out your race, and ſet your captain Chriſt before your eyes. Behold how great your reward is. See the great glory and the eternity of felicity prepared for you. Strive and fight lawfully, that

you

you may get the crown. Run to get the game, you are almoſt at your journey's end: I doubt not but our Father will with us ſend to you alſo, as he did to Elijah, a fiery chariot, to convey us into his kingdom. Let us therefore not be diſmayed to leave our cloak behind us, that is, our bodies to aſhes. God will one day reſtore them to us like to the body of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe coming is now at hand; let us look for it and lift up our heads, for our redemption draweth nigh, Amen, Amen. The Lord of mercy grant us his mercy, Amen. I pray you, pray for me, and ſo deſire my brethren which be with you. God's peace be with us all, Amen. Bleſſed be the dead that die in the Lord; then how much more they that die for the Lord?

Your brother in bonds,

J. Bradford.

To a Woman that deſired to know his Mind, whether ſhe, refraining from the Maſs, might be preſent at the Popiſh Mattins, or no.

I Beſeech Almighty God our heavenly Father to be merciful unto us, and to increaſe in you, my good ſiſter, the knowledge and love of his truth; and at this preſent give me grace to write to you ſomething of the ſame, as may make to his glory and our own comfort and confirmation in him through Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

Whether you may come with ſafe conſcience to the church now, that is, to the ſervice uſed commonly, in part, as at mattins, or at even-ſong, or no, is your deſire to have me write ſomething for your further ſtay. My dearly beloved, although your benefits towards me might perchance make you to think, that in reſpect thereof I would bear that which elſe were not to be borne withal; yet by God's grace I am purpoſed, ſimply and without all ſuch reſpect in this matter, to ſpeak to you the truth according to my conſcience, as I may be able to ſtand unto when I ſhall come before the Lord.

Firſt, therefore, go about to learn perfectly the firſt leſſon to be learned by all that profeſs Chriſt, that is, to deny yourſelf, and in nothing to ſeek yourſelf.

Secondly, Learn, after this, to begin at the next leſſon to it, which is, to ſeek God in all things you do and leave undone.

Thirdly, Know then, that you ſeek God, when in his ſervice you follow his word, and not the fancies of man, cuſtom, multitude, &c. and when with your brother you follow the rule of charity, that is, to do as you would be done by. In theſe is a ſum of all the counſel I can give you, if that hereto I admoniſh you of the ſervice now uſed, which is directly contrary to God's word. So that your going to the ſervice, is a declaration that you have not learned your firſt leſſon, and never can learn it, ſo long as you go thither; and conſequently the ſecond leſſon you will utterly loſe, if you ceaſe not the ſeeking of yourſelf, that is, if for company, cuſtom, father or friend, life or goods, you ſeem to allow that which God diſalloweth. And this by God's grace, I purpoſe briefly to ſhew.

Firſt. The mattins and even-ſong is in a tongue forbidden to be uſed in the public congregation, where they underſtand it not. Read what St. Paul ſaith, that to pray in an unknown tongue is againſt God's commandment, 1 Cor. 14. This one, I think, is ſufficient, if there were no other argument againſt it. For how can God's glory be ſought, where his word and commandment is wilfully broken? How can charity to man ſtand, when charity to God, which is obedience to his word, is broken down?

Again, Both in mattins and even-ſong idolatry is maintained; for there is invocation and prayer made to ſaints departed this life, which robbeth God of that glory which he will give to none other.

Moreover, This ſervice, and the ſetters-forth of it, condemneth the Engliſh ſervice as hereſy, thereby falling into God's curſe, which is threatened to all ſuch as call good evil, and evil good; whereof they ſhall partake who communicate with them.

Beſides, This Latin ſervice is a plain mark of Antichriſt's catholic ſynagogue; ſo that the communicants and approvers of it thereby declare themſelves to be members of the ſame ſynagogue, and ſo cut off from Chriſt and his church, whoſe exterior mark is the true adminiſtration of God's word and ſacraments.

Furthermore, The example of your going thither to allow the religion of Antichriſt (as doubtleſs you do in deed, howſoever in heart you think) occaſioneth the obſtinate to be utterly untractable, the weak papiſts to be more obſtinate, the ſtrong goſpellers to be much weakened, and the weak goſpellers to be utterly overthrown: the inconveniences that muſt neceſſarily attend it, neither tongue can utter, nor pen deſcribe. All theſe evils thoſe be guilty of, that (externally only) accompany theſe in religion; from which you are admoniſhed to fly. If Chriſt be Chriſt, follow him. Gather with him, leſt you ſcatter abroad. Serve God not only in ſpirit, but alſo in body; make not your body, which is now a member of Chriſt, a member of Antichriſt. Come out from amongſt them, ſaith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing. Confeſs Chriſt and his truth, not only in heart, but alſo in tongue, yea, in very deed, which too few goſpellers do. Indeed many deny him, and therefore had need tremble, leſt that Chriſt deny them in the laſt day: which day, if it were often ſet before our eyes, the profits and pleaſures of this world would be eſteemed as mere trifles.

Therefore, good ſiſter, often have it before your eyes, daily ſet yourſelf and your doings, as it were, before the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt, that hereafter you be not called into judgment. Think that it will be little profit to you to win the whole world, and loſe your own ſoul. Mark well Chriſt's leſſon, "He that will ſave his life ſhall loſe it." The Father of heaven commandeth you to hear Chriſt, who ſaith, Follow me: this you cannot do and follow idolatry, or idolatries. Fly from ſuch, ſaith the ſcripture.

God grant this to you, to me, and to all God's children, Amen. Thus in haſte I have accompliſhed your requeſt. God grant that as you have done me much good bodily, ſo that this may be a little means to do you ſome good ſpiritually, Amen. If time had ſerved, I would have written more at large. March 2, 1555.

To the Right Worſhipful the Lady Vane.

THE good Spirit of God our Father be more and more plentifully perceived by your good ladyſhip, through the merits and mediation of our dear Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, Amen.

Although your benefits towards me have deſerved all the ſervice that I can do for you, yet (right worſhipful, and dearly beloved in the Lord) the true fear of God, and the love of his truth, which I perceive to be in you, doth, in a more extraordinary manner, oblige me to reſpect you. This bearer hath told me that your deſire is to have ſomething ſent to you concerning the uſurped authority of the ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome (who is undoubtedly that great Antichriſt, of whom the apoſtles do ſo much admoniſh us.) Now, to ſtrengthen your faith, as to furniſh you with anſwers (that you may at any time be capable to render a reaſon of the hope that is in you), I ſhall write ſomething to the purpoſe, which I deſire you would read and mark well.

The papiſts do place the pope in preheminence over the whole church, thereby unplacing Chriſt, who is the only head of the church, that giveth life to the whole body,

body, and by his Spirit doth enliven every member of the ſame. This they do againſt all ſcriptures. For where they bring in this ſpoken to Peter, Feed my ſheep; I would gladly know whether this was not commanded unto others alſo. As for that (which perchance they will urge), that he ſpake to Peter by name; I anſwer, that if they had any learning, they might eaſily perceive that it was not for any ſuch cauſe as they pretend, but rather by a threefold commandment to reſtore him to the honour of an apoſtle, which he had loſt by his threefold denial. And how dare they interpret this word, My ſheep, My lambs, to be the univerſal Church of Chriſt? I think a man might eaſily by the like reaſon prove that Peter himſelf had reſigned that which Chriſt had given to him, in exhorting his fellow-paſtors to feed the flock of Chriſt. Is not this pretty ſtuff? Becauſe Chriſt ſaith to Peter, Feed my ſheep, therefore he ought to rule the univerſal and whole church of Chriſt? If Peter do truly write unto others that they ſhould do the like, that is, Feed Chriſt's flock, either he conferreth his right and authority committed to him upon them, or elſe he doth participate or communicate with them; ſo that fooliſhly they go about to eſtabliſh that which hath no ground. Peter indeed was a ſhepherd of the ſheep, ſuch as beſtowed his labour on them ſo far, as he could ſtretch himſelf by his miniſtry. But the papiſts prate that he had full power over all churches: wherein they may ſee St. Paul to diſprove them, for elſe he had done unjuſtly in denying him the ſuperior place. Howbeit, who ever yet read that St. Peter ever took any thing upon him over churches committed to other men? Was not he ſent by the church, and ſent by one not having rule over the reſt? I grant that he was an excellent inſtrument of God, and for the excellency of his gifts, whenſoever they met together, place therefore was commonly given unto him. But what is this to the purpoſe, to make him head and ruler over all the whole church, becauſe he was ſo over a ſmall congregation?

But be it ſo, that Peter had as much given to him as they do affirm: Who yet will grant that Peter had a patrimony given for his heirs? He hath left (ſay the papiſts) to his ſucceſſors the ſelf-ſame right which he received. O Lord God! then his ſucceſſor muſt be a Satan: for Peter received that title from Chriſt himſelf. I would gladly have the papiſts to ſhew me one place of ſucceſſion mentioned in the ſcriptures. I am ſure that when Paul painteth out the whole adminiſtration of the church, he neither maketh one head, nor any inheritable primacy, and yet he is altogether in commendation of unity. After he hath made mention of one God the Father, of one Chriſt, of one Spirit, of one body of the church, of one faith, and of one baptiſm, then he deſcribeth the means and the manner how unity is to be kept; namely, becauſe unto every paſtor grace is given after the meaſure wherewith Chriſt hath endued them. Where I pray you is now any title of Plenitudinis poteſtatis, of fulneſs of power? When he calleth home every one unto a certain meaſure, why did he not forthwith ſay, One Pope? which he could not have forgotten, if the thing had been as the papiſts make it.

But let us grant that perpetuity of the primacy in the church was eſtabliſhed in Peter; I would gladly learn, why the ſeat of the primacy ſhould be rather at Rome than elſewhere. Marry, ſay they, becauſe Peter's chair was at Rome. This is even like to this, that becauſe Moſes the greateſt prophet, and Aaron the firſt prieſt, exerciſed their offices unto their death in the deſert, therefore the principal place of the Jewiſh church ſhould be in the wilderneſs. But grant them their reaſon that it is good; what ſhould Antioch claim? For Peter's chair was there alſo, wherein Paul gave him a check, which was unſeemly and unmannerly done of Paul, that would not give place to his preſident and better.

No, ſay the papiſts, Rome muſt have this authority, becauſe Peter died there. But what if a man ſhould by probable conjectures ſhew, that it is but a fable, which is feigned of Peter's biſhoprick at Rome? Read how Paul doth ſalute very many private perſons when he writeth to the Romans. Three years after he was brought priſoner to Rome, Luke telleth, that he was received of the brethren, and yet in all theſe is no mention at all of Peter, who then, by their ſtories, was at Rome. Belike he was proud, as the pope and his prelates be, or elſe he would have viſited Paul. Paul while priſoner at Rome wrote divers epiſtles, in which he expreſſeth the names of many who were but mean perſons in compariſon of Peter, but of Peter he ſpeaketh never a word. Surely if Peter had been there, this ſilence of him had been ſuſpicious. In the ſecond epiſtle to Timothy, Paul complaineth that no man was with him in his defence, but all had left him. If Peter had been then at Rome, as they write, then either Paul had belied him, or Peter had played his Peter's part, Luke 22. In another place, how doth he blame all that were with him, Timothy excepted? Therefore we may well doubt whether Peter was biſhop at Rome as they prate: for all this time, and long before, they ſay that Peter was biſhop there.

But I will not ſtir up coals in this matter. If Rome be the chief ſeat becauſe Peter died there, why ſhould not Antioch be the ſecond? Why ſhould not James and John, who were taken with Peter, be as pillars? Why, I ſay, ſhould not their ſeats have honour next to Peter's ſeat? Is it not prepoſterous, that Alexandria, where Mark (who was but one of the diſciples) was biſhop, ſhould be preferred before Epheſus, where John the evangeliſt taught and was biſhop; and before Jeruſalem, where not only James taught and died biſhop, but alſo Chriſt Jeſus our Lord and high-prieſt for ever, by whom, being maſter, I hope honour ſhould be given to his chair, more than to the chair of his chaplains?

I need to ſpeak nothing how that Paul declareth Peter's apoſtleſhip to concern rather the circumciſion or the Jews, and therefore properly pertaineth not to us. Neither need I bring in Gregory the firſt biſhop of Rome, which was about the year of our Lord 600, who in his works doth plainly write, that this title of Primacy, and to be head over all churches under Chriſt, is a title meet and agreeing only to Antichriſt, and therefore he calleth it a prophane, a miſchievous, and a horrible title. Whom ſhould we believe now, if we will neither believe apoſtle nor pope?

If I ſhould go about to tell how this name was firſt gotten by Phocas, I ſhould be too long. I purpoſe, God willing, to ſet it forth at large in a work which I have begun of Antichriſt, if God for his mercy's ſake give me life to finiſh it. For this preſent therefore I ſhall deſire your ladyſhip to take this in good part. If they will needs have the biſhop of Rome to be acknowledged for the head of the church, then will I urge them that they ſhall give us a biſhop. But they obtrude unto us a butcher rather, or a bite-ſheep, than a biſhop. They brag of Peter's ſucceſſion, of Chriſt's vicar, this is always in their mouth. But alas, how can we call him Chriſt's vicar that reſiſteth Chriſt, rejecteth his truth, perſecuteth his people, and preferreth himſelf above God and man? How or wherein doth the pope and Chriſt agree? How ſupplieth he Peter's miniſtry, that boaſteth of his ſucceſſion? Therefore if the papiſts will have the biſhop of Rome ſupreme head of the church of Chriſt in earth, they muſt, before they attain this, give us a biſhop in deed, and not in name. For whoſoever he be that will make this the bond of unity, whatſoever the biſhop of Rome be, ſurely this muſt needs follow, that they do nothing elſe but teach a moſt wicked defection, and departing from Chriſt.

But of this, if God lend me life, I purpoſe to ſpeak more at large hereafter. Now will I leave your ladyſhip to the tuition of God our Father, and Chriſt our only head, paſtor and keeper, to whom ſee that you cleave by true faith, which dependeth only on the word of God,

which if you do follow as a lantern to your feet, and a light to your ſteps, you ſhall then avoid darkneſs, and the dangerous deeps wherein the papiſts are fallen by the judgment of God, and ſeek to bring us into the ſame dungeon with them, that the blind following the blind, they both may fall into the ditch: out of which God deliver them according to his good will, and preſerve us for his name ſake, that we being in his light, may continue therein, and walk in it whilſt it is day; ſo ſhall the night never over-preſs us, we going from light to light, from virtue to virtue, from faith to faith, from glory to glory, by the governance of God's good Spirit, which God our Father give unto us all for ever, Amen.

Your brother in bonds
for the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt,
John Bradford.

Here followeth another letter from Mr. Bradford to Mr. Richard Hopkins ſometime ſheriff of Coventry; who, during the time of his ſhrievalty, was accuſed by certain malignant adverſaries of matters pertaining to religion. What matter it was I am not yet certainly informed, unleſs it were for ſending to a thief, being then in priſon ready to be hanged, a certain Engliſh book of ſcripture for his ſpiritual comfort.

Whereupon, or on ſome ſuch like matter, he being maliciouſly accuſed, was ſent for and committed to the Fleet-priſon, where he remained a long time in great peril of his life. Notwithſtanding the ſaid Hopkins being at length delivered out of priſon, following Mr. Bradford's counſel, and minding to keep his conſcience pure from idolatry, was driven with his wife and eight young children to quit the realm: and went into High-Germany, where he continued in the city of Baſil till the death of queen Mary, being like a good Tobias, to his power, a friendly helper and a comfortable reliever of other Engliſh exiles there about him, God's providence ſo working with him, that in thoſe far countries he fell not into any decay, neither any one of all his houſhold miſcarried during his ſtay there, but as many as he brought out, ſo many he carried home again, yea, and that with advantage, and God's plenty withal upon him.

A Letter to Mr. Richard Hopkins, then Sheriff of Coventry, and Priſoner in the Fleet.

DEarly beloved in the Lord, I wiſh unto you as unto mine own brother, yea as of mine own heart, God's mercy, and to the feeling of the ſame plentifully in Chriſt our ſweet Saviour, who gave himſelf a ranſom for our ſins, and price for our redemption, praiſed therefore be his holy name for ever and ever, Amen.

I will not go about to excuſe myſelf for not ſending unto you hitherto, but rather accuſe myſelf before God and you, deſiring of you forgiveneſs, and with me to pray to God for pardon of this my unkind forgetting you, and all other my ſins, which I beſeech the Lord in his mercy to do away for Chriſt's ſake, Amen.

Now I would be glad to make you ſome amends if I could; but becauſe I cannot, I heartily deſire you to accept the will for the deed. At preſent, my dear heart, you are in a bleſſed ſtate, although it ſeem otherwiſe to you, or rather unto your old Adam, which I dare now be ſo bold as to diſcern from you, becauſe you would have him not only diſcerned, but alſo utterly deſtroyed. For if God be true, then is his word true.

Now his word pronounceth of your ſtate that it is happy, therefore it muſt needs be ſo. To prove this I think there is no need: for you know that the Holy Ghoſt ſaith, "That they are happy who ſuffer for righteouſneſs ſake, and that God's glory and Spirit reſteth on them who ſuffer for conſcience to God." You know that you ſuffer for the ſake of God and religion, or elſe you might be ſoon out of trouble. You account yourſelf a great ſinner, and ſo ye think ye deſerve this puniſhment: but the papiſts do neither perſecute your ſins, nor you for the ſake of your ſins; but in you they perſecute Chriſt, and puniſh you for profeſſing his religion. Happy are ye who have found ſuch favour with God as to be accounted worthy to ſuffer for his ſake in the ſight of man: you ſhall ſurely rejoice with a joy unſpeakable in the ſight of men and angels.

You may think yourſelf born in a bleſſed time, that have found this grace with God, as a veſſel of honour to ſuffer with his ſaints, yea, with his Son. The apoſtle ſaith, "Not many noble, not many rich, not many wiſe in the world, hath the Lord God choſen." Who then hath greater cauſe to rejoice than you, that amongſt the Not many, he hath choſen you to be one? for that cauſe hath God placed you in your office, that thereby ye might the more ſee his ſpecial favour and love towards you. It had not been ſo great a thing for Mr. Hopkins to have ſuffered as Mr. Hopkins, as it is for Mr. Hopkins alſo to ſuffer as Maſter Sheriff. O happy day that you were put into this high office! by which, as God in this world would promote you to greater honour, ſo by ſuffering in this room he hath exalted you in heaven, and in the ſight of his church and children, to a much more excellent glory. When was it read that the ſheriff of a city hath ſuffered for the Lord's ſake, or caſt into priſon for a good conſcience? To the end of the world it ſhall be written for a memorial to your praiſe, "That RICHARD HOPKINS, Sheriff of Coventry, for the conſcientious diſcharge of his Office before God, was caſt into the Fleet, and there a long time kept Priſoner." Happy, and thrice happy are you, if for the ſake of religion you may give your life. Never could you have attained to this promotion in this manner, had you not been in that office. Who would ever have thought that you would have been the firſt magiſtrate that for Chriſt's ſake ſhould have loſt any thing? As I ſaid before, therefore I ſay again, that your ſtate is happy.

Be thankful therefore, rejoice in your trouble, pray for patience, perſevere to the end, let patience have her perfect work. If you want this wiſdom and power, aſk it of God, who will give it to you in his good time. Hope ſtill in him, yea if he ſhould ſlay you, with Job truſt in him, and you ſhall find him merciful and full of compaſſion: for he never did, nor never will break his promiſe. He is with you in trouble, he heareth you calling upon him, yea, before you call, through Chriſt he granteth your deſire. If he now and then hide his face from you, it is to provoke your appetite to make you the more to long for him. This is moſt true, he is coming, and will come, he will not be long. But if for a time he ſeem to tarry, yet ſtand you ſtill, and you ſhall ſee the wonderful works of the Lord. O my beloved, why ſhould you be heavy? Is not Chriſt Emmanuel, God with us? ſhall you not find that he is true in ſaying, "In the world you ſhall have trouble?" ſo is he in ſaying, "In me you ſhall have comfort." He doth not only foretel that trouble will come, but alſo promiſeth that comfort ſhall enſue. And ſuch comfort as the eye hath not ſeen, the ear hath not heard, neither can the heart of man conceive. O great comfort! who ſhall have this? verily they that ſuffer for the Lord, as I hope you do. Then, as I ſaid, happy, happy, and happy again are you, my dearly beloved in the Lord. You now ſuffer with the Lord, ſurely you ſhall be glorified with him. Now we are both in the ready road to heaven: for by many afflictions we muſt enter in thither, whither God bring us for his mercies ſake, Amen, Amen.

Your fellow in affliction,
John Bradford.

To Mrs. Elizabeth Brown.

GOOD ſiſter, God make perfect the good he hath begun in you unto the end.

I am

I am afraid to write to you, becauſe you ſo overcharge yourſelf at all times, even whenſoever I do but ſend commendations to you. I would be more bold to you than many others, and therefore you might ſuſpend ſo great tokens till I ſhould write to you of my need. Dear ſiſter, I ſee your unfeigned kindneſs to me, which I do recompenſe with the like, and will do by God's grace ſo long as I live, and therefore I hope not to forget you, but to remember you in my prayers, as I hope you do me. Otherwiſe I can do you no ſervice, except it be now and then by my writing to hinder you from better exerciſe; though the end of my writing is to excite and ſtir up your heart more earneſtly to go forwards in your well-begun enterprize. For you know none ſhall be crowned but ſuch as ſtrive lawfully, and none receiveth the prize but thoſe that run to the appointed mark. None ſhall be ſaved but ſuch as perſiſt and continue to the end.

Therefore, dear ſiſter, remember that we have need of patience, that when we have done the good will of God, we may receive the promiſe. Patience and perſeverance are the proper notes, whereby God's children are known from counterfeits. Many make good beginnings, yea their progreſs ſeemeth marvellous, but yet in the end they fail. Theſe were never of us, ſaith St. John, for if they had been of us, they would have continued to the end.

Go forward therefore, my beloved in the Lord, as you have well begun, ſo well perſevere, and happily end, and then all is yours. Though this be ſharp and ſour, yet it is not tedious and long. Accuſtom yourſelf now to ſee God continually, that he may be all in all unto you. In good things behold his mercy, and apply it to yourſelf. In evil things and plagues behold his judgments, whereby learn to fear him. Beware of ſin, as the ſerpent of the ſoul, which ſpoileth us of all our ornament and ſeemly apparel in God's ſight. Let Chriſt crucified be your book to ſtudy on, and that both night and day. Mark your vocation, and be diligent in the works thereof. Uſe earneſt and hearty prayer, and that in ſpirit. In all things give thanks to God our Father through Chriſt. Labour to have life everlaſting begun in you here: for elſe it will not be enjoyed elſewhere. Set God's judgments often before your eyes, that now examining yourſelf you may make diligent ſuit, and obtain never to come into judgment. Uncover your evils to God, that he may cover them. Beware of this Antichriſtian traſh: defile not yourſelf therewith in ſoul or body, but accompliſh holineſs in the fear of God, and bear no yoke with unbelievers. God our Father accompliſh his good work in you, Amen. Commend me to my good mother Mrs. Wilkinſon, and to my very dear ſiſter Mrs. Warcup. I ſhall daily commend you all to God, and I pray you do the like for me.

John Bradford.

To a Friend of his, inſtructing him how to anſwer his Adverſaries.

MY good brother, our merciful God and dear Father through Chriſt, open your eyes effectually to ſee, and your heart ardently to deſire the everlaſting joy which he hath prepared for his ſlaughter-ſheep, that is, for ſuch as ſhrink not from his truth for any ſuch ſtorm ſake, Amen.

When you ſhall come before the magiſtrates to give an anſwer of the hope that is in you, do it with all reverence and ſimplicity. And if you are afraid of the power and cruelty of the magiſtrates, ſet before you the example of good father Moſes; for he ſet the inviſible God before the eyes of his faith, and with them he looked upon God and his glorious majeſty and power, as with the eyes of his body he ſaw Pharaoh and all his frightful terrors. So do you, my dearly beloved: let your inward eyes give ſuch light unto you, that as you are before the magiſtrates, ſo, and much more, are you and they preſent before the face of God, who will give you ſuch wiſdom as the enemies ſhall be amazed at: and further, he will ſo order their hearts and doings, that they ſhall, whether they will or no, ſerve God's providence towards you (which you cannot avoid though you would), as ſhall be moſt to his glory, and your everlaſting comfort.

The chief matter they will trouble you for, and go about to deceive you withal, is the ſacrament, not of Chriſt's body and blood, but of the altar, as they call it, thereby deſtroying the ſacrament which Chriſt inſtituted. I would have you note theſe two things:

Firſt, That the ſacrament of the altar which the prieſt offereth in the maſs, and eateth privately by himſelf, is not the ſacrament of Chriſt's body and blood inſtituted by him; as Chriſt's inſtitution plainly written, and ſet down in the ſcriptures, being compared with their uſing of it, evidently doth declare.

Again, If they talk with you of Chriſt's ſacrament inſtituted by him, whether it be Chriſt's body or no: anſwer them, That as to the eyes of your reaſon, to your taſte and corporal ſenſe it is bread and wine, and therefore the ſcripture calleth it ſo, even after conſecration: but to the eyes, taſte, and ſenſe of your faith, which aſcendeth into heaven where Chriſt ſitteth, it is in very deed Chriſt's body and blood, which ſpiritually your ſoul feedeth on to everlaſting life, in faith and by faith, even as your body preſently feedeth on the ſacramental bread and ſacramental wine.

By this means, as you ſhall not allow tranſubſtantiation, nor none of their popiſh opinions: ſo ſhall you declare the ſacrament to be a matter of faith, and not of reaſon, as the papiſts make it. For they deny God's omnipotence, in ſaying that Chriſt is not there if bread be there: but faith looketh on the omnipotency of God, joined with his promiſe, and doubteth not but that Chriſt is able to give us what he promiſeth ſpecially by faith, the bread ſtill remaining in ſubſtance, as well as if the ſubſtance of bread were taken away: for Chriſt ſaith not in any place, this is no bread. But in theſe things God will inſtruct you, if you rely on his promiſe, and pray for the power and wiſdom of his Spirit, which may he grant unto us both, and to all his people, for his name ſake, through Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

John Bradford.

A Letter to certain godly Men, whom he exhorteth to be patient under the Croſs, and conſtant in the true Doctrine which they had profeſſed.

MY dearly beloved in the Lord, as in him I wiſh you well to fare, ſo I pray God that I and you may continue in his true ſervice, that we may perpetually enjoy the ſame welfare, as here in hope, ſo in heaven indeed, and eternally.

You know this world is not your home, but a pilgrimage, a place where God trieth his children; and therefore as it neither doth nor can know you, ſo I hope you know not it, that is, you allow it not, nor in any point will ſeem ſo to do, although you may be moved thereto on many occaſions. For this ſun that now ſhineth, is ſo burning hot, that the corn which is ſown upon ſand and ſtony ground, beginneth to wither, that is, many who before were taken for hearty goſpellers, do now, for fear of trouble, begin to fall away, and turn to their vomit again, thereby declaring that they were not of us, for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us, and neither for loſs nor gain have left us, either in word or deed. As for their hearts (which undoubtedly are double, and therefore in danger of God's curſe), we have as much with us as the papiſts have with them, and more

too

too by their own judgment. They deceive themſelves in thinking that they may inwardly love the truth, and outwardly curry favour in ſeeming to like the contrary. What though with my body, ſay they, I do this or that? God knoweth my heart is whole with him.

Ah brother, if thy heart be whole with God, why doſt thou not confeſs and declare thyſelf accordingly by word and deed? That which thou ſayeſt, thou believeſt in thine heart, is either good or not: if it be good, why art thou aſhamed of it? if it be evil, why doſt thou keep it in thine heart? Is not God able to defend thee, adventuring thyſelf for his cauſe? or will he not defend his worſhippers? Doth not the ſcripture ſay, that the eyes of the Lord are on them that fear him, and truſt in his mercy; to deliver their ſouls from death, and to feed them in the time of hunger?

If this be true, as certainly it is, why are we afraid of death, as though God could not comfort and deliver us; or, contrary to his promiſe, would not? Why are we afraid of the loſs of our goods, as though God would leave them that ſeek him deſtitute of all good things? Ah faith, faith, how few feel thee now-a-days? Full truly ſaid Chriſt, that he ſhould ſcarcely find faith when he came on earth. For if men believed theſe promiſes, they would never do any thing outwardly which inwardly they diſallow. No example of men, how many ſoever they be, or how learned ſoever they be, can prevail in this behalf: for the pattern which we muſt follow is Chriſt himſelf, and not the greater company or cuſtom. His word is the lantern to lighten our ſteps, and not learned men. Company and cuſtom are to be conſidered according to the thing they allow. Learned men are to be liſtened to and followed according to God's law, for elſe the greater part goeth to the devil. As cuſtom cauſeth error and blindneſs, ſo learning, if it be not according to the light of God's word, is poiſon, and learned men moſt pernicious. The devil is called Dæmon for his cunning, and the children of the world are much wiſer than the children of light in their generation: and I know that the devil and his agents have for the moſt part more helps in this life than Chriſt's church and her children. The devil and his ſynagogue have cuſtom, multitude, unity, antiquity, learning, power, riches, honour, dignity and promotions plenty, as always they have had, and commonly will have more than the true church until the coming of Chriſt: for the glory, riches and honour of this true church is not here; but her trial, croſs and warfare is here.

And therefore, I pray you, conſider theſe things accordingly. Conſider what you be; not worldlings, but God's children. Conſider where you be; not at home, but in a ſtrange country. Conſider with whom you are converſant; even in the midſt of your enemies, and of a wicked generation, and then, I hope, you will not much muſe at your affliction; which you cannot be without, being as you be, God's children, in a ſtrange country, and in the midſt of your enemies, unleſs you would leave your captain Chriſt, and follow Satan for the dung and droſs of this world, reſt and quietneſs, which he may promiſe you, and you indeed may think ye ſhall receive it, by doing as he would have you: but he is a lyar, he is not able to pay what he promiſeth. Peace and war come from God, riches and poverty, wealth and woe. The devil hath no power but by God's permiſſion. If then God permit him a little on your goods, body or life, that cannot much hurt you if ye be followers of godlineſs, as St. Peter ſaith. God will certainly remember you in his time as ſhall make moſt for your comfort. Can a woman forget the child of her womb? and if ſhe ſhould, yet will I not forget thee, ſaith the Lord. Look upon Abraham in his exile and miſery, look upon Jacob, Joſeph, Moſes, David, the prophets, apoſtles, and all the godly from the beginning; and, my good brethren, is not God the ſame God? You have heard of the patience of Job, ſaith St. James, and you have ſeen the end, how that God is merciful, patient and long-ſuffering: even ſo ſay I unto you, that you ſhall find accordingly if that you ſet his word always before you, and live according to it; and if he lay his croſs on you, you bear it with patience.

Therefore I heartily beſeech you, and out of my bonds which I ſuffer for your ſake, intreat you, that you would cleave in heart and humble obedience to the doctrine taught you by me, and many other brethren. For we have taught you no fables nor tales of men, but the very word of God, which we are ready to confirm with our lives, and by the ſhedding of our bloods, in all patience and humble obedience to the ſuperior powers, to teſtify and ſeal up, as well that you might be more certain of the doctrine, as that you might be ready to confeſs the ſame before this wicked world; knowing that if we confeſs Chriſt and his truth before men, he will confeſs us before his Father in heaven; but if we be aſhamed hereof for loſs of life, friends or goods, he will be aſhamed of us before his Father and his holy angels in heaven.

Therefore take heed, for the Lord's ſake take heed, and defile not your bodies or ſouls with this Romiſh and antichriſtian religion ſet up amongſt us again: but come away, come away, as the angel crieth, from amongſt them in their idolatrous ſervice, leſt you be partakers of their iniquity.

Uſe much and hearty prayer for the Spirit of wiſdom, knowledge, humbleneſs, meekneſs, ſobriety and repentance; which we have great need of, becauſe our ſins have thus provoked the Lord's anger againſt us: but let us bear his anger, and acknowledge our faults with bitter tears, and ſorrowful ſighs, and doubtleſs he will be merciful to us after his wonted mercy through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, to whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour and glory, praiſe, and everlaſting thanks, from this time forth for evermore, Amen.

Out of priſon by yours to command,

John Bradford.

A Letter to Mr. George Eaton.

ALmighty God our heavenly Father, recompenſe abundantly into your boſom, here and eternally, my dearly beloved, the good which from him by you I have continually received ſince my coming into priſon. Other ways can I never be able to requite your loving kindneſs here, than by praying for you, and after this life by witneſſing your faith declared to me by your fruits when we ſhall come and appear together before the throne of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whither I thank God I am even now going, always expecting the officers to come and ſatisfy the precept of the prelates, whereof though I cannot complain, becauſe I have juſtly deſerved an hundred thouſand deaths at God's hands by reaſon of my ſins, yet I may and muſt rejoice, becauſe the prelates do not perſecute in me mine iniquities, but Chriſt Jeſus, and his verity.

And becauſe they can do him no hurt (for he ſitteth in heaven, and laugheth them and their devices to ſcorn, as one day they ſhall feel), therefore they turn their rage upon his poor ſheep, as Herod their Father did upon the infants, Matt. 2. Great cauſe therefore have I to rejoice, that my dear Saviour Chriſt will vouchſafe, amongſt many, to chuſe me to be a veſſel of grace to ſuffer in me (who have deſerved ſo often and juſtly to ſuffer for my ſins), that I might be moſt aſſured I ſhall be a veſſel of honour, in whom he will be glorified.

As for the doctrine which I have profeſſed and preached, I do confeſs unto you in writing, as to the whole world I ſhall ſhortly by God's grace in ſuffering, that it is the very true doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, of his prophets, apoſtles, and all good men: ſo that if an angel ſhould come from heaven and preach otherwiſe, the ſame were accurſed.

Therefore waver not, dear brother in the Lord, but be confirmed in his truth, and as your vocation requireth, when

when God ſo will, confeſs it, though it be dangerous ſo to do. The end will evidently ſhew another manner of pleaſure for ſo doing, than tongue can tell. Be diligent in prayer, and watch therein. Reverently read God's word. Set the ſhortneſs of this time before your eyes, and let not the eternity that is to come, depart out of your memory. Practiſe in your lives what you learn by reading and hearing. Decline from evil, and purſue good. Remember them that be in bonds, eſpecially for the Lord's cauſe, as members of your body, and fellow-heirs of grace. Forget not the afflictions of Sion, and the oppreſſion of Jeruſalem; and God our Father will give us his continual bleſſing through Chriſt our Lord, who guide us as his dear children for ever, Amen.

And thus I take my farewel of you, dear brother, for ever in this preſent life, till we ſhall meet in eternal bliſs; whither our good God and Father bring us ſhortly, Amen. God bleſs all your babes for ever, Amen.

Out of priſon the 8th of February.

Your afflicted brother for the cauſe,

John Bradford.

Another Letter to Mrs. Anne Warcup.

ALmighty God our heavenly Father for his Chriſt's ſake, increaſe in us faith, by which we may more and more ſee what glory and honour is repoſed and ſafely kept in heaven, for all them that believe with the heart, and confeſs Chriſt and his truth with the mouth, Amen.

My dearly beloved, I remember that ſome time ago I took my leave of you upon conjecture: but now indeed I bid you farewel, upon certain knowledge. My ſtaff ſtandeth at the door, I continually look for the ſheriff to come for me, and I thank God I am ready for him. Now I go to confirm that which I preached. Now I am climbing up the hill, it will cauſe me to puff and blow before I come to the cliff: The hill is ſteep and high, my breath is ſhort, and my ſtrength is feeble: pray therefore to the Lord for me, that as I have now through his goodneſs come almoſt to the top, I may by his grace be ſo ſtrengthened as not to reſt till I come where I ſhould be. O loving Lord, put out thy hand and draw me unto thee: for no man cometh, but he whom the Father draweth. See, my dearly beloved, God's loving mercy: he knoweth my ſhort breath, and my great weakneſs. As he ſent for Elias in a fiery chariot, ſo ſendeth he for me: for by fire my droſs muſt be purified, that I may be fine gold in his ſight. O unthankful wretch that I am! Lord, do thou forgive me mine unthankfulneſs. Indeed I confeſs that my ſins have deſerved hell-fire, much more than this fire. But lo, ſo loving is my Lord, that he converteth the remedy for my ſins, the puniſhment for my tranſgreſſions, into a teſtimonial of his truth, and a teſtification of his verity, which the prelates do perſecute in me, and not my ſins: therefore they perſecute not me, but Chriſt in me, who I doubt not will take my part unto the very end, Amen.

O that I had ſo open an heart, as could receive this great benefit and unſpeakable dignity as I ſhould, which God my Father offereth to me! Now pray for me, my dearly beloved, pray for me that I never ſhrink. I ſhall never ſhrink, I hope. I truſt in the Lord I ſhall never ſhrink: for he that always hath taken my part, I am aſſured will not leave me when I have moſt need, for his truth and mercy ſake. O Lord, help me. Into thy hands I commend me wholly. In the Lord is my truſt, I care not what man can do unto me, Amen. My dearly beloved, ſay you Amen alſo, and come after if God ſo call you. Be not aſhamed of the goſpel of Chriſt, but keep company with him ſtill. Uſe hearty prayer, reverently read and hear God's word, put it in practice: look for the croſs, lift up your hands, for your redemption draweth nigh; know that the death of God's ſaints is precious in his ſight. Be merry in the Lord, pray for mitigation of his heavy diſpleaſure upon our country. God keep us for ever, God bleſs us with his ſpiritual bleſſings in Chriſt. And thus I bid you farewel for ever in this preſent life. Pray for me, for God's ſake pray for me. God make perfect his good work begun in me,

Out of priſon the 7th of February.

John Bradford.

In the ſtory of Mr. Bradford (p. 247.) there was mention made of a gentlewoman, who being troubled by her father and mother for not coming to maſs, ſent her ſervant to viſit Mr. Bradford in priſon; who tendering the woful caſe of the gentlewoman, to the intent partly to confirm her with counſel, and partly to relieve her oppreſſed mind with ſome comfort, directed unto her the following letter.

To a certain Gentlewoman, troubled and afflicted by her Parents for not coming to Maſs.

I Wiſh you, right worſhipful, and dearly beloved ſiſter in the Lord, as to myſelf, the continual grace and comfort of Chriſt, and of his holy word, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, that you may continue to the end in the faithful obedience of God's goſpel whereto you are called, Amen.

I underſtand you are on your trial in the ſchool-houſe of the Lord, which to me is a great comfort to ſee the number of God's elect by you increaſed, who are in that ſtate whereof God hath not called many, as St. Paul ſaith. May God of his infinite goodneſs finiſh and perfect the good he hath begun in you!

If then your croſs be to me a comfort, a token of your election, and a confirmation of God's continual favour, how much more ought it to be ſo unto you! unto whom he hath not only given to believe, but alſo to come into the rank of thoſe who ſuffer for his name's ſake, and that not by common enemies, but even by your own parents and kindred, as you told me. By which I ſee Chriſt's words to be true. That he came to give his children ſuch a peace with him, as the devil cannot abide, and therefore he ſtirreth up father and mother, ſiſter and brother, rather than it ſhould continue. But, my dear ſiſter, if you cry with David to the Lord, and complain to him; that for conſcience to him your father and mother have forſaken you, you ſhall hear him ſpeak in your heart, that he hath received you, and by this he would have you ſee, that he maketh you like unto Chriſt here, that in heaven you may perfectly enjoy him, when Chriſt ſhall appear, you ſhall be like unto him; for he ſhall make your vile body like unto his glorious and immortal body, according to the power whereby he is able to do all things. He will confeſs you before his Father, who do not deny his verity in word nor deed before your Father; he will make you to reign with him, who now ſuffer for him and with him; he will not leave you comfortleſs, who ſeek no comfort but at his hand: tho' for a little time you be afflicted, yet therein will he comfort and ſtrengthen you, and at length make you to be merry with him in ſuch joy as is infinite and endleſs. He will wipe all the tears from your eyes: he will embrace you as your dear huſband; he will, after he hath proved you, crown you with a crown of glory and immortality, ſuch as the heart of man ſhall never be able to conceive in ſuch ſort as the thing is. He now beholdeth your ſtedfaſtneſs, and ſtriving to do his good will; and ſhortly he will ſhew you how ſtedfaſt he is, and will be ready to do your will, after that you have fully reſigned it to his.

Pledge him in his cup of the croſs, and you ſhall pledge him in the cup of his glory. Deſire to drink it before it be come to the dregs, whereof the wicked ſhall drink, and all thoſe that for fear of the croſs and pledg-

ing the Lord, do walk with the wicked, in betraying in fact and deed that which their heart embraceth for verity. Which thing if you ſhould do (which God forbid), then you will not only loſe all that I have before ſpoken, and much more infinitely of eternal joy and glory, but alſo be a caſt-away, and partaker of God's moſt heavy diſpleaſure for ever; and ſo for a little eaſe, which you cannot tell how long it will laſt, to loſe for ever and ever all eaſe and comfort. For "He that gathereth not with me, ſaith Chriſt, ſcattereth abroad." According to that we do in this body, we ſhall receive, be it good or bad. If of our words we ſhall be judged to condemnation or ſalvation, much more then of our facts and deeds. You cannot be a member of Chriſt's church, and a member of the pope's church. You muſt glorify God not only in ſoul and heart, but alſo in body and deed. God eſteemeth his children not only of their hearts, but of their pure hands and works, and therefore in Elias's time he accounted none to be his ſervants and people, but ſuch as had not bowed their knees to Baal; as now he doth not in England account any other to be his ſervants, which know the truth in heart, and deny it in their deeds, as do our maſs-goſpellers.

We ought to deſire above all things the ſanctifying of God's holy name, and the coming of his kingdom; and ſhall we then ſee his name blaſphemed ſo horribly as it is at maſs, by making it a ſacrifice propitiatory, and ſetting forth a falſe Chriſt made by prieſts and bakers to be worſhipped as God, and ſay nothing? The Jews rent their cloaths aſunder in ſeeing or hearing any thing blaſphemouſly done or ſpoke againſt God, and ſhall we yet come to church where maſs is, and be mute? Paul and Barnabas rent their cloaths to ſee the people of Lycaonia come to offer ſacrifice unto them, and ſhall we ſee ſacrifice and God's ſervice done to an inanimate creature, and be ſilent? What thing helpeth more, or ſo much Antichriſt's kingdom, as the maſs doth? And what deſtroyeth preaching and the kingdom of Chriſt upon earth more than it doth? And how can we then ſay, Let thy kingdom come, and go to maſs? How can we pray before God, Thy will be done on earth, when we will do our own will, and the will of our father or friends? How pray we, Deliver us from evil, which knowing the maſs to be evil, do come to it?

But what need I go about to light a candle in the noonday, that is, to tell you that we may not go to maſs, or to the congregation where it is, except it be to reprove it, in that all men in ſo doing do but diſſemble both with God and man? And is diſſembling now to be allowed? "How long will men yet halt on both knees, ſaith God? Halting, ſaith Paul, bringeth out of the way," that is to ſay, out of Chriſt, who is the way: ſo that he which is not in him ſhall wither away, and be caſt into hell-fire. For Chriſt will be aſhamed of them before his Father, who are now aſhamed of his truth before this wicked generation.

Therefore, my good miſtreſs, take good heed, for it had been better for you not to have known the truth, and thereby to have eſcaped from papiſtical uncleanneſs, than now to return to it, making your members, being members of righteouſneſs, members of unrighteouſneſs, as you do if you do but go to the church where maſs is. Be pure therefore, and keep yourſelf from all filth of the ſpirit, and of the fleſh. Abſtain not only from all evil, but from all appearance of evil.

And ſo the God of peace ſhall be with you, the glory of God ſhall govern you, the Spirit of God ſhall ſanctify you, and be with you for ever, to keep you from all evil, and to comfort you in all your diſtreſs and trouble; which is but ſhort if you conſider the eternity you ſhall enjoy in glory and felicity in the Lord, which undoubtedly you will not fail to inherit for ever, if you put your truſt in God's mercy, call upon his name unfeignedly, and conſent not with the wicked world, but remain ſtedfaſt againſt it unto the end. God for his holy name ſake, who is properly the God of the widows, be your good and dear Father for ever, and help you always, Amen, Amen.

John Bradford.

To a Perſon by whom he had received Comfort and Relief in his Impriſonment.

THE mercy of God in Chriſt, peculiar to his children, be evermore felt by you, my dearly beloved in the Lord, Amen,

When I conſider with myſelf the benefits which God hath ſhewed unto me by your means, if I had ſo good and thankful a heart as I wiſh I had, I could not with dry eyes give him thanks; for certainly they are very many and great. And now being yet ſtill the Lord's priſoner, I receive from him more benefits by you. For which I think myſelf ſo much bound to you, my good brother (although you were but the inſtrument by whom God wrought and bleſſed me), that I look not to come out of your debt by any pleaſure or ſervice that I ſhall ever be able to do you in this life. I ſhall heartily pray unto God therefore to requite you the good you have done to me for his ſake: for I know that which you have done, you have done it ſimply in reſpect of God and his word. May he therefore give you grace to be daily more and more confirmed in his truth and word, and plentifully pour upon you the riches of his Holy Spirit and heavenly treaſures laid up in ſtore for you, that your corporal and earthly riches may be uſed by you as ſacraments and ſignifications thereof; the more to deſire the one, that is, the heavenly, and the leſs to eſteem the other, that is, the earthly. For Satan's ſolicitation is, ſo to ſet before you the earthly, that therein and thereby you ſhould not have acceſs to the conſideration of the heavenly, but as one bewitched ſhould utterly forget them, and altogether become a lover and worſhipper of the earthly Mammon, and ſo to fall to covetouſneſs and a deſire to be rich, by that means to bring you into many noiſome and hurtful luſts: as now-a-days I hear of many who have utterly forſaken God and all his heavenly riches, for Antichriſt's pleaſure, and the preſerving of their worldly pelf, which they imagine to leave to their poſterity, whereof they are uncertain, as they may be moſt certain they leave to them God's wrath and vengeance if they in time heartily repent not, and prevent not the ſame by earneſt prayer. Wherein, my good brother, if you be diligent, hearty, and perſevere, I am ſure God will preſerve you from evil, and from yielding yourſelf to do as the world now doth, by allowing in bodily fact in the Romiſh ſervice, that which the inward cogitation and mind doth diſallow. But if you be cold in prayer, and come into conſideration of earthly and preſent things ſimply, then ſhall you fall into faithleſs follies and wounding of your conſcience; from which God evermore preſerve you, with your good wife, and your babe Leonard, and all your family, to which I wiſh the bleſſing of God now and for ever, through Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

I pray give thanks for me to your old bed-fellow, for his great friendſhip for your ſake ſhewed to me when I was in the Tower.

John Bradford.

Mr. Bradford's Letter to a faithful Friend and his Wife, reſolving their Doubt, why they ought not to come to auricular Confeſſion.

THE merciful God, and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who loveth us as a moſt dear Father, keep you, my dear brother Nathanael, and your good yoke-fellow, my heartily beloved ſiſter in the Lord, in all things now and for ever, to his glory and your eternal comfort; and alſo of his goodneſs may he grant you both the

the feeling of that hope, which undoubtedly he hath laid up in ſtore for you both, infinitely ſurpaſſing all the ſtore and proviſion that this world is able to make for you; but I beſeech him to increaſe it more and more, and kindle in you a hearty longing for the enjoyment of the ſame; which when once felt, it would ſo animate and enliven us, that the means whereby we come to this bleſſed end, will not appear dreadful: but the cauſe why moſt men dread theſe means, is either the want of this feeling, or elſe the things of this preſent world do ſo dazle their eyes and attract their affections, that they cannot find in their hearts to part with them.

For auricular confeſſion, wherein you deſire my advice for your wife and family, my dear brother, I am as ready to give it as you are to deſire it; yea more ready, for I had half a ſuſpicion that you and your wife (eſpecially your wife) were tired of my advice, as if I had given you too much; whereas indeed I ſhould lament my too little care in feeding you ſpiritually, ſince you have ſpared no pains, both in priſon and out of priſon, to feed me corporally.

Auricular confeſſion, as it was firſt uſed and inſtituted (which was by way of aſking counſel), I take to be amongſt thoſe traditions which are in themſelves indifferent, that is, it may be done, or it may be left undone, unleſs it giveth offence to the weak brethren, and then it ought to be avoided, for we learn by St. Paul that things may be lawful that are not at all times expedient. But to conſider it, as it is now uſed (I write to you as I think, and what my own mind is; which follow no further than good men by God's word do allow), to conſider it, I ſay, as it is now uſed, methinks it is plainly unlawful and wicked, and that for theſe cauſes.

Firſt, Becauſe they make it a ſervice of God, and a thing which pleaſeth God of itſelf, not to ſay meritorious: my brother the bearer, can tell you at large how great an evil this is.

Secondly, Becauſe they make it of neceſſity, ſo that he or ſhe that uſeth it not, is not taken for a good chriſtian.

Thirdly, Becauſe it requireth of itſelf an impoſſibility, that is, the numbering and telling of all our ſins, which no man can conceive, much leſs utter.

Fourthly, Becauſe it eſtabliſheth and confirmeth, at leaſt alloweth, praying to ſaints; Precor Sanctam Mariam, you muſt ſay, or the prieſt for you.

Fifthly, Becauſe it is very injurious to the liberty of the goſpel, which to affirm in example and fact, I take to be a good work, and dear in the ſight of God.

Sixthly, Becauſe (as it is uſed) it is a note, yea, a very ſinew of the popiſh church; and therefore we ſhould be ſo far from allowing the ſame, that we ſhould think ourſelves happy to loſe any thing in bearing witneſs againſt it.

Seventhly, Becauſe inſtead of counſel, thereat ye ſhall receive poiſon, or if you refuſe it under Sir John's Benedicite, you ſhall no leſs there be wound in the briars.

Eighthly, Becauſe the end and purpoſe of your going thither is to avoid the croſs, that is for our own cauſe, and not for Chriſt's cauſe or the edification of our brethren. For in that they make it ſo neceſſary a thing, and a worſhipping of God, it cannot but be againſt Chriſt and the freedom of his goſpel: and the ſame thing teacheth us, that it is diſadvantageous to our brethren, who either be weak, or ſtrong, or ignorant, or obſtinate. If they be weak, by your reſorting to it, they be made more weak: if they be ſtrong, you do what you can to decreaſe their ſtrength: if they be ignorant, thereby you help to keep them ſo: if they be obſtinate, your reſorting to it cannot but rock them to ſleep in their obſtinate error of the neceſſity of this rite and ceremony. Theſe cauſes recited do ſhew you what I think in this: but my thinking muſt no farther bind you than a man's thought ſhould do, except the ſame be grounded upon God's word which bindeth indeed, as I think they do. I doubt not but you weighing theſe cauſes, and eſpecially two of the firſt and the laſt, if you pray to God for his Spirit to direct you, and likewiſe aſk the advice of this my good brother, and other godly learned men, I doubt not, I ſay, but you will be guided to that which is beſt in God's ſight, although in the ſight of the world perhaps you ſhould be counted fooliſh and preciſe. But be at a point with yourſelves as the diſciples of Chriſt (who had forſaken themſelves), to follow not your own will, but God's will, as you daily pray in the Lord's prayer.

The croſs of Chriſt be willing to carry, leſt you carry the croſs of the world, the fleſh, or the devil. One of theſe four croſſes you muſt carry. Three of them bringeth to hell, and therefore the greater part goeth that way. Only the fourth bringeth to heaven, and few walk in it becauſe it is ſtrait. However if it be ſtrait, it is but ſhort; and the few are many, if you conſider the godly, as the patriarchs, prophets, apoſtles, martyrs, confeſſors, and Chriſt Jeſus; with all his guard and train. Do not ſcorn to follow thoſe who are gone before, and thoſe that are now going, of which number I hope I am appointed to be one, and I beſeech you pray for me that God would make me worthy of that honour. Our ſins deſerve plagues, priſon, and the loſs of all that ever we have: therefore if God remove our ſins out of ſight, and ſend us priſon, and loſs of goods and living for his name's ſake, O how happy are we! Conſider this, and be aſſured, that he who loſeth any thing for him ſhall find it in his poſterity, both here and in heaven. As for your unableneſs to anſwer for your faith; it ſhall be enough for them to diſpute with your teachers. Faith ſtandeth not in diſputing. I think few, if it came to diſputing, could defend the Godhead of Chriſt, and many other articles; I ſpeak it for the ſimple ſort. Pray for me. Lack of paper maketh this end. Commend me to my good brother R. B. and my good ſiſter his wife. I pray them to pray for me. I truſt by this bearer to hear how you do.

John Bradford.

To Auguſtine Barneher.

MINE own good Auguſtine, the Lord of mercy bleſs thee, my dear brother, for ever. I have good hope, that if you come late at night, I ſhall ſpeak with you, but come as ſecretly as you can: Howbeit, in the mean ſeaſon, if you can, and as you can learn what Mr. G. hath ſpoke to Dr. Story and other. The cauſe of all this trouble both to my keeper and me, is thought to come by him. It is ſaid that I ſhall be burned in Smithfield, and that ſhortly. The Lord's will be done. Behold here I am, Lord, ſend me. Ah my own ſweet friend, I am now alone, leſt I ſhould make you and others worſe. If I ſhould live, I would more warily uſe the company of God's children, than ever I have done. I will bear the Lord's anger, becauſe I have ſinned againſt him. Commend me to my moſt dear ſiſter for whom my heart bleedeth, the Lord comfort her and ſtrengthen her unto the end. I think I have taken my leave of her for ever in this life, but in eternal life we ſhall moſt ſurely meet, and praiſe the Lord continually. I have now taken a more certain anſwer of death than ever I did: and yet not ſo certain as I think I ſhould do. I am now as a ſheep appointed to the ſlaughter. Ah my God, the hour is come, glorify thy moſt unworthy child. I have glorified thee, ſaith this my ſweet Father, and I will glorify thee, Amen. Ah mine own bowels, praiſe God for me, and pray for me, for I am his hope: I hope he will never forſake me, though I have above all others moſt deſerved it. I am the moſt ſingular example of his mercy, praiſed be his name for ever. Cauſe Mrs. Perpoint to learn of the ſheriff Mr. Cheſter, what they purpoſe to do with me; and know if you can, whether there

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be any writ for me. I am like to an owl in the houſe, and as a ſparrow alone in the houſe-top. Ah my Auguſtine, how long ſhall God's enemies thus triumph? I have ſent you this of the baptiſm of children to write out; when this is done, you ſhall have other things. Pray, pray, my own dear heart, on whom I am bold. The keeper telleth me that it is death for any to ſpeak with me, but yet I truſt that I ſhall ſpeak with you.

John Bradford.

To theſe letters of Mr. Bradford, here is alſo adjoined another, written to ſome of his faithful friends, worthy to be read by all chriſtians; wherein is deſcribed a lively compariſon between the old man and the new; alſo between the law and the goſpel.

A Letter of Mr. Bradford, deſcribing a Compariſon between the Old Man and the New, &c.

A Man that is regenerate and born of God (which that every one of us be, our baptiſm, the ſacrament of regeneration, doth require under pain of damnation, and therefore let every one of us ſay with the virgin Mary, "Be it unto me, O Lord, according to thy word," according to the ſacrament of baptiſm, wherein thou haſt declared our adoption; and let us lament the doubting hereof in us, ſtriving againſt it as we ſhall be made able by the Lord), a man, I ſay, that is regenerate, conſiſteth of two men (as a man may ſay) namely of the old man and of the new man. The old man is like to a mighty giant, ſuch a one as was Goliah, for his birth is now perfect. But the new man is like to a little child, ſuch a one as was David, for his birth is not perfect until the day of his general reſurrection.

The old man therefore is more ſtrong, luſty, and ſtirring than the new man, becauſe the birth of the new man is now begun, and the old man is perfectly born. And as the old man is more active, luſty and ſtrong than the new man; ſo is the nature of him clean contrary to the nature of the new man, as being earthly and corrupted with the ſeed of Satan; the nature of the new man being heavenly, and bleſſed with the celeſtial ſeed of God. So that inaſmuch as the old man is corrupt with the ſeed of the ſerpent, ſo is the new man bleſſed with the ſeed of God from above. And as the old man is a ſinner, and an enemy to God, ſo inaſmuch as he is regenerate, he is righteous and holy, and a friend to God, the ſeed of God preſerving him from ſin, ſo that he cannot ſin, as the ſeed of the ſerpent, wherewith he is corrupt even from his conception, inclineth him, yea enforceth him to ſin, and nothing elſe but to ſin: ſo that the beſt part in man before regeneration, in God's ſight, is not only an enemy, but even enmity itſelf.

A man therefore that is regenerate may well be called always juſt, and always ſinful; juſt, in reſpect of God's ſeed, and his regeneration; ſinful, in reſpect of Satan's ſeed and his firſt birth. Betwixt theſe two men there is continual conflict, and a deadly war. The fleſh and old man, by reaſon of his birth being perfect, doth often for a time prevail againſt the new man (being but a child in compariſon), and that in ſuch a manner, that even the children of God themſelves think that they be nothing elſe but old, and that the Spirit and ſeed of God is loſt and gone away; where yet notwithſtanding the truth is otherwiſe, the Spirit and the ſeed of God at length appearing again, and diſpelling the clouds which cover the ſun; ſo that ſometimes a man cannot tell by any ſenſe, that there is any ſun, the clouds and wind doth ſo hide it from our ſight: even ſo our blindneſs and corrupt affections do often ſhadow the ſight of God's ſeed in his children, as though they were downright reprobates. Whereof it cometh that they praying according to their ſenſe, but not according to the truth, deſire of God to give them again his Spirit, as though they had loſt it, and he had taken it away. Which thing God never doth indeed, although he make us to think ſo for a time; for he always holdeth his hand under his children in their falls, that they lie not ſtill as others do which are not regenerate. And this is the difference betwixt God's children which are regenerate and elect before all times in Chriſt, and the wicked always: that the elect lie not ſtill continually in their ſin, as the wicked do, but do at length return again by reaſon of God's ſeed, which is hid in them as a ſpark of fire in the aſhes, as we may ſee in Peter, David, Paul, Mary Magdalen, and others. For theſe (I mean God's children), God hath made all things in Chriſt Jeſus, to whom he hath given his dignity, that they ſhould be his inheritance and ſpouſes.

This our inheritor Chriſt Jeſus, God with God, Light of Light, co-eternal and conſubſtantial with the Father, and with the Holy Ghoſt, to the end that he might become our huſband (becauſe the huſband and the wife muſt be one body and fleſh), hath taken our nature upon him, communicating with it and by it in his own perſon, to us all his children, his divine majeſty (as St. Peter ſaith), and ſo is become fleſh of our fleſh, and bone of our bones ſubſtantially; as we are become fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bones ſpiritually, all that ever we have pertaining to him, yea even our ſins; as all that ever he hath pertaineth unto us, even his whole glory. So that if Satan ſhould ſummon us to anſwer for our debts or ſins, in that the wife is no ſueable perſon, but the huſband, we may well bid him enter his action againſt our huſband Chriſt, and he will make him a ſufficient anſwer.

For this end (I mean that we might be coupled and married thus to Chriſt, and ſo be certain of ſalvation, and at peace with God in our conſciences), God hath given his holy word, which hath two parts (as now the children of God do conſiſt of two men), one part of God's word being proper to the old man, and the other part of God's word being proper to the new man. The part properly pertaining to the old man is the law; the part properly pertaining to the new man is the goſpel.

The law is a doctrine which commandeth and forbiddeth, requiring doing and avoiding. Under it therefore are contained all precepts, threatnings, promiſes upon conditions of our doing and avoiding, &c. The goſpel is a doctrine which always offereth and giveth, requiring faith on our behalf, not as of worthineſs, or as a cauſe, but as a certificate unto us, and therefore under it are contained all the ſweet promiſes of God; as, I am the Lord thy God, &c.

In thoſe that be of years of diſcretion, it requireth faith, not as a cauſe, but as an inſtrument, whereby we ourſelves may be certain of our good huſband Chriſt, and of his glory, and therefore when the conſcience feeleth itſelf diſquieted for fear of God's judgment againſt ſin, ſhe may in no wiſe look upon the doctrine pertaining to the old man, but on the doctrine only that pertaineth to the new man, in it not looking for that which it requireth, that is, faith, becauſe we never believe as we ſhould; but only on it which it offereth, and which it giveth, that is, on God's grace and eternal mercy and peace in Chriſt. So ſhall ſhe be in quiet, when ſhe looketh for it, altogether out of herſelf, in God's mercy in Chriſt Jeſus; in whoſe lap if ſhe lay her head with St. John, then is ſhe happy, and ſhall find quietneſs indeed. When ſhe feeleth herſelf quiet, then in God's name let her look on the law, and upon ſuch things as it requireth, thereby to bridle and keep down the old Adam, to ſlay that Goliah; from whom ſhe muſt needs keep the ſweet promiſes, being the bed wherein her ſpouſe and ſhe meet and lie together. For as the wife will keep her bed only for her huſband, although in other things ſhe is contented to have fellowſhip with others, as to ſpeak, ſit, eat, drink, go, &c. ſo our conſciences, which are Chriſt's wives, muſt needs keep the bed, that is, God's ſweet promiſes only for ourſelves and our huſband, there

to meet together, to embrace and be joyful together. If ſin, the law, the devil, or any thing would creep into the bed, and lie there, then complain to thy huſband Chriſt, and forthwith thou ſhalt ſee him play Phineas's part. Thus, my dearly beloved, I have given you in few words a ſum of all the divinity which a chriſtian conſcience cannot want.

A Letter written to his Mother as a Farewel, when he thought he ſhould have ſuffered ſhortly after.

THE Lord of life and Saviour of the world, Jeſus Chriſt, bleſs you and comfort you, my good and dear mother, with his heavenly comfort, conſolation, grace and ſpirit, now and for ever, Amen.

If I thought that daily, yea almoſt hourly you did not cry upon God the Father through Jeſus Chriſt, that he would give me his bleſſing, even the bleſſing of his children, then would I write more about it. But foraſmuch as I am certain you are diligent herein, ſo I beſeech you, good mother, to continue; I think it good to write ſomething, whereby this your crying might be furthered. Furthered it will be, if thoſe things which hinder it be taken away. Among which, in that I think my impriſonment is the greateſt and chiefeſt, I will ſpend this letter about it, and that briefly, leſt it might increaſe the hindrance, as my good brother this meſſenger can tell you. You ſhall know therefore, good mother, that for my body, though it be in an houſe, out of which I cannot come when I will, yet in that I have conformed my will to God's, I find herein liberty enough, I thank God. And for my lodging, bedding, meat, drink, pious and learned company, books, and all other neceſſaries for mine eaſe, comfort and convenience, I am in much better caſe than I could wiſh, and God's merciful providence here is far above my worthineſs. Worthineſs, ſaid I? Alas, I am worthy of nothing but damnation.

But beſides all this, for my ſoul I find much more advantage. For God is my Father, I now perceive, through Chriſt; therefore in impriſoning me for his goſpel, he maketh me like to the image of his Son Jeſus Chriſt here, that when he cometh to judgment, I might then be like unto him, as my truſt and hope is I ſhall be. Now he maketh me like to his friends the prophets, apoſtles, the holy martyrs and confeſſors. Which of them did not ſuffer at the leaſt impriſonment or baniſhment for his goſpel and word?

Now, mother, how far am I unworthy to be compared to them? I (I ſay) which always have been, and am ſo vile an hypocrite and grievous ſinner. God might have cauſed me long before this time to have been caſt into priſon as a thief, a blaſphemer, an unclean liver, and an heinous offender of the laws of the realm; but dear mother, his mercy is ſo great upon you and all that love me, that I ſhould be caſt into priſon for none of theſe or for any ſuch vices, but only for Chriſt's ſake, for his goſpel's ſake, for his churches ſake, that thereby as I might learn to lament and bewail my ingratitude and ſins, ſo I might rejoice in his mercy, be thankful, look for eternal joy with Chriſt, for whoſe ſake, praiſed be his name for it, I now ſuffer, and therefore ſhould be merry and glad. And indeed, good mother, ſo I am as ever I was, yea, never ſo merry and glad was I, as now I ſhould be, if I could get you to be merry with me, to thank God for me, and to pray on this ſort: "Ah good Father, who doſt vouchſafe that my ſon, being a grievous ſinner in thy ſight, ſhould find this favour with thee, to be one of thy Son's captains and men of war to fight and ſuffer for his goſpel's ſake, I thank thee, and pray thee, in Chriſt's name, that thou wouldſt forgive him his ſins and unthankfulneſs, and make perfect in him that good which thou haſt begun; yea, Lord, I pray thee, make him worthy to ſuffer not only impriſonment, but even death itſelf, for thy truth, religion, and goſpel ſake. As Anna did apply and give her firſt child Samuel unto thee, ſo do I, dear Father, beſeeching thee for Chriſt's ſake to accept this my gift; and give my ſon John Bradford grace, always truly to ſerve thee and thy people, as Samuel did, Amen, Amen."

Good mother, mark what I have written, and learn this prayer by heart, uſe it ſincerely every day, and then I ſhall be merry, and you ſhall rejoice if you continue, as I truſt you do, in God's true religion, even the ſame I have taught you, and my father Traves I hope will put you in remembrance of: my brother Roger, I doubt not, daily doth ſo. Go on therefore, and learn apace. Although the devil caſteth divers ſnares in the way, God in whom you truſt, will caſt them away for his Chriſt's ſake, if you will call upon him; and never will he ſuffer you to be tempted farther than he will enable you to bear. But how you ſhould do herein, the other letter which I have written herewith, ſhall teach you, which I would have nobody read till my father Traves hath read it, and he will give you, by God's grace, ſome inſtructions.

Now therefore will I make an end, deſiring you to expect no more letters: for if it were known that I have pen and ink, then ſhould I want all the other conveniences I have mentioned concerning my body, and be caſt into ſome dungeon in fetters of iron: which thing I know would grieve you, and therefore for God's ſake ſee that theſe be burned, when this little prayer in it is copied by my brother Roger: it may be your houſe may be ſearched for ſuch things, when you little think of it: and look for no more, ſweet mother, till either God ſhall deliver me, and ſend me out, or till you and I ſhall meet together in heaven, where we ſhall never part aſunder, Amen.

I require you Elizabeth and Margaret my ſiſters, that you will fear God, uſe prayer, love your huſbands, be obedient unto them, as God requireth you: bring up your children in God's fear: and be good houſewives. God bleſs you both, with both your huſbands, my good brethren, to whom to do good, becauſe I now cannot, I will pray for them and you. Commend me to my ſiſter Anne, mother Pike, Th. Sorrocold and his wife, R. Shalcroſs and his wife, R. Bolton, J. Wild, Mr. Vicar, the parſon Mottrom, Sir Laurence Hall, with all that love, and I hope, live in the goſpel; and God turn Sir Thomas his heart, Amen. I will daily pray for him. I need not ſet my name, you know it well enough.

Becauſe you ſhould give my letters to my father Traves to be burned, I have written here a prayer for you to learn to pray for me, and another for all your houſe in your evening prayer, to pray with my brother. Theſe prayers are written with mine own hand: keep them ſtill, but the letters give to father Traves to burn, and give him a copy of the latter prayer.

Another Letter to his Mother, being his laſt Farewel, a little before he was burnt.

GOD's mercy and peace in Chriſt, be more and more perceived of us, Amen.

My moſt dear mother, in the bowels of Chriſt I heartily pray and beſeech you to be thankful for me unto God, who now taketh me unto himſelf: I die not as a criminal, but as a witneſs of Chriſt, the truth of whoſe goſpel I have hitherto confeſſed, I thank God, both by preaching and impriſonment, and now I am willing to confirm the ſame by fire. I acknowledge that God might juſtly have taken me hence for my ſins (which are many, great, and grievous: but the Lord for his mercy in Chriſt, I hope, hath pardoned them all), but now, dear mother, he taketh me hence by this death, as a confeſſor and witneſs, that the religion taught by Chriſt Jeſus, the prophets and the apoſtles, is God's truth. The prelates in me do perſecute Chriſt, whom they hate,

and his truth, which they will not abide, becauſe their works are evil. They do not care for the light, leſt men thereby ſhould diſcover their darkneſs. Therefore, my dear mother, give thanks to God for me, that he hath made the fruit of your womb to be a witneſs of his glory, and attend to the truth, which I have truly taught out of the pulpit of Mancheſter. Uſe often and continual prayer to God the Father, through Jeſus Chriſt. Hearken to the ſcriptures, and ſerve God according to them, and not according to the cuſtom: beware of the Romiſh religion in England; defile not yourſelf with it: carry the croſs of Chriſt as he ſhall lay it upon your back: forgive them that kill me: pray for them, for they know not what they do: commit my cauſe to God our Father: be mindful of both your daughters, and help them as well as you can.

I ſend all my writings to you and my brother Roger; do with them as you will, becauſe I cannot as I would, he can tell you more of my mind. I have nothing to give you, or to leave behind me for you: only I pray God my Father for Chriſt's ſake, to bleſs you, and keep you from evil. May he make you patient, and thankful that he will take the fruit of your womb to witneſs his truth; wherein I confeſs to the whole world, I die, and depart this life, in hope of a much better: which I look for at the hands of God my Father, through the merits of his dear Son Jeſus Chriſt.

Thus, my dear mother, I take my laſt farewel of you in this life, beſeeching the Almighty and eternal Father by Chriſt, to grant us to meet in the life to come, where we ſhall give him continual thanks and praiſe for ever and ever, Amen. Out of priſon, June 24, 1555.

Your Son in the Lord,
John Bradford.

A Letter of Supplication ſent to Queen Mary, her Council, and the whole Parliament.

IN moſt humble wiſe complaineth unto your majeſty and honours, a poor ſubject, perſecuted for the confeſſion of Chriſt's verity; which deſerveth your protection and encouragement, as the thing by which you reign and have your honour and authority, Although we that be profeſſors, and through the grace of God the conſtant confeſſors of the ſame, are, as it were, the outſweepings of the world: yet, I ſay, the truth itſelf is not a thing unworthy for your ears to hear, for your eyes to ſee, and for your hands to handle, help and ſuccour, as the Lord hath made you able, and placed you where you are, for the ſame purpoſe. Your highneſs and honours ought to know, that there is no innocency in words or deeds, where it is enough and ſufficient only to accuſe. It behoveth kings, queens, and all that be in authority, to know that in the adminiſtration of their kingdoms they are God's miniſters. It behoveth them to know, that they are not kings, but plain tyrants, who reign not to this end, that they may ſerve and ſet forth God's glory after true knowledge: and therefore it is required of them that they would be wiſe, and ſuffer themſelves to be taught, to ſubmit themſelves to the Lord's diſcipline, and to kiſs their Sovereign, leſt they periſh; as all thoſe Potentates, with their principalities and dominions cannot long proſper, but periſh indeed, if they and their kingdoms be not ruled with the ſcepter of God, that is, with his word; which whoſo honoureth not, honoureth not God, and they that honour not the Lord, the Lord will not honour them, but bring them into contempt, and at length take his own cauſe, which he hath chiefly committed to them to care for, into his own hands, and ſo overthrow them, and ſet up his truth glorioufly; the people alſo periſhing with the princes, where the word of prophecy is wanting, much more is ſuppreſſed, as it is now in this realm of England; over which the eyes of the Lord are ſet to deſtroy it, your highneſs, and all your honours, if in time ye look not better to your office and duties herein, and not ſuffer yourſelves to be ſlaves and hangmen to Antichriſt and his prelates, who have already brought your highneſs and honours in the mind to let Barabbas looſe, and to hang up Chriſt: as by the grace and help of God I ſhall make apparent, if firſt it would pleaſe your excellent majeſty, and all your honours, to take to heart God's doctrine, which rather through the malice of the phariſees, I mean the biſhops and prelates, than your conſciences, is oppreſſed: and not for our contemptible and execrable ſtate in the ſight of the world, to paſs the leſs of it. For this doctrine is higher, and of more honour and majeſty than all the whole world. It ſtandeth invincible above all power, being not our doctrine, but the doctrine of the ever living God, and of his Chriſt, whom the Father hath ordained King, to have dominion from ſea to ſea, and from the river unto the ends of the world. And truly ſo he doth and will reign, that he will ſhake all the whole earth with his iron and braſen power, with his golden and ſilver brightneſs, only by the rod of his mouth, to ſhivers, in ſuch a manner as though they were pots of clay, according to what the prophet writeth of the magnificence of his kingdom. And thus much for the doctrine, and your duties to hearken, to propagate, and defend the ſame.

But now will our adverſaries mainly cry out againſt us, becauſe no man may be admitted once to ſpeak againſt them, that we pretend falſely the doctrine and word of God, calling us the moſt wicked contemners of it, and heretics, ſchiſmatics, traitors, &c. All which their ſayings, how malicious and falſe they are, though I might refer to that which is written by thoſe men whoſe works they have condemned, and all that retain any of them, publicly by proclamation; yet here will I occaſion your majeſty and honours by this my writing, to ſee that it is far otherwiſe than they report of us. God our Father, for his holy name's ſake, direct my pen to be his inſtrument to put into your eyes, ears and hearts, that which moſt may make to his glory, to the ſafe-guard of your ſouls and bodies, and preſervation of the whole realm, Amen.

John Bradford.

To certain of his Friends, N. S. and R. C.

I Wiſh to you, my good brethren, the ſame grace of God in Chriſt, which I pray the Father of mercies to give me for his holy name's ſake, Amen.

Your letter, though I have not read myſelf, becauſe I would not alienate my mind from conceived things to write to others, yet I have heard the ſum of it, that it is of God's election; wherein I will briefly write to you my faith, and how I think it good and meet for a chriſtian man to wade in it.

I believe, that man, made after the image of God, did fall from that bleſſed ſtate to the condemnation of himſelf, and all his poſterity. I believe that Chriſt (for man being thus fallen) did oppoſe himſelf to the juſtice of God, a mediator, paying the ranſom and price of redemption for Adam and his whole poſterity that refuſe it not finally. I believe, that all who believe in Chriſt (I ſpeak of ſuch as be of years of diſcretion), are partakers of Chriſt and all his merits. I believe that faith, and to believe in Chriſt (I ſpeak not now of faith that men have by reaſon of miracles, John 2. 11. Acts 8. or by reaſon of earthly conveniences, Matt. 13. cuſtom and authority of men, which is commonly ſeen, the hearts of them that ſo believe, being not right and ſimple before God: but I ſpeak of that faith which indeed is the true faith, the juſtifying and regenerating faith), I believe, I ſay, that this faith and belief in Chriſt, is the work and gift of God, given to none but thoſe who are the children of God, that is, to thoſe whom God the Father before the beginning of the world hath predeſtinated in Chriſt to eternal life.

Thus

Thus do I wade in predeſtination, in ſuch a manner as he hath opened it. Though in God it be the firſt, yet to us it is the laſt opened. And therefore I begin with creation, from whence I come to redemption, ſo on to juſtification, and then to election. On this manner I am ſure, that warily and wiſely a man may walk in it eaſily by the light of God's Spirit, in and by his word, ſeeing this faith not to be given to all men, 2 Theſſ. 3. but to ſuch as are born of God, predeſtinate before the world was made, after the purpoſe and good will of God, which will we muſt not call in queſtion, but in fear and trembling ſubmit ourſelves to it, as to that which can will nothing otherwiſe than what is holy, juſt and good, how far ſoever it may ſeem otherwiſe to our reaſon, which muſt needs be beaten down to be more careful for God's glory, than for man's ſalvation which dependeth only thereon, as all God's children full well ſee: for they ſeek not the glory which cometh of men, but the glory which cometh of God, Jer. 9. John 5. They know God to be a God which doth on earth, not only mercy, but alſo judgment, which is his juſtice, and moſt juſt, although our fooliſh reaſon cannot ſee it. And in this knowledge they glory and rejoice, though others through vain curioſity grudge and murmur againſt it. Thus briefly I have ſent you my mind and meaning concerning this matter. Hereafter you ſhall have (I think) your letter particularly anſwered by Mr. Philpot; as alſo, if I have time, and you ſo require it, I will do.

John Bradford.

Notes upon the foregoing Epiſtle.

AS touching the doctrine of election (whereof this letter of Mr. Bradford, and many other his letters do much treat), three things muſt be conſidered.

1. What God's election is, and what is the cauſe thereof.

2. Secondly, How God's election proceedeth in working our ſalvation.

3. To whom God's election pertaineth, and how a man may be certain thereof.

Between predeſtination and election there is this difference: Predeſtination is as well to the reprobate as to the elect. Election pertaineth only to them that be ſaved.

Predeſtination, in that it reſpecteth the reprobate, is called reprobation: in that it reſpecteth the ſaved, is called election, and is thus defined:

Predeſtination is the eternal decreement of God, purpoſed before in himſelf, what ſhall befal all men, either to ſalvation or damnation.

Election is the free mercy and grace of God in his own will through faith in Chriſt his Son, chuſing and preferring unto life ſuch as pleaſeth him.

In this definition of election, firſt goeth before the mercy and grace of God, as the cauſes thereof, whereby are excluded all the works of the law, and merits of deſerving, whether they go before faith, or come after. So was Jacob choſen, and Eſau refuſed, before either of them began to work, &c.

Secondly, In that this mercy and grace of God in this definition is ſaid to be Free, thereby is to be noted the proceeding and working of God not to be bounded to any ordinary place, or to any ſucceſſion of chair, nor to ſtate and dignity of perſon, nor to worthineſs of blood, &c. but all goeth by the mere will of his own purpoſe. And thus was the outward race and ſtock of Abraham after the fleſh refuſed (which ſeemed to have the preheminence), and another ſeed after the Spirit raiſed up to Abraham of the ſtones, that is, of the Gentiles. So was the outward temple of Jeruſalem and chair of Moſes, which ſeemed to be of price, forſaken, and God's chair advanced in other nations. So was tall Saul refuſed, and little David accepted: the rich, the proud, the wiſe of this world rejected, and the word of ſalvation daily opened to the poor and miſerable abjects, the high mountains caſt under, and the low valleys exalted, &c.

Thirdly, Where it is added (in his own will) by this falleth down the free will and purpoſe of man, with all his actions, counſels, and ſtrength of nature; according as it is written, "It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that ſheweth mercy." So we ſee how Iſrael ran long, and yet got nothing. The Gentiles began to ſet out later, and yet got the game. So they which came at the firſt hour did labour more, and yet they which came laſt were rewarded with the firſt. The working will of the phariſee ſeemed better, but yet the Lord's will was rather to juſtify the publican. The elder ſon had a better will to tarry by his father, and ſo did indeed: and yet the fat calf was given to the younger ſon that ran away. Whereby we are to underſtand, how the matter goeth, not by the will of man, but by the will of God, as it pleaſeth him to accept; according as it is written, "Which are born not of the will of fleſh, nor yet of the will of man, but of God." Furthermore, as all then goeth by the will of God only, and not by the will of man: ſo again here is to be noted, that this will of God never goeth without faith in Chriſt Jeſus his Son.

And therefore, fourthly, is this clauſe added in the definition, through faith in Chriſt his Son. Which faith in Chriſt to us-ward maketh all together. For firſt, it certifieth us of God's election; as this epiſtle of Mr. Bradford doth well expreſs. For whoſoever will be certain of election in God, let him firſt begin with his faith in Chriſt: which if he find in him to ſtand firm, he may be ſure, and nothing doubt, but that he is one of the number of God's elect. Secondly, The ſaid faith, and nothing elſe, is the only condition and means whereupon God's mercy, election, vocation, and all God's promiſes to ſalvation do ſtay, according to the words of St. Paul, "If ye abide in the faith," Coloſſ. 1. Thirdly, This faith alſo is the immediate and next cauſe of our juſtification ſimply, without any other condition annexed. For as the mercy of God, his grace, election, vocation, and other precedent cauſes do ſave and juſtify us upon condition, If we believe in Chriſt: ſo this faith only in Chriſt without condition, is the next and immediate cauſe which by God's promiſe worketh our juſtification; according as it is written, "Believe in the Lord Jeſus, and thou ſhalt be ſaved, thou and thy whole houſe," Acts 16. And thus much touching the definition of election, with the cauſes thereof declared. Which you ſee now to be no merits nor works of man, whether they go before or come after faith, but only the mere mercy of God through faith. For like as all they that be born of Adam, do taſte of his malediction, though they taſted not his apple: ſo all they that be born of Chriſt (which is by faith) take part of the obedience of Chriſt, although they never did that obedience themſelves which was in him, Rom. 5.

Now to the ſecond conſideration, let us ſee likewiſe, how, and in what order this election of God proceedeth in chooſing and electing them which he ordaineth to ſalvation; which order is this. In them that be choſen to life, firſt God's mercy and free grace bringeth forth election; election worketh vocation, or God's holy calling, which vocation, through hearing, bringeth knowledge and faith of Chriſt. Faith through promiſe obtaineth juſtification, juſtification through hope waiteth for glorification.

Election is before time. Vocation and faith cometh in time. Juſtification and glorification is without end.

Election, depending upon God's free grace and will, excludeth all man's will, blind fortune, chance and all peradventures.

Vocation, ſtanding upon God's election, excludeth all man's wiſdom, cunning, learning, intention, power and preſumption.

Faith

Faith in Chriſt, proceeding by the gift of the Holy Ghoſt, and freely juſtifying man by God's promiſe, excludeth all other merits of men, all condition of deſerving, and all works of the law, both God's law and man's, with all other outward means whatſoever.

Juſtification cometh freely by faith, ſtandeth ſure by promiſe, without doubt, fear, or wavering in this life.

Glorification pertaining only to the life to come, by hope is looked for.

Grace and mercy preventeth.

Election ordaineth.

Vocation prepareth and receiveth the word, whereby cometh faith.

Faith juſtifieth.

Juſtification bringeth glory.

Election is the immediate and next cauſe of vocation.

Vocation (which is the working of God's Spirit by the word) is the immediate and next cauſe of faith.

Faith is the immed ate and next cauſe of juſtification.

And this order and connection of cauſes is diligently to be obſerved, becauſe of the papiſts, who have miſerably confounded and inverted this doctrine, thus teaching: That Almighty God ſo far forth as he foreſeeth man's merits before to come, ſo doth he diſpenſe his election: That the Lord recompenſeth the grace of election, not to any merits preceding; but yet granteth the ſame to the merits which follow: As though we had our election by our holineſs that followeth after, and not rather have our holineſs by God's election going before.

But we, following the ſcripture, ſay otherwiſe, that the only uſe of God's election, is his own free mercy; and the only cauſe of our juſtification is our faith in Chriſt, and nothing elſe. As for example; firſt concerning election, if the queſtion be aſked, Why was Abraham choſen, and not Nachor? Why was Jacob choſen, not Eſau? Why was Moſes elected, and Pharaoh hardened? Why was David accepted, and Saul refuſed? Why be few choſen, and the moſt forſaken? It cannot be anſwered otherwiſe but thus, Becauſe it was ſo the good will of God.

In like manner touching vocation, and alſo faith, if the queſtion be aſked, Why this vocation and gift of faith was given to Cornelius the Gentile, and not to Tertullus the Jew? Why to the poor, to the babes, and to the little ones of this world (of whom Chriſt ſpeaketh, "I thank thee, Father, who haſt hid this from the wiſe, &c." Matt. 11.) Why to the unwiſe, the ſimple abjects and out-caſts in this world? (of whom St. Paul ſpeak- 1 Cor. 1. "Ye ſee your calling, my brethren, how not many of you, &c.") Why to the ſinners, and not to the juſt? Why the beggars by the highways were called, and the bidden gueſts excluded? We can go to no other cauſe, but to God's purpoſe and election, and ſay with Chriſt our Saviour, "Yea, Father, for ſo it ſeemeth good in thy ſight," Luke 10.

And ſo for juſtification likewiſe, if the queſtion be aſked, Why the publican was juſtified, and not the phariſee? Luke 18. Why Mary the ſinner, and not Simon the inviter? Luke 11. Why harlots and publicans go before the ſcribes and phariſees in the kingdom? Matt. 21. Why the ſon of the free-woman was received, and the bond-woman's ſon, being his elder, was rejected? Gen. 21. Why Iſrael, which ſo long ſought for righteouſneſs, found it not? and the Gentiles, which ſought not for it, found it? Rom. 9. We have no other cauſe to render, but to ſay with St. Paul, Becauſe they ſought for it by works of the law, and not by faith: which faith, as it cometh not by man's will (as the papiſts falſely pretend), but only by the election and free gift of God; ſo it is only the immediate cauſe whereunto the promiſe of our ſalvation is annexed, according as we read; "And therefore of faith is the inheritance given, as after grace, that the promiſe might ſtand ſure to every ſeed," Rom. 4. Item, in the ſame chapter, "Faith, believing in him which juſtifieth the wicked, is imputed to righteouſneſs."

And thus concerning the cauſes of our ſalvation, ye ſee how faith in Chriſt, only and immediately, without any condition to juſtify us, being ſo linked with God's mercy and election, that whereſoever election goeth before, there faith in Chriſt muſt needs follow after. And again, whoſoever believeth in Chriſt Jeſus, through the vocation of God, he muſt needs be partaker of God's election.

Whereupon reſulteth now the third note or conſideration; which is, to conſider whether a man in this life may be certain of his election. To anſwer to which queſtion, this firſt is to be underſtood; That although our election and vocation ſimply indeed be known to God only in himſelf, A priore; yet notwithſtanding it may be known to every particular faithful man, A poſteriore; that is, by means, which means is faith in Chriſt Jeſus crucified. Foraſmuch as by faith in Chriſt a man is juſtified, and thereby made the child of ſalvation, reaſon muſt needs lead the ſame to be then the child of election, choſen of God unto everlaſting life. For how can a man be ſaved, but by conſequence it followeth, that he muſt alſo be elected?

And therefore of election it is truly ſaid, We muſt judge of election by that which cometh after; that is, by your faith and belief in Chriſt: which faith, altho' in time it followeth after election, yet this is the proper and immediate cauſe aſſigned by the ſcripture, which not only juſtifieth us, but alſo certifieth us of this election of God.

Whereunto likewiſe well agreeth this preſent letter of Mr. Bradford; wherein he ſaith, Election, albeit in God it be the firſt, yet to us it is the laſt opened. And therefore beginning firſt (ſaith he) with creation, I com from thence to the redemption and juſtification by faith and ſo to election. Not that faith is the cauſe efficient of election, being rather the effect thereof, but is to us the cauſe certificatory, or the cauſe of our certification, whereby we are brought to the feeling and knowledge of our election in Chriſt. For albeit that election firſt be certain in the knowledge of God; yet in our knowledge, faith only that we have in Chriſt, is the thing that giveth to us our certificate and comfort of this election.

Wherefore, whoſoever deſireth to be aſſured that he is one of the elect number of God, let him not climb up to heaven to know, but let him deſcend into himſelf, and there ſearch his faith in Chriſt the Son of God; which if he find to be ſincere and unfeigned, by the working of God's Holy Spirit accordingly: thereupon let him ſtay, and ſo wrap himſelf wholly, both body and ſoul, under God's general promiſe, and encumber his head with no other ſpeculations; knowing this, "That whoſoever believeth in him ſhall never periſh, John 3. Shall not be confounded, Rom. 9. Shall not ſee death, John 8. Shall not enter into judgment, John 5. Shall have everlaſting life, John 3. 7. Shall be ſaved, Matt. 28. Acts 16. Shall have remiſſion of all his ſins, Acts 10. Shall be juſtified, Rom. 3. Gal. 2. Shall have floods flowing out of him of water of life, John. 7. Shall never die, John 11. Shall be raiſed in the laſt day, John 6. Shall find reſt to his ſoul, and ſhall be refreſhed, Matt. 11."

Now then, foraſmuch as we ſee faith to be the ground whereupon dependeth the whole condition of our juſtifying, let us diſcuſs in like manner what is this faith whereof the ſcripture ſo much ſpeaketh, for the more plain underſtanding of the ſimple. For many kinds there be of faith: as a man may believe every thing that is true, yet not every truth doth ſave, neither doth the believing of every truth juſtify a man. He that believeth that God created all things of nought, believeth truly. He that believeth that God is a juſt God, that he is omnipotent, that he is merciful, that he is true of promiſe, believeth well,

well, and holdeth the truth. So he that believeth that God hath his election from the beginning, and that he alſo is one of the ſame elect and predeſtinate, hath a good belief, and thinketh well: but yet this belief alone, except it be ſeaſoned with another thing, will not ſerve to ſalvation: as it availed not the old Jews, which ſo thought of themſelves, and yet think to this day to be only God's elect people.

Only the faith which availeth to ſalvation is that, whoſe object is the body and paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt crucified. So that in the act of juſtifying, theſe two, faith and Chriſt, have a mutual relation, and muſt always concur together; faith, as the action which apprehendeth; Chriſt, as the object which is apprehended.

For neither doth the paſſion of Chriſt ſave, without faith; neither doth faith help, except it be in Chriſt: as we ſee the body of man ſuſtained by bread and drink, not except the ſame be received and conveyed into the ſtomach: and yet neither doth the receiving of every thing ſuſtain man's body, except it be meat and drink, which have power to give nouriſhment. In like ſort it is with faith; for neither doth the believing of every thing ſave, but only faith in the blood of Chriſt: neither again doth the ſame blood of Chriſt profit us, except by faith it be received. And as the ſun, being the cauſe of all light, ſhineth not but to them only which have eyes to ſee; nor yet to them neither, unleſs they will open their eyes to receive the light: ſo the paſſion of Chriſt is the efficient cauſe of ſalvation, but faith is the condition whereby the ſaid paſſion is to us effectual.

And that is the cauſe why we ſay with the ſcripture, that faith only juſtifieth us, not excluding thereby all other external cauſes that go before faith, as grace, mercy, election, vocation, the death of Chriſt, &c. all which are external cauſes, working our ſalvation through faith. But when we ſay that faith only juſtifieth us, the meaning thereof is this; that of all internal actions, motions, or operations in man, given to him by God, there is none other that contenteth and pleaſeth God, or ſtandeth before his judgment or can help any thing to the juſtifying of man before him, but only this one action of faith in Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God.

For although the action of praying, faſting, alms, patience, charity, repentance, the fear and love of God, be high gifts in man, and not of man, given of God to man, yet be none of all theſe actions in man imputed of God to ſalvation, but only this one action of faith in man upon Chriſt Jeſus the Son of God. Not that the action itſelf of believing, as it is a quality in man, doth ſo deſerve, but becauſe it taketh that dignity of the object. For as I ſaid, the act of juſtifying faith, as it is an action in man, is not to be conſidered alone, but muſt ever go with his object, and taketh his virtue thereof. Like as the looking up of the old Iſraelites did not of itſelf procure any health unto them, but the promiſe made in the object, which was the braſen ſerpent, whereupon they looked, gave them health by their looking up: Even ſo after like ſort are we ſaved by faith and ſpiritual looking up to the body of Chriſt crucified. Which faith to define is this.

To believe Jeſus Chriſt to be the Son of the living God, ſent into this world, by his death to ſatisfy for our ſins, and ſo to receive the ſame.

And thus much touching election and faith; with the order and explication of the cauſes neceſſary to be conſidered in our ſalvation, whereby may appear how far the pretended catholics do ſwerve from the truth of the ſcriptures. For where the ſcriptures, in declaring the cauſes of ſalvation, do ſend us only to faith, as the only condition whereby theſe cauſes have their working, theſe catholics do quite leave out faith, and, inſtead thereof, place in other conditions of doings, merits, will-works, pardons, maſſes, and eſpecially auricular confeſſions, with penance, ſatisfaction for our ſins, &c.

Beſides theſe letters of Mr. John Bradford above ſpecified, there were other letters which he wrote to father Traves, miniſter of Blackley, long before he came into trouble, the ſubſtance of which being fully contained in his foregoing letters, and alſo becauſe we would make room for matter more agreeable, we chuſe to leave them out, as knowing them to tire the reader's patience. And now we proceed to the hiſtory of the martyrs.

William Minge, who died in Priſon.

THE next day after Mr. Bradford and John Leaf ſuffered in Smithfield, William Minge, prieſt, died in priſon at Maidſtone, being there in bonds for religion, and would (had he lived a little longer) alſo have ſuffered the fury of his adverſaries, whoſe nature was to ſpare and favour none that favoured Chriſt's pure goſpel: This William Minge with as great conſtancy and boldneſs yielded up his life in priſon, as if it had pleaſed God to have called him to ſuffer by fire, as other good and godly men had done before at the ſtake, as he himſelf was ready to do, had it pleaſed God to have called him thereunto.

James Treviſam, buried in the Fields.

UPON Sunday the third of July 1555. died one James Treviſam in the pariſh of St. Margaret in Lothbury, who being impotent and lame, kept his bed a long time. This Treviſam had a ſervant named John Small, who was reading in the Bible, when one Berd the promoter came to the houſe, and would needs go up ſtairs, where he found four perſons beſides him and his wife; to wit, the young man that read, and two men and a woman. All whom the ſaid Berd apprehended and carried to the Compter, where they remained about a fortnight, notwithſtanding all the friends they could make. Not only ſo, but the ſaid Berd intended to carry the poor lame bedridden man to Newgate in a cart (and brought a cart to the door for that purpoſe), had not the neighbours, who had a little more humanity, prevented that barbarous deſign. Nevertheleſs, the poor man was obliged to have two ſureties for his forth-coming, notwithſtanding he could not get out of his bed, being not only lame, but alſo very ſick at the ſame time. In a few days time he grew ſo ill that his life was not expected; and the parſon of the pariſh, one Mr. Farthing, came to viſit him, and had communication with him, and they both agreed very well in matters of religion, and ſo the parſon departed. No ſooner was he come down into the ſtreet, but he was met by one Toller a founder, who threatened to accuſe him for agreeing with Treviſam; for, ſaid the founder, he denieth the ſacrament of the altar. Upon that the parſon went to him again, and then they could not agree. And ſo the parſon went to the biſhop of London, and told him. The biſhop anſwered, that he ſhould be burnt; and if he were already dead, he ſhould be buried in a ditch. And when he was dead, the parſon ſhewed as much ſpite and ill nature to his poor ſorrowful widow as poſſibly he could, not ſuffering her to put him in a coffin, or any thing elſe, but were fain to carry him on a table to Moorfields, and there he was buried. The ſame night the body was taken up again, and the ſheet taken from him, and he left naked above ground. The owner of the field, ſeeing this, buried him again; a fortnight after the ſumner came to his grave, and ſummoned him to appear at Paul's before his ordinary, to anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be laid againſt him. But what became of this affair afterwards, I cannot certainly ſay.

The Hiſtory of Mr. J. Bland, Preacher and Martyr.

THE 12th day of July, John Bland, John Frankeſh, Nicholas Sheterden, and Humphry Middleton, were all four burnt at Canterbury together for one cauſe. Of which number, Frankeſh and Bland were miniſters and preachers of the word of God, the one being parſon of Adeſham, the other the vicar of Rolvindon. Mr. Bland was a man ſo little born for his own advantage, that no part of his life was ſeparated from the common and public utility of all men. For his firſt doings were there employed to the bringing up of children in learning and virtue. Under whom were trained up ſeveral hopeful young men, which even at this preſent do handſomely flouriſh. In which number is Dr. Sands, a man of ſingular learning and worthineſs, as may well become a ſcholar for ſuch a ſchoolmaſter, whom I gladly here name for his ſingular gifts of virtue and erudition.

After this, he coming to the miniſtry in the church of God, or rather being called thereto, was inflamed with incredible deſire to profit the congregation, which may appear by this, that whereas he was caſt into Canterbury priſon for preaching of the goſpel, and delivered once or twice from thence at the interceſſion of his friends, yet he would preach the goſpel again as ſoon as he was delivered. Whereupon he being the third time apprehended, when his friends yet once again would have found means to have delivered him if he would promiſe to abſtain from preaching, he ſtood in it earneſtly, that he would admit no condition, notably well expreſſing unto us the manner and example which we read in the apoſtle St. Paul; "Who ſhall ſeparate us from the love of Chriſt? Tribulation, or anguiſh, or hunger, or nakedneſs, or danger, or perſecution, or the ſword? &c." But to expreſs the whole life and actions of this pious martyr, ſeeing we have his own teſtimony concerning the ſame, it will be beſt to refer the reader to his own report, writing to his father the whole diſcourſe of his trouble, from the beginning almoſt to the latter end, in order and manner as ye ſhall hear.

An Account of the whole Proceedings againſt Mr. Bland, written and reported by himſelf to his Father in his own Letter, as followeth:

DEARLY beloved father in Chriſt Jeſus, I thank you for your gentle letters. And to ſatisfy your mind as concerning the troubles whereof you have heard, theſe ſhall both declare unto you all my vexations that have happened unto me ſince you were with me, and alſo ſince I received your laſt letters. God keep you ever.

Your ſon, John Bland.

FIRST, The third of September, being Sunday, after ſervice ended, ere I had put off my ſurplice, John Auſten came to the table (commonly called the Lord's table), and laid both his hands upon it, ſaying, Who ſet this here again? Now they ſay they took the table down the Sunday before, which I know not, neither do I know who ſet it up again. The clerk anſwered, that he knew not. Then, ſaid Auſten, he is a knave that ſet it here. I was then going down the church, marvelling what he meant, and ſaid, Goodman Auſten, the queen's highneſs hath ſet forth a proclamation that ye may move no ſedition: and before I could ſpeak any more, he ſaid, Thou art a knave: and I ſaid, Well, goodman Auſten, what I have ſaid, I have ſaid. By God's ſoul, quoth he, thou art a very knave. Then my clerk ſpake to him, but what I am not ſure. But he ſaid, Ye are both heretic knaves, and have deceived us in this manner too long already; and if ye ſay any ſervice here again, I will turn your tab'e upſide down; and in that rage he, with others, took the table and laid it on a cheſt in the chancel, and ſet the treſſels by it. Soon after I rode to Mr. Iſaac, and declared unto him how ſeditiouſly Auſten had behaved himſelf. Mr. Iſaac directed a warrant to the conſtable, which was immediately ſerved, ſo that he was brought before him the ſame night, and was bound by recognizance, with ſureties, to appear if he were called. But then we agreed ſo well, that he was never called for; the table was brought down, and was permitted as before.

The 26th of November, being Sunday, Richard Auſten and his brother Thomas came to the aforeſaid table after the communion was done, and as I was going by them, Richard ſaid unto me, Mr. Parſon, we want to ſpeak with you. And I ſaid, What is your will? And he ſaid, You know that you took down the tabernacle wherein the rood did hang, and ſuch other things: we would know what recompence you would make us: for the queen's proceedings are (as you know) that ſuch things muſt be put up again.

Quoth I, I know no ſuch proceedings as yet; and as for what I did, I did it by commandment.

No, ſaid Thomas Auſten, ye will not know the queen's proceedings.

Yes, ſaid I, I refuſe not to know them.

Then ſaid Richard, Ye are againſt the queen's proceedings; for you ſay there are abominable uſes and deviliſhneſs in the maſs.

Goodman Auſten, ſaid I, if I ſo ſaid, I will ſay it again, and, God willing, ſtand to the proof of it.

Maſters all, quoth Richard Auſten, bear record of theſe words; and went his way.

Quoth Thomas Auſten, Thou wilt as ſoon eat this book as ſtand to them. No, quoth I, not ſo ſoon.

Tell us, quoth he, what deviliſhneſs is in the maſs? I have often preached it unto you, ſaid I, and ye have not believed it, nor borne it away, nor will now neither, though I ſhould tell you.

Thou (quoth he) haſt told us always like an heretic as thou art. Now ye lye, goodman Auſten, quoth I, by your leave. Marry, ſaid he, thou lyeſt. And I ſaid, And you lye, for I have taught you Chriſt and his truth.

Quoth he, Thou art an heretic, and haſt taught us nothing but hereſy: for thou canſt ſay nothing that is true.

Yes, goodman Auſten, I can ſay that God is in heaven, and ye will ſay (I hope) that it is true, and ſo have I taught you truly.

Quoth he, Thou haſt taught us like an heretic, and haſt ſaid, that there is no devil in hell.

Well, ſaid I, lye on; methinks you can ſay little truth. Many other taunts he gave, too long to write. And at laſt he ſaid, Ye pulled down the altar, will ye build it again? No, ſaid I, except I be commanded; for I was commanded to do that I did.

Well, if you will not, ſaid he, then will I. For I am churchwarden.

I charge you, ſaid I, that you do not, except you have authority. I will not, ſaid he, be hindered by your charge. For we will have a maſs here on Sunday, and a preacher that ſhall prove thee an heretic, if thou dare abide his coming.

Yes, ſaid I, God willing, I will abide and hear him; for ſure I am that he cannot diſprove any doctrine that I have preached.

Yes, ſaid he, and that thou ſhalt hear, if thou run not away ere then.

No, goodman Auſten, I will not run away. Marry, ſaid he, I cannot tell; thou art as like as not. With many more words we came out of the church, and ſo departed.

When Sunday came, I looked for our preacher, and at the time of morning prayer I ſaid to the clerk, Why do ye not ring? ye forget that we ſhall have a ſermon today.

day. No, quoth he, Mr. Miles's ſervant hath been here this morning, and ſaid, his maſter hath letters from my lord chancellor, that he muſt go to London, and cannot come. That day I preached to them a ſermon in his ſtead. Now have they ſlandered me, that I had prepared a company from divers places to have troubled him: but they agreed not in their lye. For ſome ſaid, I had them at Adeſham, and that Richard Auſten had knowledge, and ſent for the conſtable to ſee the peace kept, which is found a lye. Others ſaid, I had them lying in wait for him between Canterbury and Adeſham. Others ſaid, I had them in both places, that if the one miſſed, the other ſhould not. God forgive them all. Now upon theſe two matters they boaſt, that they ſent two bills of complaint to the council. Wherefore by the advice of friends, I made this teſtimony, and ſent it up by Mr. Wiſeman.

The Behaviour of John Bland, Parſon of Adeſham, in the County of Kent, on Sunday, the third day of December laſt, containing the Words which he there ſpake unto the People.

WHereas upon certain communication had between the ſaid parſon and Richard Auſten, and Thomas Auſten, in the preſence of all the pariſh of Adeſham, the Sunday before St. Andrew's day laſt, the ſaid Auſten then declared, that the ſaid parſon had taught there in times paſt great hereſies, which to confound, they would prepare a preacher againſt the next Sunday following, if ſo be the ſaid parſon would abide, and not run away: Upon which rumour, divers perſons reſorted out of the country, unto the ſaid pariſh church, at the day appointed, there to hear the preacher; and at the time in which the ſermon ought to be made, no man appeared there to preach: but it was reported to the parſon, that the preacher appointed had urgent buſineſs, and could not come. So that the multitude being now come together, the ſame parſon perceiving that the people's expectation was defrauded, ſaid, Foraſmuch as you are willingly come to hear ſome good advertiſement of the preacher who cannot be now preſent, I think it not convenient to let you depart without ſome exhortation for your edification. And further declaring that he had no licence to preach, ſaid, That he would not meddle with any matter in controverſy. And then he began the epiſtle for the day, deſiring the audience to mark three or four places in the ſaid epiſtle, which touched of quietneſs and love to one another: and there briefly reading the epiſtle, he noted the ſame places, and ſo making an end thereof deſired all men to depart quietly and in peace, as they did, without any manner of diſturbance, or token of evil.

Witneſſes they undernamed, with divers others.

Edmund Mores.	William Forſtall.
Richard Randal.	Thomas Gooding.
John Hills.	

Another Matter of Trouble wrought againſt John Bland, as appeareth by his own Narration.

UPON Innocents day, being the 28th of December, they had procured the prieſt of Stodmaſh to ſay maſs; he had nigh made an end of mattins ere I came; and when he had ended them, he ſaid to me, Mr. Parſon, your neighbours have deſired me to ſay mattins and maſs; I hope ye will not be againſt the queen's proceedings. No (quoth I) I will offend none of her majeſty's laws, God willing. What ſay ye? quoth he, and made as though he had not heard: and I ſpake the ſame words to him again with an higher voice; but he would not hear, though all the reſt in the chancel heard: I ſpake ſo loud the third time, that all the church might hear, That I would not offend the queen's laws. And then he went to maſs; and when he was reading the epiſtle, I called the clerk unto me, with the beckoning of my finger, and ſaid unto him, I pray you deſire the prieſt when the goſpel is done, to tarry a little, I have ſomething to ſay to the people; and the clerk did ſo.

And the prieſt came down into the ſtall where he ſat; and I ſtood up in the chancel door, and ſpake to the people of the great goodneſs God always ſhewed unto his people, unto the time of Chriſt's coming; and in him and his coming, what benefit they paſt, we preſent, and our ſucceſſors have; and among other benefits I ſpake of the great and comfortable ſacrament of his body and blood. And after I had briefly declared the inſtitution, the promiſe of life to the good, and damnation to the wicked, I ſpake of the bread and wine, affirming them to be bread and wine after the conſecration, as yonder maſs-book, ſaying, Holy bread of eternal life, and the cup of perpetual ſalvation. So that like as our bodily mouths eat the ſacramental bread and wine, ſo doth the mouth of our ſouls (which is our faith), eat Chriſt's fleſh and blood. And when I had made an end of that, I ſpake of the miſuſe of the ſacrament in the maſs; ſo that I judged it in that uſe no ſacrament, and ſhewed how Chriſt bid us all eat and drink; and in the maſs one only eateth and drinketh, and the reſt kneel, knock, and worſhip: and after theſe things ended, as briefly as I could, I ſpake of the benefactors of the maſs, and began to declare who made the maſs, and recited every man's name, and the patch that he put to the maſs; but before I had rehearſed them all, the churchwarden the conſtable, his ſon-in-law, violently came upon me and took my book from me, and pulled me down, and thruſt me into the chancel, with an exceeding roar and cry. Some cried, Thou heretic; ſome, Thou traitor; ſome, Thou rebel; and when every man had ſaid his pleaſure, and the rage was ſomething paſt, Be quiet, good neighbours, ſaid I, and let me ſpeak to you quietly. If I have offended any law, I will make anſwer before them that are in authority to correct me. But they would not hear me, and pulled, one on this ſide, and another on that, and began again. Then Richard Auſten ſaid, Peace, maſters, no more till maſs be done, and they ceaſed. Then I ſaid to the churchwarden and the conſtable, each holding me by the arm; Maſters, let me go into the church-yard till your maſs be done. No, ſaid the churchwarden, thou ſhalt tarry here till maſs be done. I will not, quoth I, but againſt my will. And they ſaid, Thou ſhalt tarry, for if thou go out thou wilt run away. Then I ſaid to the conſtable, Lay me in the ſtocks, and then ye will be ſure of me, and turned my back to the altar. By that time Richard Auſten had deviſed what to do with me, and called to the conſtable and the churchwarden, and bade them put me into a ſide chapel, and ſhut the door to me, and there they made me tarry till maſs was ended. When the maſs was ended, they came into the chapel to me, and ſearched what I had about me; and found a dagger, and took it from me. Then ſaid Tho. Auſten, churchwarden, after many brabblings that they made with me, Thou keepeſt a wife here amongſt us, againſt God's law and the queen's. Ye lye, goodman Auſten, ſaid I, it is not againſt God's law, nor, as I ſuppoſe, againſt the queen's. Thus they brought me out of the church, and without the door they railed on me without pity or mercy: but anon the prieſt came out of the church, and Ramſey that of late was clerk, ſaid unto him, Sir, where dwell you? And therefore Thomas Auſten took him by the arm, and ſaid, Come on, ſirrah, you are of his opinion, and took his dagger from him, and ſaid, he ſhould go with him. I am content, ſaid he, and a little mocked them in their envious talk. By this time John Gray of Wingham, ſervant to John Smith, came in at the church ſtile, and ſeeing them hold Ramſey by the arms, ſaid to him, How now, Ramſey, have you offended the queen's laws? No, quoth he. Then there is no tranſgreſſion. Therewith Thomas Auſ-

ten took him, and ſaid, Ye are one of their opinion, ye ſhall go with them for company, and took his dagger from him, and then demanded what he did there? But after (I think) for very ſhame they let him go again. But they carried me and Ramſey to Canterbury, guarded with eighteen perſons. A ſheet of paper will not hold the talk that we had that night with Mr. Hardes juſtice, Mr. Oxenden, Mr. Spilman, and Mr. Tutſam.

The next day they made a bill againſt me, but it ſerved not their purpoſe, which was, that they would have had me to priſon. But James Chapman, and Bartholomew Joyes were bound in twenty pounds each of them for my appearance at the next general ſeſſions, or in the mean time to appear, if I were ſent for before the queen's majeſty's council, or any other commiſſioners ſent by the queen's authority. And Ramſey was bound to the peace, and to be of good behaviour till the next ſeſſions. His ſureties were Thomas Hogeking and Simon Barrat.

Now the 23d or 24th of February, Sir Thomas Finch, knight, and Mr. Hardes, ſent for me and my ſureties to Mr. Finch's place, and took me from my ſureties, and ſent me to the caſtle of Canterbury, by Sir Thomas Moyles's order, as they ſaid, where I lay ten weeks, and then was bail'd, and bound to appear at the next ſeſſions holden at Canterbury; but after, they changed it to be at Aſhford, on Thurſday in Whitſun-week, being the nineteenth of May: but in the mean time the matter was exhibited to the ſpiritual court.

The firſt Examination of Mr. John Bland in the Spiritual Court, before Dr. Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Mr. Collins Commiſſary.

THE 18th day of May, Mr. Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, obliged the mayor's ſerjeant to bring me before him and Mr. Collins commiſſary, into Chriſt's-church, and they took me into a chamber in the ſuffragan of Dover's houſe.

Then the archdeacon ſaid, Art thou a prieſt? And I ſaid, I was one. And he ſaid, Art thou a graduate of any univerſity? And I ſaid, Yea. What degree, ſaid he, haſt thou taken? The degree, quoth I, of Maſter of Arts. The more pity, quoth he, that thou ſhouldeſt behave thyſelf as thou haſt done. Thou haſt been a common licenſed preacher, haſt thou not? And I ſaid, I have been ſo. Marry, quoth he, ſo I underſtand.

Harpſ. What haſt thou preached?

Bland. God's word, to the edifying of his people.

Harpſ. No, no, to the deſtruction both of thy ſoul and theirs too, if the mercy of God be not ſpeedily extended towards you. I pray thee tell me what thou haſt preached?

Bland. I told you already what I have preached.

Harpſ. Nay, but tell me what one matter haſt thou preached to the edifying of the people, as thou ſayeſt?

Bland. I will tell you no particular matter; for I perceive you would have ſome matter againſt me.

Harpſ. No, by my faith, I only deſire to win thee from the hereſies thou art bewrapt in, and haſt infected others withal. For thou haſt preached, as I am informed, that the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar is not the real body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt after the conſecration. Tell me, haſt thou not thus preached? and is not this thine opinion?

Bland. Sir, I perceive, as I ſaid before, that ye ſeek ſome matter againſt me. But ſeeing that I am bound in the ſeſſions to my good behaviour for preaching, which may be broken with words, and well I know not with what words; and alſo both mine authority to preach, and my living are taken from me, I think I am not bound to make you an anſwer.

Collins. Mr. Bland, do you not remember, that St. Peter biddeth you make anſwer to every man that aſketh you a reaſon of the faith that is in you?

Bland. I know that, and am content ſo to anſwer as that text biddeth: but I know that Mr. Archdeacon doth not aſk me after that manner, but rather to bring me into trouble. Then they ſaid, No, ye ſhall not be troubled for any thing that ye ſay here.

Bland. I am content for knowledge ſake to commune with you in any matter, but not otherwiſe. And ſo they fell to reaſoning for the ſpace of an hour, of the ſacrament, both againſt me. At laſt Mr. Collins ſaid, Mr. Bland, will you come and take in hand to anſwer ſuch matters on Monday next as ſhall be laid to you?

Bland. Sir, ye ſaid I ſhould not be troubled for any thing that ſhould be ſaid here for learning's ſake. And they ſaid, Ye ſhall not, but it is for other matters.

Bland. Sir, I am bound to appear, as ſome tell me, on Thurſday next at Aſhford; I am in doubt whether I can or no: yet have I purpoſed to be there, and ſo to go to London to Mr. Wiſeman, for an obligation that he hath, whereby I ſhould receive ſome money to pay my debts withal. Then ſaid Mr. Archdeacon, I will write to Mr. Wiſeman, that ye ſhall ſuſtain no loſs.

Bland. That ſhall not need: for I can ſuſtain no great loſs if I go not. But I pray you let me have a longer day. No, quoth he.

Bland. Sir, I cannot well come on Monday.

Harpſ. Wilt thou not come when he ſo gently ſpeaketh to thee, where he may command thee?

Bland. I do not deny to come, but I deſire a longer day.

Harpſ. Thou ſhalt have no other day: I charge thee to come on Monday.

Bland. Sir, I perceive it ſhall be for this or like matters: will it pleaſe you, or Mr. Collins, for God's ſake, to confer ſcriptures privately with me in this matter, ſeeing ye ſay ye would ſo gladly win me?

Harpſ. With all my heart will I take the pains, and I will alſo borrow my lord of Dover's library, to have what books thou wilt: and thus they departed. Now the 17th of May at Aſhford I could not be releaſed, although I was called to the Spiritual Court for that purpoſe, but was bound to appear at the ſeſſions held at Crambroke the third of July.

Another Appearance of Mr. Bland before the Archdeacon and his Fellows.

ON the 21ſt of May I appeared in the chapter-houſe, where was a great multitude of people, unlooked for by me, and Mr. Archdeacon ſaid thus to me; Ye are come here according as ye were appointed; and the cauſe is, that it hath pleaſed the queen's highneſs here to place me, to ſee God's holy word ſet forth, and to reform thoſe that are here fallen into great and heinous errors, to the great diſpleaſure of God, and the decay of Chriſt's ſacraments, and contrary to the faith of the catholic church, whereof thou art notably known to be one that is ſore poiſoned with the ſame, and haſt infected and deceived many with thy evil preaching; which if thou wilt renounce, and come home again to the catholic church, both I and many others would be very glad: and I for my part ſhall be right glad to ſhew you the favour that lieth in me, as I ſaid unto you when you were appointed hither, becauſe ye then refuſed to ſatisfy again the people that ye have deceived. And whereas it is feigned by you, that I ſhould openly diſpute the matter with you this day; although I did neither ſo intend or appoint, yet I am content to diſpute the matter with thee, if thou wilt not without diſputation help to heal the ſouls that are brought to hell-ward by thee. What ſayeſt thou?

Bland. I do proteſt before God and you all, that neither is my conſcience guilty of any error or hereſy, neither that I ever taught any error or hereſy willingly. And where your matterſhip ſaith, That I have feigned

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an open diſputation with you, it is not true, as I can thus prove: Upon Saturday I was at Ugden's, and there Mr. Bingham laid it to my charge, that ſuch an open diſputation, as you have here offered, ſhould be this day between you and me. Whereat I much marvelled, and ſaid to him, That before that preſent I never heard any ſuch word; neither would I anſwer nor diſpute: And Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Oxenden, Mr. Seth of Overland, and Mr. Ugden can witneſs to this; and further I ſaid to them, that I never ſpake to you of any diſputation, nor you to me. Now if your maſterſhip have any thing to ſay to me by the law, I will make anſwer to it.

Harpſ. Hear ye what he ſaith? His conſcience is clear. I pray thee whereon groundeſt thou thy conſcience? Let me hear what thy faith is?

Bland. I know not why ye ſhould aſk me a reaſon of my faith, more than any other man in this open audience?

Harpſ. Why, thou heretic, art thou aſhamed of thy faith? if it were a chriſtian belief, thou needeſt not to be aſhamed of it.

Bland. I am not aſhamed of my faith. For I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and in Jeſus Chriſt his only Son our Lord, &c. with all the other articles of the creed; and I do believe all the holy ſcriptures of God to be moſt certain and true.

Harpſ. Wilt thou declare no more than this?

Bland. No.

Harpſ. Well, I will tell thee whereon I ground my faith: I do believe and ground my faith and conſcience upon all the articles of the creed, and upon all the holy ſcriptures, ſacraments, and holy doctors of the church, and upon all the general councils that ever were ſince the apoſtles time. Lo, hereupon ground I my faith; with many more words which I do not well remember.

And when he could get no other anſwer from me, than what I had ſaid before, he called for a ſcribe to make an act againſt me. And after much communication, I ſaid, By what law and authority will ye proceed againſt me? Mr. Collins ſaid, By the canon law.

Bland. I doubt whether it be in ſtrength or no. Yet I pray you let me have a counſellor in the law, and I will make anſwer according to the law.

Harpſ. Why, thou heretic, thou wilt not confeſs thy faith to me, that have authority to demand it of thee; and yet I have confeſſed my faith to thee before all this audience. As concerning the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, thou haſt taught, that after the conſecration it is bread and wine, and not the body and blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. How ſayeſt thou, haſt thou not thus taught?

Bland. Sir, as concerning this matter of the ſacrament, when I was with you and Mr. Collins, ye ſaid then it was for other matters that I ſhould come hither: and further, that ye would be content, at my deſire, to confer ſcriptures with me, to ſee if ye could win me; and ye ſaid, ye would borrow my lord of Dover's library, that I ſhould have what book I would; and now ye require me thus to anſwer, contrary to your promiſe before any conference be had, and ſeek rather to bring me into trouble, than to win me.

Harpſ. I will, as God ſhall help me, do the beſt to thee that I can, if thou wilt be any thing conformable; and I hope to diſſolve all thy doubts, if thou be willing to hear. And I alſo will deſire theſe two worſhipful men, my lord of Dover, and Mr. Collins, to hear us.

Bland. No, ye ſhall pardon me of that: there ſhall be no ſuch witneſs. But when we agree, ſet to our hands. Here the people made a noiſe againſt me, for refuſing the witneſs: and here we had many more words than I can rehearſe. But at laſt I ſaid, Sir, will ye give me leave to aſk you one queſtion? And he ſaid, Yea, with all my heart. For in that thou aſkeſt any thing, there is ſome hope that thou may'ſt be won.

Bland. Sir, when it pleaſed almighty God to ſend his angel unto the virgin Mary to ſalute her, and ſaid, "Hail, full of grace," &c. came any ſubſtance from God our Father into the virgin's womb to become man? Whereat Mr. Archdeacon, my lord of Dover, and Mr. Collins were ſilent. But my lord ſpake firſt, and ſaid, The Holy Ghoſt came to her; and ere he had brought out his ſentence, Mr. Syriac Peters ſaid, "The Power of the Moſt High overſhadowed her." Truth, ſaid Mr. Archdeacon, it was the power of God ſent by the Holy Ghoſt. They had forgot, that He was begotten of the Subſtance of his Father; or elſe they perceived whereunto this queſtion tended: and ſo both I and they left it, by what words I cannot tell. But I ſaid, Sir, ſhall I aſk one other? And he ſaid, Yea. Is there in the ſacrament, after the conſecration, Chriſt's natural body, with all the qualities of a natural body, or no?

Harpſ. Hark, ſaid Mr. Archdeacon, hear ye this heretic? He thinks it an abſurdity to grant all the quantities of Chriſt's natural body to be in the ſacrament. But it is no abſurdity: For even that natural body that was born of the virgin Mary is glorified, and that ſame body is in the ſacrament after the conſecration. But perceive ye not the arrogancy of this heretic, that will put me to anſwer him, and he will not anſwer me? He thought to put me to a pinch with his queſtion; for I tell you it is a learned queſtion.

Bland. If ye be ſo much diſcontented with me, I will ſay no more; yet I would all men heard, that ye ſay the glorified body of Chriſt is in the ſacrament after the conſecration.

Harpſ. I may call thee groſs ignorant. Thou groſs ignorant, is not the ſame body glorified, that was born of the virgin Mary? Is it then any abſurdity to grant that to be in the ſacrament? And while he ſpake many other words, I ſaid to Mr. Petit, That the ſacrament was inſtituted, delivered, and received of his apoſtles, before Chriſt's body was crucified; and it was crucified before it was glorified; which ſaying, Mr. Petit partly recited to Mr. Archdeacon.

Harpſ. Thou haſt no learning. Was not Chriſt's body given to his apoſtles, as in a glorified act? and yet no inconvenience, although his natural body was not crucified; for when he was born of the virgin Mary without pain, was not that the act of a glorified body? and when he walked on the water, and when he came into the houſe to his apoſtles, the doors being ſhut faſt, were not theſe acts of a glorified body?

Then my lord of Dover helped him to a better place; and ſaid, When Chriſt was in mount Tabor, he was there glorified in the ſight of his apoſtles.

Harpſ. You ſay truth, my lord, he was glorified in the ſight of three of his apoſtles.

Bland. This methinks is new doctrine.

Harpſ. Well, ſeeing he will by no other way be reformed, let the people come in and prove theſe matters againſt him. And thereupon the archdeacon brought forth a copy of the bill of complaint that was put up againſt me at Chriſtmas, and about that we had a little talk. And then Mr. Archdeacon roſe up, and ſaid, See ye, good people that know this matter, that ye come in, and prove it againſt him. Whereunto anſwered Thomas Auſten, I pray you let us be no more troubled with him; and then ſpake John Auſten, and Heath a one-eyed man, and began to accuſe me; but I gave them no other anſwer, but, Do to me what ye can by law, and I will anſwer it. Then ſaid Thomas Auſten, Bland, ye were once abjured. Ye ſay not truly, goodman Auſten, ſaid I; I was never abjured. Either, ſaid he, ye were abjured, or elſe ye had the king's pardon. Neither of both, ſaid I; ye ſpeak this of mere malice, with many other babbling words. Then Mr. Archdeacon departed, and left Mr. Collins to command me to appear the next day. Howbeit, for certain other urgent buſineſs that I had, I did not appear, but wrote a letter to Mr. Commiſſary, deſiring him to reſpite the matter till my coming home again;

again; and if he would not, I would contentedly ſubmit myſelf to the law when I came home.

Now about the 28th day of June I came to Mr. Commiſſary, to let him know of my return, and offered myſelf to ſatisfy the law, if it were proceeded againſt me, before Mr. Cocks of Surry, and Marks the apparitor; but Mr. Commiſſary gently ſaid, that he had done nothing againſt me. And ſo appointed me to appear before him the Friday ſeven-night after. In the mean time a ſeſſions was held at Crambroke, where I was bound to appear; and carrying ſurety with me to be bound again, for I expected no other, did appear the third day of July.

Then ſaid Sir John Baker, Bland, we hear that you be a Scot; where were ye born and brought up? And I ſaid, I was born in England. And he ſaid, Where? And I ſaid, In Sedber, and brought up by one Dr. Lupton, provoſt of Eton college. Well, ſaid he, I know him well. Remain to your bond till afternoon.

Then ſaid Sir Thomas Moyle, Ah Bland, thou art a ſtiff-necked fellow. Thou wilt not obey the law, nor anſwer when thou art called. Then ſaid Sir John Baker, Mr. Sheriff, take him to your ward: and the bailiff ſet me in the ſtocks, with others, and would not hear me ſpeak one word; and ſo we remained in the gaol of Maidſtone, till a fortnight before Michaelmas, or thereabouts; and then we were carried to Rocheſter, to the aſſize held there, where we were two days among the priſoners: and when we were called, and the judges aſked our cauſes, when my cauſe was rehearſed, Mr. Barrow, clerk of the peace, ſaid, that I was an excommunicate perſon.

Then the judges of aſſize remanded us to Maidſtone again, ordering us to be brought to the next ſeſſions that ſhould be held at the town of Maldin: however the ſheriff never ſent for us; ſo that we tarried at Maidſtone till the ſeſſions held at Greenwich the 18th and 19th of February. I and others being within the bar amongſt the felons, and irons upon our arms, were called out the latter day by the jailer and bailiffs, and eaſed of our irons, and carried by them into the town to Sir John Baker, Mr. Petit, Mr. Webb, and two others whom I knew not.

Another Examination of Mr. Bland.

Baker. BLAND, wherefore were you caſt into priſon?

Bland. I cannot well tell. Your maſterſhip caſt me in.

Baker. Yea, but for what were you in before that time?

Bland. For an unjuſt complaint put upon me.

Baker. What was the complaint?

I told him as truly and briefly as I could.

Baker. Let me ſee thy book. And I gave him a Latin teſtament.

Baker. Will ye go to the church, and obey and follow the queen's proceedings, and do as an honeſt man ſhould do?

Bland. I truſt in God to do no otherwiſe but as an honeſt man ought to do.

Baker. Will ye do as I ſaid?

Bland. Will it pleaſe your maſterſhip to give me leave to aſk you a queſtion?

Baker. Yea.

Bland. Sir, may a man do any thing that his conſcience is not ſatisfied to be good?

Baker. Away, away; and threw down the book, and ſaid, It is no teſtament. And I ſaid, Yes. And Mr. Webb took it up, and ſaid unto me very gently, Mr. Bland, I knew you when you were not of this opinion; I would to God ye would reform yourſelf; with better words than I can write. And I ſaid; If you have known me of another opinion than I am now of, it was for lack of knowledge.

Baker. Yea, ſayſt thou ſo? By St. Mary, and thou hold thee there, I will give ſix faggots to burn thee withal, ere thou ſhouldeſt be unburned: hence, knave, hence. And ſo were we returned into our place again within the bar. And at night, when judgment of felons and all was done, we were called, and the judge ordered the jailer to deliver us to the ordinary. And if, ſaid the judge, they will not be reformed, let them be delivered to us again, and they ſhall have judgment and execution. And one of our company ſaid, My lord, if we be killed at your hands for Chriſt's ſake, we ſhall live with him for ever.

Another Appearance of Mr. Bland in the Spiritual Court.

THEN we came to the caſtle of Canterbury, and there we remained till the ſecond day of March, on which day we were brought into the chapter-houſe of Creechurch, where were ſitting the ſuffragan of Canterbury, Mr. Collins, Mr. Mills, with others, and then went to them Mr. Oxenden, Mr. Petit, Mr. Webb and Mr. Hardes, juſtices. And when I was called, Mr. Webb ſaid, Here we preſent this man unto you, as one vehemently ſuſpected of hereſy.

Bland. Mr. Webb, ye have no cauſe to ſuſpect me of hereſy. I have been a priſoner this whole year, and no matter proved againſt me. I pray you what is the reaſon that I have been kept ſo long in priſon?

Webb. Leave your arrogant aſking of queſtions, and anſwer to that that is laid to your charge.

Bland. I do ſo; for I ſay ye have no cauſe to ſuſpect me of hereſy.

Webb. Yes; ye denied to Sir John Baker, to be conformable to the queen's proceedings.

Bland. Is it a juſt cauſe to ſuſpect me of hereſy, for aſking a queſtion with leave? So we had more words there than I well remember.

Then ſtood up Mr. Petit, and ſaid, Ye were caſt into priſon, becauſe ye fled away from your ordinary.

Bland. Then have I had wrong: for I never fled nor diſobeyed mine ordinary, nor did any thing contrary to the law. If I did, let them now ſpeak: but they ſaid nothing. And when I ſaw that they held their peace, I ſaid, Mr. Commiſſary, have you been the cauſe of this my impriſonment? No, quoth he; ye know that when ye went from me, ye were appointed to appear the Friday after the ſeſſions. Here I was ſuffered to ſpeak no more, but ſhut up in a corner till my companions were alſo preſented, and then we were ſent to Weſtgate into priſon, and were put in ſeveral cloſe holds, ſo that we could not ſpeak to one another, neither was any man permitted to come to us. We appeared four times in this manner: but one they diſpatched, by what means I cannot tell; whoſe name was Cornwall, a tanner.

And thus hitherto paſſed the talk between Bland and the juſtices, and certain gentlemen of the ſhire. Now followeth the order of the reaſoning between him and the clergymen, before whom he was examined. But foraſmuch as the chief doer and judge againſt him was the biſhop of Dover, or ſuffragan of Canterbury, called Dr. Richard Thornton, to the intent it may appear what little truth or conſtancy is in theſe catholic perſecutors, I thought here to exhibit, by the way, a certain popiſh letter, written to him by a papiſt. Wherein is declared what a goſpeller the ſaid Richard Thornton was in king Edward's time, who now turning with the tide, ſheweth himſelf a moſt bitter perſecutor againſt God's ſervants in queen Mary's time. The copy of this letter here followeth.

The

The Copy of a Popiſh Letter written to the Biſhop of Dover, by one Thomas Goldwell a Prieſt, declaring what a Profeſſor he was in King Edward's time.

Right reverend, and my good lord, after my hearty thanks for your good cheer at my laſt being with your lordſhip, this ſhall be to certify to you, that as ſoon as my lord's grace arrived, I gave him your letters, but I had much work to obtain any thing of him for you. For there hath been very evil informations given of you, and it hath been ſaid, that you have concurred with all manner of evil proceedings, which have for ſome years been in England, as well againſt the holy ſacrament of the altar, and againſt the ſupreme authority of Chriſt's vicar upon earth, as with the uſe of the late abominable communion, and with the marriage of prieſts, as well religious as ſecular; and that you have given orders to (I cannot tell how many) baſe, unlearned, and evil-diſpoſed people, by reaſon of which they have taken upon them to preach, and thereby have done much hurt in Kent. So that men think that yet if any new mutation (which God forbid) ſhould happen, you would be as ready to change as any other. And indeed it maketh me to fear the ſame, by reaſon that notwithſtanding it hath pleaſed Almighty God to provide, that your abſolution was ſent unto you (when you little thought of it), abſolving you from all your paſt offences, yet your lordſhip (more regarding the vanity of the world than the offence of God, which he only knoweth how much it grieves me, for the due love I bear unto you) preſumed to ſing maſs in Pontificalibus, the holy-days immediately following, and alſo to miniſtrate to children the ſacrament of confirmation, becauſe that one (being a member of the devil) did ſomewhat comfort you ſo to do.

Oh my lord, what honour ſhould it have been both to God and to yourſelf, and alſo edification to all good people (though all worldly men and heretics would have laughed you to ſcorn), if you, conſidering your great offences towards God, and his goodneſs towards you, would, as you have offended in the face of the world, to the damnation of many, likewiſe have ſhewed yourſelf penitent in the face of the world, to the edification of many, and not ſo ſoon to have celebrated for vanity Pontificaliter; but for a time to have abſtained for reverence Totaliter from the Altar according to the ancient cuſtom of the church. Which I have alſo ſeen obſerved by ſome honeſt men, not being thereto enjoined by any man, but as their own conſciences obliged them. But what is paſt cannot be recalled. And I thought it not my part to leave your lordſhip, mine own friend and maſter, in the mire. Wherefore I ceaſed not to ſolicit your cauſe with my lord's grace, till at laſt I obtained of his grace for your lordſhip all the faculties of which I ſend you a copy here encloſed, partly for your own conſolation, and partly for the comfort of others, deſiring your lordſhip to uſe them to the honour of God, that there come to me thereof no rebuke: not publiſhing them to any perſon, but to ſuch as you know will gladly receive them. For hitherto there is never a biſhop in England, who hath granted him ſo great authority concerning thoſe which be under his cure. Only Mr. Archdeacon hath the like, and in one thing, more great than be theſe your lordſhip's. Wherefore your lordſhip ſhall do well to remit unto him all ſuch prieſts as have cure of ſouls, whether they be beneficed men, or pariſh prieſts. For he hath not only authority to abſolve them, as you have, but alſo to give them authority to abſolve ſuch as be underneath their cures. And thus I commit your lordſhip to the protection of Almighty God. Written at Bruſſels the 16th of June, 1554.

Your lordſhip's beadman,
Thomas Goldwell.

And thus much, by way of digreſſion, concerning the biſhop of Dover. Now to return again to the examination of Mr. Bland: let us hear his own report of his anſwers, as followeth.

Here followeth mine anſwer, as nigh as I can call to remembrance, every word and ſentence; yet if any that was preſent can help to perfect it, I would be glad. But yet this dare I ſay, that there is never one ſentence, but it was openly ſpoken the ninth of March in the chapter-houſe of Creechurch, in the preſence of as many as they had choſen, the mayor of the city being called to be aſſiſtant, and all others ſhut out.

The Anſwer of Mr. Bland in his Appearance before the Commiſſary, and others in the Spiritual Court.

Maſter Collins ſaid; Mr. Bland, ye know that ye are preſented unto us as one ſuſpected of hereſy. How ſay ye, be ye contented to reform yourſelf to the laws of this realm, and of the holy church?

Bland. I deny that I am juſtly ſuſpected of hereſy, and that ye heard when I was preſented, that I denied the ſuſpicion to be juſt, but to defend the unjuſt puniſhment that I have ſuffered: neither can ye prove that any occaſion hath been given by me, whereby any man ſhould ſuſpect me therein. But if you have any law or authority to proceed againſt me for any thing done for a whole year ago and more, I will anſwer to it.

Collins. Ye were convented before Mr. Archdeacon and me, and matter of hereſy laid to your charge.

Bland. That matter was done and ſaid a whole year ago, for I have been in priſon this year and more. If ye have any thing againſt me by any law, I deſire you to let me know the law and the matter, and I will anſwer according to the law.

Then ſaid my lord ſuffragan; But that I am one of the judges, I would riſe, and ſtand by thee, and accuſe thee to be a ſacramentary, and bring witneſs to prove it; yea, and further, that thou haſt called the maſs an abominable idol.

Bland. You, my lord, never heard me ſay ſo: but I heard you once ſay, That in your conſcience ye had abhorred the maſs three years.

Thou lyeſt, quoth he, I never ſaid ſo.

Bland. My lord, if they might be heard, I can bring witneſs to prove it, with the day, time and place; and I once did hear Mr. Collins at a viſitation in Wingham ſay, That Chriſt was a full ſatisfaction for all ſin, preſent, paſt, and to come, contrary to that he ſaith now.

And here we had more words of this matter, which I let paſs for lack of good remembrance.

Mr. Collins ſaid, This is but a drift. You were better anſwer now, elſe you ſhall go to priſon again, and be called on Monday, and have articles laid to you, and if ye then anſwer not directly, ye ſhall be condemned Pro confeſſo, and that will be worſe for you.

Bland. Sir, I do not now, nor will I then deny to anſwer to any thing that ye can lay to my charge by the law; wherefore I truſt ye will let me have the benefit of the law.

Collins. This is the law, that if ye be required of the ordinary, to render a reaſon of your faith, then may ye not deny it. And that we do now.

Bland. To that then will I anſwer. For I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and in Jeſus Chriſt his only Son our Lord, with all the other articles of the ſame creed: And I believe all the articles contained both in the creed called the maſs creed, and in the creed of Athanaſius: And I do believe, that all the holy ſcriptures, and all things therein contained, are moſt true.

Collins. This will not ſerve you: ye muſt anſwer to all ſuch articles in all theſe as ſhall be laid to you, or aſked of you.

Bland. Let me know the law that is in that force (without any juſt cauſe of ſuſpicion proved againſt me), and I will anſwer.

Collins. How ſay ye, will ye anſwer?

Bland. Sir, I have anſwered you. Have him away, ſaid my lord of Dover, he had better have anſwered.

Bland. My lord, I am ready to anſwer, if ye have any thing againſt me by the law.

Bp. of Dover. Ye have preached many hereſies in Adeſham, where I am parſon now; and therefore ye muſt make anſwer to them.

Bland. Lay them to my charge by the law, and I will anſwer them, if ye can prove I am bound to anſwer to that which was done a year ago or more: for if ye may do that, ye may alſo lay to my charge, and compel me to anſwer to all things done in all my life.

Collins. It is not a year ago ſince you were before Mr. Archdeacon and me.

Bland. It is a year and ten weeks ſince the words were ſpoken, and I have been a priſoner ever ſince, and have been at five ſeſſions, and never could have my cauſe tried. Methinks your charities ſhould think it puniſhment enough if I had been guilty.

Collins. All this will not ſerve you: you muſt needs anſwer, and it will be better for you to anſwer now than another time. Will ye reform yourſelf, and go to the church, and worſhip Chriſt in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, and be obedient unto all the queen's laws?

Bland. I pray you wherefore am I brought hither?

Collins. To anſwer to ſuch things as are demanded of you.

Bland. Sir, I thought ye had ſome matters againſt me by the law.

Collins. Well, on Monday at nine of the clock ye ſhall ſee the law, and have articles laid unto you.

Then they had eſpied Mr. Cox the lawyer, and called him in, and ſaid, Here is a lawyer can tell you are bound by the law to anſwer: and he ſaid as they had ſaid.

Collins. Do ye now believe, that after the conſecration of the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, there remaineth no ſubſtance of bread, but the ſubſtance of Jeſus Chriſt, both God and man?

Bland. Mr. Commiſſary, I know not by any law why ye ſhould aſk me that queſtion more than any other man here. And after a little talk, my lord of Dover aſked me this queſtion: Doſt thou not believe, after the conſecration, that it is the body of Chriſt? And I ſaid, No, I do not ſo believe: for the ſcriptures do not teach me, that there ſhould remain the fleſh of Chriſt, to eat as a man ſhould eat man's fleſh.

Then Mr. Glaſier ſaid, That was the opinion of the Capernaites, there is no man here of that opinion: and ſpake long of cutting of Chriſt's body, as men cut fleſh in the ſhambles.

Then Dr. Faucet ſaid, Mr. Bland, foraſmuch as you and I were brought up both in one houſe, and born both in one pariſh, I would be as glad as any man alive to do you good; but ye may not thus ſtand againſt the church. For Chriſt ſaith; Ye muſt humble yourſelf, and take up his croſs, and follow him: and to humble yourſelf in this place, is to be content, and not ſtick to your own judgment, but to humble yourſelf to the holy church, which hath determined, that after the conſecration there remaineth no bread, but the natural body and blood of Chriſt.

Bland. Mr. Doctor, if ye take humbling of ourſelves in that place, to admit the determination of the church, then muſt we know by the ſcriptures, that the ſame church determined nothing but according to the ſcriptures, as this is not: and therefore I do not believe any ſuch tranſubſtantiation, nor never will, God willing. Then, quoth he, I have done with you: I will no more pray for you than for a dog.

Then ſaid Mr. Glaſier, How think ye? Did St. Paul, when he ſaid, Is not the bread that we break a partaking of the body of Chriſt? did he mean baker's bread?

Bland. Though he did not mean baker's bread, that doth not prove that he brake natural and real fleſh.

Glaſier. No, by St. Mary, we ſay not ſo, but we ſay it is the natural body glorified, under the forms of bread and wine.

Bland. Then the apoſtles had it not as we have; or elſe his glorified body was crucified for us.

Glaſier. Tuſh, ye do not underſtand the ſcriptures. For Chriſt's body was ever glorified, in that it was ſo marvellouſly united to the Godhead: yea, and he ſhewed his body divers times glorified, as in the mount Tabor: and when he walked on the water, we ſee he was light, and had no weight in him. Was not that then a glorified body?

Bland. Then belike Peter's body was glorified, if walking on the water was the deed of a glorified body? and the iron that Eliſha made to ſwim upon the water.

Tuſh, ſaid my lord of Dover, that was done by prayer. But there was ſuch a noiſe made with laughing, that I heard no more what my lord ſaid.

Bland. Maſters, I know that it availeth us nothing to reaſon with you, no more than it availed you in the time of the goſpel. For then neither the reaſon of Eckius, Cochlæus, nor yet of detection of the devil's ſophiſtry of my lord chancellor's doing, could take any place. And it is known to ſome that be here, that ſomething I can ſay in them.

Dover. No, you know Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, and ſuch others.

Bland. Indeed, my lord, I have ſeen part of their doings.

Dover. That is ſeen by thee to-day.

Glaſier. I was glad when I heard you ſay ye believed the catholic church, and now go you from it?

Bland. No, that I do not.

Glaſier. Ye know that Chriſt ſaith; "If thy brother have offended thee, go and reconcile him between thee and him. If he hear thee not, take two or three with thee, that in the mouth of two or three witneſſes all things may be eſtabliſhed. If he hear not them, tell it unto the church; if he hear not the church, take him as an heathen." I pray you where could ye have found this church of yours fifty years ago?

Bland. Ye know that the true church did not at all times flouriſh, but was wonderfully perſecuted.

Then my lord of Dover cried, No more, I command you to hold your peace. Have him away, and bring in another.

Collins. Ye ſhall come again on Monday at nine of the clock, and in the mean time ye ſhall have whom ye will to confer withal; your friend Dr. Faucet, or Mr. Glaſier, if ye deſire them.

Bland. I will refuſe to talk with no man: as for any conference of your part, it is but weak laws, eſtabliſhed as they are. But when there was no law, I did deſire conference. And ſo for that time I departed.

The Monday after we were brought to the ſame place again; and then Mr. Collins began to ſpeak to me, but after what manner, it is clean out of my mind: but the end was, that I would reform myſelf. But as I did before, I demanded what they had to lay to my charge, and to ſee the law, which they ſaid before I ſhould ſee.

Dover. What needs that? We have enough againſt you: for ye denied unto me tranſubſtantiation in the ſacrament.

Bland. I did refuſe to anſwer till ye promiſed that I ſhould ſee the law, whereby ye might compel me to anſwer.

My lord took the ſcribe's book, and read the anſwer that I made to Dr. Faucet's reaſon, which I knew not that they had written.

Bland. My lord, I made you no ſuch anſwer when ye aſked me: I take Mr. Collins and Mr. Glaſier to witneſs. Then they brought forth a decretal, a book of the biſhop of Rome's law, to bind me to anſwer, which my heart abhorred to look upon. The effect was, that the ordinary had authority to examine, and that thoſe whom they ſo examined muſt needs anſwer. But I ſaid that it meaned ſuch as were juſtly ſuſpected, as I was not. And here we had much communication: for I charged them with unjuſt impriſonment, which they could not avoid.

Mr. Oxenden would have helped them, and ſaid, the juſtices put me in priſon for preaching a ſeditious ſermon, and for troubling a prieſt at maſs.

Bland. That is not true; for after I had been ten weeks in priſon I was bailed out, till I was caſt in again (as the juſtice ſaid) for the diſobeying mine ordinary, which I never did.

Collins. Are ye willing to confer with ſome? it will be better for you; now we offer it, becauſe ye would not deſire it.

Bland. As I did not refuſe before, no more will I now. But I did not perceive before, but that one thing might have come, without any leave-aſking, to confer the ſcriptures: and therefore I expected Dr. Faucet would have come to me without deſiring, if any profit to me had been in conference; for though I was never able to do him good; yet once I was his tutor.

Collins. Will ye come to his chamber in the afternoon?

Bland. Sir, I am a priſoner, and therefore it is meet that I obey, and come whither you will; and ſo departed. At this time we were three. But they took another to appear before them the Tueſday ſeven-night after. And when he came, I knew not what was done, but I hear they excommunicated him, and let him go. His name was Miller, a clothier.

Here followeth a certain Confutation of Mr. Bland againſt falſe and manifeſt Abſurdities, granted by Mr. Milles, Prieſt of Chriſt-church in Canterbury.

Milles. WE ſay that Chriſt is in or under the ſacrament really and corporally, which are the forms of bread and wine, and that there is his body contained inviſibly; and the qualities which we do ſee, as whiteneſs and roundneſs, be there without ſubſtance by God's power, as quantity and weight be there alſo by inviſible meaſure.

Bland. This is your own divinity, to make accidents the ſacrament, and Chriſt's real body inviſibly contained in them, and ſo to deſtroy the ſacrament. And yet the doctors ſay; Materia Sacramenti eſt panis & vinum. And God by his power worketh no miracles with Hoc eſt corpus meum, ſo to change the ſubſtance of bread and wine into his body and blood, in that he maketh accidents to be without their ſubſtance by inviſible meaſure. I am aſhamed to ſee you ſo deſtroy Chriſt's ſacrament, contrary to your own doctors, and trifle with God's work.

Milles. To Chriſt is given all power in heaven and in earth, ſo that by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be, and is where he liſteth; and is in the ſacrament really and corporally without occupying of place; for a glorified body occupieth no place.

Bland. Mark your own reaſon. All power is given to Chriſt both in heaven and earth; by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he liſt: Ergo, He is in the ſacrament really and corporally without occupying of place.

I deny your argument; for it followeth neither of your Major nor Minor. And firſt I would learn of you, how you know that Chriſt liſteth to be preſent at the will of every prieſt. For if the prieſt liſt not to ſay your maſs, then Chriſt liſteth not to be there.

Again, ye ſay, all power is given unto Chriſt both in heaven and in earth, ſo that that is the cauſe by your reaſon, that by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he liſt; and by that reaſon he had no power of his Godhead, till he had his human body, and then he was not equal with the Father in divinity: for all power was not given to Chriſt, before the humanity and the Godhead were knit together, neither was he Filius. Here is more danger than ye are aware of, if ye would ſtand to it with juſt judges.

Milles. We eat Chriſt's fleſh and blood ſpiritually when we receive it with faith and charity. And we alſo do eat it corporally in the ſacrament; and the body that we ſo receive hath life. For the Godhead is annexed thereto: which although it be received with the body of Chriſt, yet it is not viſible after a groſs ſort, and the fleſh of Chriſt that we receive is lively; for it hath the Spirit of God joined to it. And if a man be drunken, it is not by receiving of the blood of Chriſt: for it is contrary to the nature of Chriſt's blood. If he be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities, without ſubſtance of blood.

Bland. I am glad that you are ſo much againſt all men, to ſay that Chriſt's body is alive in the ſacrament; it may fortune to bring you to the truth in time to come. Methinks it is evil to keep Chriſt's body alive in the Pix; or elſe muſt ye grant, that he is alive in receiving, and dead in the Pix And ye ſay truth, that it is not the natural receiving of Chriſt's blood that maketh a man drunken: for it is the nature of wine that doth that, which ye deny not.

And a greater truth ye confeſs than ye did think, when ye ſaid; If a man be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities, without the ſubſtance of blood; for indeed blood hath no ſuch qualities with it: by which it is evident that there is no natural blood.

If a man be drunken with wine conſecrated, it muſt be a miracle, as I think you will have it that the ſaid accidents ſhould be without their natural ſubſtance, and work all the operations of both ſubſtance and accidents: and ſo it followeth that a man may be drunken by miracle. The body that ye receive, ye ſay, is alive, becauſe it is annexed to the Godhead; and the fleſh that ye receive is lively, becauſe it hath the Spirit of God joined to it.

This diviſion is of your new inventions, to divide the body and the fleſh, the one alive by the Godhead, the other lively by God's Spirit, and both one ſacrament: ye make of it a thing ſo fantaſtical, that ye imagine a body without fleſh, and fleſh without body; as ye do qualities and quantities without ſubſtance, and a living body without qualities and quantities.

Milles. If caſe ſo require, and there be a godly intent in the miniſter to conſecrate, after the conſecration thereof, there is preſent the body and blood of Chriſt, and no other ſubſtance, but accidents without ſubſtance to a true believer.

Bland. Ye grant three abſurdities. That in a tun of wine conſecrated is nothing but accidents: and to increaſe it withal, ye have brought in two inconveniences; firſt, that it is not the word of God that doth conſecrate, but the intent of the prieſt muſt help it; and if that fail, ye ſeem to grant no conſecration, though the prieſt ſpeak the word; and yet your doctors ſay, that the wickedneſs of the prieſt diminiſheth not the ſacrament.

And to an unbeliever ye ſeem to ſay, that it is not the ſame, as it is to the true believer; and then muſt the believer have ſomething to do in the conſecration. Incidit in Scyllam, qui vult vitare Charybdim.

Milles. The ſubſtance of Chriſt's body doth not fill the mouſe's belly. For although he doth receive the outward forms of bread and wine, yet he doth not receive the ſubſtance inwardly, but without violation. And a mouſe doth not eat the body of Chriſt, to ſpeak properly; for it doth not feed him ſpiritually or corporally,

as it doth man, becauſe he doth not receive it to any inducement of immortality to the fleſh.

Bland. Ye make not your doctrine plain to be underſtood: we muſt know how a mouſe can receive the ſubſtance inwardly and outwardly. Ye ſay he doth not receive the ſubſtance inwardly, but without violation: Ergo, With violation he receiveth the ſubſtance inwardly. Ye ſay that the mouſe cannot violate Chriſt's body; but he violateth the ſubſtance that he eateth. And this your proper ſpeech doth import as much, as that the mouſe ſhould eat the ſacrament to as great effect, and the ſame thing, as doth the unworthy receiver. For if that be the cauſe that ſhe properly eateth not the body of Chriſt, becauſe ſhe doth not feed upon it ſpiritually nor corporally, nor receiveth it to any inducement of immortality, as ye ſay; then it followeth, that the unbeliever and the mouſe receive both one thing. And yet it cannot be denied, but the mouſe will live with conſecrated bread, and then ye muſt grant this abſurdity, that a ſubſtance is nouriſhed and fed only with accidents.

Milles. Men's bodies be fed with Chriſt's body, as with immortal meat by reaſon of the Godhead annexed, to eternal life; but men's bodies be corporally nouriſhed with qualities and forms of bread and wine: and we deny that by the ſacramental eating any groſs humour turned into blood is made miraculouſly in the body.

Bland. Where it cannot be denied that a man may live, and naturally be nouriſhed in his natural body with the ſacramental bread and wine conſecrated; ye cannot avoid that: but then ye turn to the ſpiritual nouriſhing of man's body, by Chriſt's body and Godhead annexed, which is nothing to put away the abſurdity, that either a man's natural body ſhould be fed naturally with accidents, or elſe to have them changed into groſs humours. But ye ſay, men's bodies be corporally nouriſhed with qualities and forms of bread and wine; and then muſt ye needs grant, that qualities and quantities muſt be made ſubſtance in man. For ex eiſdem ſunt & nutriuntur mixta, or elſe is all that is the nutriment in man accidents and no ſubſtance.

Milles. If the forms of bread and wine be burned, or worms ingendred, it is no derogation to the body of Chriſt, becauſe the preſence of his body ceaſeth to be there, and no ſubſtance cometh again.

Bland. Ye grant here, that a ſubſtance may be made of accidents, as aſhes or worms; but I think you will have it by your miracles, and this I count a greater abſurdity than the other, that Chriſt's body ſhould ceaſe to be there, and no ſubſtance to come again; for no word in all the whole Bible ſeems to ſerve you for the ceaſing of his preſence, though we granted you, which we do not, that it were there. God Almighty open your heart, if it be his will and pleaſure, to ſee the truth. And if I thought not my death to be at hand, I would anſwer you to all the reſt, in theſe and all other my doings.

I ſubmit myſelf to our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and his holy word, deſiring you in the bowels of Chriſt to do the ſame.

Your orator in the Lord,

John Bland.

The laſt Appearance and Examination of Mr. Bland.

HItherto you have heard the troubleſome handling of this faithful ſervant of God, John Bland, toſt to and fro, from priſon to priſon, from ſeſſion to ſeſſion. At laſt he was brought before the biſhop of Dover, the commiſſary, and the archdeacon, at Canterbury, the 13th day of June. The name of this biſhop was Richard Thornton. The commiſſary was Robert Collins, whom the cardinal by his letters patent had ſubſtituted his agent, before his coming over to England. The archdeacon was Nicholas Harpsfield. Under theſe a great many innocent lambs of Chriſt were cruelly treated and barbarouſly ſlain at Canterbury, amongſt whom this aforeſaid Mr. Bland was one of the firſt; who, as it is ſaid, being brought before the ſaid biſhop, and collegues, which were John Frankeſh, Nicholas Sheterden, Thomas Thacker, Humfrey Middleton, and William Cocker, were examined of articles. To whom it was objected by the commiſſary, Whether he believed that Chriſt is really in the ſacrament, or no, &c. To this he anſwered and ſaid, That he believed that Chriſt is in the ſacrament, as he is in all other good bodies; ſo that he judged not Chriſt to be really in the ſacrament.

Whereupon the day being on Monday, he was bid to appear again upon Wedneſday next, and from thence he was deferred again to Monday following, being the 20th of June, in the ſame chapter-houſe, then to hear further what ſhould be done, in caſe he would not relent to their mind. Which day and place he appearing as before, was required to ſpeak his mind plainly and fully to the aforeſaid articles, being again repeated to him. Which articles, commonly and in courſe they uſually objected to their examinates which were brought before them; which articles, as here now followeth, need not hereafter be repeated, eſpecially for the county of Kent.

Articles miniſtered by Richard Biſhop of Dover, to Mr. Bland, and likewiſe to the reſt following after him.

1. FIRST, That thou art of the dioceſe of Canterbury, and ſo ſubject to the juriſdiction of the archbiſhop there.

2. Item, That thou art a chriſtian man, and doſt profeſs the laws of God, and faith of Chriſt's catholic church, and the determination of the ſame.

3. Item, That all perſons who teach, preach, believe, affirm, hold, maintain, or ſay within the dioceſe of Canterbury, otherwiſe than our holy mother the church doth, are excommunicate perſons, and heretics, and as excommunicate and heretics ought to be named, reputed and taken.

4. Item, That thou, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of our mother holy church within the dioceſe of Canterbury, haſt openly ſpoken, maintained, holden, affirmed, and believed, and yet doſt hold, affirm, and believe, that in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt in ſubſtance, but only a token, ſign, and remembrance thereof, and that the very body and blood of Chriſt is only in heaven, and nowhere elſe.

5. Item, That thou, contrary to the catholic faith, and determination of our holy mother church, haſt within this dioceſe of Canterbury openly ſpoken, ſaid, maintained, holden, affirmed, and believed, and yet doſt hold, maintain, affirm, and believe, that it is againſt God's word, that the ſacrament of Chriſt's church ſhould be miniſtered in an unknown tongue; and that no man with a ſafe conſcience, or without peril of ſin, receiveth any ſacrament adminiſtered in any tongue that he underſtandeth not.

6. Item, That thou, contrary to the catholic faith of our mother holy church, haſt, and yet doſt hold opinion, and ſay, that it is againſt God's word, that the ſacrament of the altar ſhould be adminiſtered in one kind; and that no man may with a ſafe conſcience ſo receive it.

7. Item, That the premiſes be true, and that there is a common fame upon them within the dioceſe of Canterbury.

The Anſwers of Mr. Bland to the aforeſaid Articles.

1. TO theſe articles Mr. Bland, anſwering again in order as they were objected to him, ſaith to the firſt, granting the ſame, that he was a prieſt, and of the dioceſe of Canterbury.

2. To the ſecond alſo he anſwereth affirmatively.

3. Item, to the third he anſwereth, that the article is true, meaning the catholic church to be Chriſt's church.

4. Item, in the fourth article, as touching the firſt part of the article, he doth confeſs, that he hath preached and taught it, as it is contained in the ſame. And as touching the ſecond part of the article, he doth confeſs, that he doth now alſo hold and ſay, as he preached and taught before.

5. Item, to the fifth article, he granteth.

6. To the ſixth, he preached, held and doth hold, as is contained in the article.

7. Item, to the laſt article, he granteth the ſame, &c.

This done, and his anſwers and confeſſion taken, reſpite was given him yet a few days to deliberate with himſelf. And on the 25th day of the ſaid month of June he appear'd again in the chapter-houſe, and there openly and boldly withſtood the authority of the pope; whereupon he was condemned and committed to the ſecular power. Touching the form and tenor of the ſentence, becauſe all their ſentences of courſe agree in one, read before in the hiſtory of Mr. Rogers, page 97.

Mr. Bland's Prayer before his Death.

THE Lord Jeſus, for whoſe love I do willingly leave this life, and deſire rather the bitter death of his croſs, with the loſs of all earthly things, than to abide the blaſphemy of thy holy name, or elſe to obey man in breaking of thy commandments; thou ſeeſt, O Lord, that whereas I might live in worldly wealth to worſhip falſe gods, and honour thy enemy, I choſe rather the torments of this body, and loſs of this my life, and have counted all things but vile duſt and dung that I might win thee: which death is more dear unto me than thouſands of gold and ſilver. Such love, O Lord, haſt thou laid up in my breaſt, that I hunger for thee as the deer that is wounded deſireth the ſoil. Send thy holy comfort, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and ſtrengthen this weak piece of earth, which is void of all ſtrength of itſelf. Thou remembereſt, O Lord, that I am but duſt, and not able to do any thing that is good. Therefore, O Lord, as thou of thy accuſtomed goodneſs haſt bidden me to this banquet, and counted me worthy to drink of thine own cup amongſt thine elect; give me ſtrength againſt this element, that as it is to my ſight moſt irkſome and terrible, ſo to my mind it may be at thy commandment, as an obedient ſervant, ſweet and pleaſant; and through the ſtrength of thy Holy Spirit I may paſs through the ſtrength of this fire into thy boſom, according to thy promiſe, and for this mortality to receive immortality, and for this corruptible to put on incorruptible. Accept this burnt-offering and ſacrifice, O Lord, not for the ſacrifice itſelf, but for thy dear Son's ſake my Saviour: for whoſe teſtimony I offer this free-will offering with all my heart, and with all my ſoul. O heavenly Father, forgive me my ſins, as I forgive the whole world. O ſweet Saviour, ſpread thy wings over me. O God, grant me thy Holy Ghoſt, through whoſe merciful inſpiration I am come hither. Conduct me unto everlaſting life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit: Lord Jeſus receive my ſoul. So be it.

The Hiſtory of John Frankeſh, Humfrey Middleton, and Nicholas Sheterden.

HAVING now paſſed over the examination of Mr. Bland, let us further proceed to the reſt of his fellow-priſoners, being joined the ſame time with him in the like cauſe and like affliction. The names of whom were, John Frankeſh, Nicholas Sheterden, Humphrey Middleton, Thacker and Cocker, of whom Thacker only gave back. The reſt conſtantly ſtanding to the truth, were all together condemned by the ſuffragan of Canterbury, the 25th day of June the year above expreſſed. Whoſe examination I need not dwell long upon, foraſmuch as the articles miniſtered againſt them were all one, ſo in their anſwers they little or nothing diſagreed, as you ſhall hear hereafter. In the mean time becauſe Nicholas Sheterden in his examination had a little more talk with the archdeacon and the commiſſary, I will firſt begin with him.

The firſt Examination or Reaſoning of Nicholas Sheterden with Mr. Archdeacon Harpsfield, and Mr. Collins the Commiſſary, for which they ſent him to Priſon.

FIRST the archdeacon and commiſſary affirmed, that the very words of Chriſt, when he ſaid, This is my body, did change the ſubſtance, without any other interpretation or ſpiritual meaning of the words.

Sheterden. Then belike when Chriſt ſaid, "This cup is my blood," the ſubſtance of the cup was changed into his blood, without any other meaning; and ſo the cup was changed, and not the wine.

Harpsfield. Not ſo; for when Chriſt ſaid, "This cup is my blood," he meant not the cup, but the wine in the cup.

Sheterden. If Chriſt ſpake one thing, and meant another, then the bare words did not change the ſubſtance; but there muſt be a meaning ſought as well of the bread, as of the cup.

Harpſ. There muſt be a meaning ſought of the cup otherwiſe than the words ſtand. But of the bread it muſt be underſtood only as it ſtandeth, without any other meaning.

Sheterden. Then do ye make one half of Chriſt's inſtitution a figure, or borrowed ſpeech, and the other half a plain ſpeech; and ſo ye divide Chriſt's ſupper.

Harpſ. Chriſt meant the wine, and not the cup, though he ſaid, This cup is my blood.

Sheterden. Then ſhew me whether the words which the prieſt ſpeaks over the cup, do change the ſubſtance, or whether the mind of the prieſt doth it?

Harpſ. The mind of the prieſt doth it, and not the words.

Sheterden. If the mind of the prieſt doth it and not the words, if the prieſt then do mind his harlot, or any other vain thing, that thing, ſo minded, was there made, and ſo the people do worſhip the prieſt's harlot inſtead of Chriſt's blood: and again, none of the people can tell when it is Chriſt's blood, or when not, ſeeing the matter ſtandeth in the mind of the prieſt. For no man can tell what the prieſt meaneth but himſelf; and ſo are they ever in danger of committing idolatry.

Then was the archdeacon ſomewhat moved, and ſate him down, and ſaid to the commiſſary, I pray you Mr. Commiſſary to ſpeak to him for a while; for they are unreaſonable and perverſe anſwers as ever I heard of. Then the commiſſary ſtood up and ſaid:

Your argument is much againſt yourſelf, for ye grant that the bread is a figure of Chriſt's body, but the cup can be no figure of his blood, nor yet his very blood: and therefore Chriſt did not mean the cup, but the wine in the cup.

Sheterden.

Sheterden. My argument is not againſt me at all; for I do not ſpeak it to prove that the cup is his blood, nor the figure of his blood, but to prove that the bare words being ſpoken by the prieſt, do not change the ſubſtance no more of bread, than they do change the cup into blood.

Commiſ. It could not be ſpoken of the cup, when he ſaid, This cup is my blood; but he meant the wine in the cup.

Sheterden. Then remaineth for you to anſwer my queſtion to the archdeacon, that is, whether the mind of the prieſt, when he ſpeaketh over the cup, doth change it into blood, or the bare words?

Commiſ. Both together doth it, the words and the mind of the prieſt together; yea, the intent and the words together doth it.

Sheterden. If the words and intent together do change the ſubſtance, yet muſt the cup be his blood, and not the wine, foraſmuch as the words are, "This cup is my blood," and the intent ye ſay, was the wine: or elſe the words take none effect, but the intent only.

After, the commiſſary, in his chamber, ſaid, it was the intent of the prieſt before he went to maſs, without the words; for the prieſt did intend to do as holy church had ordained, then the intent made the ſacrament to take effect.

Sheterden. If the ſacraments take effect of the intent of the prieſt, and not of God's word, then many pariſhes having a prieſt that intendeth not well, are utterly deceived, both in baptizing, and alſo worſhipping that thing to be God, which is but bread, becauſe for lack of the prieſt's intent, the words do take none effect in it: ſo that by this it is doubtful, whether they worſhip Chriſt or bread, becauſe it is doubtful what the prieſts do intend.

Then the commiſſary would prove to me, that Chriſt's manhood was in two places at one time, by theſe words of Chriſt in the third chapter of John, where he ſaith, "No man aſcendeth up into heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of man which is in heaven." By this he would prove, that Chriſt was then in heaven, and on earth alſo naturally and bodily.

Sheterden. This and other places muſt needs be underſtood for the unity of the perſon, in that Chriſt was God and man, and yet the matter muſt be referred to the Godhead, or elſe ye muſt fall into great error.

Commiſ. That is not ſo: for it was ſpoken of the manhood of Chriſt, foraſmuch as he ſaith, "The Son of man which is in heaven."

Sheterden. If ye will needs underſtand it to be ſpoken of Chriſt's manhood, then muſt ye fall into the error of the Anabaptiſts, who deny that Chriſt took fleſh of the virgin Mary; for if there be no body aſcended up, but that which came down, where is then his incarnation? for then he brought his body down with him.

Commiſ. Lo how you ſeek an error in me, and yet ſee not how ye err yourſelf. For it cannot be ſpoken of the Godhead, except ye grant that God is paſſible, for God cannot come down, becauſe he is not paſſible.

Sheterden. If that were a good argument, that God could not come down, becauſe he is not paſſible: then it might be ſaid by the like argument, that God could not ſit, and then heaven is not his ſeat, and then ſay as ſome do, that God hath no right hand to ſit at.

Then the commiſſary affirmed plainly, that it was true, God hath no right hand indeed.

Sheterden. Oh what an injury to Chriſt's religion will this be, that becauſe we cannot tell how God came down, therefore we ſhall ſay, that he came not down at all; and becauſe we cannot tell what manner of hand he hath, to ſay that he hath no hand at all; and then he cannot reach the utmoſt parts of the ſea. O miſery! at length it will come to paſs, that God cannot ſit, and then how can heaven be his ſeat? and if heaven be not his ſeat, then here is no heaven; and then at length I doubt, ye will ſay there is no God, or elſe no other God but ſuch as the heathen gods are, which cannot go nor feel.

Commiſ. Why, doth not the ſcripture ſay, that God is a ſpirit? and what hand can a ſpirit have?

Sheterden. Truth it is, God is a ſpirit, and therefore is worſhipped in ſpirit and truth; and as he is a ſpirit, ſo hath he a ſpiritual power, ſo hath he a ſpiritual ſeat, and a ſpiritual hand, and a ſpiritual ſword, which we ſhall feel, if we go on at this rate. Becauſe we know not what God hath, therefore if we ſay he hath none, then it may as well be ſaid, there is no Chriſt.

Then the commiſſary ſaid, he would talk no more with me, and ſo departed; and alſo the commiſſary was compelled to grant, that Chriſt's teſtament was broken, and his inſtitution was changed from that he left it: but he ſaid they had power ſo to do.

My firſt Anſwering, after their Law was eſtabliſhed.

BEcauſe I know ye will deſire to hear from me ſome certainty of my eſtate, I was called before the ſuffragan, and ſeven or eight of the chief prieſts, and examined of certain articles, and then I required to ſee their commiſſion.

They ſhewed it to me, and ſaid, There it is, and the king and queen's letters alſo. Then I deſired to have it read: and ſo in reading I perceived, that on ſome notable ſuſpicion he might examine upon two articles; Whether Chriſt's real preſence were in the ſacrament, and Whether the church of England be Chriſt's catholic church.

To that I anſwered, that I had been a priſoner three quarters of a year, and, as I thought, wrongfully: reaſon would therefore that I ſhould anſwer to thoſe things for which I was impriſoned.

The ſuffragan ſaid, His commiſſion was, that I muſt anſwer directly, yea or no.

This commiſſion, ſaid I, was not general to examine whom he will, but on juſt ſuſpicion.

He ſaid, I was ſuſpected, and preſented to him.

Then I required him to ſhew the accuſation.

He ſaid, he was not bound to ſhew it; but he commanded me in the king and queen's name to anſwer directly.

Sheterden. I, as a ſubject, do require juſtice of you: for what I have done, I aſk no favour.

Suffragan. You were ſuſpected.

Sheterden. Prove your ſuſpicion, or ſhew what cauſe you have to ſuſpect.

Suffragan. Thou wert caſt into priſon for that cauſe.

Sheterden. That was a pretty ſuſpicion, becauſe I had ſuffered impriſonment contrary to God's law and the realm, that therefore I muſt now for amends be examined of ſuſpicion without cauſe, to hide all the wrong done to me before. For when I was caſt into priſon, there was no law that hindered me from ſpeaking as I did: therefore in that point I could be no more ſuſpected than you, who preached the ſame yourſelf not long before.

Suffragan. That was no matter to thee what I preached.

Sheterden. Well, yet in the king and queen's name I muſt anſwer directly: and therefore I require as a ſubject, that ye do not extend beyond your commiſſion, but prove me ſuſpected, more than you yourſelf.

Then Mr. Milles told them that I had written to my mother, and that he had ſeen the letter, wherein I perſuaded my mother to my opinions.

Sheterden. In that I did but my duty, to certify her, that I was not in priſon for any evil. And likewiſe that was before the law, and therefore no more ſuſpicion was in me, than was in them which taught the like.

Milles. Well, ye are required here to anſwer directly.

Sheterden. Firſt then I require of you to prove this ſuſpicion; and thus we toſſed it to and fro. At laſt the

the biſhop ſaid, he himſelf did ſuſpect me. I aſked whereby?

Suffragan. Well, I myſelf did ſuſpect thee, and it is no matter whereby.

Sheterden. But your commiſſion doth not ſerve you ſo to do without cauſe of ſuſpicion.

Suffragan. Well, yet I did ſuſpect you.

Sheterden. It is not meet for you to be my accuſer and my judge alſo, for that is too much for one man. And thus many words were multiplied, and they were much grieved.

Milles. If you were a chriſtian man, you would not be aſhamed of your faith being required.

Sheterden. I am not aſhamed indeed, I thank God; and if any man did come to me, either to teach or learn, I would declare it; but foraſmuch as I perceive you come neither to teach nor to learn, I hold it beſt not to anſwer you.

Milles. If you will not, then will we certify the king's council.

Sheterden. I am therewith content that you would certify that I had ſuffered three quarters of a year wrongfully in priſon, and therefore I deſire to be juſtified or condemned, firſt for that I ſuffered ſuch impriſonment; and then I will not refuſe to anſwer your articles, though there were a buſhel of them. But to ſay that I would anſwer, whereby you ſhould heal all your wrong done to me againſt the law of God and the realm, I will not.

Here much ado there was to prove that he had no wrong; and again, that it was not they that did it. But, ſaid he, the commiſſary was one of them. He anſwered, No, and ſaid it was the archdeacon. He ſaid, You ſat with him, and he aſked your counſel in it; and yet if it were he, it was your church, except the archdeacon and you be divided one from another. Well, ſaid they, Will ye now deny what ye ſaid then, and promiſe here to ſubmit yourſelf henceforth, and ye ſhall be delivered?

Sheterden. I am not ſo much beholden to you as to grant you any ſuch promiſe: and you ſhall plainly ſee that I will not promiſe to go acroſs the ſtreet for you: but if at any time I have offended your law, let me have the puniſhment: I aſk no favour.

Then they ſaid, it was obſtinacy in him that he would not anſwer, and a token that his faith was naught, ſeeing he was aſhamed to utter it.

Nay, ſaid Sheterden, you ſhall well know I am not aſhamed of my faith: but becauſe you do ſo greedily ſeek blood, I will anſwer only to that you have againſt me.

Suffragan. Nay, you ſhall anſwer to the articles, or elſe be condemned upon ſuſpicion.

Sheterden. I am content with that, yet all men ſhall know, that as ye ſuſpect and can prove no cauſe, ſo ſhall ye condemn me without a matter, and then ſhall all men know ye ſeek my blood, and no juſtice.

Suffragan. No, we ſeek not thy blood, but thy converſion.

Sheterden. That we ſhall ſee. For then ſhall you prove my perverſion firſt, before you condemn me on your ſuſpicion without proof of the ſame: and by that I ſhall know whether you ſeek blood or no. Many other words were between them.

At laſt ſtept up one Lovels a lawyer, who would prove his impriſonment not to be wrong, but right, by old ſtatutes of Edward the fourth, and Henry, &c. but at laſt he was compelled to forſake thoſe ſtatutes from Michaelmas to Chriſtmas, and then he ſaid it was no wrong.

To this Mr. Sheterden ſaid, if he could prove that men might wrongfully impriſon before a law, and in the mean while make laws, and then under that hide the firſt wrong, then he ſaid true, or elſe not.

Thus he kept the band-dogs at ſtaves end, not as thinking to eſcape them, but that I would ſee, ſaid he, the foxes leap above the ground for my blood if they can reach it (ſo it be the will of God), yet we ſhall ſee them gape and leap for it. From Weſtgate in haſte.

By yours,
Nicholas Sheterden.

His Examination before the Biſhop of Wincheſter, then Lord Chancellor.

I Was called into a chamber before the lord chancellor, the ſuffragan, and others, prieſts I think for the moſt part. He ſtandeth to the table, called me to him; and becauſe I ſaw the cardinal was not there, I bowed myſelf and ſtood near.

Then ſaid he, I have ſent for you, becauſe I hear you are indicted of hereſy, and being called before the commiſſioners, ye will not anſwer nor ſubmit yourſelf.

I ſaid, If it pleaſe you, I did not refuſe to anſwer; but I did plainly anſwer, that I had been in priſon a long time, and reaſon it was that I ſhould be charged or diſcharged of that, and not to be examined of articles to hide my wrong impriſonment, neither did I know any indictment againſt me. If there were any, it could not be juſt, for I have not been abroad ſince the law was made.

Then ſaid the biſhop of Wincheſter, Well, yet if ſuch a ſuſpicion be of you, if you be a chriſtian, ye will declare that it is not true, and ſo clear yourſelf.

Sheterden. I thought it ſufficient to anſwer to mine offences, &c. truſting that they would lay no ſuch burden upon me, whereby the wrong done to me might be covered; but I would be proved to have wrong or right.

Wincheſter. If thou wilt declare thyſelf to the church to be a chriſtian, thou ſhalt go, and then have a writ of wrong impriſonment, &c.

Sheterden. I have no mind to ſue now, but require right juſtice: but to make a promiſe, I will not: and if I offend the law, then puniſh me accordingly. For it might be that my conſcience was not perſuaded, nor would be, in priſon; ſeeing theſe things which I have learned, were by God's law openly taught and received by the authority of the realm. And he ſaid, it was never received, that I might ſpeak againſt the ſacrament. I ſaid, that againſt ſome opinion of the ſacrament it was openly taught.

Winch. By no law, and that was not able to conſider, that all that while God preſerved that, ſo that no law could paſs againſt it.

Sheterden. I ſaid, their law did not openly perſuade me, but this moſt; when they preached unto us, they took pains to ſet out the word of God in our tongue, ſo that we may read and judge whether they ſay true or no; but now they take the light from us, and would have us believe it, becauſe they ſay ſo, which is to me a great perſuaſion.

Winch. It was not a few that could be your guide in underſtanding, but the doctors and the whole church; now whom wouldeſt thou believe? either the few or the many?

Sheterden. I did not believe for the few or for the many, but only for that he bringeth the word, and ſhewed it to me to be ſo according to the proceſs thereof.

Winch. Well, then if an Arian come to thee with ſcripture, thou wilt believe him, if he ſhew this text, "My Father is greater than I."

Sheterden. No, my lord, he muſt bring me alſo the contrary place, and prove them both true, where he ſaith, "My Father and I am one."

Winch. Yea, that is by charity, as we are one with him.

Sheterden. That gloſs will not ſtand with the reſt of the ſcripture, where he ſaid, "I am the very ſame that I ſay to you." He ſaid the truth, and the truth was God;

with more ſuch like. And here he made many words, but very gently, of the ſacrament. Likewiſe Chriſt ſaid, quoth he, it was his body; yea, that is to ſay, a figure of his body; and how men did not conſider that the Word was God, and God the Word, and ſo provoked me with ſuch temptation; but I let him alone, and ſaid nothing. So, after many words, he came to the church's faith, and comely order of ceremonies, and images. And then I joined to him again with the commandments.

Winch. That was done that no falſe thing ſhould be made, as the heathen would worſhip a cat, becauſe ſhe killed mice.

Sheterden. It is plain that the law forbad not only ſuch, but even to make an image of God to any manner of likeneſs.

Winch. Where find ye that?

Sheterden. Forſooth, in the law where God gave them the commandments: for he ſaid, "Ye ſaw no ſhape, but heard a voice only:" and added a reaſon why; "Leſt they ſhould after make images and mar themſelves:" ſo that God would not ſhew his ſhape, becauſe they ſhould have no image of him who was the true God, &c.

Winch. You have made a goodly interpretation.

Sheterden. No, it is the text.

Then was the Bible called for, and when it came, he bade me find it, and I ſhould preſently be confounded with my own words; ſo that if there were any grace in me, I ſhould no longer truſt to my own judgment; and when I looked, it was Latin.

Winch. Why, can ye read no Latin?

Sheterden. No. Then was the Engliſh Bible brought. He bade me find it; and ſo I read it aloud: and then he ſaid; Lo here thou mayſt ſee; this is no more to forbid the image of God, than of any other beaſt, fowl or fiſh; (the place was Deut. 4.) I ſaid it did plainly forbid to make any of theſe as an image of God, becauſe no man might know what ſhape he was of. Therefore might no man ſay of any image, This is an image of God.

Winch. Well, yet by your leave, ſo much as was ſeen we may, that is, of Chriſt, of the Holy Ghoſt; and the Father appeared to Daniel like an old man, &c.

Sheterden. That is no proof that we may make images contrary to the commandment; for though the Holy Ghoſt appeared like a dove, yet was he not like in ſhape, but in certain qualities; and therefore when I ſaw the dove which is God's creature, indeed I might remember the Spirit to be ſimple and loving, &c. and with that he was ſomewhat moved, and ſaid, I had learned my leſſon; and aſked who taught me, with many words; and he ſaid he would prove how good and profitable images were to teach the unlearned, &c.

Sheterden. At laſt I ſaid, My lord, although I were able to make never ſo good a gloſs upon the commandments, yet obedience is better than all our good intents; and much ado we had: At laſt he ſaid, He ſaw what I was, and that he had ſent for me for charity ſake to talk with me, but now he would not meddle; and ſaid, my wrong impriſonment could not excuſe me, but I muſt clear myſelf.

Sheterden. I ſaid that was eaſy for me to do, for I had not offended.

Winch. He ſaid I could not eſcape ſo, there I was deceived.

Sheterden. Well then I am under the law, &c.

The archdeacon was then called in, and he ſaid, that I behaved myſelf before him with ſuch arrogancy and ſtoutneſs, as never was heard; whereas he was minded with ſuch mercy towards me, &c. and many other lyes he laid to me, that I was ſent home till another time, and I would not be contented, but went out of the church with ſuch an outcry as was notable.

Sheterden, I declare that herein he falſly reported me, and brought in the laws then in the realm, and the queen's proclamation, that none of her ſubjects ſhould be compelled till the law were to compel, and that I rehearſed the ſame in the court for me; and I did uſe him then, ſaid I, as I uſe your grace now, and no otherwiſe.

Winch. He ſaid, that I did not uſe myſelf very well now.

Sheterden. I ſaid, I had offered myſelf to be bailed, and to confer with them when and where they would.

Winch. He ſaid, I ſhould not confer, but be obedient, I ſaid, let me go, and I will not deſire to confer neither: and when I offended, let them puniſh me; and ſo departed.

By your brother, Nicholas Sheterden.

The laſt Examination with the Condemnation of Mr. Bland, J. Frankeſh, N. Sheterden and H. Middleton.

AND thus much touching the particular and ſeveral examinations of Mr. Sheterden and Mr. Bland. Now to touch ſomething alſo of the other martyrs, who were examined the ſame time, and ſuffered together with them, to wit, Humfrey Middleton of Aſhford and John Frankeſh vicar of Rolvynden in the dioceſe of Kent abovementioned, here firſt ſhould be declared the articles, which publicly in their laſt examinations were jointly and ſeverally miniſtered unto them by the aforeſaid Thornton biſhop of Dover; but foraſmuch as theſe articles being ordinary and of courſe, are already expreſſed in the ſtory of Mr. Bland, [Page 298.] it is not therefore needful to make any new rehearſal thereof.

The ſeven articles being propounded to the perſons abovenamed, to wit, John Frankeſh, John Bland, Nicholas Sheterden, Humfrey Middleton, and one Thacker; John Frankeſh firſt anſwered ſomewhat doubtfully, deſiring further reſpite to be given him of fourteen days to deliberate with himſelf, which was granted. Mr. Bland anſwered flatly and roundly, as ye heard before. Nicholas Sheterden and Humfrey Middleton anſwered to the firſt and ſecond articles affirmatively. To the third concerning the catholic church after a ſort they granted. To the fourth, fifth and ſixth, concerning the real preſence, and the ſacrament to be adminiſtered in the Latin tongue, and in one kind, they utterly refuſed to anſwer. Sheterden ſaid, he would not anſwer thereto before the cauſe were determined why he was impriſoned, and ſo ſtill remained priſoner, before the laws of parliament received, &c. Middleton added moreover and confeſſed, that he believed in his own God, ſaying, My living God, and no dead God, &c. Thacker only relented, and was content to take penance. Thus the aforeſaid four upon theſe anſwers were condemned by the biſhop of Dover the 25th day of June 1555.

And being delivered to the ſecular power, they were all four burnt together at Canterbury the 12th of July, at two ſeveral ſtakes, but in one fire, where they in the ſight of God and of his angels, and before men, like true ſoldiers of Jeſus Chriſt, gave a conſtant teſtimony to the truth of his holy goſpel.

Mr. Nicholas Sheterden's Prayer before his Death.

O Lord my God and Saviour, who art Lord in heaven and earth, maker of all things viſible and inviſible, I am the creature and work of thy hands; Lord God, look upon me and other thy people, who at this time are oppreſſed by the worldly-minded for thy law's ſake; yea, Lord, thy law itſelf is now trodden under foot, and men's inventions exalted above it, and for that cauſe do I, and many thy creatures, refuſe the glory, praiſe, and conveniences of this life, and do chuſe to ſuffer adverſity, and to be baniſhed, yea, to be burnt with the books of thy word, for the hope ſake that is laid up in ſtore. For, Lord, thou knoweſt, if we would but ſeem to pleaſe men in things contrary to thy word, we might by their permiſſion

Engraved for Fox's Book of Martyrs.

The Burning of Four Martyrs in Canterbury.

Twenty Two Prisoners brought in one Band from Colchester to London.

G. Terry Sculp.

Pater-noster Row.

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permiſſion enjoy theſe advantages that others do, as wife, children, goods and friends, all which I acknowledge to be thy gifts, given to the end I ſhould ſerve thee. And now, Lord, that the world will not ſuffer me to enjoy them except I offend thy laws, behold I give unto thee my whole ſpirit, ſoul and body, and lo, I leave here all the pleaſures of this life, and do now leave the uſe of them for the hope ſake of eternal life purchaſed in Chriſt's blood, and promiſed to all them that fight on his ſide, and are content to ſuffer with him for his truth, whenſoever the world and the devil ſhall perſecute the ſame.

O Father, I do not preſume to come unto thee truſting in mine own righteouſneſs, no, but only in the merits of thy dear Son my Saviour. For which excellent gift of ſalvation I cannot worthily praiſe thee, neither is my ſacrifice worthy, or to be accepted with thee, in compariſon of our bodies mortified, and obedient unto thy will: and now, Lord, whatſoever rebellion hath been, or is found in my members againſt thy will, yet do I here give unto thee my body to the death, rather than I will uſe any ſtrange worſhipping, which I beſeech thee accept at my hand for a pure ſacrifice: let this torment be to me the laſt enemy deſtroyed, even death, the end of miſery, and the beginning of all joy, peace and ſolace: and when the time of reſurrection cometh, then let me enjoy again theſe members then glorified, which now be ſpoiled and conſumed by the fire. O Lord Jeſus, receive my ſpirit into thy hands, Amen.

Mr. Sheterden's Letter to his Mother.

AFTER my humble and bounden duty remembered, well-beloved mother, this ſhall be to wiſh you increaſe of grace and godly wiſdom, that ye may ſee and perceive the crafty bewitching of Satan our mortal enemy, who, as I have divers times declared unto you, doth not openly ſhew himſelf in his own likeneſs, but under colour of devotion deceiveth them that keep not a diligent eye upon him; but having confidence in men's traditions and cuſtoms of the world, leaving the commandments of God, and teſtament of his Son Chriſt Jeſus our Lord, do grow more into ſuperſtition and hypocriſy, than into wiſdom and true holineſs. For this is moſt true, that Satan, the enemy of ſouls, doth by his miniſters make many believe, that thoſe things which they compel us unto for their bellies ſake, have many godly ſignifications, although they be moſt contrary to God's will, as doubtleſs they be, even as the ſerpent did in paradiſe to our firſt mother Eve. "What, ſaid he, hath God commanded ye ſhall not eat of all the trees in the garden? The woman ſaid, Of the fruits of the trees in the garden we may eat: but of the tree in the midſt of the garden, ſaid God, ſee ye eat not, leſt ye die." Even ſo our miniſters now-a-days, ſay, Hath God commanded ye ſhall not make you any image or likeneſs of any thing? Yea forſooth. Tuſh, ſay they, what harm can they do? May we not remember God the better, when we ſee his image or picture? For they are good books for the lay-men; but indeed they be better for the prieſts, becauſe they receive the offerings.

And look how truly the promiſe of the ſerpent was kept with Eve, ſo is the perſuaſion of our prieſts found true to us. For as Adam and Eve did become like God in knowing good and evil, ſo are we in remembering God by his image. For Adam's eyes were ſo open, that he loſt both innocency and righteouſneſs, and was become the moſt miſerable of all creatures: and even ſo we remember Chriſt ſo well by images, that we forget his commandments, and count his teſtament, confirmed in his blood, for ſtark madneſs or hereſy; ſo miſerably have we remembered him, that of all people we are moſt blind: and this doth follow upon our preſumption, when we remember God by breaking of his law: and therefore ſurely except we repent, ſhortly God will remember us in his wrath, and reward us with his plagues, as ſure as there is a God it will come to paſs.

But (I thank God) I know their craftineſs herein, who will ſay, Where went he to ſchool? Is he wiſer than our great doctors that ſtudied all their life? And lo, they ſay that it is good hay; although we ſmell it muſty ourſelves, yet we muſt believe it is ſweet, and then pay them well for their ſo ſaying, and all is ſafe. But I might ſay again, What, Sir, be ye wiſer than Chriſt, and God his Father, and the Holy Ghoſt? What, wiſer than the prophets, and the holy apoſtles, and all the holy martyrs? I pray you, Sir, where had you your high learning? Is it higher than God (being in heaven) is able to reach, or have ye ſet it lower in hell than ever Chriſt durſt to venture? For methinks it is ſome ſtrange learning, that Chriſt and his apoſtles could never attain to the knowledge of it. But vain men are never without ſome ſhift: for peradventure they will not be aſhamed to ſay, that Chriſt coming on his Father's meſſage, did forget half his errand by the way: for I dare ſay, that the greater half of their ceremonies were never commanded by Chriſt: yea, I doubt it would be hard to find one in the church perfectly as he left it: ſo Romiſhly hath Antichriſt turned the church upſide down for lucre ſake.

Beloved mother, as I have oftentimes ſaid unto you, even ſo now I beſeech you from my very heart in Chriſt, to conſider your own ſoul's health is offered to you, do not caſt it off: we have not long time here. Why ſhould we deceive ourſelves either for the eaſe of our fleſh, or for gaining the treaſures of this world? I know that ſome will ſay to you, Why ſhould we condemn our fathers who lived thus? God forbid that we ſhould condemn any that did according to their knowledge. But let us take heed that they condemn not us; for if they had heard the word as we have, and had been warned as we have been, it is to be thought that they would more thankfully have received it than we do: yea, they were more faithful in what they knew than many now are. Therefore they ſhall be our condemnation, if we do not embrace this grace offered to us. And ſurely look how many of them God will accept and ſave, thoſe ſhall we never ſee, nor have any part among them: for our diſobedience is greater than was their ignorance. Wherefore, if we will meet our fathers in bliſs and joy, let us not refuſe his mercy offered to us more largely than to them, even according to Chriſt's promiſe, which ſaid, after ſuch great ignorance as to ſeek him from country to country, and find him not; Yet ſhall the goſpel, ſaith he, be preached in all the world, and then ſhall the end come.

And now let us know the time of our viſitation, and not turn back again, ſeeing we are once delivered: for ſurely God will not bear it at our hands to turn backward. O remember Lot's wife. God muſt needs puniſh out of hand our ſhameful backſliding, either with induration and hardneſs of heart, ſo that they ſhall perſecute his church and his true ſervants, or elſe reward it with open vengeance and plagues. And therefore, good mother, accept this my ſimple letter as a fruit of my love and obedience to you. Would God we might be ſo knit in faith and truſt in God's word and promiſes here in this life, as we might together enjoy the bliſs and conſolation of eternal life; which I deſire and ſeek above all worldly treaſure, as ye partly know. If I would ſeek the good will of men contrary to my conſcience, I could make ſome my friends which now peradventure are jealous over me amiſs. But I thank God, let them weigh the matter between God and their conſciences, and they have no juſt cauſe ſo to do: Nevertheleſs I wiſh they would yet refrain, and put their matter and mine into the balance of God's moſt holy word, there to be weighed by the mind of the Holy Ghoſt, expreſſed unto us by the holy patriarchs and prophets, and by Jeſus Chriſt our only Saviour and Mediator, and by his holy apoſtles; and then I doubt not but our matter ſhall be ended with peace and joyful-

neſs of heart; which God grant us for his mercy ſake, Amen.

Your own child, Nicholas Sheterden,
priſoner for the truth in Weſtgate, 1555.

A Letter to his Brother Walter Sheterden.

I Wiſh you health in Chriſt, true knowledge of his word, and a faithful obedient heart unto the ſame. It is ſhewed me, my brother, that ye deſired me by a letter made to a friend of yours to perſuade with me, that I ſhould be ruled by my uncle, who ſaith, he will beſtow his goods very largely upon me, if I would not ſtand too high in mine own conceit. But my good brother, I hope ye do not judge ſo evil of me, that I ſhould have a faith to ſell for money. For though he or you were able to give me the treaſure of the whole country, yet, I thank my Lord God, I do judge it but an heap of dung, in reſpect of the treaſure hid within; yet I do eſteem a buckle of your ſhoe, if it come with good will. And for to be counſelled and ruled by him or you, or any other of my friends, I do not, neither have refuſed it, if they require no more of me than what is in my power, and that which belongeth to a mortal man. But if they require of me any thing which appertaineth to God duly, there is neither high or low, friend or foe, that ſhall get it from me, nor yet the angels in heaven.

For though I be not learned (as the vain men of the world call learning), yet, thanks be to God, I have learned out of God's book to know him from his creatures, and Chriſt from his ſacraments, and to make a difference between the merits of Chriſt's paſſion and his ſupper, and a difference between the water of baptiſm and the Holy Ghoſt, and not to mix and mingle all things confuſedly together: ſo that if one aſk me a queſtion, or a reaſon of my faith, I muſt ſay thus: I believe as the holy church believeth: If he aſk me what is the order of that faith, I ſhould be ſo ignorant that I could not diſcern God from his creatures, nor Chriſt from his ſacraments. If I ſhould ſo monſtrouſly utter my faith, that I were not able to judge between Chriſt's birth and his burial; nor, which were firſt, of his mortification, and his glorification, who would believe that my faith were ſound?

For ſome affirm that Chriſt did not give to his apoſtles a mortal and a paſſible body, but an immortal and glorified body, ſo that he ſhould have a glorified body before his death, and ſo his glorification was before his reſurrection; and that he was riſen before he was crucified, and crucified before his baptiſm; and then they may as well ſay, he was baptized before his birth, and born before he was conceived, and conceived before he was promiſed, and that were even right Antichriſt to turn all things backward, and then ſay, O ye muſt believe, for God is almighty, he can do all things, &c. Truth it is that God is almighty indeed, and yet I may not believe things contrary to his word, that Chriſt's body was glorified before he died: for God's omnipotency doth not ſtand in things contrary to his will, but in performing his will at his pleaſure in time. Neither doth he require of us to judge or believe of his almighty power, that he hath made the end of the world to come before the beginning, or yet the fruit to come before the bloſſom, and yet is he nevertheleſs almighty.

But if peradventure you ſhall think with yourſelf, Why they are learned; it were marvel but they ſhould know what is the truth, as well as others which never kept any ſuch ſtudy, &c. To that I anſwer, that if they had ſtudied God's word, the author of truth, as they have done logic, and Duns, with the legend of lyes, they ſhould have been as expert in the truth, as they be now in bald reaſons. But thus hath God fulfilled his promiſe, that ſuch ſhould be deluded with lyes, who would not believe nor walk in his truth.

And again, this is a good cauſe to make us think ſurely, that it was the cauſe that God gave them over at the firſt to error, after the apoſtles time by little and little, as they grew in ſin. For ſeeing we had his truth now among us a few years, becauſe we did not obey it, we ſee what a ſudden change God hath brought upon us for the ſake of our ſins. And why ſhould we not think that this and ſuch like diſobedience was the cauſe that God took his word from all Chriſtendom at the firſt, and caſt a darkneſs upon all them that would not walk in his light? For it is evident enough to ſee how unlike their doings be to Chriſt and his apoſtles: and that ſeen, either we muſt judge Chriſt's doings very ſlender, and theirs good, or elſe that they be indeed the very Antichriſts, who ſhould come and turn all things out of frame. Thus I have been bold to trouble you, which I hope will not be altogether in vain. Pray for me as I do for you.

Your brother, Nicholas Sheterden,
Priſoner for the truth in Weſtgate.

Another Letter to his Brother.

GOD, who is the giver of all goodneſs, and that freely for his love to us (not only without our deſerts, but even contrary to the ſame), grant you, my brother, ſuch increaſe of godly knowledge and love to the virtues thereunto belonging, as may give you ſuch a reliſh of heavenly things, that all the treaſures of earthly things may ſavour to you, as indeed they are, moſt vain and uncertain, ſo ſhall ye never take them to be better than they really are. Yea, whether God take them from us, or give them to us, we ſhall know ourſelves neither richer nor poorer before God. But if we lay up in our hearts the treaſure of his word, we ſhall not only enrich ourſelves againſt the time of need, but alſo arm ourſelves againſt the battle with weapons and harneſs, which is invincible, and cloath ourſelves againſt the marriage. For behold, the Lord hath called us a long time to the feaſt, and blown the trumpet to prepare for the battle. Let us know the time of our viſitation, leſt the Lord ſitting on his mount, bewail our deſtruction, which he deſireth not, but becauſe he is juſt to puniſh ſuch as continue in ſin, even as he is merciful to forgive the repentant that turn in time; for ſo is God that cannot deny himſelf.

Let us therefore in this day, while it is called to-day, hear his voice, and not harden our hearts by reſiſtance of his will, leſt he ſwear in his wrath that we ſhall not enter into his reſt. Let us count it ſufficient that we have ſpent the time paſt (as St. Peter ſaith) after the will of the Gentiles, in eating and drinking, chambering, and wantonneſs, and in abominable idolatry, &c. and now let us aſſay a new life, and trade our members in virtue another while, leſt peradventure we might run paſt any return in the contrary. But if we now return and ſincerely lay hold of his word in deed and verity, as we have a long time done in talk and liberty, then will God heap upon us ſuch an aſſurance of conſcience, as ſhall kindle our conſolation in him, ſo that all treaſure ſhall be dung to the excellent knowledge of our Saviour. Dear brother, my heart's deſire and prayer to God is, that we may together enjoy the bliſs of eternal inheritance by one ſpiritual regeneration and new birth, as we are joined by nature. But alas, the way and means thereunto hath been much neglected by me, I will not ſay by you, for I had rather ye ſhould accuſe yourſelf: for no doubt the beſt of us both hath not ſought for wiſdom in God's word, as ſome in the world whom we know have ſought for money: therefore they ſhall be our judges, if we do not learn by them: yea the very ant, as Solomon ſaith, doth teach us to provide for the time to come; for ſhe provideth in ſummer againſt winter.

This was the beſt token I have for you now, which though it be ſimple, yet ſhall it declare partly my heart's deſire towards you, which is even as to mine own ſoul. Let nothing diſmay you for my cauſe: but be ye ſure I ſhall have victory in the truth, which truth is ſtronger

than kings, wine, or women. For as Zorobabel ſaith, Wine is unrighteous, the king is unrighteous, women are unrighteous, yea, all the children of men are unrighteous; but the truth endureth, and is always ſtrong, and conquereth for ever without end: therefore this is to deſire you and all other my friends that wiſh me good, to pray that God will always keep me in his truth, as he hath begun; which prayer, if it be of ſuch a mind as laboureth to depart from evil, ſhall be to me the greateſt pleaſure under heaven. For I deſire nothing in compariſon of God's truth, I thank him of his mercy, who hath ſo wrought: for I take it as a ſure ſeal of the endleſs joy which ſhall hereafter follow; which God bring us unto when his will and pleaſure is, Amen. From Canterbury.

By yours, Nicholas Sheterden.

Another Letter of Mr. Nicholas Sheterden to his Mother.

O My good mother, whom I love with reverence in the Lord, and according to my duty, I deſire your favourable bleſſing and forgiveneſs of all my miſdeeds towards you. Oh my good mother, in few words, I wiſh you the ſame ſalvation, which I hope myſelf to feel, and partly taſte of before this come to you to read; and in the reſurrection, I verily believe to have it more perfectly in body and ſoul joined together for ever: and in that day God grant that you may ſee my face with joy: but, dear mother, beware of that great idolatry, and blaſphemous maſs. O let not that be your God, which mice and worms can devour. Behold I call heaven and earth to record, that it is no God, yea, the fire that conſumeth it, and the moiſtneſs that cauſeth it to mould; and I take Chriſt's teſtament to witneſs, that it is none of his ordinances, but a mere invention of men, and a ſnare to catch the blood of innocents; and now that God hath ſhewed it unto you, be warned in time. O give over old cuſtoms, and become new in the truth. What ſtate ſoever your father be in, leave that to God; and let us follow the counſel of his word. Dear mother, embrace it with hearty affection, read it with obedience, let it be your paſtime; but yet caſt off all carnal affections, and love of worldly things: ſo ſhall we meet in joy at the laſt day, or elſe I bid you farewel for evermore: O farewel, my friends and lovers all, God grant me to ſee your faces in joy. Amen.

From Weſtgate, the 11th day of July, 1555. Your child, written with his hand, and ſealed with his blood, Nicholas Sheterden, being appointed to be ſlain.

A Letter to his Wife.

I Wrote unto you as one that longed more to hear of your health, than of all worldly treaſure, willing you to intreat Eſau the elder brother by nature gently, giving to him his own, yea, and offer him one of the droves, and ſay they be Jacob's, and are ſent for a preſent to my lord Eſau, but he will not take it, &c. Now my beloved, ye know the bleſſing of our Father is, that the elder ſhall ſerve the younger, and wiſdom our mother hath taught us the ſame; and I know ye do complain of your ſervant the fleſh, that he is rebellious, diſobedient, and untoward: unruly and crookedly ye think he doth his ſervice: but yet behold, how ſhall ye plead your cauſe before an indifferent judge? For if it be true that his ſervice be not according to his duty, as it is many times found in ſervants; yet, I ſay, can you ſhew your cauſe to no indifferent judge, but he ſhall object againſt you that he is not kept like a ſervant, but he lacketh both meat and drink, and other neceſſaries meet and due for a ſervant: ſo ſhall ye take more ſhame of your own complaint, than remedy or advantage againſt your ſervant, and it ſhall be a cloak for him to hide all his rebellion and untoward ſervice, becauſe ye have miſuſed him. And therefore my ſentence is, that ye patiently bear with him in ſmall faults, and amend your own great faults, as oppreſſion, cruelty and covetouſneſs, requiring more than a ſervant can do, eſpecially being tired with labour, ſtarved with hunger, and lamed with ſtripes. And theſe things amended, if he do his ſervice negligently (as no doubt ſometimes he will), yet then ye may boldly correct him with diſcretion; and ſometimes if he do not his taſk, ye may make him go to bed ſupperleſs; but yet beat him not with durable ſtrokes, neither with-hold his meat in due time, and pinch him not by the belly continually, but let him have ſomething to joy in: only watch him, and keep him from doing of harm. Though he be but a ſtranger in the life that is in God: yet be good to ſtrangers, for we are all ſtrangers in darkneſs, and captives in ſin, as well ſoul and ſpirit, being in Egypt, as now the fleſh is yet unbaptized with the terrible red ſea of death; and remember that one law abideth for the ſtranger, I mean one reward abideth for body and ſoul in the land of everlaſting reſt. And therefore intreat him gently, and deal with him juſtly now: for the time will come that the yoke of bondage ſhall be taken from his neck, and he ſhall be a fellow heir with your younger brother.

Circumciſe him therefore, but do not miſuſe him, nor keep him from his own, but deal mercifully with the ſtranger, that he may ſay, Oh of what underſtanding heart is this people! Who hath God, or where is God ſo nigh as to theſe? God make you wiſe and politic in heart, victorious in the field of this world, to rule the nation with a rod: but kill not the Gibeonites, with whom peace is taken; but let them draw water, and hew wood, but give them their meat and drink due for labourers, and be glad becauſe your diſeaſe is ſo remedied; for it is better and eaſier for a thirſty labouring man to drink, than for a drunken man to tell a ſober tale. Yea, it is a token that ye have earneſtly followed your labour, and not kept company with drunkards and belly-gods: and therefore be glad, I ſay, yea, and be glad again; for great is your reward in heaven; yea, bleſſed ſhall they be, that in this your zeal ſhall meet you, and withdraw your hand from revenging yourſelf upon that churliſh Nabal: which thing I hope to do now with theſe ſweet raiſins, and frails of figs, I being of one houſe with your ſervant Nabal, I dare ſay to you that churliſhneſs is his name: but revenge not, for the Lord ſhall do it in his due time. Farewel, mine own heart.

Yours in bonds at Weſtgate,

Nicholas Sheterden.

The next day after the condemnation of theſe aforeſaid, which was the 26th day of July, W. Coker, W. Hopper of Crambrook, Henry Laurence, Richard Wright of Aſhford, W. Stere of Aſhford, were likewiſe condemned for the ſame articles. But becauſe the execution of theſe martyrs pertaineth not to this month, more ſhall be ſaid of them when we come to the following month of Auguſt.

Nicholas Hall and Chriſtopher Waid, Martyrs.

THE ſame month of July Nicholas Hall bricklayer, and Chriſtopher Waid of Dartford, ſuffered death, who were condemned by Maurice biſhop of Rocheſter about the laſt day of June. The ſix articles adminiſtered to them were of the ſame ordinary courſe and effect with the other articles before ſpecified, the brief ſum whereof were theſe.

1. Firſt, that they were chriſtian men, and profeſſed the catholic determinations of our mother holy church.

2. That they which maintain or hold otherwiſe than our holy mother the catholic church doth, are heretics.

3. That they hold and maintain, that in the ſacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, is not the very body and blood of Chriſt. And that the ſaid very body of Chriſt is verily in heaven only, and not in the ſacrament.

4. Item, that they have and do hold and maintain, that the maſs, as it is now uſed in the catholic church, is naught and abominable.

5. Item, that they have been and be amongſt the people of that juriſdiction vehemently ſuſpected upon the premiſſes, and thereupon indicted, &c.

To theſe articles they anſwered as follows: Firſt, Granting themſelves chriſtian men, and acknowledging the determination of the holy church, that is, of the congregation or body of Chriſt; ſave that Hall denied to call the catholic and apoſtolic church his mother, becauſe he found not this word Mother, in the ſcripture.

To the ſecond they granted. To the third article, as touching the very body and blood of Chriſt to be under the forms of bread and wine in ſubſtance, they would not grant, only affirming the very body of him to be in heaven, and the ſacrament to be a token or remembrance of Chriſt's death; Nicholas Hall adding moreover, and ſaying, That whereas before he held the ſacrament to be but only a token or remembrance of Chriſt's death, now he ſaid, that there is neither token nor remembrance, becauſe it is now miſuſed and clean turned from Chriſt's inſtitution, &c. And concerning the maſs in the fourth article, to be abominable, Chriſtopher Waid, with the other, anſwered, that as they had confeſſed before, ſo they would not now go from what they had ſaid. To the fifth article, for the people's ſuſpicion they made no great account nor ſticking to grant to the ſame.

And thus much concerning the articles and anſwers of theſe good men. Which being received, immediately ſentence of condemnation was pronounced by the ſaid Maurice the biſhop againſt them, the copy of which ſentence as it runneth much after the common courſe in condemning all the other ſervants of Chriſt, ſo the ſame being exemplified before in the ſtory of Mr. Rogers, (Page 97.) needeth not here to be repeated. Nicholas Hall was bu nt at Rocheſter about the 19th day of July.

Furthermore, with the aforeſaid Hall and Waid, in the ſame month of July, three others were condemned by Maurice biſhop of Rocheſter, whoſe names were Joan Beach widow, John Harpol of Rocheſter, and Margery Polley. Of which Margery Polley, touching her examination and condemnation, here followeth in ſtory.

The Condemnation of Margery Polley, Widow and Martyr.

MArgery Polley widow, ſometime wife of Richard Polley of Pepingbery, was accuſed and brought before the ſaid Maurice biſhop of Rocheſter, about the beginning of the month of June. Which biſhop, according to the pontifical ſolemnity of that church, riſing up out of the chair of his majeſty, in the high ſwelling ſtile after his ordinary manner to daſh the ſilly poor woman, beginning in theſe words: "We Maurice, by the ſufferance of God, biſhop of Rocheſter, proceeding of our mere office in a cauſe of hereſy, againſt thee Margery Polley, of the pariſh of Pepingbery, of our dioceſe and juriſdiction of Rocheſter, do lay and object againſt thee all and ſingular theſe articles enſuing. To which, and to every parcel of them, we require of thee a true, full, and plain anſwer, by virtue of thine oath thereupon to be given, &c.

Thus the oath firſt being adminiſtered, and the articles commenced againſt her, which articles were the ſame that were miniſtered to Nicholas Hall and Waid before, ſhe ſo framed her anſwers again, eſpecially anſwering to the third and fourth articles, that ſhe neither allowed the deity of their ſacrament, nor the abſurdity of their maſs. For which ſentence was read againſt her about the beginning of June, and ſhe condemned for the ſame. But becauſe her death followed not upon the ſame, we will therefore defer the tractation thereof to the due place and time, firſt ſetting down in order of hiſtory the execution of Chriſtopher Waid abovementioned.

The Martyrdom of Chriſtopher Waid.

CHriſtopher Waid of Dartford in the county of Kent, linen-weaver, was condemned by Maurice biſhop of Rocheſter, and appointed to be burnt at Dartford aforeſaid. At the day appointed for his execution, which was in the month of July, there was carried out of town, betimes in the morning, in a cart, a ſtake, and therewith many bundles of reeds, to a place a quarter of a mile out of the town, called the Brimth, into a gravel-pit thereby, the common place of the execution of felons. Thither alſo was brought a load of broom-faggots, with other faggots and tall wood. Unto which place the people of the country reſorted in great numbers, and there waited his coming; inſomuch as divers fruiterers came thither with horſe loads of cherries, and ſold them. About ten of the clock the ſheriff came riding with a great many other gentlemen and retinue, appointed to aſſiſt him therein, and with them Chriſtopher Waid, Margery Polley of Tunbridge riding pinioned by him, both ſinging of a pſalm; which Margery, as ſoon as ſhe eſpied afar off the multitude gathered about the place where he ſhould ſuffer, waiting his coming, ſhe ſaid unto him very loud and chearfully, You may rejoice, Waid, to ſee ſuch a company gathered to celebrate your marriage this day.

And ſo paſſing by the place, which joined to the high-way, they were ſtraightway carried down to the town, where ſhe was kept till the ſheriff returned from Waid's execution. Mr. Waid being made ready, and ſtripped out of his cloaths in an inn, a fair long white ſhirt was brought unto him from his wife, which being put on, and he pinioned, was led up on foot again to the aforeſaid place. When he was come to the ſtake, he took it in his arms, and kiſſed it, ſetting his back unto it, and ſtanding in a pitch barrel which was taken from the beacon, being hard by; then a ſmith brought a hoop of iron, and with two ſtaples made him faſt to the ſtake under his arms.

As ſoon as he was thus ſettled, with his eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, he ſpake with a chearful and loud voice the laſt verſe of the 86th Pſalm; "Shew ſome good token upon me, O Lord, that they which hate me may ſee it, and be aſhamed: becauſe thou, Lord, haſt helped me, and comforted me." Near to the ſtake was a little hill, upon the top whereof were ſet up four ſtays, quadrangle wiſe, with a covering round about like a pulpit: into which place, as Waid was thus praying at the ſtake, entered a friar with a book in his hand; whom when Waid eſpied, he cried earneſtly unto the people, to take heed of the doctrine of the whore of Babylon, exhorting them to embrace the doctrine of the goſpel preached in King Edward's days. While he was thus ſpeaking to the people, the ſheriff interrupted him, ſaying, Be quiet, Waid, and die patiently. I am quiet, ſaid he, I thank God, Mr. Sheriff, and ſo truſt to die. All this while the friar ſtood ſtill looking over the coverlet, as though he would have uttered ſomewhat: but Waid mightily admoniſhed the people to beware of that doctrine; which when the friar perceived, whether he was amazed, or could have no audience of the people, he withdrew out of the place immediately, without ſpeaking any word, and went away down to the town. Then

Engrav'd for
Fox's Book
of Martyrs.

The Martyrdom of Dirick Carver.

The Martyrdom of Margery Polley.

The Martyrdom of John Denley.

The Martyrdom of Thomas Iveson

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the reeds being ſet about him, he pulled them, and embraced them in his arms, always with his hands making a hole againſt his face, that his voice might be heard, which his tormentors perceiving, they caſt faggots at the ſame hole; but notwithſtanding he ſtill, as he could, put them off, his face being hurt with the end of a faggot caſt thereat. Then fire being put unto him, he cried unto God often, Lord Jeſus, receive my ſoul; without any token or ſign of impatience in the fire, till at length after the fire was thoroughly kindled, he was heard by no man to ſpeak, ſtill holding up his hands together over his head towards heaven even when he was dead and altogether roaſted, as though they had been ſtayed up with a prop ſtanding under them.

This ſign did God ſhew upon him, whereby his very enemies might perceive, that God had, according to his prayer, ſhewed ſuch a token upon him, even to their ſhame and confuſion. And thus was the order of this godly martyr's execution, this was his end. Whereby God ſeemed to confound and ſtrike with the ſpirit of dumbneſs the friar, that locuſt which was riſen up to have ſpoken againſt him; and alſo no leſs wonderfully ſuſtained thoſe hands which he lifted up to him for comfort in his torment.

Spectatores præſentes Richardus Fletcher pater, nunc miniſter eccleſiæ Crambroke, Richardus Fletcher filius, miniſter eccleſiæ Kienſis.

The Apprehenſion, Examination, Condemnation, and Burning of Dirick Carver, and John Launder, who ſuffered Martyrdom for the Teſtimony of the Goſpel.

THE 22d day of July Dirick Carver, late of the pariſh of Brighthelmſtone in the county of Suſſex, was burnt at Lewes in the ſaid county. And the day following John Launder, late of Godſtone in the county of Surry, was burnt at Steyning. Theſe two men were, with others, about the latter end of the month of October, in the year 1554. apprehended by Edward Gage, gentleman, as they were at prayers in the dwelling houſe of the ſaid Dirick, and by him were ſent up to the queen's council, who, after examination, ſent them as priſoners to Newgate, there to attend the leiſure of Bonner biſhop of London. From whence (upon the biſhop's receipt of a letter from the lord marquis of Wincheſter, now lord treaſurer) they were brought by the keeper of the priſon on the 8th of June next after into the biſhop's chamber at his houſe in London; and there (being examined upon divers points of religion) they made their ſeveral confeſſions, ſubſcribing and ſigning them with their own hands: which being read, the biſhop objected unto them certain other articles, cauſing them to ſwear truly and directly to anſwer thereunto: which articles they confeſſed to be true, referring themſelves chiefly to their former confeſſions.

This done, after long perſuaſion and fair exhortations, they were demanded whether they would ſtand to their anſwers. To whom Launder ſaid, I will never go from theſe anſwers as long as I live. The other alſo confirmed the ſame; and therefore they were commanded to appear again before the biſhop in the conſiſtory at Paul's the tenth day of the ſame month. Which articles and confeſſion, with the forementioned letter, do here enſue.

A Letter from the Marquis of Wincheſter, Lord Treaſurer, to Bonner Biſhop of London, touching the Examination of the ſaid Priſoners.

AFTER my right hearty commendations to your good lordſhip, I ſhall not forget your livery of black againſt this time; no more I ſhall Mr. Dean, to whom I wrote to make the ſermon, who muſt now aſſuredly do it: for my lord Chicheſter cannot attend it. To whom I have given like knowledge by my letter now ſent; and your lordſhip muſt command the ſextons of your church to be in a readineſs for ringing in the time of ſervice. And if ye be not furniſhed with black apparel for the prieſt, deacon, and ſub-deacon, I muſt have knowledge thereof, that it may be taken of the queen's ſtuff, whereof I pray you let me be advertiſed.

And ye have ſent Bradford to Newgate, as a man convicted of hereſy before you: but as I perceive ye have not ſent me a Significavit, and therefore you muſt ſend me one, that I may proceed with him, and that ſhall I do, as ſoon as I am anſwered by you.

There be divers like priſoners that came from Suſſex, that be not yet examined before you, lying now in Newgate, who muſt be examined by you, ſince they be come to London, and ſo I pray they may be, and I certified of your proceedings, that I may follow, which I ſhall do, thanking your lordſhip heartily for my conies, truſting to recompenſe your lordſhip again ſhortly with twice as many. From my houſe this ſeventh of June, 1555.

Your loving friend, Wincheſter.

The Confeſſion of Dirick Carver, before Bonner Biſhop of London.

DIRICK CARVER, beer-brewer of Brighthelmſtone, in the county of Suſſex, where he hath dwelt about eight or nine years, born in the village of Dilſon by Stockom in the land of Luke, about forty years of age, and now priſoner in Newgate, where he hath remained and continued at the council's commandment, ſince Allhallows-day laſt paſt, being examined concerning his faith and belief in the ſacrament of the altar, ſaith, that he hath and doth believe, that the very ſubſtance of the body and blood of Chriſt is not in the ſaid ſacrament, and that there is no other ſubſtance remaining in the ſaid ſacrament after the words ſpoken by the prieſt, but only the ſubſtance of bread and wine.

Item, Being examined concerning the maſs in Latin now uſed in the church of England, he believeth that there is no ſacrifice in the ſaid maſs, and that there is in it no ſalvation for a chriſtian man, except it ſhould be ſaid in the mother tongue, that he might underſtand it; and concerning the ceremonies of the church, he ſaith and believeth that they be not profitable to a chriſtian man.

Item, Being examined concerning auricular confeſſion, he anſwereth, That he hath believed, and doth believe, that it is neceſſary to go to a good prieſt for good counſel; but the abſolution of the prieſt, laying his hand upon any man's head, as is now uſed, is nothing profitable to a chriſtian man's ſalvation. And further he ſaith, that he hath not been confeſſed, nor received the ſacrament of the altar, ſince the coronation of the queen that now is.

Item, Concerning the faith and religion now taught, ſet forth and believed in the church of England, he anſwereth and believeth, that the faith and doctrine now taught, ſet forth, and uſed in the ſaid church of England, is not agreeable to God's word. And furthermore he ſaith, that biſhop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, and others of their opinion, who were lately burnt, were good chriſtian men, and preached the true doctrine of Chriſt, as he believeth; and ſaith that they ſhed their blood in the ſame doctrine, which was by the power of God, as he ſaith and believeth.

And further being examined, he ſaith, That ſince the queen's coronation, he hath had the Bible and Pſalter in Engliſh read in his houſe at Brighthelmſtone divers times, and likewiſe ſince his coming to Newgate: but the keeper hearing thereof, took them away; and alſo ſaid, that about a twelvemonth ago, he had the Engliſh proceſſion ſaid in his houſe, with other Engliſh prayers. And fur-

ther ſaid, That Thomas Iveſon, John Launder, and William Veſie, being priſoners with him in Newgate, were taken with this examinate in his houſe at Brighthelmſtone, as they were hearing the goſpel then read in Engliſh, a little before Allhallows day laſt, and brought into the court: and being examined thereupon by the council, were committed by them to priſon in Newgate.

The Confeſſion of John Launder, before Bonner Biſhop of London.

JOHN LAUNDER of the pariſh of Godſtone, in the county of Surry, huſbandman, aged 25 years, born at Godſtone aforeſaid, being examined, doth confeſs and ſay, That about two days before laſt Allhallowntide this examinate and one Dirick Carver, Thomas Iveſon, William Veſie, with divers other perſons, to the number of twelve (being all together in their prayers, ſaying the ſervice in Engliſh, ſet forth in the time of king Edward the ſixth, in the houſe of the ſaid Dirick Carver, ſituated at Brighthelmſtone in Suſſex), were apprehended by one Mr. Edward Gage, and by him ſent up to London to the king and queen's council, and by them (upon his examination) committed to Newgate, where he with his ſaid fellows hath ever ſince remained.

And further being examined, he doth confeſs and ſay, that the occaſion of his coming to the ſaid Brighthelmſtone, was upon ſome buſineſs there to be done for his father: and ſo being there, and hearing that the ſaid Dirick was a man that did much favour the goſpel, this examinate did reſort to his houſe and company, whom before that time he did never ſee or know, and by reaſon of that his reſort he was apprehended as before: And further doth confeſs and believe, that there is here in earth one whole and univerſal catholic church, whereof the members be diſperſed through the world; and doth believe alſo, that the ſame church doth ſet forth and teach only two ſacraments, namely, the ſacrament of baptiſm, and the ſacrament of the ſupper of our Lord. And whoſoever doth teach or uſe any more ſacraments, or yet any ceremonies, he doth not believe that they be of the catholic church, but doth abhor them from the bottom of his heart: And doth further ſay and believe, that all the ſervice, ſacrifices and ceremonies, now uſed in this realm of England (yea and in all other parts of the world, which have been uſed after the ſame manner), be erroneous and naught, and contrary to Chriſt's inſtitution, and the determination of Chriſt's catholic church, whereof he believeth that he himſelf is a member.

Alſo he doth confeſs and believe, that in the ſacrament now called the ſacrament of the altar, there is not really and trully contained, under the forms of bread and wine, the very natural body and blood of Chriſt in ſubſtance: but his belief and faith therein is as followeth, to wit, That when he doth receive the material bread and wine, he doth receive the ſame in a remembrance of Chriſt's death and paſſion, and ſo receiving it he doth eat and drink Chriſt's body and blood by faith, and none other ways, as he believeth.

And moreover he doth confeſs, ſay and believe, that the maſs now uſed in the realm of England, or elſewhere in all Chriſtendom, is naught and abominable, and directly againſt God's word, and his catholic church; and that there is nothing ſaid or uſed in it good and profitable. For he ſaith, that albeit the Gloria in excelſis, the creed, the Sanctus, Pater noſter, Agnus, and other parts of the maſs be of themſelves good and profitable, yet the ſame being uſed amongſt other things that be naught and ſuperfluous in the maſs, the ſame good things do become naught alſo, as he believeth.

And he doth believe and confeſs, that auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to be made to any prieſt, or to any other creature, but every perſon ought to acknowledge and confeſs his ſins only to God; and alſo that no man hath any authority to abſolve any one from his ſins; and alſo believeth, that the right and true way (according to the ſcripture), after a man hath fallen from grace to ſin, to ariſe to Chriſt again, is to be ſorry for his offences, and to do the ſame or the like no more; and not to make any auricular confeſſion of them to the prieſt, or to take abſolution for them at the prieſt's hand. All which his ſaid opinions he hath believed theſe ſeven or eight years paſt, and in that time hath divers times openly argued and defended the ſame, as he ſaith, &c.

Upon Monday, being the tenth day of June, theſe two perſons, with others, were brought by the keeper unto the biſhop's conſiſtory (as it was before commanded) at one of the clock in the afternoon, where the biſhop, firſt beginning with the ſaid Dirick Carver, cauſed his confeſſion to be openly read unto him, aſking him whether he would ſtand to the ſame. To whom the ſaid Dirick anſwered, that he would: for your doctrine, ſaid he, is poiſon and ſorcery. If Chriſt were here, you would put him to a worſe death than he was put to before.

You ſay that you can make a God; ye can make a pudding as well. Your ceremonies in the church be beggary and poiſon. And further I ſay, that auricular confeſſion is contrary to God's word, and very poiſon: with divers other ſuch like words.

The biſhop ſeeing his conſtancy, and that neither his accuſtomed flatteries, nor yet his cruel threatenings, could once move this good man to incline to their idolatry, pronounced his uſual and general bleſſing, as well towards Dirick Carver, as alſo on the ſaid John Launder, although ſeverally; who remained as conſtant as the other: and therefore were both delivered to the ſheriffs, who were there preſent, but afterwards were conveyed to the places above named, and there moſt joyfully gave their bodies to be burned in the fire, and their ſouls into the hands of Almighty God, by Jeſus Chriſt, who hath aſſured them to a better hope of life.

Dirick Carver was a man whom the Lord had bleſſed as well with temporal riches, as with his ſpiritual treaſures; which yet were no clog or hindrance unto his true profeſſing of Chriſt (God by his grace ſo working in him), of which there was ſuch havock made by the greedy raveners of that time, that his poor wife and children had little thereof. During his impriſonment, although he was well ſtricken in years (and, as it were, paſt the time of learning), yet he ſo diligently ſpent his time, that being at his firſt apprehenſion utterly ignorant of any letter of the book, he could before his death perfectly read any printed Engliſh. Whoſe zeal and induſtry is worthy of no ſmall commendation and therefore I thought it good not to paſs it over in ſilence, but it is recommended for the good example and encouragement of others.

Moreover, at his coming into the town of Lewes to be burnt, the people called to him, beſeeching God to ſtrengthen him in the faith of Jeſus Chriſt. He thanked them, and prayed to God that of his mercy he would ſtrengthen them in the like faith. And when he came to the ſign of the Star, the people flocked about him, where the ſheriff ſaid, that he had found him a faithful man in all his anſwers. And as he came to the ſtake, he kneeled down and made his prayers, and the ſheriff made haſte.

Then his book was thrown into the barrel, and when he had ſtripped himſelf (as a joyful ſervant of God), he went into the barrel himſelf. And as ſoon as ever he came in, he took up the book and threw it among the people, and then the ſheriff commanded in the name of the king and queen, on pain of death, to throw in the book again. And immediately the holy martyr began to ſpeak with a joyful voice, ſaying:

Dear brethren and ſiſters, I call you all to witneſs, that I am come to ſeal Chriſt's goſpel with my blood, becauſe I know that it is true: it is well known to you all, that it

it hath been truly preached here in Lewes, and in all places of England, and now it is not. And becauſe I will not deny God's goſpel, and be obedient to man's laws, I am condemned to die. Dear brethren and ſiſters, as many of you as do believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, unto everlaſting life, ſee you do the works appertaining to the ſame. And as many of you as do believe in the pope of Rome and his laws, which he ſets forth in theſe days, you do believe to your utter condemnation, and, except the infinite mercy of God prevent it, you ſhall burn in the eternal flames of hell.

Immediately the ſheriff ſpake unto him, and ſaid, If thou doſt not believe on the pope, thou art damned body and ſoul. And further the ſheriff ſaid unto him, Speak to thy God, that he may deliver thee now, or elſe to ſtrike me down, to the example of this people: but this pious man ſaid, The Lord forgive you your ſayings.

And then he ſpake again to all the people there preſent with a loud voice, ſaying, Dear brethren, and all you whom I have offended in words or in deed, I aſk you for the Lord's ſake to forgive me, and I heartily forgive all you who have offended me in thought, word, or deed. And he ſaid further in his prayer, O Lord my God, thou haſt written, "He that will not forſake wife, children, houſe, and all that ever he hath, and take up thy croſs and follow thee, is not worthy of thee." But thou, Lord, knoweſt that I have forſaken all, to come unto thee: Lord, have mercy upon me, for unto thee I commend my ſpirit; and my ſoul doth rejoice in thee. Theſe were the laſt words of that faithful ſervant of Chriſt, before the fire was put to him. And when the fire came to him, he cried, O Lord, have mercy upon me, and ſprung up in the fire, calling upon the name of Jeſus; and ſo he ended this life.

Thomas Iveſon, Martyr.

THomas Iveſon of Godſtone in the county of Surry, carpenter, was burnt about the ſame month at Chicheſter; whoſe apprehenſion, examination, and condemnation (foraſmuch as it was at the ſame time, and in the ſame form with Dirick Carver and John Launder), I do here omit, referring the reader to their hiſtory and proceſs before mentioned; except only this his ſeparate confeſſion and private anſwers made before biſhop Bonner at his laſt examination in the conſiſtory, I thought not to omit, who being examined upon the aforeſaid articles, anſwered as followeth.

The Anſwers of Thomas Iveſon to the Objections of Bonner Biſhop of London, in a Chamber at his Houſe in the Month of July.

1. FIRST, That he believeth, that there is but one catholic, univerſal, and whole church of Chriſt through the whole world, which hath held, and doth hold the true faith, and all the neceſſary articles of chriſtian belief, and all the ſacraments of Chriſt, with the true uſe and adminiſtration of the ſame.

2. Item, That he is neceſſarily bounden to believe and give credit, in all the ſaid faith, articles of the belief, religion, and the ſacraments of Chriſt, and the adminiſtration of the ſame.

3. Item, That that faith, religion, and adminiſtration of ſacraments, which now is believed, uſed, taught and ſet forth in this our church of England, is not agreeing with the truth and faith of Chriſt, nor with the faith of the ſaid catholic and univerſal church of Chriſt.

4. Item, Concerning the ſacrament of the altar, he believeth that it is a very idol, and deteſtable before God, as it is now adminiſtered.

5. Item, That the maſs is naught, and not of the inſtitution of Chriſt, but that it is of man's invention: and being demanded, whether any thing uſed in the maſs be good, he ſaid that he would anſwer no further.

6. Item, That he had not received the ſacrament of the altar ſince it had been adminiſtered as now it is in England, neither was confeſſed at any time within theſe ſeven years; nor heard maſs for the ſame ſpace.

7. Item, That auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to be made to a prieſt; for he cannot forgive, nor abſolve him from ſins.

8. Item, Concerning the ſacrament of baptiſm, that it is a ſign and token of Chriſt, as circumciſion was, and no otherwiſe; and he believeth that his ſins are not waſhed away thereby, but his body only waſhed: for his ſins be waſhed away only by Chriſt's blood.

9. Item, That there be in the catholic church of Chriſt only two ſacraments, that is to ſay, the ſacrament of baptiſm, and the ſacrament of the ſupper of the Lord, and no more, which are not rightly uſed at this preſent time in England, and therefore be unprofitable.

10. Item, He believeth that all the ceremonies now uſed in the church of England, are vain, ſuperfluous, ſuperſtitious and naught.

Furthermore, the ſaid Iveſon being earneſtly perſuaded to recant, ſaid in this wiſe, I would not recant and forſake my opinion and belief for all the goods in London: I do appeal to God's mercy, and will be none of your church, nor ſubmit myſelf to the ſame: and that I have ſaid, I will ſay again. And if there came an angel from heaven to teach me any other doctrine than that which I am now in, I would not believe him. Which anſwer thus made, he was condemned as an heretic, and with the ſame perſons was committed to the ſecular power, as they term it, and at the place above-mentioned was burned, perſevering ſtill in his conſtant faith unto the end.

John Aleworth, who died in Priſon.

IN the latter end of this month of July, John Aleworth died in priſon at the town of Reading, being there in bonds for the teſtimony of the goſpel. Whom, although the catholic prelates (according to their uſual ſolemnity) excluded out of their catholic burial, yet we ſee no cauſe why to exclude him out of the number of Chriſt's holy martyrs, and heirs of his holy kingdom.

James Abbes, Martyr.

AMONG many that endeavoured in theſe troubleſome days to keep a good conſcience, there was one James Abbes, a young man, who was inforced to have his part with his brethren in wandering, and going from place to place, to avoid the peril of apprehending. But at length he was caught by the hands of wicked men, and brought before Dr. Hopton biſhop of Norwich: who examining him of his religion, and charging him therewith both with threats and fair ſpeeches, at laſt the ſaid James Abbes did yield to their naughty perſuaſions, although his conſcience conſented not thereto.

Now when he was diſmiſſed, and ſhould go from the biſhop, the biſhop calling him again, gave him a piece of money, either lx d. or xx d. whether I know not; which when the ſaid James had received, and was gone from the biſhop, his conſcience began to throb, and inwardly to accuſe his fact: in which combat with himſelf (being piteouſly vexed), he went immediately to the biſhop again, and there threw him his ſaid money which he had received at his hand, and ſaid, he repented that he ever gave his conſent to their wicked perſuaſions, and in taking of his money.

Now this being done, the biſhop with his chaplains laboured afreſh to win him again, but in vain; for he

would not yield for their perſuaſions (although he had played Peter before through infirmity), but ſtood manfully in his maſter's quarrel to the end, and abode the force of the fire in the conſuming of his body to aſhes; which tyranny of burning was done in Bury, the ſecond of Auguſt 1555.

A Diſcourſe of the Apprehenſion, Examination, and Condemnation of John Denley, Gentleman, John Newman, and Patrick Packingham.

IN the midſt of this tempeſtuous rage of malignant adverſaries, perſecuting and deſtroying the poor flock of Chriſt, many there were, which though they were not ſpiritual men, yet thought to help forward for their parts, and, as one would ſay, to heap up more coals to this furious flame of perſecution, whether of a blind zeal, or a paraſitical flattery, I know not. Amongſt which one was Edmund Tyrel, Eſq; and at that time a juſtice of peace within the county of Eſſex, an aſſiſtant to the cruel murderers of God's ſaints: who as he came from the burning of ſome pious martyrs, met with John Denley, gentleman, and John Newman (both of Maidſtone in Kent) travelling upon the way, and going to viſit ſome of their friends in the ſaid county of Eſſex. And upon the ſight of them, as he yet braggeth, apprehended them upon ſuſpicion, and ſearched them; and finding the confeſſions of their faith about them in writing, ſent them up unto the queen's commiſſioners, directing alſo unto one of the ſame commiſſioners theſe his favourable letters in their behalf. The copy whereof here may appear as followeth.

A Copy of Edmund Tyrel's Letter to one of the Queen's Commiſſioners.

SIR, with moſt hearty commendations unto you, theſe ſhall be to advertiſe you, that I have received a letter from Sir Nicholas Hare and you, and others of their majeſties commiſſioners, by a ſervant of the king and queen's, named John Failes, for certain buſineſs about S. Oſyth's, which I could not immediately go about, for that I had received a letter from the council, to aſſiſt the ſheriff for the execution of the heretics, the one at Raleigh, and the other at Rochford, which was done on Tueſday laſt.

And as I came homeward, I met with two men: Even as I ſaw them, I ſuſpected them, and then I did examine and ſearch them, and found about them certain letters which I have ſent you, and alſo a certain writing in paper, what their faith was. And they confeſſed to me, that they had forſaken and fled out of their country for religion's ſake; and ſince they have been in many countries, by their own confeſſion, which I have ſent you: for which I thought it good (as they came from London, and that there may be more found of them than at preſent I can inform you) to ſend them to you, whereby you and others of the king and queen's commiſſioners there might try them, ſo that their lewdneſs may thoroughly be known; for I think theſe have cauſed many to trouble their conſciences. So this hath been ſome hindrance to me, wherefore I could not go about thoſe matters expreſſed in your letters: but to-morrow at noon I intend by God's grace to accompliſh your letters, with as much diligence as I can. May the Holy Trinity ever have you in his keeping. I beſeech you (maſter) to be ſo good as to diſcharge theſe poor men that bring theſe priſoners up as ſoon as may be. And thus moſt heartily farewel. From Raimeſden Park, the 12th of June 1555.

By your aſſured to command,

Edmund Tyrel.

Foraſmuch as in this letter mention is made of a certain writing found about them, containing an account of their faith, the contents whereof here enſueth.

Certain Notes collected and gathered out of the Scriptures by John Denley, Gentleman, with a Confeſſion of his Faith, touching the Sacrament of Chriſt's Body and Blood, found in his Pocket at the Time of his Apprehenſion.

"Chriſt is in the ſacrament, as he is where two or three are gathered together in his name."

THE difference of doctrine between the faithful and the papiſts concerning the ſacrament is, that the papiſts ſay, that Chriſt is corporally under, or in the forms of bread and wine; but the faithful ſay, that Chriſt is not there, neither corporally nor ſpiritually; but in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine, he is ſpiritually, but not corporally.

For figuratively he is in the bread and wine, and ſpiritually he is in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine; but really, carnally, and corporally he is only in heaven, from whence he ſhall come to judge the quick and the dead.

"My belief in the ſacrament of the bleſſed body and blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt."

AS concerning the ſacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, my belief is this, that the bread and wine is appointed unto a ſacrament; and that after thanks be given to God the Father, then it doth repreſent unto me the very body and blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; not that the bread is the body, or the wine the blood, but that I in faith do ſee that bleſſed body of our Saviour broken on the croſs, and his precious blood plenteouſly ſhed for the redemption of my ſins. Alſo in faith I hear him call us unto him, ſaying, "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are laden, and I will refreſh you," Iſa. 55. alſo Matt. 11. &c. In faith I come unto him, and I am refreſhed, ſo that I believe that all that do come to the table of the Lord in this faith, fear and love, being ſorry for their offences, intending earneſtly to lead a godly converſation in this vale of miſery, do receive the fruit of the death of Chriſt, which fruit is our ſalvation.

I do underſtand (ſpiritually) that as the outward man doth eat the material bread which comforteth the body, ſo doth the inward man (through faith) eat the body of Chriſt, believing that as the bread is broken, ſo was Chriſt's body broken on the croſs for our ſins; which comforteth our ſouls unto life everlaſting, and ſignifying thereby, that even as that bread was divided among them, ſo ſhould his body and fruit of his paſſion be diſtributed unto as many as believed in his words. But the bread broken and eaten in the ſupper, admoniſheth, and putteth us in remembrance of his death, and ſo exciteth us to thankſgiving, to laud and praiſe God for the benefits of our redemption.

And thus we there have Chriſt preſent; in the inward eye and ſight of our faith we eat his body and drink his blood; that is, we believe ſurely that his body was crucified for our ſins, and his blood ſhed for our ſalvation.

Chriſt's body and blood is not contained in the ſacramental bread and wine, as the papiſts have ſaid, and as ſome yet do ſay, as ye read in theſe ſcriptures following: Firſt read in Matth. 9. Luke 5. Matth. 24, and 26. Mark 16. Luke 24. John 13. Luke 23. in the end. John 14, 15, 16, 17. Acts 1. 3. 7. 9. Rom. 8. Pſal. 8. 1 Cor. 10, 11. Exod. 12. Coloſſ. 1. Epheſ. 1. 4. Phil. 2. 1. 1 Theſſ. 1. 4. Heb. 1. 5. 8. 9. 10. 12. 1 Pet. 3. Pſal. 11. 47. 103. 10.

"Chriſt's

" Chriſt's material body is not in all places, as theſe ſcriptures do teſtify hereafter."

Firſt read St. Matthew the laſt, Mark the laſt, Luke the laſt, John 11. 20, 21. Theſe places of the ſcriptures do plainly declare, that his body that was born of the virgin Mary, cannot be in more places than one, and that is in heaven, on the right hand of God, and not in the ſacrament, nor in all places, as the papiſts have affirmed, and yet do affirm.

Therefore whoſoever they be that do worſhip the creatures of bread and wine, do commit idolatry, and make abominable idols of them, and take the glory from God, and give it to his creatures, which is contrary to the mind of God, as theſe ſcriptures hereafter do teſtify: firſt in Exod. 20. 22, 23, 24. Lev. 19. Deut. 4. 6. 32. Pſalm 80. Iſa. 45. Mal. 2. Matt. 4. Luke 4. Acts 14. Rev. 14. Pſalm 98. 1 Cor. 1. Epheſ. 4. 1 Tim. 2. 1 John 5. Rev. 19. 22.

John Denley.

Now to return to the commiſſioners again: they receiving theſe priſoners before-mentioned, after they ſaw they could little prevail with their own perſuaſions, ſent them to biſhop Bonner, to be handled after his fatherly and charitable diſcretion. Which how diſcreet and favourable it was, as well the hiſtory of others, as alſo the ſequel of this doth manifeſtly declare. For the 28th of June then next following he cauſed the ſaid Denley and Newman, with one Patrick Packingham, to be brought into his chamber within his houſe or palace, there examining them upon their confeſſions (which Tyrel had found about them), objecting alſo unto them certain other articles of his own. To which they all anſwered in effect one thing, although Denley anſwered more largely than the others, and therefore I thought his anſwers ſufficient to lay down, as containing the ſubſtance of all the reſt, except that Packingham had one article of no great force objected to him, which the others had not.

This done, the biſhop began with his accuſtomed perſuaſions; to whom Mr. Denley replied, God ſave me from your counſel, and keep me in the mind I am now in, for what you count hereſy I take to be the truth: and thereupon they were commanded to appear in the biſhop's conſiſtory the fifth day of July then next coming, in the afternoon, where theſe articles were objected againſt them.

Articles objected by Edmund Bonner, Biſhop of London, againſt John Denley, John Newman, and Patrick Packingham, jointly and ſeverally, the 28th of June, 1555.

FIRST, That the ſaid D. now is of the dioceſe of London, and the juriſdiction of the biſhop of London.

Secondly, That the ſaid D. hath not believed, nor doth believe, that there is any catholic church of Chriſt here in earth.

Thirdly, That the ſaid D. hath not believed nor doth believe, that this church of England is any part or member of the ſaid catholic church.

Fourthly, That the ſaid D. hath believed and doth believe, that the maſs now uſed in this realm of England is naught, and full of idolatry and evil, and plain againſt God's word, and therefore he the ſaid D. hath not heard it, nor will hear it.

Fifthly, That the ſaid D. hath believed, and doth ſo believe, that auricular confeſſion uſed now in this realm of England, is not good, but contrary to God's word.

Sixthly, That the ſaid D. hath believed, and doth ſo believe, that abſolution given by the prieſt hearing confeſſion, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but contrary to the ſame.

Seventhly, That the ſaid D. hath believed, and doth ſo believe, that chriſtening of children, as it is now uſed in the church of England, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but againſt it: likewiſe confirming of children, giving of orders, ſaying of mattins and even-ſong, anointing of ſick perſons, making of holy bread and holy water, with the reſt of the church.

Eighthly, That the ſaid D. hath believed, and doth ſo believe, that there are but two ſacraments in Chriſt's catholic church, that is to ſay, the ſacrament of baptiſm, and the ſacrament of the altar.

Ninthly, That the ſaid D. hath believed, and doth ſo believe, that foraſmuch as Chriſt is aſcended up into heaven, therefore the very body of Chriſt is not in the ſacrament of the altar.

Tenthly, That thou Patrick Packingham, now being of the age of twenty-one at leaſt, being within the houſe of the biſhop of London at Paul's, and by him brought to the great chapel to hear maſs there, the ſaid 23d day of June, in the year of our Lord 1555. didſt unreverently ſtand in the ſaid chapel, having thy cap on thy head all the time of maſs; and didſt alſo refuſe to receive holy water and holy bread at the hands of the prieſt, there contemning and deſpiſing both the maſs, and the ſaid holy water and holy bread.

Anſwers to the foregoing Articles.

TO the firſt article I anſwer, It is very true.

To the ſecond article I anſwer, That it is not true: for I believe the holy catholic church, which is built upon the foundation of the prophets and apoſtles, Chriſt being the head; which holy church is the congregation of faithful people diſperſed through the whole world, which church doth truly preach God's holy word; and doth alſo adminiſter the two ſacraments, that is to ſay, baptiſm and the ſupper of the Lord, according to his bleſſed word.

To the third article I anſwer, That I do believe that this church of England, uſing the faith and religion which is now uſed, is no part or member of the aforeſaid catholic church, but is the church of Antichriſt, the biſhop of Rome being the head thereof: for it is plain, that they have altered the teſtament of God, and ſet up a teſtament of their own deviſing, full of blaſphemy and lyes: for Chriſt's teſtament is, that he would have all things done to the edifying of the people, as it appeareth when he taught them to pray, Matt. 6. and alſo it appeareth by St. Paul, 1 Cor. 14. for he ſaith, that " He that propheſieth, ſpeaketh unto men for their edifying, for their exhortation, and for their comfort; he that ſpeaketh with the tongue, profiteth himſelf: he that propheſieth, edifieth the congregation."

Alſo he ſaith, " Even ſo likewiſe when ye ſpeak with tongues, except ye ſpeak words that have ſignification, how ſhall it be underſtood what is ſpoken? for ye ſhall but ſpeak in the air: that is as much as to ſay, in vain. Alſo he ſaith, Thou verily giveſt thanks well, but the other is not edify'd. I thank my God, I ſpeak with tongues more than you all: yet I had rather in the congregation to ſpeak five words with underſtanding, to the information of others, than ten thouſand words with the tongue. Alſo he ſaith, Let all things be done to edification.

Alſo it is written in the 46th Pſalm, " For God is king of all the earth: O ſing praiſes unto him with underſtanding," &c. So it doth appear, that this church of England now uſed, is not built upon Chriſt, if St. Paul's words be true, and alſo the Pſalms; therefore this church is not built upon the prophets, apoſtles, nor Chriſt, as I have before declared.

To the fourth article I anſwer, and I do believe (as I ſaid before) That the maſs now uſed in this realm of England,

land, is naught, and abominable idolatry and blaſphemy againſt God's holy word; for Chriſt in his holy ſupper inſtituted the ſacrament of bread and wine, to be eaten together in remembrance of his death till he come, and not to have them worſhipped, and make an idol of them: for God will not be worſhipped in his creatures, but we ought to give him praiſe for his creatures, which he hath created for us. For he ſaith in the ſecond commandment, "Thou ſhalt not make to thyſelf any graven image, nor the likeneſs of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, thou ſhalt not bow down to them, nor worſhip them." So it appeareth by this commandment, that we ought not to worſhip the ſacrament of bread and wine, for it is plain idolatry; for he ſaith, No ſimilitude; therefore, Thou ſhalt not bow down to them nor worſhip them. I pray what do you call kneeling down, holding up the hands, knocking of the breaſt, putting off the cap, and making courteſy, with other like ſuperſtition? you would make men to be ſo blind as to think that this is no worſhipping.

Peradventure you will object and ſay, You do not worſhip the bread and wine, but Chriſt's body which was born of the virgin Mary, contained under the forms of bread and wine. But that is a very lye; for Chriſt's body that was born of the virgin Mary is in heaven, if St. Paul's words be true, as undoubtedly they are: for he ſaith in the tenth of the Hebrews, "But this man, after he had offered one ſacrifice for ſins, is ſet down for ever on the right hand of God, and from henceforth tarrieth till his foes be made his footſtool." Alſo in the 9th chapter he ſaith, "For Chriſt is not entered into holy places made with hands, which are ſimilitudes of true things, but he is entered into very heaven, to appear now in the ſight of God for us, &c. Alſo Phil. 3. But our converſation is in heaven, from whence we look for the Saviour, even the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, &c. 1 Theſſ. 1. For they themſelves ſhew of you, what manner of entering in we had unto you, and how ye turned to God from images to ſerve the living God, and to look for his Son from heaven, whom he raiſed from death, even Jeſus, which delivered us from the wrath to come, &c. Alſo John 16. I went out from the Father, and came into the world. Again, I leave the world, and go to the Father, &c. John 17. Now I am not in the world, and they are in the world, and I come to thee." All theſe places of ſcripture, with many more, plainly prove to them that have ears to hear, that Chriſt's body, which was born of the virgin Mary, is in heaven, and not in the ſacramental bread and wine, and therefore it is idolatry to worſhip them, &c.

To the fifth article I anſwer, That I do believe (as I ſaid before) that auricular confeſſion is not good, as it is now uſed. Touching my ſins, wherein I have offended God, I muſt ſeek to him for remiſſion thereof, for our Saviour ſaith in the 11th of St. Matthew, "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are laden, I will eaſe you, &c. The prodigal ſon, Luke 15. ſaith, I will ariſe and go to my Father, and I will ſay to him, Father, I have ſinned againſt heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy ſon, &c. Pſalm 31. I ſaid I will acknowledge mine offences, and accuſe myſelf unto the Lord, and ſo thou forgaveſt the iniquity of my ſin, &c. Job 13. But I will reprove mine own ways in his ſight: he ſhall make me whole, and there may no hypocrite come before him. Syrach 34. ſaith, Who can be cleanſed of the unclean? And there was but one of the ten lepers that were cleanſed, that came to Chriſt to give him thanks. He aſked for the other nine. But if I have offended my neighbour, I muſt reconcile myſelf to him; and if I be a notorious ſinner, after the firſt and ſecond admonition, it ought to be declared to the congregation, and the miniſter of the congregation hath power by the word to excommunicate me, and I am to be taken as an heathen perſon, not for a day, or for forty days, but until ſuch time as I do openly in the congregation acknowledge my fault, then the miniſter hath power by the word to preach to me or them the remiſſion of our ſins in the blood of Jeſus Chriſt, as it is written in the 13th of the Acts of the apoſtles, and Matt. 18. I know no more of any other confeſſion.

To the ſixth article, I the ſaid John Denley have anſwered in the fifth.

To the ſeventh article I anſwer, that as touching the ſacrament of baptiſm, which is the chriſtening of children, it is altered and changed; for St. John uſed nothing but the preaching of the word and the water, as it doth appear when Chriſt required to be baptized of him, and others alſo who came to John to be baptized, as it appeareth, Matt. 3. Mark 1. Luke 3. And Acts 1. the chamberlain ſaid: See, here is water, what hindereth me to be baptized? It appeareth here that Philip had preached unto him; for he ſaid, Here is water. We do not read that he aſked for any cream, oil, or ſpittle, or conjured water, or conjured wax, nor chriſm or ſalt, for it ſeemeth that Philip had preached no ſuch things to him; for he would as well have aſked for them as for water: and the water was not conjured, but even as it was before. Alſo Acts 10. "Then anſwered Peter, Can any man forbid water, that theſe ſhould not be baptized? &c. Acts 16. And Paul and Silas preached unto him the word of the Lord, and to all that were in his houſe: and he took them the ſame hour of the night, and waſhed their wounds, and ſo was he baptized, and all they of his houſhold ſtraitway," where ye ſee nothing but preaching the word and the water. The like alſo is to be ſaid of the reſt of the ceremonies of your church.

To the eighth article I anſwer ſhortly, that there be no more ſacraments than two; baptiſm, and the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, except ye will make the rainbow a ſacrament: for there is no ſacrament but what hath a promiſe annexed to it.

To the ninth article, I anſwer you, That ye have my mind written already: for it was found about me when I was taken: and alſo ye know my mind in the fourth article, plainly expreſſed concerning the bodily preſence: for Chriſt's body is in heaven, and will not be contained in ſo ſmall a piece of bread. And as the words which Chriſt ſpake are true indeed, ſo muſt they alſo be underſtood by other places of ſcripture which Chriſt ſpake himſelf, and alſo the apoſtles after him. And thus I make an end.

By me, John Denley.

The firſt day of the month of July, the ſaid three priſoners were brought into the conſiſtory in Paul's church, where he proceeded againſt them after the uſual form and manner of law, reading firſt their confeſſions, articles, and anſwers, and then tempting them ſometimes with fair promiſes, at other times with threatenings, which indeed were generally his chief arguments and reaſons. In the end, ſeeing their unmoveable conſtancy, upon the fifth of July he condemned them as heretics, and delivered them to the ſheriffs of London, as to his common executioners, who kept them till they were commanded by writ to ſend them to their ſeveral places of ſuffering; and accordingly Mr. Denley was ſent to Uxbridge, where he was burnt on the 8th day of Auguſt: and being ſet in the fire, with the burning flames about him, he ſung a pſalm.

Then cruel Dr. Story being there preſent, commanded one of the tormentors to throw a faggot at him, wherewith being ſo hurt that his face bled, he left ſinging, and clapt both his hands upon his face. Truly, quoth Dr. Story to him that hurled the faggot, thou haſt marred a good old ſong.

Yet notwithſtanding all this, he put his hands abroad in the flames, and ſung again, reſigning his ſpirit into the hands of God through his Son Jeſus Chriſt.

After the martyrdom of Mr. Denley at Uxbridge, which was the 8th of Auguſt, ſoon after Patrick Packingham

ingham alſo ſufferedat the ſame town about the 28th of the ſaid month. This Packingham was charged by Bonner (as ye heard before in the tenth article) for his behaviour in the biſhop's chapel, who at the maſs time there ſtanding, would not put off his cap, which was taken for a heinous offence. Packingham being much perſuaded by Bonner to recant, proteſted in theſe words to the biſhop, That the church which he believed was no catholic church, but was the church of Satan, and therefore he would never turn to it, &c.

Furthermore as concerning the other, which was John Newman, pewterer, dwelling at Maidſtone in Kent, he was burnt the laſt day of Auguſt, at Saffron-walden in the county of Eſſex, whoſe examination and confeſſion of his faith and belief, for which he was cruelly perſecuted and burnt, here followeth.

The Examination of John Newman.

JOHN NEWMAN, when apprehended, was firſt examined by Dr. Thornton ſuffragan of Dover, and others, at Tenterden. From thence he was carried to Bonner, and there condemned with Denley and Packingham. But becauſe his examination and anſwers before the ſuffragan came not then to my hands, I thought here in this place to beſtow them, rather than they ſhould utterly be ſuppreſſed. And firſt what his anſwer was by writing to the ſaid ſuffragan, after his apprehenſion, you ſhall hear by the tenor of his own words as follow:

IT may pleaſe you to underſtand, that for the ſpace of all the time of king Edward's reign, we were diligently inſtructed with continual ſermons, made by ſuch men whoſe faith, wiſdom, learning, and virtuous living, was commended unto all men under the king's hand and ſeal, and under the hands of the whole council. Theſe men taught diligently a long time, perſuading us by the allegations of God's word, there was no tranſubſtantiation, nor corporal preſence in the ſacrament. Their doctrine was not believed by us ſuddenly, but by their continual preaching, and alſo by our continual prayer unto God that we might never be deceived; but if it were true, that God would incline our hearts unto it: and if it were not true, that we might never believe it. We weighed that they laboured with God's word, and we aſked the advice of our friends, neither could we find that they preached falſe doctrine. We conſidered alſo, as we did learn, that the king's grace and his council, and the moſt part of the whole realm, believed as they taught, becauſe no man preached the contrary. Alſo we know that the preachers were commanded by the king and laws of the realm, to preach unto us ſuch doctrine as was agreeable to the authority of God's word, and no other; and by their diligent ſetting of it forth by the king's commandment, and the conſent of the whole council, and by the authority of the parliament, we embraced it, and received it as a very infallible truth, taught unto us for the ſpace of ſeven years. Wherefore, until ſuch time as our conſciences are otherwiſe taught and inſtructed by God's word, we cannot with ſafeguard of our conſciences take it, as many ſuppoſe at this time. And we truſt in God that the queen's merciful highneſs, neither yet her moſt honourable council, will in a matter of faith uſe compulſion or violence, becauſe faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man, neither of man's laws, neither at ſuch time as men require it, but at ſuch time as God giveth it.

The Examination and Anſwers of John Newman before Dr. Thornton and others.

FIRST one of the doctors began, whoſe name John Newman doth not expreſs, aſking in this wiſe.

Doctor. How ſay you to this? "This is my body which is given for you."

Newman. It is a figurative ſpeech, one thing ſpoken, and another meant; as Chriſt ſaith, "I am a vine, I am a door, I am a ſtone, &c." Is he therefore a material ſtone, a vine, or a door?

Doctor. This is no figurative ſpeech. For he ſaith, "This is my body which is given for you," and he ſaith not ſo of the ſtone, vine, or door; but that is a figurative ſpeech.

Newman. Chriſt ſaith, "This cup is the New Teſtament in my blood." If ye will have it ſo meant, then let them take and eat the cup.

Doctor. Nay, that is not ſo meant; for it is a common phraſe of ſpeech among ourſelves: We ſay to our friend, Drink a cup of drink, and yet we meant he ſhould drink the drink in the cup.

Newman. Why, if ye will have the one ſo underſtood, ye muſt ſo underſtand the other.

Doctor. Nay, it is a common uſe of ſpeech, to ſay, drink a cup of ale or beer. And therefore it is no figurative ſpeech.

Newman. The often uſing of a thing doth not make a thing otherwiſe than it is; but whereſoever one thing is ſpoke, and another meant, it is a figurative ſpeech.

Doctor. Well, we will not ſtand hereabout. How ſay ye of the real preſence? Is not Chriſt's natural body there that was born of the virgin Mary?

Newman. No, I do not ſo believe, neither can I ſo believe; for the ſoul of man doth not feed upon natural things as the body doth.

Doctor. Why, how then doth it feed?

Newman. I think the ſoul of man doth feed as the angels in heaven, whoſe feeding is only the pleaſure, joy, felicity, and delectation that they have of God: and ſo the ſoul of man doth feed and eat, through faith, the body of Chriſt.

Collins. Yea, but if the body do not feed upon natural things, the ſoul cannot continue with the body: therefore the body muſt needs feed upon natural things, that both may live together.

Newman. I grant it to be true; but yet the ſoul doth live otherwiſe than the body which doth periſh: therefore natural things do but feed the body only. I pray you what did Judas receive at the ſupper?

Collins. Marry, Judas did receive the very body of Chriſt, but it was to his damnation.

Newman. Why, was the devil entered into him before? Then he had not the devil and Chriſt in him at one time.

Collins. Nay, the devil did enter into him afterward.

Newman. Yea, and before too: What do ye think he had but one devil? Nay, I think he had rather a legion of devils at the latter end.

Collins. Well, put caſe it be ſo: what ſay you to that?

Newman. Marry, if Chriſt and the devil were both in Judas at once, I pray you how did they two agree together?

Collins. We grant that they were both in Judas at that time: for Chriſt may be where the devil is, if he will; but the devil cannot be where Chriſt is, except it pleaſe Chriſt.

Newman. Chriſt will not be in an unclean perſon that hath the devil.

Thornton. Why, will ye not believe that Chriſt was in hell? and ye will grant that the devil is there; and ſo might he be in Judas, if it pleaſe him.

Newman. Chriſt would not ſuffer Mary Magdalen to touch him which ſought him at his grave, and did love him entirely; much leſs will he ſuffer an ungodly man to receive him into his unclean body.

Thornton. Yes, ſeeing God may do all things, he may do what he liſt, and be where he will. And doth not the Pſalm ſay; He is in hell, and in all places? Why ſhould we then doubt of his being there?

Newman. Though his Godhead be in all places, yet that is not ſufficient to prove that his humanity is in all places.

Thornton. No, do you not believe that God is omnipotent, and may do all things?

Newman. I do believe that God is almighty, and may do all that he will do.

Thornton. Nay, but if he be omnipotent, he may do all things, and there is nothing impoſſible for him to do.

Newman. I know God is almighty, and can do all that he will; but he cannot make his Son a lyar, he cannot deny himſelf, nor can he reſtore virginity once violated and defiled.

Thornton. What is that to your purpoſe? God doth not defile virginity; we ſpeak but of things that God doth.

Newman. Why, will ye have the humanity of Chriſt in all places as the Deity is?

Thornton. Yea, he is in all places as the Deity, if it pleaſe him.

Newman. I promiſe you that ſeemeth to me a very great hereſy, for heaven and earth are not able to contain the divine power of God, for it is in all places, as here and in every place: and yet ye ſay, that whereſoever the Deity is, there is alſo the humanity; and ſo ye will make him no body, but a fantaſtical body, and not a body indeed.

Thornton. Nay, we do not ſay he is in all places as the Deity is, but if it pleaſe him he may be in all places with the Deity.

Newman. I promiſe you, that ſeemeth to me as great an hereſy as ever I heard in my life, and I dare not grant it, leſt I ſhould deny Chriſt to be a very man, and that were againſt all the ſcriptures.

Thornton. Tuſh, what ſhall we ſtand reaſoning with him? I dare ſay he doth not believe that Chriſt came out of his mother, not opening the matrice. Do you believe that Chriſt roſe from death, and came through the ſtone?

Newman. I do believe that Chriſt roſe from death; but I do not believe that he came through the ſtone, neither doth the ſcripture ſo ſay.

Thornton. Lo, how ſay you? he doth not believe that Chriſt came through the ſtone; and if he doth not believe this, how ſhall he believe the other? If he could believe this, it were eaſy for him to believe the other.

Newman. The ſcripture doth not ſay he went through the ſtone, but it ſaith the angel of God came down, and rolled away the ſtone, and for fear of him the keepers became even as dead men.

Thornton. Ah fool, fool, that was becauſe the woman ſhould ſee that he was riſen again from death.

Newman. Well, the ſcripture maketh as much for me, as it doth for you, and more too.

Thornton. Well, let us not ſtand any longer about this. Back again to the real preſence. How ſay ye, is the body of Chriſt really in the ſacrament, or no?

Newman. I have anſwered you already.

Thornton. Well, do ye not believe that it is there really?

Newman. No, I believe it not.

Thornton. Well, will ye ſtand to it.

Newman. I muſt needs ſtand to it, till I be perſuaded by a further truth.

Thornton. Nay, ye will not be perſuaded, but ſtand to your own opinion.

Newman. Nay, I ſtand not to mine own opinion, God I take to witneſs, but only to the ſcriptures of God, and that can all thoſe that ſtand here witneſs with me, and nothing but the ſcriptures: and I take God to witneſs, that I do nothing of preſumption, but that that I do is only my conſcience, and if there be a further truth than I ſee, except it appear a truth to me, I cannot receive it as a truth. And ſeeing faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man; for it is not you that can give me faith, nor no man elſe: therefore I hope ye will bear the more with me, ſeeing it muſt be wrought by God, and when it ſhall pleaſe him to open a further truth to me, I ſhall receive it with all my heart, and embrace it.

Thornton had many other queſtions which I did not bear away; but as I do underſtand, theſe are the chiefeſt; as for taunts, fooliſh and unlearned, he lacked none. Praiſe God for his gifts, and God increaſe in us ſtrength.

The arguments of John Newman.

If the body of Chriſt were really and bodily in the ſacrament, then whoſoever received the ſacrament, received alſo the body.
The wicked receiving the ſacrament, receive not the body of Chriſt.
Ergo, The body of Chriſt is not really in the ſacrament.

Argument.

They which eat the fleſh, and drink the blood of Chriſt, dwell in him, and he in them.
The wicked dwell not in Chriſt, nor he in them.
Ergo, The wicked eat not the fleſh, nor drink the blood of Chriſt.

Argument.

They that have Chriſt dwelling in them, bring forth much fruit, John 15. "He that dwelleth in me, and I in him, bringeth forth much fruit."
The wicked bring forth no fruit of goodneſs.
Ergo, They have not Chriſt's body dwelling in them.

Argument.

Where remembrance is of a thing, there is imported the abſence thereof.
Remembrance of Chriſt's body is in the ſacrament, "Do this in remembrance of me."
Ergo, Chriſt's body there is imported to be abſent.

Marry they will ſay, we ſee him not with our outward eyes, but he is commended under the forms of bread and wine, and that we ſee is nothing but a quality or an accident. But let them ſhew me a quality or an accident without a ſubſtance, and I will believe them. And thus much concerning Newman's examinations and arguments.

The faith of John Newman, dwelling at Maidſtone in Kent, who was by Occupation a Pewterer.

"The Lord is the protector of my life. The juſt ſhall live by faith; and if he withdraw himſelf, my ſoul ſhall have no pleaſure in him.

MY faith is, that there is one God, which is without beginning, and without ending. This God created all things viſible and inviſible. And after that he had made both heaven and earth, with all other creatures, he made man, and ſet him in the place which he had prepared for him, which place he called Eden: he gave to Adam his commandments and precepts, and ſaid, Whenſoever thou doſt the thing which I forbid, thou ſhalt ſurely die the death; yet did man for all this diſobey God his creator, and after his ſin he fled from God, and himſelf, and was in a miſerable deſperate caſe. But God, ſeeing man in his miſerable eſtate, becauſe he and all his poſterity ſhould not continue in death, promiſed Adam that the woman's ſeed ſhould break the ſerpent's head; whereby is meant, that the Son of God ſhould become man, and deſtroy the devil, who by his ſubtle perſuaſions had deceived Adam. Then did Adam, by faith, take hold of God's promiſe, and became the ſervant of righteouſneſs, through the faith which he had in the promiſe of the woman's ſeed. So did Abel, Seth, Enoch, and Noah, with faithful Abraham, Iſaac and Jacob, and the reſt of the faithful until Chriſt's time: as St. Paul ſaith, "They did all eat of one ſpiritual meat, and did all

BRITISH MUSEUM 7 SE75

Engrav'd for
Fox's BOOK *of*
Martyrs.

The Burning of W^m Coker, W^m Hopper, H. Laurence, R Collier, R Wright, & W^m Steere, *at Canterbury.*

Robert Smith, George Tankerfield, & their fellow-Prisoners conferring together in Newgate.

C. Terry Sculp.

Pater nofter Row.

Publish'd as the Act directs 1776, *by H. Trapp, Pater-noster Row*

all drink of one ſpiritual drink; they did drink of that ſpiritual rock that followed them, which rock was Chriſt that ſaveth us." And when the time was full come, God ſent his Son made of a woman, that is, he took fleſh of the virgin Mary, and became man; not the ſhadow of a man, nor a fantaſtical man, but a very natural man in all points, ſin only excepted; which God and man is Chriſt the promiſed woman's ſeed. This Chriſt was here converſant among men for the ſpace of thirty years and more; and when the time was come that he ſhould go to his Father, he gave unto us the myſtery of our redemption, that we through faith ſhould eat his body, and drink his blood, that we might feed on him through faith to the end of the world. After this Chriſt offered up his body on the croſs to pacify his Father, and to deliver us from the thraldom of the devil, in which we were through ſin original and actual. And with that one ſacrifice of his body once offered on the croſs, he hath made perfect for ever all them that are ſanctified. He deſcended into hell, the third day he aroſe again from death, and was converſant at certain times with his diſciples for the ſpace of forty days after he roſe from death. Then in the ſight of all his diſciples he aſcended into heaven: and as his diſciples ſtood looking upward, and beholding him how he went into heaven, two men ſtood by them in white apparel, which alſo ſaid; "Ye men of Galilee, why ſtand ye gazing up into heaven? This Jeſus which is taken up from you into heaven, ſhall ſo come even as ye have ſeen him go into heaven." St. Peter alſo ſaith, that the heavens muſt receive him, until the time that all things which God hath ſpoken by the mouth of all his prophets ſince the world began, be reſtored again; which is the latter day, when he ſhall come to judge the quick and the dead. I do believe in the Holy Ghoſt, which is the Spirit of God, proceeding from the Father and the Son, which Holy Spirit is one God with them. I believe that there is an holy church, which is the company of the faithful and elect people of God, diſperſed abroad throughout the whole world, which holy church or congregation doth not look for Chriſt here, nor Chriſt there, neither in the deſert, nor in the ſecret places whereof Chriſt warneth us, but, as St. Paul ſaith, in heaven, where he ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father; they ſet their affections on things that are above, and not on things that are on earth. For they are dead concerning the things of this world, and their life is hid with Chriſt in God: and when Chriſt which is their life ſhall ſhew himſelf, then ſhall they alſo appear with him in glory. I believe that there is a communion of ſaints, even the fellowſhip of the faithful people which are diſperſed abroad throughout the whole world, and are of one mind: they follow Chriſt their head, they love one another as Chriſt loved them, and are knit together in one, even in Chriſt; which church or congregation hath forgiveneſs of ſins through Chriſt, and ſhall enter without ſpot before the face of God into his glory. For as Chriſt being their head hath entered pure and clean, ſo they entering by him, ſhall be like him in glory. And I am certain and ſure, that all they which do die, ſhall riſe again and receive their bodies. In them ſhall they ſee Chriſt come in his glory, to judge the quick and the dead. At whoſe coming all men ſhall appear and give a reckoning of their doings; he ſhall ſeparate the good from the bad; he ſhall ſay to them which are his elect, "Come, ye bleſſed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning;" but to the others that have always reſiſted his will, he ſhall ſay: "Depart from me, ye curſed, into everlaſting fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels."

Thus have I briefly declared my faith, which were no faith at all if I doubted of it. This faith therefore I deſire God to increaſe in me. Pfaiſe God for his gifts.

And thus have ye the martyrdom, with the confeſſion of the bleſſed man, and witneſs of the Lord's truth, who for that gave his life, as is before declared.

Likewiſe Richard Hook about the ſame time, and for the ſame matter, gave his life at Chicheſter.

The Examinations, Anſwers, and Condemnation of William Coker, William Hopper, Henry Laurence, Richard Colliar, Richard Wright, William Stere, before the Biſhop of Dover, and Dr. Harpsfield Archdeacon of Canterbury.

MEntion was made a little before in the ſtory of Mr. Bland and Nicholas Sheterden, of certain other Kentiſh-men, who being the ſame time with them called forth and examined by Thornton biſhop of Dover, Dr. Harpsfield, Richard Faucet, and Robert Collins: yet notwithſtanding, becauſe the condemnation and execution of them was deferred a little longer, till the latter end of the month of Auguſt; coming therefore now to the time of ſuffering, we will briefly touch ſome part of their examinations and anſwers, as we find them in the regiſters. The names of theſe were W. Coker, W. Hopper, H. Laurence, R. Colliar, Richard Wright, William Stere. What the articles objected to Mr. Bland and them were, ye heard before [Page 298.] To which articles they ſeverally anſwered for themſelves in effect as followeth.

Firſt, William Coker ſaid, he would anſwer no otherwiſe than he had already anſwered; and being offered to have longer reſpite of ſix days after, he refuſed to take it; and ſo, upon the ſame, ſentence of condemnation was read againſt him, the 11th of July.

William Hopper firſt ſeemed to grant to the faith and determination of the Roman church, but calling himſelf better to mind, conſtantly ſtuck to the truth, and was condemned the next week after, the 16th of July.

Henry Laurence, examined the ſaid 16th of July, and partly deferred to the 2d of Auguſt, anſwered to the articles objected againſt him; firſt denying auricular confeſſion, and that he neither had, nor would receive the ſacrament, becauſe, ſaith he, the order of the holy ſcriptures is changed in the order of the ſacrament.

Moreover, the ſaid Laurence was charged for not putting off his cap, when the ſuffragan made mention of the ſacrament, and did reverence to the ſame: the ſaid Laurence anſwered in theſe words, What? ye ſhall not need to put off your cap: for it is not ſo holy, that you need to put off your cap thereunto.

Further, being oppoſed concerning the verity of the ſacrament given to Chriſt's diſciples, he affirmed, that even as Chriſt gave his very body to his diſciples, and confeſſed it to be the ſame; ſo likewiſe Chriſt himſelf ſaid, he was a door, &c. adding moreover, that as he had ſaid before, ſo he ſaith ſtill, that the ſacrament of the altar is an idol, and no remembrance of Chriſt's paſſion, and contrary he knoweth not. At laſt, being required to ſubſcribe his anſwers, he wrote theſe words under the bill of their examinations, "Ye are all of Antichriſt, and him ye fol—" and here his hand was hindered from writing any further: belike he would have written out [follow], &c. And ſo, upon the ſame, ſentence was given againſt him the ſecond of Auguſt.

Richard Colliar of Aſhford above-mentioned, having the 16th of Auguſt to appear, examined of the ſacrament of the popiſh altar, anſwered and ſaid, that he did not believe, that after the conſecration there is the real and ſubſtantial body of Chriſt, but only bread and wine, and that it is moſt abominable, moſt deteſtable, and moſt wicked to believe otherwiſe, &c. Upon this, ſentence was read againſt him, and he condemned the 16th of Auguſt. After his condemnation he ſang a Pſalm. Where-

fore the prieſts and their officers railed at him, ſaying he was out of his wits.

Richard Wright, the ſame place and day above-mentioned, appearing, and required by the judgewhat he believed of the real preſence in the ſacrament, anſwered again, that as touching the ſacrament of the altar and the maſs, he was aſhamed to ſpeak of it, or to name it, and that he allowed it not, as it was uſed in the church. Againſt whom the ſentence was alſo read the day and place aforeſaid.

William Stere of the aforeſaid pariſh of Aſhford, likewiſe detected and accuſed, was brought to appear the ſaid 16th day of Auguſt, where he in the ſaid chapter-houſe of Canterbury, being required to make anſwer to the poſitions laid unto him by the judge, made anſwer again, That he ſhould command his dog, and not him: and further declared, that Dick of Dover had no authority to ſit againſt him in judgment; and aſked where his authority was? who then ſhewed him certain bulls and writings from Rome, as he ſaid. William Stere denying that to be of ſufficient force, the ſaid Dick alſo ſaid he had authority from the queen. Then the martyr alledging that the archbiſhop of Canterbury (who was then in priſon) was his dioceſan, urged him to ſhew his authority from the archbiſhop, or elſe he denied his authority to be ſufficient. And as touching the ſacrament of the altar, he found it not, he ſaid, in the ſcripture, and therefore he would not anſwer thereunto.

And moreover, the judge ſpeaking of the ſacrament of the altar, with reverence, and putting off his cap, William Stere told him, that he needed not to reverence that matter ſo highly. And thus (ſaying to the judge, that he was a bloody man, &c.) the ſentence was pronounced againſt him; and after the ſentence was read, he ſaid, that the ſacrament of the altar was the moſt blaſphemous idol that ever was, &c.

And thus theſe ſix heavenly martyrs and witneſſes to the truth, being condemned by the bloody ſuffragan and archdeacon of Canterbury, Mr. Collins, and Mr. Faucet, were burnt all together in the ſame town of Canterbury, at three ſtakes in one fire, about the latter end of Auguſt.

The copy of their ſentence condemnatory, you may find before in the ſtory of Mr. John Rogers; for the papiſts in their condemnations follow one manner of ſentence againſt all they have condemned through their unmerciful tyranny.

The Perſecution of ten Martyrs together, ſent by certain of the Council to Bonner to be examined.

AFTER the burning of theſe ſix above-named, next followeth the perſecution of ten other true ſervants of God, the names of whom are as follow.

Elizabeth Warne,	William Hale,
George Tankerfield,	Thomas Leyes,
Robert Smith,	George King,
Stephen Harwood,	John Wade,
Thomas Fuſt,	Joan Laſhford.

The priſons of London beginning now to be repleniſhed with God's ſaints, and ſtill more and more coming in, the council and commiſſioners, thinking to make ready diſpatch with the poor priſoners, cauſed theſe ten to be ſent with their letter directed to Bonner biſhop of London, by him to be examined, and rid out of the way. The copy of which letter, with their names ſubſcribed, here followeth to be read and noted.

A Letter ſent by the Commiſſioners to Dr. Bonner Biſhop of London.

AFTER our hearty commendations to your good lordſhip, we ſend you here John Wade, William Hale, George King, Thomas Leyes of Thorp in Eſſex, Thomas Fuſt hoſier, Robert Smith painter, Stephen Harwood brewer, George Tankerfield cook, Elizabeth Warne, Joan Laſhford of London, ſacramentaries; all which we deſire your lordſhip to examine, and to order according to the eccleſiaſtical laws: praying your lordſhip to appoint ſome of your officers to receive them at this bearer's hands. And thus moſt heartily fare your lordſhip well. From London, this 2d of July.

Your lordſhip's loving friends,

Nich. Hare, Rich. Rede,
Will. Roper, Will. Cooke.

The Hiſtory of Elizabeth Warne, Widow, burnt at Stratford Bow.

NOW ſeverally to proſecute the ſtories of theſe ten martyrs aforenamed: firſt we will begin with the hiſtory of Elizabeth Warne, widow, who in the month of Auguſt was burnt at Stratford Bow, near London; ſhe was the late wife of John Warne upholſter and martyr, who alſo was burnt the latter end of the May before, as in his ſtory is recorded [Page 200.]

This Elizabeth Warne had been apprehended amongſt others, the firſt day of January, in a houſe in Bow churchyard in London, as they were gathered together in prayer, and at that preſent was carried to the Compter, where ſhe remained till the 11th day of June: at which time ſhe was brought to Newgate, and was confined there till the ſecond day of July. Then ſhe was ſent by the king and queen's commiſſioners, unto Bonner biſhop of London, who the ſixth day of the ſaid month cauſed her with divers others (as Robert Smith, George Tankerfield, &c.) to be brought before him into his palace, and there examined her upon ſundry articles, ſuch as were commonly adminiſtered unto the poor ſaints and martyrs of God, as you may more plainly perceive by other more large and ample proceſſes before-mentioned.

The chief objection that he uſed towards her, or the moſt of thoſe, was touching the real and corporal preſence of the body and blood of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar, as the chief ground and the moſt profitable foundation for their catholic dignity. Many other matters he objected againſt them, as for not coming to the church, for ſpeaking againſt the maſs, for deſpiſing their ceremonies and new-found ſacraments, with divers other fond and trifling toys, not worthy to be mentioned.

In the end, when ſhe had been divers times brought before him and other his adherents, and there earneſtly exhorted to recant, ſhe ſaid, Do what ye will; for if Chriſt were in an error, then am I in an error. Upon which anſwer, ſhe was condemned as an heretic, the 12th day of the ſame month of July, and ſo delivered to the ſecular power, as they term it, to be by them put to death, which was done in the ſame month.

The chief procurer of her death was Dr. Story, being (as it is thought) ſomewhat related to her, or elſe to her late huſband. Who, at the firſt apprehenſion of his ſaid kinſwoman, endeavoured by all means to get her pardon, and accordingly applied to Dr. Martin, then one of the king and queen's commiſſioners in matters of religion (himſelf being as yet not made commiſſioner), and by this his ſuit obtained her deliverance for that preſent, as Dr. Martin himſelf (the author hereof) hath reported; yet afterwards, upon what occaſion God only knoweth, except upon ſome burning charity, the ſaid Dr. Story obtaining to be one of the commiſſioners, cauſed not only the ſaid John Warne, but alſo his wife, and

Engraved for Fox's Book of Martyrs.

The Examination of W.m Hale, before B.p Bonner.

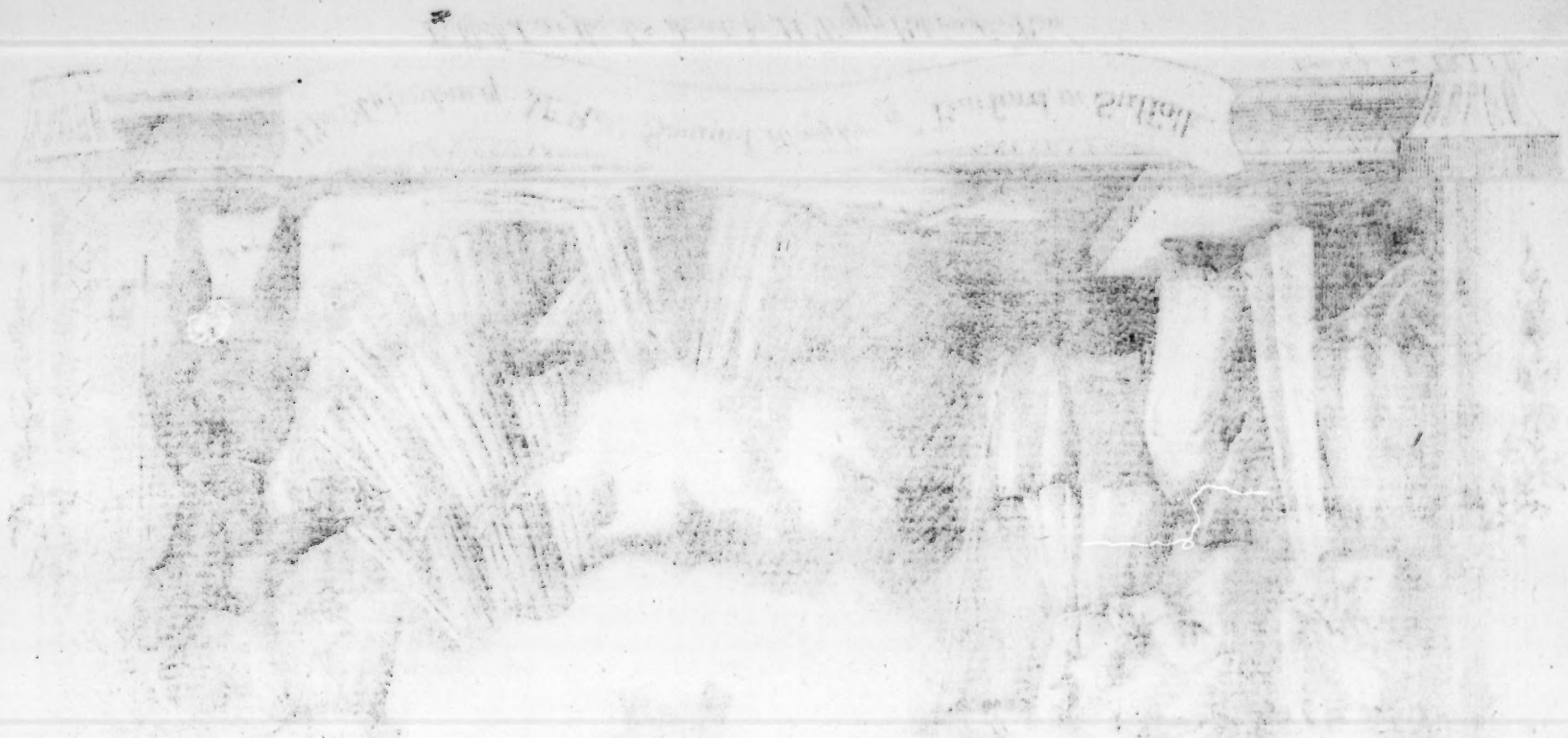
G. King. J. Wade T. Leyes & W. Andrews in Lollards Tower.

The Martyrdom of M.r Rob.t Samuel. Minister of Barford in Suffolk.

Terry Sculp.

Pater Noster Row.

Published as the Act directs by H Trapp Paternoster Row



and afterwards his daughter, to be again apprehended, never leaving them till he had brought them all to aſhes. Such was the rage of that devout catholic, and white child of the mother church, that neither kindred nor any other conſideration could prevail with him, although it did (at his requeſt) with others, who in reſpect of him were but ſtrangers unto them. The Lord, if it be his will, turn his heart, or elſe rid his poor church from ſuch an Hydra, as, thanked be God, now he hath.

George Tankerfield, Martyr.

GEorge Tankerfield, of London, cook, born in the city of York, about the age of 27 or 28 years, was in the days of king Edward a papiſt, till the time queen Mary came in, and then perceiving the great cruelty which the papiſts uſed, was brought into a miſdoubt of their doings, and began (as he ſaid) in his heart to abhor them. And as concerning the maſs, whereof he had but a doubtful opinion before, and much ſtriving with himſelf in that caſe; at length he fell to prayer, deſiring God in mercy to open to him the truth, that he might be thoroughly perſuaded therein, whether it were of God, or no: if not, that he might utterly hate it in his heart, and abhor it: which the Lord mercifully heard, and, according to his prayer, daily working more and more in him to deteſt and abhor the ſame; and ſo he was moved to read the Teſtament, whereby (as is ſaid) the Lord enlightened his mind with the knowledge of the truth, working a lively faith in him to believe the ſame, and utterly to deteſt all popery, and ſo he came no more to their doings: and not only that, but alſo this lively faith (as he ſaid) kindled ſuch a flame in him, as would not be kept in, but utter itſelf by the confeſſion thereof, reproving his own former doings to his friends, exhorting them likewiſe to repent and turn to the truth with him; thus they began to ſmell him out, and at length he was ſent for as followeth.

It pleaſed God to ſtrike him with ſickneſs, whereby he lay long ſick; and on a certain day to take the air abroad, he roſe up, and went and walked into the Temple fields to ſee the ſhooters. In the mean time, Mr. Beard came to his houſe and enquired for him, pretending to his wife, that he came only to have him dreſs a banquet at the lord Paget's. His wife, becauſe of his apparel (which was very brave) took him to be ſome honeſt gentleman, and with all ſpeed prepared herſelf to fetch her huſband, having a good hope he ſhould now earn ſome money: and leſt this gentleman ſhould be tired with tarrying, ſhe fetched him a cuſhion to ſet him ſoft, and laid a fair napkin before him, and ſet bread thereon, and came to her huſband; who when he heard it, ſaid, A banquet, woman! indeed it is ſuch a banquet as will not be very pleaſant to the fleſh, but God's will be done. And when he came home, he ſaw who it was, and called him by his name, which when his wife perceived, and wherefore he came, like a tall woman would play Peter's part, and inſtead of a ſword took a ſpit, and had run him through, had not the conſtable which Mr. Beard had ſent for by his man, came in and reſcued him: yet ſhe ſent a brickbat after him, and hit him on the back. And ſo Tankerfield was delivered to the conſtable, and brought to Newgate about the laſt day of February, 1555, by the ſaid Beard, yeoman of the guard, and Simon Ponder pewterer, conſtable of St. Dunſtan's in the Weſt, ſent in by Roger Chomley knight, and Dr. Martin.

Tankerfield being thus brought to priſon by his adverſaries, at length with the others before named was brought to his examination before biſhop Bonner. Who, after his accuſtomed manner, ordered his articles and poſitions unto him, the copy and tenor of which his ordinary articles ye may read above expreſſed.

No. 24.

To theſe articles he anſwered again, conſtantly declaring his mind concerning auricular confeſſion, and alſo the ſacrament of the popiſh altar, and likewiſe the maſs, &c. Firſt, that he was not confeſſed to any prieſt five years paſt, nor to any other but only to God: and further denying that he would hereafter be confeſſed to any prieſt, for that he found it not in Chriſt's book, and took it only to be a council.

And concerning the ſacrament, commonly called here in England of the altar, he confeſſed, that he neither had nor did believe, that in the ſaid ſacrament there is the real body and blood of Chriſt, becauſe that the body is aſcended into heaven, and there doth ſit at the right hand of God the Father.

And moreover he ſaid, that the maſs now uſed in the church of England was naught, and full of idolatry and abomination, and againſt the word of God; affirming alſo, that there are but two ſacraments in the church of Chriſt, baptiſm and the ſupper of the Lord, &c. And to theſe aſſertions he ſaid he would ſtand; and ſo he did to the end.

And when at laſt the biſhop began to read the ſentence, firſt exhorting him with many words to revoke his profeſſed opinion (which they called damnable and heretical), he notwithſtanding reſiſted all their perſuaſions, anſwering the biſhop again in this manner: I will not, ſaid he, forſake mine opinions, except you, my lord, can refel them by ſcriptures; and I care not for your divinity; for you condemn all men, and prove nothing againſt them. And after many fair words of exhortation, which Bonner then uſed, to convert, or rather pervert him, he anſwered boldly again, ſaying moreover, That the church whereof the pope is ſupreme head, is no part of Chriſt's catholic church; and adding thereunto, and pointing to the biſhop, ſpake to the people, ſaying, Good people beware of him, and ſuch as he is, for theſe be the people that deceive you, &c.

Theſe and many other words he ſpake; whereupon the biſhop, reading the ſentence of condemnation, gave him to the ſecular power.

And ſo this good man being carried to St. Alban's, there ended his life with much patience and conſtancy, the 26th day of Auguſt, for the defence of the truth, which at length will have the victory.

Notes concerning George Tankerfield, after he was carried to St. Alban's to ſuffer Martyrdom.

IMprimis, He was brought to St. Alban's by the high ſheriff of Hertfordſhire, Edward Brocket, Eſquire, and Mr. Pulter of Hitchen, who was under ſheriff.

Item, Their inn was the Croſs-keys, where there was a great concourſe of people to ſee and hear the priſoner, among which multitude ſome were ſorry to ſee ſo pious a man brought to be burned, others praiſed God for his conſtancy and perſeverance in the truth. Contrariwiſe, ſome there were which ſaid, it was pity he did ſtand in ſuch opinions: and others, both old women and men cried againſt him; one called him heretic, and ſaid it was pity that he lived. But George Tankerfield ſpake unto them ſo effectually out of the word of God, lamenting their ignorance, and proteſting unto them his unſpotted conſcience, that God did mollify their hardened hearts, inſomuch that ſome of them departed out of the chamber with weeping eyes.

Item, There came to him a certain ſchoolmaſter (who retained unto Sir Thomas Pope, knight), this man had a communication with George Tankerfield, the day before he was coming to St. Alban's, concerning the ſacrament of the altar, and other points of the popiſh religion: but as he urged Tankerfield with the authority of the doctors, wreſting them after his own will; ſo on the other ſide, Tankerfield anſwered him mightily by the

ſcriptures, not wreſted after the mind of any man, but being interpreted after the will of the Lord Jeſus, &c. So that as he would not allow ſuch allegations as Tankerfield brought out of the ſcriptures without the opinions of the doctors; ſo again Tankerfield would not credit his doctrine to be true, except he could confirm it by the ſcriptures. In the end, Tankerfield prayed him that he would not trouble him in ſuch matters, for his conſcience was eſtabliſhed, &c. and ſo he departed from him, wiſhing him well, and proteſting that he meant him no more hurt than his own ſoul.

Item, When the hour drew on apace that he ſhould ſuffer, he deſired the wine-drawer, that he might have a pint of malmſey and a loaf, that he might eat and drink that in remembrance of Chriſt's death and paſſion, becauſe he could not have it adminiſtered to him by others in ſuch manner as Chriſt commanded; and then he kneeled down, making his confeſſion unto the Lord with all which were in the chamber with him; and after he had prayed earneſtly unto the Lord, and had read the inſtitution of the holy ſupper by the Lord Jeſus out of the evangeliſts, and out of St. Paul, he ſaid, O Lord, thou knoweſt it, I do not this to derogate authority from any man, or in contempt of thoſe which are thy miniſters, but only becauſe I cannot have it adminiſtered according to thy word, &c. and when he had ſpoke theſe and ſuch like words, he received it with giving of thanks.

Item, When ſome of his friends deſired him to eat ſome meat, he ſaid he would not eat that which ſhould do others good that had more need, and that had longer time to live than he.

Item, He prayed his hoſt to let him have a good fire in the chamber; he had ſo, and then he ſitting on a form before the fire, put off his ſhoes and hoſe, and ſtretched out his leg to the flame; and when it had touched his foot, he quickly withdrew his leg, ſhewing how the fleſh did perſuade him one way, and the ſpirit another way. The fleſh ſaid, O thou fool, wilt thou burn and needeſt not? The ſpirit ſaid, Be not afraid, for this is nothing in reſpect of fire eternal. The fleſh ſaid, Do not leave the company of thy friends and acquaintance which love thee, and will let thee lack nothing. The ſpirit ſaid, The company of Jeſus Chriſt and his glorious preſence doth exceed all fleſhly friends. The fleſh ſaid, Do not ſhorten thy time, for thou mayeſt live, if thou wilt, much longer. The ſpirit ſaid, This life is nothing unto the life in heaven which laſteth for ever, &c. And all this time the ſheriffs were at a gentleman's houſe at dinner, not far from the town, whither alſo reſorted many knights and gentlemen out of the country, becauſe his ſon was married that day; and until they returned from dinner, the priſoner was left with his hoſt, to be kept and looked unto. And George Tankerfield all that time was kindly and lovingly intreated by his hoſt; and conſidering that his time was ſhort, his ſaying was, That although the day was never ſo long, yet at the laſt it ringeth to evening ſong.

Item, About two of the clock, when the ſheriffs were returned from dinner, they brought George Tankerfield out of his inn unto the place where he ſhould ſuffer, which is called Romeland, being a green place near the weſt end of the abbey church: unto which when he was come, he kneeled down by the ſtake that was ſet up for him, and after he had ended his prayers he aroſe, and with a joyful faith he ſaid, that although he had a ſharp dinner, yet he hoped to have a joyful ſupper in heaven.

Item, While the faggots were ſet about him, there came a prieſt unto him, and perſuaded him to believe on the ſacrament of the altar, and he ſhould be ſaved. But George Tankerfield cried out vehemently, and ſaid, I defy the whore of Babylon, I defy the whore of Babylon: Fie of that abominable idol: Good people, do not believe him; good people; do not believe him. And then the mayor of the town commanded to ſet fire to the heretic, and ſaid, If he had but one load of faggots in the whole world, he would give them to burn him. There was a certain knight by, who went unto Tankerfield, and took him by the hand, and ſaid, Good brother, be ſtrong in Chriſt; this he ſpake ſoftly; and Tankerfield ſaid, O Sir, I thank you, I am ſo, I thank God. Then fire was ſet unto him, and he deſired the ſheriff and all the people to pray for him; the moſt part did ſo. And ſo embracing the fire, he bathed himſelf in it, and calling on the name of the Lord Jeſus he was quickly out of pain.

The Hiſtory and Examinations of Robert Smith, Martyr.

Robert Smith was brought to Newgate the fifth of November, by John Matthew, yeoman of the guard of the queen's ſide, by the command of the council. Robert Smith firſt gave himſelf to ſervice in the houſe of Sir Thomas Smith knight, being then provoſt of Eaton: from thence he was preferred to Windſor, having there in the college a clerkſhip of ten pounds a year. Of ſtature he was tall and ſlender, active about many things, but chiefly delighting in the art of painting, which many times rather for his mind's ſake, than for any gain, he did practiſe and exerciſe. In religion he was fervent, after he had once taſted the truth: wherein he was much confirmed by the preaching of Mr. Turner of Windſor, and others. Whereupon at the coming in of queen Mary he was deprived of his clerkſhip by her viſitors; and not long after he was apprehended, and brought to examination before Bonner, as here followeth, written and teſtified with his own hand.

The firſt Examination of Robert Smith before Biſhop Bonner.

About nine of the clock in the morning I was among the reſt of my brethren brought to the biſhop's houſe; and firſt of all I was brought before him into his chamber, to whom the biſhop ſaid as followeth, after he had aſked my name.

Bonner. How long is it ſince ye were confeſſed to any prieſt?

Smith. Never ſince I had years of diſcretion. For I never ſaw it needful, neither commanded by God to come to ſhew my faults to any of that ſinful number whom ye call prieſts.

Bonner. Thou ſheweſt thyſelf even at thy firſt ſpeech to be a rank heretic, who being weary of painting, art entered into divinity, and ſo fallen, through thy departing from thy vocation, into hereſy.

Smith. Although I have underſtanding in the ſaid occupation, yet (I praiſe God) I have had little need all my life hitherto to live by the ſame, but have lived without the ſame in mine own houſe as honeſtly in my vocation as ye have lived in yours, and yet uſed the ſame better than ever you uſed the pulpit.

Bonner. How long is it ſince ye received the ſacrament of the altar, and what is your opinion in the ſame?

Smith. I never received the ſame ſince I had years of diſcretion, nor never will, by God's grace; neither do eſteem the ſame in any point, becauſe it hath not God's ordinance, neither in name, nor in other uſage, but rather is ſet up and erected to mock God withal.

Bonner. Do ye not believe that it is the very body of Chriſt that was born of the virgin Mary, naturally, ſubſtantially, and really, after the words of conſecration?

Smith. I ſhewed you before it was none of God's ordinances, as ye uſe it; then much leſs to be God, or any part of his ſubſtance, but only bread and wine erected to the uſe aforeſaid; yet nevertheleſs, if ye can prove it to be

be the body that ye ſpake of, by the word, I will believe it; if not, I will, as I do, account it a deteſtable idol, not God; but contrary to God and his truth.

Then after many raging words and vain objections, Bonner ſaid, There was no remedy, but I muſt be burned.

Smith. Ye ſhall do no more unto me, than ye have done to better men than either of us both. But think not thereby to quench the Spirit of God, neither thereby to make your matter good. For your ſore is too well ſeen to be healed ſo privily with blood. For even the very children have all your deeds in deriſion; ſo that although ye patch up one place with authority, yet ſhall it break out in forty to your ſhame.

Bonner. Then after much ado, and many railing ſentences, he ſaid, throwing away the paper of mine examination; Well, even now, by my troth, even in good earneſt, if thou wilt go to confeſſion I will tear this paper in pieces.

Smith. To which I anſwered; It would be too much to his ſhame to ſhew it to men of diſcretion.

After which anſwer, I was carried down to the garden with my jaylor, and there remained till my brother Harwood was examined; and then being again brought up before the ſaid Bonner, he demanded if I agreed with Harwood in his confeſſion upon theſe articles following.

Bonner. What ſay you to the catholic church? Do ye not confeſs there is one in earth?

Smith. Yes verily, I believe that there is one catholic church, or faithful congregation, which, as the apoſtle ſaith, is built upon the prophets and apoſtles, Chriſt Jeſus being the head corner-ſtone: which in all her words and works maintaineth the word, and bringeth the ſame for her authority, and without it doth nothing, nor ought to do, of which I am aſſured I am by grace made a member.

Bonner. Ye ſhall underſtand, that I am bound when my brother offendeth, and will not be reconciled, to bring him before the congregation: now if your church be the ſame, where may a man find it, to bring his brother before the ſame?

Smith. It is written in the Acts of the apoſtles, that when the tyranny of the biſhops was ſo great againſt the church in Jewry, they were fain to aſſemble in houſes and ſecret places, as they now do; and yet were they nevertheleſs the church of God: and ſeeing they had their matters redreſſed being ſhut up in a corner, may not we do the like now-a-days?

Bonner. Yea, their church was known full well. For St. Paul writ to the Corinthians, to have the man puniſhed and excommunicated, that had committed evil with his father's wife. Whereby we may well perceive it was a known church; but yours is not known.

Smith. Then could you not perſecute it as you do: but as ye ſay the church of God at Corinth was manifeſt both to God and St. Paul; even ſo is this church of God in England, whom ye perſecute, both known to God, and alſo even to the very wicked, although they know not, nor will not know their truth nor converſation; yea, and your ſinful number have profeſſed their verity, and maintained the ſame a long ſeaſon.

Bonner. Well, thou ſayeſt that the church of God was only at Corinth, when St. Paul writ unto them, and ſo will I put in writing, ſhall I?

Smith. I do greatly marvel, my lord, that ye are not aſhamed to lay ſnares for your brethren on this manner. This is now the third ſnare you have laid for me. Firſt, to make me confeſs that the church of England is not the church of Chriſt. Secondly, to ſay it is not known. Thirdly, to ſay the church of God is not univerſal, but particular. And this is not the office of a biſhop. For if an innocent had come in your way, you would have done your beſt, I ſee, to have entangled him.

Well friend, ſaid Dr. Harpsfield, you are no innocent, as it appeareth.

Smith. By the grace of God I am that I am; and this grace in me, I hope, is not in vain.

Well, ſaid Bonner, laughing, tell me how ſayeſt thou of the church?

Smith. I told you whereon the true church is built, and I affirm in England to be the congregation of God, and alſo in omnem terram; as it is written, "Their ſound is gone forth into all lands," and this is the afflicted and perſecuted church, which ye ceaſe not to impriſon, ſlay and kill. And in Corinth was not all the congregation of God, but a number of thoſe holy and elect people of God. For neither Paul nor Peter were preſent at Corinth when they wrote, and yet were they of the church of God, as many thouſands more which alſo communicate in that Holy Spirit.

Bonner. What call ye catholic, and what call ye church?

Smith. Catholic is univerſal, and church is a congregation knit together in unity.

Then after much like talk, it was laid to my charge, that my fellow and I ſpake one thing. For which I praiſed God, and was ſent again to a garden. Where, after a while as I and my brother Harwood had been together, came one of my lord's chaplains, that much deſired to commune with me, demanding firſt if I were a priſoner.

Smith. I am in this fleſh a priſoner, and ſubject to my maſter and yours; but I hope yet the Lord's free man through Chriſt Jeſus.

Doctor. I do much deſire to talk with you lovingly, becauſe ye are a man that I much lament; with many other ſweet words.

To which I anſwered, Sub melle latet venenum. And after much ado about his God, I compelled him to ſay, that it muſt needs enter into the belly, and ſo fall into the draught. To which he anſwered.

Doctor. What derogation was it to Chriſt, when the Jews ſpit in his face?

Smith. If the Jews, being his enemies, did ſpit in his face, and we being his friends throw him into the draught, which of us have deſerved the greateſt damnation? Then by your argument, he that doth injury to Chriſt, ſhall have a moſt plenteous ſalvation.

Then the doctor ſtarted away, and would have his humanity incomprehenſible, making a compariſon between the ſoul of man and the body of Chriſt, bringing in, to ſerve his turn, which way Chriſt came in among his diſciples, the doors being ſhut?

Smith. Although it be ſaid that when he came the doors were ſhut, yet have I as much to prove, that the doors opened at his coming, as ye have to prove he came through the door. For that Almighty God who brought the diſciples out of priſon, which yet when ſearch was made, were found ſhut, was able to let Chriſt in at the door, although it were ſhut: and yet it maketh not for your purpoſe; for they ſaw him, heard him, and felt him; and that ye cannot ſay ye do, neither is he in more places than one at the ſame time.

At which anſwer when he had made many ſcoffings, he went from me, and we were carried into my lord's hall, where we were baited by my lord's band of ſervants, almoſt all the day, until our keeper ſeeing their miſorder, ſhut us all up in a handſome chamber, while my lord went into his ſynagogue to condemn Mr. Denley and John Newman.

Then they brought my lord mayor up into the chamber where my lord intended to ſup, to hear the matter; and I was the firſt that was called; where my lord mayor being ſet with the biſhop and one of the ſheriffs, wine was walking on every ſide, whilſt I ſtood before them like a mute; which made me remember how Pilate and Herod were made friends, but no man was ſorry for Joſeph's

ſeph's hurt. But after my lord had well drank, my articles were ſent for and read, and he demanded whether I did ſay as was written.

Smith. That I have ſaid, I have ſaid, and what I have ſaid I do mean utterly.

Bonner. Well, my lord mayor, your lordſhip hath heard in ſome meaſure, what a ſtout heretic this is, and that his articles have deſerved death: yet nevertheleſs foraſmuch as they report me to ſeek blood, and call me Bloody Bonner, whereas, God knoweth, I never ſought any man's blood in all my life, I have kept him from the conſiſtory this day, whither I might have brought him juſtly: and yet here before your lordſhip I deſire him to turn, and I will with all ſpeed diſpatch him out of trouble; and this I profeſs before your lordſhip and all this audience.

Smith. Why, my lord, do you put on this fair viſor before my lord mayor, to make him believe that ye ſeek not my blood, to cloak your murders through my ſtoutneſs, as ye call it? Have ye not had my brother Tomkins before you, whoſe hand when you had burnt moſt cruelly, (Page 150.) ye burnt alſo his body, and not only him, but a great many of the members of Chriſt, men that feared God, and lived virtuouſly, and alſo the queen's majeſty's moſt true ſubjects, as their goods and bodies have made manifeſt? and ſeeing in theſe ſaints ye have ſhewed ſo little mercy, ſhall it ſeem to my lord and this audience, that you ſhew me more favour? No, no, my lord. But if ye mean as ye ſay, why then do you examine me of what I am not bound to anſwer you?

Bonner. Well, what ſayeſt thou by the ſacrament of the altar? Is it not the very body of Chriſt's fleſh, blood, and bone, as it was born of the virgin?

Smith. I have anſwered, that it is none of God's order nor a ſacrament, but man's own vain invention; and ſhewed him the Lord's inſtitution. But when he was ſo earneſt before the audience, declaring that we knew nothing, bringing out his "Hoc eſt corpus meum," to lay in my diſh: I proved before the audience that it was a dead god, declaring the diſtinction appointed between the two creatures of bread and wine, and that a body without blood hath no life. At which Harpsfield found himſelf much offended, and took the tale out of my lord's mouth, ſaying,

Harpſ. I will prove by the ſcriptures, that ye blaſpheme God in ſo ſaying; for it is given in two parts, becauſe there are two things ſhewed, that is to ſay, his body and his paſſion, as ſaith St. Paul: and therefore the bread is his body, and the wine the repreſentation of his death and blood-ſhedding.

Smith. Ye falſify the word, and rack it to ſerve your purpoſe. For the wine was not only the ſhewing of his paſſion, but the bread alſo. For our Saviour ſaith, "So oft as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me." And St. Paul ſaith, "So oft as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye ſhall ſhew the Lord's death till he come." And here is as much reverence given to the one as to the other. Wherefore if the bread be his body, the cup muſt be his blood; and as well ye make his body in the cup, as his blood in the bread.

Then my lord roſe up, and went to the table, where the lord mayor deſired me to ſave my ſoul. To whom I anſwered, I hope it was ſaved through Chriſt Jeſus, deſiring him to have pity on his own ſoul, and remember whoſe ſword he carried.

At which I was carried into the garden, and there abode till the reſt of my friends were examined, and then were we ſent away to Newgate with many foul farewels, my lord biſhop giving the keeper a charge to lay me in Limbo.

Another Examination of Robert Smith before Biſhop Bonner.

UPON Saturday, at eight of the clock, I was brought to his chamber again, and there examined by him, as followeth.

Bonner. Thou Robert Smith, &c. ſayeſt that there is no catholic church here on earth.

Smith. Ye have heard me both ſpeak the contrary, and ye have written as a witneſs of the ſame.

Bonner. Yea, but I muſt aſk thee this queſtion: how ſayeſt thou?

Smith. Muſt ye of neceſſity begin with a lye? it maketh manifeſt that ye determine to end with the ſame. But there ſhall no lyars enter into the kingdom of God. Nevertheleſs, if ye will be anſwered, aſk mine articles that were written yeſterday, and they ſhall tell you that I have confeſſed a church of God, as well in earth as in heaven, and yet all one church, and one man's members, even Chriſt Jeſus.

Bonner. Well, what ſayeſt thou to auricular confeſſion? Is it not neceſſary to be uſed in Chriſt's church? and wilt thou not be confeſſed by the prieſt?

Smith. It is not needful to be uſed in Chriſt's church, as I anſwered yeſterday. But if it be needful for your church, it is to pick men's pockets; and ſuch pick-pocket matters are all the whole rabble of your ceremonies: for all that ye maintain is but money-matters.

Bonner. Why, how art thou able to prove that confeſſion is a pick-pocket matter? Art thou not aſhamed to ſay ſo?

Smith. I ſpeak by experience: for I have both heard and ſeen the fruits of the ſame. For firſt it hath been, we ſee, a betrayer of kings ſecrets, and the ſecrets of other men's conſciences; who being delivered, and glad to be diſcharged from their ſins, have given great ſums of money to prieſts to abſolve them, and ſing maſſes for their ſouls health.

And for example, I began to bring in a pageant, that by report was played at St. Thomas of Acres, and where I was ſometime a child waiting on a gentleman of Norfolk, which being bound in conſcience, through the perſuaſion of the prieſt, gave away a great quantity of his goods, and forgave unto one Mr. Greſham a large ſum of money, and to another as much. The prieſt for his part had a good ſhare, and the houſe had an annuity to keep him: which thing when his brother heard, he came to London, and after declaration made to the council, how by the ſubtilty of the prieſt he had robbed his wife and children, recovered a great part again, to the value of two or three hundred pounds, of Mr. Greſham and his other friend; but what he gave to the houſe could not be recovered. This ſtory I began to tell; but when my lord ſaw it favoured not to his purpoſe, he began to revile me, and ſaid; By the maſs, If the queen's majeſty were of my mind, thou ſhouldeſt not come to talk before any man, but ſhouldeſt be put into a ſack, with a dog in the ſame, and be thrown into a river.

Smith. I know you ſpeak by practice, as much as by ſpeculation: for both you and your predeceſſors have ſought all poſſible means to kill Chriſt ſecretly: record of Mr. Hunne, whom your predeceſſor cauſed to be thruſt in at the noſe with hot burning needles, and then to be hanged, and gave it out that the ſaid Hunne hanged himſelf: and alſo a good brother of yours, a biſhop of your profeſſion, having in his priſon an innocent man, whom becauſe he could not overcome by ſcripture, he cauſed him to be privately ſnarled, and his fleſh to be torn and plucked away with a pair of pincers, and bringing him before the people, ſaid, the rats had eaten him. Thus according to your oath is all your dealing, and hath been; and as you, taking upon you the office, do not without oaths open your mouth, no more do you without murder maintain your traditions.

Bonner. Ah, ye are a generation of lyars; there is not one true word that cometh out of your mouths.

Smith. Yes, my lord, I have ſaid that Jeſus Chriſt is dead for my ſins, and riſen for my juſtification; and this is no lye.

Then Bonner made his man to put in my tale of the gentleman of Norfolk, and would have had me recite it again: which when I would not do, he made his man to put in ſuch ſums as he imagined. At the end of this, Sir John Mordant came in, and ſat down to hear my examination. Then ſaid my lord, How ſayeſt thou, Smith, to the ſeven ſacraments? Believeſt thou not that they be God's order, that is to ſay, the ſacrament of, &c.

Smith. I believe that in God's church are but two ſacraments, that is to ſay, the ſacrament of regeneration, and the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper: and as for the ſacrament of the altar, and all your ſacraments, they may well ſerve your church, but God's church hath nothing to do with them, neither have I any thing to do to anſwer them, nor you to examine me of them.

Bonner. Why, is God's order changed in baptiſm? In what point do we diſſent from the word of God?

Smith. Firſt, in hallowing your water; in conjuring of the ſame; in baptizing children with anointing and ſpitting in their mouths, mingled with ſalt, and with many other lewd ceremonies, of which not one point is able to be proved in God's order.

Bonner. By the maſs, this is the moſt unſhamefaced heretic that ever I heard ſpeak.

Smith. Well ſworn, my lord, ye keep a good watch.

Bonner. Well, Mr. Controller, ye catch me at my words: but I will watch thee as well, I warrant thee.

By my troth, my lord, ſaid Sir John Mordant, I never heard the like in all my life. But I pray you, my lord, mark well his anſwer for baptiſm. He diſalloweth therein holy ointment, ſalt, and ſuch other laudable ceremonies, which no chriſtian man will deny.

Smith. That is a ſhameful blaſphemy againſt Chriſt, ſo to uſe any mingle-mangle in baptizing young infants.

Bonner. I believe, I tell thee, that if they die before they be baptized, they be damned.

Smith. Ye ſhall never be ſaved by that belief. But I pray you, my lord, ſhew me, are we ſaved by water, or by Chriſt?

Bonner. By both.

Smith. Then the water died for our ſins; and ſo muſt ye ſay, that the water hath life, and it being our ſervant, and created for us, is our Saviour: This, my lord, is a good doctrine, is it not?

Bonner. Why, how underſtandeſt thou the ſcriptures? "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."

And again, "Suffer (ſaith our Saviour) theſe children to come unto me;" and if thou wilt not ſuffer them to be baptized after the laudable order, thou hindereſt them to come unto Chriſt.

Smith. Where ye alledge St. John, "Except a man be born, &c." and will thereby prove the water to ſave, and ſo the deed or work to ſave and put away ſins, I will ſend you to St. Paul, which aſketh of the Galatians, "Whether they received the Spirit by the deeds of the law, or by the preaching of faith?" and there concludeth, that the Holy Ghoſt accompanieth the preaching of faith, and with the word entereth into the heart. So now if baptiſm preach to me the waſhing in Chriſt's blood, ſo doth the Holy Ghoſt accompany it, and it is unto me as a preacher and not a Saviour. And where ye ſay, I hinder the children to come unto Chriſt, it is manifeſt by our Saviour's words that ye hinder them to come, that will not ſuffer them to come unto him without the neceſſity of water. For he ſaith, Suffer them to come unto me, and not unto water; and therefore if ye condemn them, ye condemn both the merits and words of Chriſt. For our Saviour ſaith, "Except ye turn and become as children, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of God." And ſo brought I out many other examples, to make manifeſt that Chriſt hath cleanſed original ſin, bringing in examples out of the ſcriptures for the ſame.

Bonner. Then thou makeſt the water of none effect; then put away water.

Smith. "It is not (ſaith St. Peter) the waſhing away of the filth of the fleſh, but in that a good conſcience conſenteth unto God." And to prove that water only bringeth not the Holy Ghoſt, it is written in the 8th of the Acts, that Simon received water, but would have received the Holy Ghoſt for money. Alſo that the Holy Ghoſt hath come before baptiſm; it is written that John had the Holy Ghoſt in his mother's womb. Cornelius, Paul, and the queen Candace's ſervant, with many others, received the Holy Ghoſt before baptiſm. Yea, and although your generation have ſet at nought the word of God, and like ſwine turned his words upſide down, yet muſt his church keep the ſame in that order which he left them, which his church dare not break; and to judge children damned that he not baptized, it is wicked.

Mordant. By our lady, Sir, but I believe that if my child die without water, he is damned.

Bonner. Yea, and ſo do I, and all catholic men, good Mr. Mordant.

Smith. Well, my lord, ſuch catholic, ſuch ſalvation.

Bonner. Well, Sir, what ſay you to the ſacrament of orders?

Smith. Ye may call it the ſacrament of miſorders: for all orders are appointed of God. But as for your ſhaving, anointing, greaſing, poling, and rounding, there are no ſuch things appointed in God's book, and therefore I have nothing to do to believe your orders. And as for you, my lord, if ye had grace and intelligence, ye would not ſo diſfigure yourſelf as ye do.

Bonner. Say'ſt thou ſo? now by my troth I will go ſhave myſelf to anger thee withal: and ſo ſent for his barber, who immediately came: and before my face at the door of the next chamber he ſhaved himſelf, deſiring me, before he went, to anſwer to theſe articles.

Bonner. What ſay you to holy bread and holy water, to the ſacrament of anointing, and to all the reſt of ſuch ceremonies of the church?

Smith. I ſay they be baubles for fools to play withal, and not for the children of God to exerciſe themſelves in; and therefore they may go among the refuſe. Then Mr. Mordant went away, and my lord went to be ſhaved, leaving there certain doctors, as he called them, to try what they could do, by whom I was baited for half an hour: of whom I alſo aſked this queſtion, Where were you all in the days of king Edward, that ye ſpake not that which ye ſpeak now?

Doct. We were in England.

Smith. Yea, but then ye had the faces of men, but now ye have put on lions faces again, as ſaith St. John, "Ye ſhew yourſelves as full of malice as you may be." For ye have for every time a vizor; yea, and if another king Edward ſhould ariſe, ye would then ſay, Down with the pope, for he is Antichriſt, and ſo are all his angels.

Then was I reviled, and ſent away, and brought in again before theſe men; and one of them that baited me before, aſked me if I diſallowed confeſſion?

Smith. Look in mine articles, and they ſhall ſhew you what I allow.

Doct. Your articles confeſs that you allow not auricular confeſſion.

Smith. I allow it not, becauſe the word alloweth it not, nor commandeth it.

Doct. Why it is written, Thou ſhalt not hide thy ſins and offences.

Smith. No more do I when I confeſs them to Almighty God.

Doct. Why ye cannot ſay that ye can hide them from God, and therefore you muſt underſtand the words are ſpoken to be uttered to them that do not know them.

Smith. Ye have made a good anſwer; then the prieſt muſt confeſs himſelf to me, as well as I to him; for I know his faults and ſecrets no more than he knoweth mine. But if you confeſs to the prieſt, and not unto God, ye ſhall have the reward that Judas had: for he confeſſed himſelf to the prieſt, and preſently went and hanged himſelf; and ſo as many as do not acknowledge their faults to God, are ſaid to hide them.

Doct. What did they that came to John to be baptized?

Smith. They came and confeſſed their ſins to Almighty God.

Doct. And not unto John?

Smith. If it were unto John, as ye are not able to prove, yet it was to God before John and the whole congregation.

Doct. Why, John was alone in the wilderneſs.

Smith. Why, and yet the ſcriptures ſay he had many diſciples, and that many phariſees and ſadducees came to his baptiſm. Here the ſcriptures and you agree not. And if they confeſſed themſelves to John, as ye ſay, it was to all the congregation, as St. Paul doth to Timothy, and to all that read his epiſtle, in opening to all the hearers, that he was not worthy to be called an apoſtle, becauſe he had been a tyrant. But as for ear-confeſſion, ye never heard it allowed by the word. For the prophet David made his confeſſion unto God, and ſaith, "I will confeſs my ſins unto the Lord." Daniel maketh his confeſſion unto the Lord; Judith, Toby, Jeremy, Manaſſeh, with all the forefathers, did even ſo. For the Lord hath ſaid, "Call upon me in the time of trouble, and I will deliver thee." Knock, aſk, ſeek, with ſuch like; and this is the word of God; now bring ſomewhat of the word to help yourſelves withal. Then they raged, and called me dog, and ſaid I was damned.

Smith. Nay, ye are dogs, that becauſe holy things are offered, will ſlay your friends. For I may ſay with St. Paul, "I have fought with beaſts in the likeneſs of men." For here I have been baited theſe two days, of my lord and his great bulls of Baſan, and in his hall beneath have I been baited of the reſt of his band. With this came my lord from ſhaving, and aſked me how I liked him?

Smith. Forſooth, ye are even as wiſe as ye were before ye were ſhaven.

Bonner. How ſtandeth it, Mr. Doctors, have ye done any good?

Doct. No by my troth, my lord, we can do no good.

Smith. Then it is fulfilled which is written, "How can an evil tree bring forth good fruit?"

Bonner. Nay, naughty fellow, I ſet theſe gentlemen to bring thee home to Chriſt.

Smith. Such gentlemen, ſuch Chriſts; and as truly as they have that name from Chriſt, ſo truly do they teach Chriſt.

Bonner. Well, wilt thou neither hear them nor me?

Smith. Yes, I am compelled to hear you; but ye cannot compel me to follow you.

Bonner. Well, thou ſhalt be burnt at a ſtake in Smithfield, if thou wilt not turn.

Smith. And ye ſhall burn in hell, if ye repent not: but my lord, to put you out of doubt, becauſe I am weary, I will ſtrain courteſy with you: I perceive you will not with your doctors come unto me, and I am determined not to come unto you, by God's grace. For I have hardened my face againſt you as hard as braſs. Then after many railing ſentences I was ſent away.

And thus have I left the truth of mine anſwers in writing, gentle reader, being compelled by my friends to do it: that ye may ſee how the Lord hath according to his promiſe given me a mouth and wiſdom to anſwer in his cauſe, for which I am condemned, and my cauſe not heard.

The laſt Examination of Mr. Smith.

THE twelfth of July I was with my brethren brought into the conſiſtory, and mine articles read before my lord mayor and the ſheriffs, with all the aſſiſtants; to which I anſwered, as followeth.

Bonner. By my faith, my lord mayor, I have ſhewed him as much favour as any man living might do: but I perceive all is loſt, both in him and all his company.

At this word, which he coupled with an oath, Mr. Smith came in, and ſaid to the biſhop, My lord, it is written, "Ye muſt not ſwear."

Bonner. Ah Mr. Controller, are ye come? Lo, my lord mayor, this is Mr. Speaker, pointing to my brother Tankerfield; and this is Mr. Controller, pointing to me. And then beginning to read my articles, he perſevered till he came at my tale of the gentleman of Norfolk, and then demanded of my lord mayor, if he heard of the ſame before. To which he anſwered, No. To whom I ſaid:

Smith. My lord mayor, will it pleaſe you to hear me recite it, as I heard it (and I told it), and then ſhall you hear the truth. For this tale that my lord hath told is untrue.

Bonner. How ſay you, good Mr. Mordant, ſpake he not this here as it is written? Were ye not by?

Mordant. Yes, my lord, that it is: I heard him ſay it.

Smith. How heard you me ſay it, and were not preſent when I ſpake it? Should ſuch a man make a lye? It is manifeſtly proved that the prophet ſaith: "Even as the king ſaith, ſo ſaith the judge, that he may do him a pleaſure again:" And then my jailor was brought out for proof thereof, who there openly profeſſed, that neither Mr. Mordant, nor the doctors before-mentioned, were preſent when I ſpake it.

At which Mr. Mordant with bluſhing cheeks ſaid, he heard them read, and heard me affirm the ſame; which alſo was not true. Then my lord proceeded with the reſt of my articles, demanding of me, If I ſaid not as was written. To which I anſwered, No. And turning to my lord mayor, I ſaid, I require you, my lord mayor, in God's behalf, unto whom pertaineth your ſword and juſtice, that I may here before your preſence anſwer to theſe objections that are laid againſt me, and have the probation of the ſame; and if any thing that I have ſaid or will ſay, be proved (as my lord ſaith) hereſy, I ſhall not only with all my heart forſake the ſame, and cleave to the truth, but alſo recant whereſoever ye ſhall aſſign me, and all this audience ſhall be witneſs to the ſame.

Lord Mayor. Why, Smith, thou canſt not deny but this thou ſaidſt.

Smith. Yes, my lord, I deny that which he hath written, becauſe he hath both added to, and diminiſhed from the ſame: but what I have ſpoken, I will never deny.

Lord Mayor. Why thou ſpakeſt againſt the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar.

Smith. I denied it to be any ſacrament, and I do ſtand here to make probation of the ſame; and if my lord or any of his doctors be able to prove either the name or uſage of the ſame, I will recant mine error. Then ſpake my brother Tankerfield, and defended the probation of things which they called hereſy. To which the biſhop anſwered,

By my troth, Mr. Speaker, ye ſhall preach at a ſtake.

Smith. Well ſworn, my lord, ye keep a good watch.

Bonner. Well, Mr. Controller, I am no ſaint.

Smith. No, my lord, nor yet good biſhop. For a biſhop, ſaith St. Paul, ſhould be faultleſs, and a dedicate veſſel unto God; and are ye not aſhamed to ſit in judgment, and be a blaſphemer, condemning innocents?

Bonner.

Bonner. Well, Mr. Controller, ye are faultleſs.

Smith. My lord mayor, I require you in God's name, that I may have juſtice. We be here to-day a great many innocents wrongfully accuſed of hereſy. And I require you, if you will not ſeem to be partial, let me have no more favour at your hands, than the apoſtle had at the hands of Feſtus and Agrippa, who being heathens and infidels, gave him leave not only to ſpeak for himſelf, but alſo heard the probation of his cauſe. This require I at your hands, who being a chriſtian judge, I hope will not deny me that right, which the heathen have ſuffered: if ye do, then ſhall all this audience, yea, and the heathen ſpeak ſhame of your fact. For a city (ſaith our Saviour) that is built on a hill cannot be hid: if they therefore have the truth, let it come to light. For all that well do, come to the light; and they that do evil, hate the light.

Then my lord mayor hanging down his head, ſaid nothing, but the biſhop told me, I ſhould preach at a ſtake; and ſo the ſheriff cried, with the biſhop, Away with me.

Thus came I in before them four times, deſiring juſtice, but could have none: and at length my friends required the ſame with one voice, and could not have it; we had ſentence, and then being carried out, were brought in again, and received it ſeparately. But before the biſhop gave me ſentence, he told me in deriſion of my brother Tankerfield, a tale between a gentleman and his cook. To which I anſwered, My lord, ye fill the people's ears with fantaſies and fooliſh tales, and make a laughing matter at blood; but if ye were a true biſhop, ye ſhould leave theſe railing ſentences, and ſpeak the words of God.

Bonner. Well, I have offered to that naughty fellow, Mr. Speaker, your companion the cook, that my chancellor ſhould here inſtruct him, but he hath with great diſdain refuſed it. How ſayeſt thou, wilt thou have him inſtruct thee, and lead thee in the right way?

Smith. My lord, if your chancellor will do me any good and take any pains, as ye ſay, let him take mine articles in his hands, that ye have objected againſt me, and either prove one of them hereſy, or any thing that you do to be good: and if he be able ſo to do, I ſtand here with all my heart to him; if not, I have no need, I praiſe God, of his ſermon: for I come to anſwer for my life, and not to hear a ſermon.

Then began the ſentence, In Dei nomine. To which I anſwered, that he began in a wrong name, requiring of him where he learned in ſcripture to give ſentence of death againſt any man for his conſcience ſake? To which he made no anſwer, but went forward to the end, and immediately cried, Away with him. Then I turned to the mayor, and ſaid, Is it not enough for you, my lord mayor, and you that are the ſheriffs, that ye have left the ſtrait way of the Lord, but ye muſt condemn Chriſt cauſeleſs?

Bonner. Well, Mr. Controller, now ye cannot ſay, but I have offered you fair, to have inſtruction. And now, I pray thee, call me Bloody Biſhop, and ſay, I ſeek thy blood.

Smith. Well, my lord, if neither I nor any of this congregation do report the truth of your fact, yet ſhall theſe ſtones cry it out, rather than it ſhall be hidden.

Bonner. Away with him, away with him.

Woodroſe. Away with him, take him away.

Smith. Well, good friends, ye have ſeen and heard the great wrong that we have received this day, and ye are all witneſſes that we have deſired the probation of our cauſe by God's book, and it hath not been granted: but we are condemned, and our cauſe not heard. Nevertheleſs, my lord mayor, foraſmuch as ye have here exercited God's ſword cauſeleſs, and will not hear the right of the poor, I commit my cauſe to Almighty God, who will judge all men according to right, before whom we ſhall both ſtand without authority; and there will I ſtand in the right, and have true judgment, to your great confuſion, except ye repent, which the Lord grant you to do, if it be his will. And then was I with the reſt of my brethren carried away to Newgate.

Thus, gentle reader, as near as I can, I have ſet forth the truth of my examination, and the verity of mine unjuſt condemnation for the truth, praying to God that it may not be laid to the charge of thee, O England; requiring your hearty prayers to God for his grace and ſpirit of boldneſs, with hope even ſhortly to ſet to my ſeal at Uxbridge the 8th day of Auguſt, by God's grace: pray that it may be to his honour, my ſalvation, and your conſolation, I pray you.

Da gloriam Deo.

Robert Smith.

Thus art thou (good reader) not only to note, but alſo to follow in this man a ſingular example of chriſtian fortitude, who ſo valiantly ſtood in the defence of his maſter's cauſe: and as thou ſeeſt him here boldly ſtand in examination before the biſhop and doctors; ſo was he no leſs comfortable alſo in the priſon among his companions: which alſo is to be obſerved no leſs in his other fellow-priſoners, who being together in an outward room within Newgate, had godly conference with themſelves, with daily praying and public reading, which they to their great comfort uſed in that room together; amongſt whom Smith was the chief; whoſe induſtry was always ſolicitous, not only for them of his own company, but alſo his diligence was careful for other priſoners, whom he ceaſed not to diſſuade from their old accuſtomed iniquity; and many he converted to his religion. While he was in priſon, he wrote divers letters to his friends, ſome in verſe, and others in proſe. And the firſt are in verſe as follow.

"O ye that love the Lord, ſee that ye hate the thing that is evil."

THE God that giveth life and light,
And leadeth into reſt:
That breaketh bonds and bringeth out
The poor that are oppreſt:
And keepeth mercy for the meek,
His treaſure and his ſtore:
Increaſe thy life in perfect love,
Both now and evermore.
That as thou haſt begun to ground
In faith and fervent love;
Thou may'ſt be made a mighty mount
That never may remove.
That thine enſample may be ſhew'd
Among all thine increaſe:
That they may live and learn the like,
And paſs their time in peace.
Thy ſalutations that were ſent,
I heartily retain:
And ſend thee ſeventy times as much,
To thee and thine again.

And now becauſe I know the goal
That thou doſt moſt deſire:
I ſend thee here a paper full,
Is fined in the fire.
In hope thou wilt accept it well,
Although it be but ſmall;
Becauſe I have no other good,
To make amends withal.
For all thy free and friendly facts,
Which thy good will hath wrought,
I ſend thee ſurely for a ſhift
The thing that coſt me nought.
Abſtain from all ungodlineſs,
In dread direct your days;
Poſſeſs not ſin in any wiſe;
Beware of wicked ways.
Hold faſt your faith unfeignedly;
Build as you have begun:
And arm yourſelf in perfect faith,
To do as ye have done:
Leſt that the wicked make a mock
At what ye take in hand,
In leaving of the perfect rock,
To build upon the ſand.
Beware of filthy phariſees,
Their building is in blood:
Eat not with them in any wiſe,
Their leaven is not good.
Their ſalt is all unſavoury:
And under good intents
They maintain all their knavery,
And murder innocents.
They ſeek to ſit in Chriſt his ſeat,
And put him out of place:
And make all means that may be made,
His doings to deface.
They keep him down with bills and bats,
That made the blind to ſee:
They make a god for mice and rats,
And ſay the ſame is he.
They look like ſheep, and act like wolves,
Their baits be all for blood:
They kill and ſlay the ſimple ſouls,
And rob them of their good.

The dark illuſions of the devil
Have dimmed ſo their eyes,
That they cannot abide the truth
To ſtir in any wiſe.
And if ye keep the perfect path
(As I have hope you do)
Ye ſhall be ſure to have ſuch ſhame
As they may put you to.
For, all that lead a godly life,
Shall ſurely ſuffer loſs:
Likewiſe the world will ſeek their ſhame,
And make them kiſs the croſs.
Ye ſhall be killed all, ſaith Chriſt:
Your ſorrows ſhall not ceaſe:
And yet in your afflictions,
I am your perfect peace.
For in the world ye ſhall have woe;
Becauſe ye are unknown:
Alſo becauſe ye hate the world,
The world will love his own.
Be fervent therefore to the death,
Againſt all their decrees:
And God ſhall ſurely fight for thee,
Againſt thine enemies.
Commit your cauſe unto the Lord,
Revenge not any ill;
And thou ſhalt ſee the wicked want,
When thou ſhalt have thy will,
For all afflictions that may fall,
That they can ſay or do:
They are not ſure of all the wealth
That we attain unto.
For I have ſeen the ſinners ſpread
Their branches like a bay;
And yet ere one could turn his head,
Were wither'd clean away.
Beware that money make you not
In riches to ariſe
Againſt the goodneſs of the Lord,
Among the worldly wiſe.
For many miſchiefs it hath made,
That may not be expreſs'd:
And many ills it hath begun,
Which may not be redreſs'd.
For money maketh many a one
In riches to rebel:
And he that maketh gold a god,
He hath a ſoul to ſell.
It maketh kings to kill and ſlay,
And waſte their wits in war;
In leaving of the wolf at home,
To hunt the fox afar.
And where they ſhould ſee juſtice done,
And ſet their realm in reſt;
By money they be made a means
To ſee the poor oppreſt.
It maketh lords obey the laws,
That they do ill and naught;
It maketh biſhops ſuck the blood
That God hath dearly bought.
And where they ſhould be faithful friends,
And fathers to their flock,
By money they do turn about,
Ev'n like a weathercock.
The prieſt doth make a money mean,
To have again his whores:
To put away his wedded wife,
And children out of doors.
It holdeth back the huſbandman,
Which may not be forborn:
And will not ſuffer him to ſow,
And caſt abroad his corn.
In like caſe it doth let again,
When that the ſeed they ſow:
It choaketh up the corn again,
So that it cannot grow.
The huſband he would have a wife,
With nobles new and old:
The wife would have the huſband hang'd,
That ſhe might have his gold.
It maketh murd'rers many a one,
And beareth much with blood:
The child would ſee the parents ſlain,
To ſeize upon their good.
And though it be a bleſſed thing,
Created in the kind;
It is a neceſſary ill
Annexed to the mind.
For whoſo playeth with the pitch,
His fingers are defil'd;
And he that maketh gold a god,
Shall ſurely be beguil'd.
Be friendly to the fatherleſs,
And all that are oppreſt:
Aſſiſt them always out of hand,
And ſee them ſet at reſt.
In all your doings and your deeds,
Let mercy ſtill remain;
For with the meaſure that ye mete,
Shall ye be met again,
Be always lowly in your life;
Let love enjoy her own:
The higheſt trees are ſeldom ſure,
And ſooneſt overthrown.
The lions lack and ſuffer ſore.
In hunger and in thirſt:
And they that do oppreſs the poor,
Continue ſtill accurſt.
The bee is but a little beaſt
In body or in ſight,
And yet ſhe bringeth more increaſe
Than either crow or kite.
Therefore beware in any wiſe,
Keep well your watch alway:
Be ſure of oil within your lamp;
Let not your light decay.
For death deſpiſeth them that lack,
And hateth them that have;
And treadeth down the rich and poor
Together in the grave.
Exhort your children to be chaſte,
Rebuke them for their ill,
And let them not in any wiſe
Be wedded to their will.
Laugh not with them, but keep them low.
Shew them no merry chear,
Leſt thou do weep with them alſo:
But bring them up in fear.
And let your light and living ſhine,
That ye be not ſuſpected
To have the ſame within yourſelf,
For which they are corrected.
Be meek and modeſt, in a mean
Let all your deeds be done,
That they which are without the law
May ſee how right ye run.
Keep well the member in your mouth,
Your tongue ſee that ye tame;
For out of little ſparks of fire
Proceedeth out a flame.
And as the poiſon doth expreſs
The nature of the toad;
Ev'n ſo the tongue doth manifeſt
The heart that feareth God.
For therewith bleſs we God above,
And therewith curſe we men;
And thereby murders do ariſe,
Through women now and then.
And ſeeing God hath giv'n a tongue,
And put it under power,
The ſureſt way it is, to ſet
A hatch before the door.
For God hath ſet you in a ſeat
Of double low degree;
For unto God, and then to man,
A ſubject for to be.
I write not that I ſee in you
Theſe things to be ſuſpected,
But only ſet before your face,
How ſin ſhould be corrected.
For fleſh and blood I know ye are,
As other women be;
And if ye dwell in fleſh and blood,
There is infirmity.
Receive a warning willingly,
That to thy teeth is told:
Account the gift of greater price
Than if he gave thee gold.
A wiſe man will, ſaith Solomon,
A warning ſoon embrace:
A fool will ſooner (as he ſaith)
Be ſmitten on the face.
And as your members muſt be dead
From all things that are vain:
Ev'n ſo by baptiſm ye are born
To live with Chriſt again.
Thus farewel, free and faithful friend;
The Lord that is above
Increaſe in thee a perfect faith,
And lead thee in his love.
And as I pray with perfect love,
And pour out bitter tears
For you and all that are at large
Abroad among the briers;
Ev'n ſo I pray thee to prefer
My perſon and my bands,
Unto the everlaſting God
That hath me in his hands.
That I may paſs out of this pond,
Wherein I am oppreſt,
Incloſed in a clod of clay,
That here can have no reſt.
That as he hath begun in me
His mercies many one,
I may attain to overtake
My brethren that are gone.
That when the death ſhall do his worſt,
Where he ſhall point a place,
I may be able like a man
To look him in the face.
For though he catch away my cloak,
My body into duſt:
Yet am I ſure to have a ſoul,
When death hath done his worſt.
And though I leave a little duſt
Diſſolved without blood;
I ſhall receive it ſafe again,
When God ſhall ſee it good.
For my Redeemer I am ſure
Doth live for evermore,
And ſitteth high upon the heavens,
For whom I hunger ſore.
Ev'n as the deer with deadly wounds
Eſcaped from the ſpoil,
Doth haſte by all the means he may
To ſeek unto the ſoil;
Of whom I hope to have a crown,
That always ſhall remain;
And to enjoy a perfect peace
For all my woe and pain.
The God that giveth all increaſe,
And ſeeketh ſtill to ſave,
Abound in thee that perfect peace,
Which I do hope to have.
And I beſeech the living God
To hold thee in his hands,
And wiſh thee ev'n with all my heart,
The bleſſing of my bands;
Which I eſteem of higher price
Than pearl or precious ſtone;
And ſhall endure for evermore,
When earthly things are gone.
For though the fire do conſume
Our treaſure and our ſtore,
Yet ſhall the goodneſs of the Lord
Endure for evermore.
And where thou art a friend to him
That is to me full dear,
That God of might make thee amends,
When all men ſhall appear.
That hath ſhewed mercy to the meek,
And rid them out of pain:
And thus the Lord poſſeſs thy ſpirit,
Till we do meet again.

If thou wilt have a recompence,
Abide ſtill in obedience.

The Exhortation of Robert Smith to his Children, commonly ſet out in the Name of Mr. Rogers.

GIVE ear, my children, to my words,
Whom God hath dearly bought:
Lay up my law within your heart,
And print it in your thought.
For I your father have foreſeen
The frail and filthy way,
Which fleſh and blood would follow fain
Even to their own decay.
For all and every living beaſt
Their crib do know full well:
But Adam's heirs, above the reſt,
Are ready to rebel:
And all the creatures on the earth
Full well can keep their way:
But man, above all other beaſts,
Is apt to go aſtray.
For earth and aſhes is his ſtrength,
His glory and his reign;
And unto aſhes at the length
Shall he return again.
For fleſh doth flouriſh like a flower,
And grow up like the graſs,
And is conſumed in an hour,
As it is brought to paſs
In me, the image of your years,
Your treaſure and your truſt:
Whom ye do ſee before your face,
Diſſolved into duſt.

For

For as you ſee your father's fleſh
Converted into clay:
Even ſo ſhall ye, my children dear,
Conſume and wear away.
The ſun and moon, and all the ſtars,
That ſerve the day and night:
The earth and ev'ry earthly thing
Shall be conſumed quite.
And all the worſhip that is wrought,
That hath been heard or ſeen,
Shall clean conſume and come to nought,
As it had never been.
Therefore that ye may follow me,
Your father and your friend,
And enter into that ſame life,
Which never ſhall have end:
I leave you here a little book,
For you to look upon:
That you may ſee your father's face
When I am dead and gone.
Who for the hope of heav'nly things,
While he did here remain,
Gave over all his golden years
In priſon and in pain;
Where I among mine iron bands,
Incloſed in the dark,
Not many days before my death
Did dedicate this work,
To you mine heirs of earthly things,
Which I have left behind:
That ye may read and underſtand,
And keep it in your mind.
That as you have been heirs of that
Which once ſhall wear away:
Even ſo ye may poſſeſs the part
Which never ſhall decay.
In following of your father's foot,
In truth and alſo love:
That ye may likewiſe be his heirs
For evermore above.
And in example to your youth,
To whom I wiſh all good,
I preach you here a perfect faith,
And ſeal it with my blood.
Have God always before your eyes,
In all your whole intents:
Commit not ſin in any wiſe,
Keep his commandments.
Abhor that arrant whore of Rome,
And all her blaſphemies;
And drink not of her decretals,
Nor yet of her decrees.
Give honour to your mother dear,
Remember well her pain:
And recompenſe her in her age,
In like with love again.
Be always aiding at her hand,
And let her not decay:
Remember well your father's fall,
That ſhould have been her ſtay.
Give of your portion to the poor,
As riches do ariſe;
And from the needy naked ſoul
Turn not away your eyes.
For he that will not hear the cry
Of ſuch as are in need:
Shall cry himſelf and not be heard,
When he would hope to ſpeed.
If God have giv'n you great increaſe,
And bleſſed well your ſtore:
Remember ye are put in truſt,
To miniſter the more.
Beware of foul and filthy luſt,
Let whoredom have no place:
Keep clean your veſſels in the Lord,
That he may you embrace.
Ye are the temples of the Lord,
For ye are dearly bought:
And they that do defile the ſame,
Shall ſurely come to nought.
Poſſeſs not pride in any caſe,
Build not your neſts too high:
But have always before your face,
That ye be born to die.
Defraud not him that hired is,
Your labours to ſuſtain;
But give him always out of hand,
His penny for his pain.
And as ye would that other men
Againſt you ſhould proceed;
Do ye the ſame again to them
When they do ſtand in need.
And part your portion with the poor,
In money and in meat:
And feed the fainted feeble ſoul,
With that which ye ſhould eat,
That when your members lacketh meat
And cloathing to your back,
Ye may the better think on them
That now do live and lack.
Aſk counſel alſo at the wiſe,
Give ear unto the end:
Refuſe not you the ſweet rebuke
Of him that is your friend.
Be thankful always to the Lord,
With prayer and with praiſe:
Deſire you him in all your deeds,
For to direct your ways:
And ſin not like that ſwiniſh ſort,
Whoſe bellies being fed,
Conſume their years upon the earth
From belly unto bed.
Seek firſt, I ſay, the living God;
Set him always before;
And then be ſure that he will bleſs
Your baſket and your ſtore.
And thus if you direct your days
According to this book,
Then ſhall they ſay that ſee your ways,
How like me you do look.
And when you have ſo perfectly,
Upon your fingers ends,
Poſſeſſed all within your book,
Then give it to your friends.
And I beſeech the living God,
Repleniſh you with grace,
That I may have you in the heav'ns,
And ſee you face to face.
And though the ſword have cut me off,
Contrary to my kind,
That I could not enjoy your love,
According to my mind:
Yet I do hope when that the heav'ns
Shall vaniſh like a ſcroll,
I ſhall receive your perfect ſhape,
In body and in ſoul.
And that I may enjoy your love,
And you enjoy the land,
I do beſeech the living God
To hold you in his hand.
Farewel, my children, from the world,
Where ye muſt yet remain:
The Lord of hoſts be your defence,
Till we do meet again.
Farewel, my love, and loving wife,
My children and my friends:
I hope to God to have you all
When all things have their ends.
And if you do abide in God,
As you have now begun;
Your courſe I warrant will be ſhort,
Ye have not far to run.
God grant you ſo to end your years
As he ſhall think it beſt;
That ye may enter into heav'n,
Where I do hope to reſt.

Written at the Requeſt of a Lady in her Book.

IF you will walk the way
That Chriſt hath you aſſign'd,
Then learn this little verſe,
Which I have left behind.
Be fervent in the truth,
Although it bear the blame;
Likewiſe apply your youth
To ſtick unto the ſame:
That when old age is come,
And death begins to call,
The truth may be your ſtaff,
To ſtay you up withal.
And though it bring rebuke,
And make you kiſs the croſs,
Yet is it a reward
To all that ſuffer loſs.
For here we do lay out
The things that be but vain;
But we are ſure to reap
The things that do remain.
For all that ye do loſe,
Is but a ſinful ſlime,
And like unto a roſe
That tarrieth but a time.
But if ye carry Chriſt,
And walk the perfect way,
Ye ſhall poſſeſs the gold,
That never ſhall decay.
And all your father's goods
Shall be your recompence,
If ye confeſs the word
With double diligence.
Not only for to hear
His pure and perfect word,
But alſo to embrace
The fire and the ſword.
And if ye keep this path,
And do not run a-crook,
Then ſhall ye meet the man
That writ this in your book,
In that eternal joy,
That always ſhall remain:
Thus farewell, faithful friend,
Till we do meet again.

Legem pone.

TEACH me, O Lord, to walk thy ways,
My living to amend,
And I ſhall keep it all my days,
Even to my life's end.
Give me a mind to underſtand,
So ſhall I never ſtart:
But I ſhall keep all thy precepts,
Ev'n wholly with my heart.
Make me to go a perfect pace
In what I have begun:
For all my love and my delight,
Is in thy ways to run.
Incline my heart unto thy ways,
Set thou thereon my thought:
And let me not conſume my days,
To covet what is naught.
O quicken me in all thy ways,
The world now to deſpiſe:
And from all fond and fooliſh toys
Turn thou away mine eyes.
O plant in me thy perfect word,
Which is to me ſo dear:
Lay up thy laws within my heart,
To keep me ſtill in fear.
And rid me of that great rebuke
Which I do fear full ſore;
For all thy judgments and thy law
Endure for evermore.
Behold, O Lord, in thy precepts
Is all my whole delight:
O quicken me in all thy ways,
That I may walk aright.

To his Brother.

AS nature doth me bind,
Becauſe thou art my blood,
According to my kind,
To give thee of my good.
That thou may'ſt have in mind
How I have run my race,
Although thou ſtay'ſt behind
But for a little ſpace.
I give thee here a pearl,
The price of all my good,
For which I leave my life,
To buy it with my blood.
More worth than all the world,
Or aught that I can note,
Although it be be-clad
In ſuch a ſimple coat.
For when I had obtain'd
This pearl of ſuch a price,
Then was I ſure I gain'd
The way for to be wiſe.
It taught me how to fight,
My fleſh for to deſpiſe,
To ſtick unto the light,
Alſo to leave the lyes.
In ſending out my ſeed
With bonds and bitter tears,
That I might reap with joy
In everlaſting years:
And have for all my loſs,
My travail and my pain,
A thouſand times and more
Of better goods again.
And for becauſe the good
That hath been got and gain'd,
And that the Lord's elect
Hath evermore obtain'd,

Is cloſed in this book
Which I do give to thee:
Wherein I have my part,
As thou thyſelf may'ſt ſee.
In which I hope thou haſt
A ſtock alſo in ſtore:
And wilt not ceaſe to ſail,
Till God hath made it more.
I will thee to beware,
Be ſure thou keep it well:
For if thou do it loſe,
Thy part ſhall be in hell.
And here I teſtify
Before the living God,
That I deteſt to do
The things that are forbid.
And as my judgment is,
My body to be brent,
My heart is ſurely ſet
Therewith to be content.
And ſince it is his will
To put in me his power,
Upon his holy hill
To fight againſt this whore;
Full well I am content,
If he allow it ſo,
To ſtand with all my might
The whore to overthrow.
Even with a willing mind,
The death I will outface:
And as I am aſſur'd
The battle to embrace.
That they which hear the truth,
How I have paſt the pike,
May ſet aſide their youth,
And learn to do the like.

And though it be my lot
To let her ſuck my blood,
Yet am I well aſſured,
It ſhall do her no good.
For ſhe is ſet to kill
The things ſhe thinks accurſt,
And ſhall not have her fill
Of blood until ſhe burſt.
And when thou ſhalt perceive,
Or hear of my deceaſe,
Pray to the living God
That I may paſs in peace.
And when I am at reſt,
And rid out of my pain;
Then will I do the like
For thee to God again.
And to my woful wife,
And widow deſolate,
Whom I do leave behind,
In ſuch a ſimple ſtate:
Encompaſſed with tears,
And mournings many one;
Be thou her ſtaying ſtaff
When I am dead and gone.
My mouth may not expreſs
The dolours of my mind.
Nor yet my heavineſs
To leave her here behind.
But as thou art my bone,
My brother and my blood,
So let her have thy heart,
If it may do her good.
I took her from the world,
And made her like the croſs:
But if ſhe hold her own,
She ſhall not ſuffer loſs.

For where ſhe had before
A man unto her make,
That by the force of fire
Was ſtrangled at a ſtake;
Now ſhall ſhe have a king
To be her helping hand:
To whom pertain all things
That are within the land.
Alſo my daughter dear,
Whom I bequeath to thee,
To be brought up in fear,
And learn the A B C.
That ſhe may grow in grace
And ruled by thy rod:
To learn and lead her life
Within the fear of God.
And always have in mind,
Thy brother being dead,
That thou art left behind,
A father in my ſtead.
And thou, my brother dear,
Who art my mother's ſon,
Come forth out of all fear,
And do as I have done:
And God ſhall be thy guide,
And give thee ſuch increaſe,
That in the flame of fire
Thou ſhalt have perfect peace,
Into eternal joy,
And paſs out of all pain;
Where we ſhall meet with mirth,
And never part again.

If thou wilt do my daughter good,
Be mindful of thy brother's blood.

To all which love God unfeignedly, and intend to lead a godly Life, according to his Goſpel, and to perſevere in his Truth unto the End.

GRACE and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Amen.

Be not afraid, moſt dearly beloved in our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, at theſe moſt perilous days, wherein by the ſufferance of God, the prince of darkneſs is broken looſe, and rageth in his members againſt the elect of God with all cruelty, to ſet up again the kingdom of Antichriſt: againſt whom ſee that ye be ſtrong in faith, to reſiſt his moſt deviliſh doctrine with the pure goſpel of God, arming yourſelves with patience to abide whatſoever ſhall be laid to your charge for the truth's ſake, knowing that thereunto ye be called, not only to believe in him, but alſo to ſuffer for him. O how happy are ye that in the ſight of God are counted worthy to ſuffer for the teſtimony of Chriſt! Quiet therefore yourſelves, O my loving brethren, and rejoice in him for whom ye ſuffer: for unto you do remain the unſpeakable joys, which neither the eye hath ſeen, nor the ear hath heard, neither the heart of man is able to comprehend in any wiſe. Be not afraid of the bodily death, for your names are written in the book of life. And the prophets do record, that in the ſight of the Lord precious is the death of his ſaints. Watch therefore and pray, that ye be not prevented in the day of temptation. Now cometh the day of your trial, wherein the waters rage, and the ſtormy winds blow. Now ſhall it appear, whether ye have built upon the fleeting ſand, or upon the immoveable rock Chriſt, which is the foundation of the apoſtles and prophets: whereon every houſe that is built, groweth into an holy temple of the Lord, by the mighty working of the Holy Ghoſt. Now approacheth the day of your battle, wherein it is required that ye ſhew yourſelves the valiant ſoldiers of Chriſt Jeſus, with the armour of God, that ye may be able to ſtand faſt againſt all the crafty aſſaults of the devil. Chriſt is your captain, and ye be his ſoldiers, whoſe cognizance is the croſs, to which he willingly humbled himſelf even unto the death, and thereby ſpoiled his enemies, and now he triumpheth over them in the glory of his Father, making interceſſion for them that here do remain to ſuffer the afflictions that are to be fulfilled in his myſtical body.

It behoveth therefore every one that will be counted his ſcholar, to take up his own croſs and follow him, as ye have him for enſample: and I aſſure you that he being on your ſide, nothing ſhall be able to prevail againſt you. And that he will be with you even to the world's end, ye have his promiſe in Matthew 28. He will go forth with his hoſt as a conqueror to make a conqueſt. He is the man that ſitteth on the white horſe, crowned with immortality, and ye brethren are his fellowſhip, whereof he is the head. He hath your heart in his hand, as a bow bent after his godly will; he ſhall direct the ſame according to the riches of his glory, into all ſpiritual and heavenly cogitations. He is faithful, and will not ſuffer you to be further aſſaulted than he will give you ſtrength to overcome, and in the moſt danger he will make a way that ye may be able to bear it.

Shrink not therefore, dear hearts, when ye ſhall be called to anſwer for the hope that is in you: for we have the Comforter, even the Spirit of truth which was ſent from the heavens to teach us: He ſhall ſpeak in us, he ſhall ſtrengthen us: what is he then that ſhall be able to confound us? Nay, what tyrant is he that now boaſteth himſelf of his ſtrength to do miſchief, whom the Lord ſhall not with the ſame Spirit, by the mouth of his ſervants, ſtrike down to hell fire? Yea, ſuddenly will the Lord bring down the glory of the proud Philiſtines, by the hands of his ſervant David. Their ſtrength is in the ſpear and ſhield, but our help is in the name of the Lord, which made both heaven and earth. He is our buckler and wall, a ſtrong tower of defence. He is our God, and we are his people. He ſhall bring the counſels of the ungodly to nought. He ſhall take them in their own net. He ſhall deſtroy them in their own inventions. The right hand of the Lord ſhall work this wonder. His power is known among the children of men. Their fathers have felt it, and are confounded. In like manner ſhall they know that there is no counſel againſt the Lord, when their ſecrets are opened to the whole world, and are found to be againſt the living God. Work they never ſo craftily, build they never ſo ſtrongly, yet down ſhall their rabble fall, and the builders themſelves ſhall then be ſcattered upon the face of the earth,

earth, as accurſed of God. The juſt ſhall ſee this and be glad, and praiſe the name of the Lord, that ſo marvellouſly hath dealt with his ſervants, as to bring their enemies under their feet. Then ſhall the fearful ſeed of Cain tremble and quake. Then ſhall the mocking Iſhmaelite be caſt out of door. Then ſhall the proud Nimrod ſee his labour loſt. Then ſhall the beaſt of Babylon be trodden under foot. Then ſhall the ſcribes and phariſees for madneſs fret and rage. Then ſhall their painted wiſdom be known for extreme folly. Then ſhall the bloody dragon be void of his prey. Then ſhall the whore of Babylon receive double vengeance. Then ſhall they ſcratch their crowns for the fall of their miſtreſs harlot, whom they now ſerve for filthy lucre; when no man will buy their wares any more. Then ſhall the popiſh prieſthood cry alas, with care, even when the Lord ſhall help his ſervants; which day is not far off, the day wherein the kingdom of Antichriſt ſhall have an end, and never riſe any more. In the mean time abide in certain and ſure hope, cleaving to the promiſes of God, which in their own time ſhall be fulfilled.

Acquit yourſelves like men againſt the enemies of God in all humility of mind, be ſtrong in ſpirit to acknowledge one God, one holy Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, one only, everlaſting and ſufficient ſacrifice for the remiſſion of ſins, even the precious body of the Lord Jeſus once offered for all and for ever. Who now ſitteth at the right hand of God, and from thence ſhall he come to judge both the quick and the dead at the laſt day; and until that time occupieth the bleſſed body none other place to dwell in, to be kept in, to be encloſed in, but only in the heavens, even in the glorious Majeſty of God, perſonally abiding there in the fleſh, not coming down from thence till the laſt hour. And as he never ceaſeth to be man, ſo doth he never loſe the ſimilitude of man; his body there hath his lineaments, he leaveth them not, ſo hath that body there his highneſs, and ſhrinketh not, and his bodily ſhape he altereth not at any time. He is, in that he took of the virgin Mary, a natural man in all conditions, except ſin.

And what he took of his bleſſed mother, by the working of the Holy Ghoſt, he took it for ever, and will not exchange the ſame for any other. He took the ſhape of a man with the ſubſtance of his manhood, in one ſacred womb. There were they two coupled together by the Holy Ghoſt, never to be divided aſunder. He retaineth the one with the other inſeparably. As he will not alter the ſubſtance of his fleſh into the ſubſtance of bread, no more will he alter the ſhape of his body into the form of bread. There cannot be a greater abſurdity againſt the truth, than to think that he would leave the ſhape that he took in the virgin's womb, being an accident unto his manhood, and join unto the ſame a wafer-cake baked in an oven, or between a pair of irons. As he is in heaven very man, one only mediator between God and man, even the Man Chriſt Jeſus, he it is that is the propitiation for our ſins. Be bold therefore to confeſs this moſt pure and apoſtolical doctrine; and alſo that all favour, mercy, and forgiveneſs cometh only by him. He only of God the Father was made for us all wiſdom, righteouſneſs, ſanctification and redemption. All theſe are the gifts of God the Father, freely given unto us by Chriſt Jeſus God and man, through faith in his blood, and not by the merits of men; gifts they are, I ſay, freely given unto us of favour, without our deſert, by believing, and not by deſerving. To this do the law and the prophets witneſs.

This doctrine have all the bleſſed martyrs of Chriſt's church witneſſed with their blood to be true. To this truth have all the conſciences of all true believers ſubſcribed ever ſince the aſcenſion of Chriſt. This witneſs is not of man, but of God. What better quarrel then can ye have to give your lives for, than the truth itſelf? That man that giveth his life for the truth, taketh the readieſt way to life. He that hath the pope's curſe for the truth, is ſure of Chriſt's bleſſing. Well then, my brethren, what ſhall now hinder you from going forward as ye have begun? Nay, rather run with the runners, that ye may obtain the appointed glory. Hold on the right way, look not back; have the eye of your heart fixed upon God, and ſo run, that ye may get hold of it. Caſt away all your worldly pelf, and worldly reſpects, as the favour of friends, the fear of men, ſenſual affection, reſpect of perſons, honour, praiſe, ſhame, rebuke, wealth, poverty, riches, lands, poſſeſſions, carnal fathers and mothers, wife and children, with the love of your ownſelves; and in reſpect of that heavenly treaſure ye look for, let all theſe be denied, and utterly refuſed of you, ſo that in no condition they do abate your zeal, or quench your love towards God. In this caſe make no account of them, but rather repute them as vile in compariſon of everlaſting life. Away with them as thorns that choak the heavenly ſeed of the goſpel, where they be ſuffered to grow. They are burdens of the fleſh, which encumber the ſoul. Exchange them therefore for advantage. Doth not he gain, that findeth heavenly and immortal treaſure, for earthly and corruptible riches? Loſeth that man any thing, who is forſaken of his carnal father and mother, when he is received of God the Father, to be his child and heir in Chriſt? Heavenly for earthly, immortal for mortal, permanent for tranſitory, is infinite gain to a chriſtian conſcience.

Therefore, as I began, I exhort you in the Lord, not to be afraid. Shrink not, my brethren; miſtruſt not God; be of good comfort; rejoice in the Lord; hold faſt your faith, and continue to the end. Deny the world, and take up your croſs, and follow him who is your leader, and is gone before. If you ſuffer with him, you ſhall reign with him. What way can you glorify the name of your heavenly Father better, than by ſuffering death for his Son's ſake? What a ſpectacle ſhall it be to the world to behold ſo godly a fellowſhip as you ſervants of God, in ſo juſt a quarrel as the goſpel of Chriſt is, with ſo pure a conſcience, ſo ſtrong a faith, and ſo lively a hope, to offer yourſelves to ſuffer moſt cruel torments at the hands of God's enemies, and ſo to end your days in peace, to receive in the reſurrection of the righteous, life everlaſting?

Be ſtrong therefore in your battle: the Lord God is on your ſide, and his truth is your cauſe; and againſt you be none but the enemies of the croſs of Chriſt, as the ſerpent and his ſeed, the dragon with his tail, the marked men of the beaſt, the offſpring of the phariſees, the congregation malignant, the generation of vipers, murderers, as their father the devil hath been from the beginning. To conclude, ſuch are they as the Lord hath always abhorred, and in all ages reſiſted and overthrown. God, from whom nothing is hid, knoweth what they are. He that ſearcheth the hearts of men, hath found out them to be crafty, ſubtil, full of poiſon, proud, diſdainful, ſtiff-necked, devourers, raveners, and barkers againſt the truth, filthy and ſhameleſs: and therefore doth the Spirit of God, by the mouths of his holy prophets and apoſtles, call them by the names of foxes, ſerpents, cockatrices, lions, leopards, bulls, bears, wolves, dogs, ſwine, beaſts; teaching us thereby to underſtand, that their natural inclination is, to deceive, poiſon, and deſtroy (as much as in them lieth) the faithful and elect of God, but the Lord with his right arm ſhall defend his little flock againſt the whole rabblement of theſe worldlings, who have conſpired againſt him: he hath numbered all the hairs of his children's head, ſo that one of them ſhall not periſh without his fatherly will. He keepeth the ſparrows, much more will he preſerve them whom he hath purchaſed with the blood of the immaculate Lamb. He will keep them unto the hour appointed, wherein the name of God ſhall be glorified in his ſaints. In the mean time let them work their wills, let them envy, let them malign, let them blaſpheme, let them curſe, betray, whip, ſcourge, hang and burn: for by theſe means

God will try his elect as gold in the furnace; and by theſe fruits ſhall they alſo bring themſelves to be known what they be, for all their ſheep-ſkins. For as he that in ſuffering patiently for the goſpel of God, is thereby known to be of Chriſt; even ſo is the perſecutor of him known to be a member of Antichriſt. Beſides this, their extreme cruelty ſhall be a means the ſooner to provoke God to take pity upon his ſervants, and to deſtroy them that ſo tyrannically treat his people; as we may learn by the hiſtories, as well in the bondage of Iſrael under Pharaoh in Egypt, as alſo in the miſerable captivity of Judah in Babylon: where, when the people of God were in moſt extreme thraldom, then did the Lord ſtretch forth his mighty power to deliver his ſervants. Though God for a time ſuffer them to be exalted in their own pride, yet ſhall they not eſcape his vengeance. They are his rods; and when he hath worn them to the ſtumps, he will caſt them in the fire; this ſhall be their final reward. In the mean while our duty is, patiently to abide the will of God, which worketh all things for the beſt.

Thus dealeth he with us, partly for our trial, partly alſo for our ſins, which we moſt grievouſly have committed to the great ſlander of his goſpel, whereby the name of God was evil ſpoken of among his enemies; for which he now puniſheth us with his fatherly corrections in this world, that we ſhould not be damned with the world. By this means he ſeeketh his ſheep that were loſt, to bring them home to the fold again. By this way ſeeketh he to reform us, that we may be like unto him after the image of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, in all holineſs and righteouſneſs before him. Finally, this way uſeth his godly wiſdom, to make us thereby to know him, and ourſelves in him, that aforetime had in a manner forgotten him, praiſed be his name therefore. And as for thoſe Balaamites who now moleſt us, commit them to the hands of God, give him the vengeance, and he will reward them. Fall ye to prayer, and let theſe belly-gods prate. For he is in heaven, and ſleepeth not, that keepeth Iſrael. He is in heaven that made the ſeas calm, when the diſciples were afraid. Let us now faithfully call upon him, and he will hear us. Let us cry unto the Lord, for he is gracious and merciful. When we are in trouble he is with us, he will deliver us, and he will glorify us. If we come unto him, we ſhall find him turned unto us. If we repent of our wickedneſs done againſt him, then ſhall he take away the plague that he hath deviſed againſt us.

Let us therefore earneſtly repent, and bring forth the worthy fruits of repentance. Let us ſtudy to be his, then ſhall we not need to fear what theſe hypocrites do againſt us, who with their pretended holineſs deceive the hearts of the ſimple, and abuſe the authority of God in his princes, cauſing them (by their procurement) to teſtify their ambitious prelacy, and to erect up their idol again with the Romiſh maſs. God, in whoſe hands are the hearts of kings, open the heart of the queen's highneſs, to eſpy them out what they be, and ſo to weed them out, that they be no longer ſuffered to trouble the congregation of God, and to poiſon the realm with pope-holy doctrine. God Almighty for his Son Jeſus Chriſt's ſake deliver the queen's highneſs, and this her church and realm, from theſe proud prelates, who are as profitable in the church of Chriſt as a pole-cat in the midſt of a warren of conies.

To conclude, my brethren, I commit you to God, and to the power of his word; which is able to eſtabliſh you in all truth. His Spirit be with you, and work alway that ye may be mindful of your duties towards him, whoſe ye are both body and ſoul. Whom ſee that ye love, ſerve, dread, and obey, above all worldly powers, and for nothing under the heavens defile your conſcience before God. Diſſemble not with his word; God will not be mocked, nay, they that diſſemble with him deceive themſelves. Such ſhall the Lord deny, and caſt out at the laſt day: ſuch, I ſay, as bear two faces in one hood, ſuch as deny the known truth; ſuch as obſtinately rebel againſt him. All ſuch, with their partakers, ſhall the Lord deſtroy. God defend you from all ſuch, and make you perfect unto the end. Your ſorrow ſhall be turned into joy.

Another Letter ſent to his Wife.

THE God and Father eternal, who brought again from death our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, keep thee, dear wife, now and ever, Amen; thy parents, and all thy friends. I praiſe God for his mercy, I am in the ſame ſtate that ye left me in, rather better than worſe, looking daily for the living God, before whom I hunger full ſore to appear, and receive the glory, of which I truſt thou art willing to be partaker. I give God moſt hearty thanks therefore, deſiring thee of all loves, to ſtand in that faith which thou haſt received; and let no man take away the ſeed that Almighty God hath ſown in thee, but lay hands on everlaſting life which ſhall ever abide, when both the earth and all earthly friends ſhall periſh, deſiring them alſo to receive thankfully our trouble which is momentary and light, and as St. Paul ſaith, not worthy to be compared with thoſe things which God hath prepared for us; that we patiently carrying our croſs, may attain to the place where our Saviour Chriſt is gone before, to which I beſeech God of his mercy bring us ſpeedily. I have been much troubled about your deliverance, fearing much the perſuaſion of worldlings, and have found a friend, who will (I truſt) find a means for you, if you be not already provided, deſiring you in any caſe to abide ſuch order, as thoſe my friends ſhall appoint in God. And bear well in mind the words which I ſpake at our parting, that as God hath found us, and alſo elected us as worthy to ſuffer for him, we may endeavour ourſelves to follow uprightly in this our vocation, deſiring you to preſent my hearty commendations to all our friends, and eſpecially to your parents, keeping your ſentiments cloſe in any wiſe. Give moſt hearty thanks to my friend, who is come to Windſor only for our cauſe. Continue in prayer. Do well. Be faultleſs in all things. Beware of abominations. Keep yourſelf clean from ſin. Pray for me, as I do for you. I have ſent you a piece of gold for a token, and moſt entirely deſire you to ſend me word if ye lack any thing. The Lord Jeſus preſerve you and yours, Amen. From Newgate, April 15.

By your huſband here and in heaven,
Robert Smith.

The ſaid Robert Smith, the valiant and conſtant martyr of Chriſt, being thus repleniſhed, as ye have heard, with the fortitude of God's Spirit, was condemned at London by Bonner their biſhop, on the 12th day of July; and ſuffered at Uxbridge the 8th day of Auguſt; who as he had been a comfortable inſtrument of God to all them that were in priſon with him: ſo now alſo being at the ſtake, he did no leſs comfort the people, there ſtanding about him, willing them to think well of his cauſe, and not to doubt but that his body dying in that quarrel, ſhould riſe again to life. And, ſaid he, I doubt not but God will ſhew you ſome token thereof. At length he being well nigh half burnt, and all black with fire, cluſtered together as in a lump like a black coal, all men thinking him for dead, ſuddenly roſe upright before the people, lifting up the ſtumps of his arms, and clapping the ſame together, declaring a rejoicing heart unto them; and ſo bending down again, and hanging over the fire, ſlept in the Lord, and ended this mortal life.

A Sententious Letter written by Robert Smith, to Anne Smith his Wife.

SEEK firſt to love God, dear wife, with your whole heart, and then ſhall it be eaſy to love your neighbour.

Be

Be friendly to all creatures, and eſpecially to your own ſoul.

Be always an enemy to the devil and the world, but eſpecially to your own fleſh.

In hearing of good things, join the ears of your head and heart together.

Seek unity and quietneſs with all men, but eſpecially with your conſcience; for he will not eaſily be intreated.

Love all people, but eſpecially your enemies.

Hate the ſins that are paſt, but eſpecially thoſe to come.

Be as ready to further your enemy, as he is to hinder you, that ye may be the child of God.

Defile not that which Chriſt hath cleanſed, leſt his blood be laid to your charge.

Remember that God hath hedged in your tongue with the teeth and lips, that it might ſpeak under correction.

Be ready at all times to look to your brother's eye, but eſpecially in your own eye: For he that warneth others of what he himſelf is guilty, doth give his neighbour the clear wine, and keepeth the dregs to himſelf.

Beware of riches and worldly honour; for without underſtanding, prayer, and faſting, it is a ſnare, and alſo poverty, all which are like to conſuming fire, of which if a man take a little, it will warm him, but if he take too much, it will conſume him. For it is hard for a man to carry fire in his boſom, and not be burnt.

Shew mercy to the ſaints for Chriſt's ſake, and Chriſt ſhall reward you for the ſaints ſake. Among all other priſoners, viſit your own ſoul: for it is incloſed in a perilous priſon.

If you will love God, hate evil, and ye ſhall obtain the reward of well doing.

Thus fare you well, good Anne. Have me heartily commended to all that love the Lord unfeignedly. I beſeech you have me in your prayer while I am living, and I am aſſured the Lord will accept it. Bring up my children and yours in the fear of God, and then ſhall I not fail but receive you together in the everlaſting kingdom of God, which I go unto.

Your huſband,

Robert Smith.

If ye will meet with me again,
Forſake not Chriſt for any pain.

Another Letter ſent to his Wife.

THE grace of Almighty God be always with you, and comfort, ſtrengthen, and eſtabliſh you in all things, that what his bleſſed will is, ye may follow faithfully, to his honour, my comfort, and your own ſalvation, and the good example to our poſterity.

I have received your letter, and, I praiſe God, without any danger: nevertheleſs, if God's marvellous goodneſs had not brought it to my hands by Peter the keeper, there might have riſen a great trouble upon the ſame. For ye well know George is a wicked man, utterly without all fear of God; and if he had gotten it, the council would have ſurely ſeen it. But Peter, like an honeſt man, never opened it. Wherefore I deſire you from henceforth let your letters be delivered at Chancery-lane end, to my ſiſter Tankerfield, and ſhe may deliver them ſafe into my hand. We are very ſtraitly kept, I praiſe God of his mercy. Nevertheleſs Almighty God is always with us. I have ſent ye what ye wrote for. The two nutmegs that ſhould have gone by Nicholas to our friends, I ſend now, and deſire them to accept as a poor priſoner's gift, until God give more largely. Thomas Iveſon ſendeth you a penny, I pray you give him thanks for the ſame, and Dirick alſo. I have ſent you of that little that I have, two pieces of Spaniſh money. The Lord Jeſus have you in his cuſtody, and ſend you good ſpeed. In any caſe keep yourſelf cloſe, I doubt much of your walkings. Have my hearty commendations to your parents, and deſire them with you to have me in their prayers. Be fervent in prayer, pray, pray, pray, that God would of his mercy put up his ſword, and look on his people. Tell my brother, with commendations, that the next comer ſhall bring up the epiſtle and exhortation. I have written all this fortnight for my lady, yea, and almoſt done nothing elſe. I would have ſent him the articles of William Flower, and my talk with him, if I could have delivered it from the priſon. The Holy Ghoſt keep you. I wiſh ye could make a means for your money to ſend a cheeſe to Peter, for I find much kindneſs at his hand. Ye ſhall always hear of me at Tankerfield's houſe. All the congregation ſalute you. Fare you moſt heartily well.

I have not yet, tell my brother, ſpoke with the perſon. There is come a moſt ſtrict commandment, that no man muſt come to us, becauſe Tooly curſed the pope at the gallows. They thought it to be our counſel.

Yours, and ever yours,

Robert Smith.

Another Letter ſent to his Wife.

GRACE, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, be with you, dear wife, now and ever, Amen, and prevent your ways through his Holy Spirit, that ye may in all your words and works pleaſe God, and eſchew evil, to his honour and your ſalvation; that they which ſee your converſation may in all things learn to do the like, even to the utter ſhame and confuſion of the wicked and ungodly, Amen.

I ſent you by Mr. Alexander a purſe with money. I have certain tokens for you, ſent by my fellow-priſoners to you, that is, from Mr. Haukes 12 d. from Mr. Simſon 12 d. from his wife 4 d. from Mr. Watts five new groats; from Mr. Ardeley 12 d. from Mr. Bradford 12 d. which men are all gone to death, except Mr. Bradford, who ſtill remaineth. There is alſo gone to death Nicholas Chamberlain, Thomas Oſmond, William Bamford. There is alſo condemned this Monday, Dirick Carver, Thomas Iveſon, John Launder, and William Vaſſay is reprieved. Pray to God to have mercy upon his people; and bid my brother, if he can conveniently, come down on Monday next; if he cannot well do it, let him abide at home. Commend me heartily to your parents. I have ſent each of them a token, a bowed groat, and deſire them for God's ſake to help us with their prayers. Have little Katherine in mind. Commend me unto all good friends. Continue in prayer. Beware of vanity. Let not God be diſhonoured in your converſation, but, like a good matron, keep your veſſel in holineſs. The peace of God remain with you for ever, Amen.

My brother Iveſon ſendeth to you a token, to your mother a token, and to Katherine a token, three-pence. John Launder ſendeth you a piece of Spaniſh money. Father Herault a piece of ſix-pence. William Andrew ſendeth you a race of ginger; and I ſend your mother one, and a nutmeg. I ſend Katherine comfits for a token, to eat. I have ſent you a key-clog for a token.

Your huſband, Robert Smith.

A Letter ſent to his Friend.

THE eternal God keep you in his fear. I have hearty commendations to you and your huſband, beſeeching Almighty God to preſerve you in well-doing, and in perfect knowledge of his Chriſt, that you may be found faultleſs in the day of the Lord. I have heard ſay, that my friend is given over to vanity; it breaketh my heart, not only to hear that he ſo doth, but alſo teacheth others, that it is no crime to go to all abomination, which

now ſtand in the idols temples: nevertheleſs, dear friend, be ye not moved to follow ſinners, for they have no inheritance with God and Chriſt. But look, that by going into the idol temple, ye defile not the temple of God; for light hath no fellowſhip with darkneſs. But look what the Lord hath commanded, that do. For if not going to church were without perſecution, they would not learn you that leſſon. But all things that are ſweet to the fleſh, are allowed of the fleſhly. The Lord ſhall reward every man according to his works, and he that leadeth into captivity, ſhall go into captivity; and he that by the fleſhly man is led in the fleſh, ſhall of the fleſh reap corruption. The Lord Jeſus give thee his Holy Spirit, Amen.

I have ſent thee an epiſtle in metre, which is not to be laid up in thy coffer, but in thy heart.

Seek peace, and enſue it. Fear God, love God with all thy heart, with all thy ſoul, and with all thy ſtrength.

Thy friend, and all men's in Chriſt Jeſus,
Robert Smith.

Scribbled in much haſte from Newgate the twelfth of May.

Robert Smith to all the faithful Servants of Chriſt, exhorting them to be ſtrong under Perſecution.

COntent thyſelf with patience,
With Chriſt to bear the croſs of pain,
Which can and will thee recompence,
A thouſandfold with joys again.
Let nothing cauſe thy heart to quail,
Launch out thy boat, hale up thy ſail,
Put from the ſhore:
And be thou ſure thou ſhalt attain
Unto the port that ſhall remain
For evermore.

The Martyrdom of Stephen Harwood, and Thomas Fuſt.

ABOUT this time alſo died theſe two martyrs of God, Stephen Harwood at Stratford, and Thomas Fuſt at Ware. Who, as they were both burnt much about the ſame time (though not at the ſame place) with the aforeſaid Robert Smith and George Tankerfield, ſo were they likewiſe examined and openly condemned together with them; and as the proceedings againſt them all were alike, I thought it needleſs to repeat the ſame; only there is one thing more to be added concerning Thomas Fuſt, who at his laſt appearance on the twelfth of July, being moved by the biſhop to revoke his opinion, anſwered thus; No, my lord, for no truth cometh out of your mouth, but all lyes: ye condemn men, and will not hear the truth. Where can you find any anointing or greaſing in God's book? I ſpeak nothing but the truth, and I am certain that it is the truth that I ſpeak. This anſwer of Thomas Fuſt only I find noted by the regiſter; and how unfaithful theſe regiſters have been (I mean in omitting thoſe things that were moſt worthy of note, in order to render the martyrs ridiculous to the people) is very evident in many places of this hiſtory. But to be ſhort, when they had made their anſwers, both he and Stephen Harwood were, for their faithful perſeverance, condemned together by the biſhop in his accuſtomed pity, to be burnt as heretics, and ſo (as you have heard before) they finiſhed their martyrdom, the one at Stratford, and the other at Ware, in the month of Auguſt, and year aboveſaid.

The Martyrdom of William Hale, at Barnet.

OF the ſame company with thoſe ten before recorded, who were ſent to biſhop Bonner by Sir Nicholas Hare and other commiſſioners, in the company of George Tankerfield and Robert Smith, was alſo William Hale of Thorp in the county of Eſſex, who likewiſe being examined with the reſt, the twelfth of July, received with them alſo the ſentence of condemnation; giving this exhortation withal to the lookers-on: Ah, good people, ſaid he, beware of this idolater, and this Antichriſt (pointing to the biſhop of London), and ſo he was delivered to the ſheriffs to be burnt as an heretic, who ſent him to Barnet, where about the latter end of Auguſt he moſt conſtantly ſealed up his faith with the conſuming of his body by cruel fire, yielding his ſoul to the Lord Jeſus his only and moſt ſure Redeemer.

George King, Thomas Leyes, and John Wade, who fell ſick in Priſon, and dying were buried in the Fields.

YE heard before of ten ſundry perſons ſent out of Newgate by Mr. Hare and other commiſſioners, to be examined by Bonner biſhop of London: of whom ſix already have been executed in ſeveral places, as hath been ſhewed; whoſe names were Elizabeth Warne, George Tankerfield, Robert Smith, Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fuſt, and William Hale. The other three, namely, George King, Thomas Leyes, and John Wade, falling ſick in Lollard's Tower, were ſo weak that they were removed into ſundry houſes within the city of London, and there died, and were thrown out into the fields, and there buried in the night by ſome of the faithful brethren, when none in the day-time durſt do it, Propter metum Judæorum. The laſt that remained of this company aforeſaid was Joan Layſh, or Layſhford, the daughter-in-law of John Warne and Elizabeth Warne, martyrs: but becauſe ſhe was reprieved to another time, her ſtory and martyrdom we will defer till the month of January the next year following.

William Andrew.

THE like catholic charity was alſo ſhewed upon William Andrew of Horſley, in the county of Eſſex, carpenter, who was brought to Newgate the firſt day of April, 1555. by John Motham conſtable of Maulden in Eſſex. The firſt and principal promoter of him was the lord Rich, who ſent him firſt to priſon. Alſo Sir Richard Southwell, knight, was another great enemy to him, as appeareth by a letter written by him to Bonner, which here followeth.

A Letter from Sir Richard Southwell to Bonner Biſhop of London.

MAY it pleaſe your lordſhip to underſtand, that the lord Rich did about ſeven or eight weeks paſt, ſend up unto the council one William Andrew of Thorp, within the county of Eſſex, an arrogant heretic. Their pleaſure was to command me to commit him to Newgate, where he remaineth; and, as I am informed, hath infected a number in that priſon with his hereſy. Your lordſhip ſhall do very well if it pleaſe you to convent him before you, and to take order with him as his caſe doth require. I know the council meant to have writ herein unto your lordſhip, but by occaſion of other buſineſs, the thing hath been omitted. Wherefore knowing their good pleaſure, I did adviſe the keeper of Newgate to wait on you with theſe few lines. And ſo referring the reſt to your virtuous conſideration, I remain your

your lordſhip's to command, this twelfth day of June, 1555.

Richard Southwell.

This William Andrew being twice examined before biſhop Bonner, there manfully ſtood in the defence of his religion. At length, by the ſevere uſage he met with in Newgate priſon, he there loſt his life, which otherwiſe would have been taken away by fire: and ſo after the popiſh manner he was caſt out into a field, and by night was privily buried by the hands of good men and faithful brethren.

The Martyrdom of Robert Samuel, Miniſter of Barford in Suffolk.

MR. Foſter, a juſtice, dwelling at Cabdock near Ipſwich in the county of Suffolk, being in continual hatred againſt the truth and the profeſſors of the ſame, did not only not ceaſe day nor night to ſtudy how to bring thoſe into thraldom and captivity, that were honeſt and piouſly inclined to religion; but alſo whatſoever they were that once came into his claws, could not eaſily eſcape without clog of conſcience or loſs of life, ſo greedy was he of blood. Among many whom he had troubled, there was one Samuel, in king Edward's days a very godly and faithful preacher of God's word, who for his valiant and conſtant behaviour in his ſermons, ſeemeth worthy of high admiration. He was miniſter at Barford in Suffolk, where he induſtriouſly and ſucceſsfully taught the flock which the Lord had committed to his charge, ſo long as the time would ſuffer him to do his duty.

At laſt being removed from the miniſtry, and put from his benefice (as many other good paſtors were), when he could not avoid the raging violence of the time, yet would he not give over his care that he had for his flock, but would teach them privily and by ſtealth, when he could not openly do ſo. At which time order was taken by the queen, to be publiſhed by the commiſſioners, that all prieſts which had been married in king Edward's days. ſhould put away their wives from them, and be compelled to return again to their chaſtity and ſingle life. This decree Mr. Samuel would not ſtand to, becauſe he knew it to be manifeſtly wicked and abominable; but determining with himſelf, that God's laws were not to be broke for man's traditions, ſtill kept his wife at Ipſwich, and gave his diligence in the mean time to the inſtructing of others which were about him, as occaſion ſerved. At laſt Mr. Foſter having intelligence hereof, being a great doer in thoſe parts, ſpared no time nor diligence, but quickly ſent his ſpies abroad, laying cloſe wait for Mr. Samuel, that if he came home to his wife at any time, they might apprehend him, and carry him to priſon.

In concluſion, when ſuch as ſhould betray him eſpied him at home with his wife, they brought word to the officer, who came to the houſe, and beſet it with a great company, and ſo took him in the night ſeaſon, becauſe they durſt not do it in the day-time for fear of trouble and tumult, although good Mr. Samuel did not withſtand them at all, but meekly yielded himſelf into their clutches of his own accord. When they had thus caught him, they put him into Ipſwich gaol, where he patiently ſpent his time among his pious brethren, ſo long as he was permitted to continue there. Howbeit not long after, being taken from thence, he was carried (through the malice of the wicked ſort) to Norwich, where Dr. Hopton biſhop of that dioceſe, or Dr. Dunnings his chancellor, exerciſed great cruelty againſt him, as indeed they were men in that time of perſecution, as had not their matches for cruel tormenting the bodies of the martyrs among all the reſt; and eſpecially through the procuring of Dunnings. For although the others were ſharp enough in their generation, yet could they be ſatisfied with impriſonment and death, and could go no farther. Neither did I ever yet hear of any beſides theſe, who ſo far exceeded all bounds of pity and compaſſion in tormenting their poor brethren, as this biſhop did; in ſuch ſort, that many of them he perverted, and brought quite from the truth, and ſome from their wits alſo.

The biſhop therefore, or elſe his chancellor, thinking that he might as eaſily prevail with Mr. Samuel, as he had done with the others before, kept him in a very cloſe priſon at his firſt coming, where he was chained bolt-upright to a great poſt, in ſuch ſort, that ſtanding only on tip-toe, he was fain to ſtay up the whole poiſe or weight of his body thereby. And to make amends for the cruelty or pain that he ſuffered, they added a far more grievous torment, keeping him without meat and drink, whereby he was unmercifully vexed through hunger and thirſt; ſaving that he had every day allowed two or three mouthfuls of bread, and three ſpoonfuls of water, to the end rather that he might be reſerved to farther torment than that they would preſerve his life. O worthy conſtancy of the martyr! O pitileſs hearts of papiſts, worthy to be complained of, and to be accuſed before God and nature! O the wonderful ſtrength of Chriſt and his members! Whoſe heart, though it had been made of adamant ſtone, would not have relented at the intolerable vexations, and extreme pains above nature? How often would he have drunk his own water; but his body was ſo dried up with his long emptineſs, that he was not able to make one drop.

At laſt when he was brought forth to be burnt, which was but a trifle in compariſon of thoſe pains that he had paſſed, there were ſeveral that heard him declare what ſtrange things had happened unto him during the time of his impriſonment: to wit, that after he had been famiſhed or pined with hunger two or three days together, he then fell into a ſleep, as it were one half in a ſlumber, at which time one clad all in white ſeemed to ſtand before him, which adminiſtered comfort unto him by theſe words: "Samuel, Samuel, be of good cheer, and take a good heart unto thee. For after this day ſhalt thou never be either hungry or thirſty." Which came to paſs accordingly, for ſoon after he was burned; and from that time till he ſuffered, he felt neither hunger nor thirſt. And this he declared, to the end, as he ſaid, that all men might behold the wonderful works of God. Many other matters concerning the great comfort he had of Chriſt in his afflictions he could utter, he ſaid, beſides this, but that ſhamefacedneſs and modeſty would not ſuffer him to utter it. And yet if it had pleaſed God, I wiſh he had been leſs modeſt in that behalf, that the love and care that Chriſt hath of his ſervants, might have the more appeared thereby unto us by ſuch preſent arguments, for the more plentiful comfort of the godly, though there be ſufficient teſtimonies of the ſame in the holy ſcriptures already.

No leſs memorable it is, and worthy alſo to be noted concerning the three ladders which he told to divers, he ſaw in his ſleep ſet up towards heaven; of which there was one ſomewhat longer than the reſt, but yet at length they became one, joining (as it were) all three together. This was a forewarning revealed unto him, declaring undoubtedly the martyrdom firſt of himſelf, and from the death of two honeſt women, who were brought forth and ſuffered in the ſame town not long after.

As this pious martyr was going to the ſtake, a certain maid came to him, who took him about the neck and kiſſed him, which being marked by them that were preſent, was ſought for the next day after to be had to priſon and burned, as the very party herſelf informed me: Howbeit, as God of his goodneſs would have it, ſhe eſcaped their fiery hands, keeping herſelf ſecret in the town a good while after. But as this maid, called Roſe Nottingham, was marvellouſly preſerved by the providence of God: ſo there were two other honeſt women that fell into the rage and fury of that time. The one

was a brewer's wife, the other was a ſhoe-maker's wife, but both together now eſpouſed to a new huſband, Chriſt.

With theſe two this maid aforeſaid was very familiar and well acquainted, who on a time giving counſel to one of them, that ſhe ſhould convey herſelf away while ſhe had time and ſpace, ſeeing ſhe could not away with the queen's proceedings; had this anſwer at her hands again: I know well, ſaith ſhe, that it is lawful enough to fly away, which remedy you may uſe if you pleaſe. But my caſe ſtandeth otherwiſe. I am tied to an huſband, and have beſides young children at home; and then I know not how my huſband, being a carnal man, will take my departure from him; therefore I am minded, for the love of Chriſt and his truth, to ſtand to the extremity of the matter.

And ſo the next day after Mr. Samuel ſuffered, theſe two pious wives, the one named Anne Potten, the other Joan Trunchfield, wife of Michael Trunchfield ſhoemaker of Ipſwich, were apprehended, and both had to priſon together. Who, as they were both by ſex and nature ſomewhat tender, ſo were they at firſt leſs able to endure the ſtraitneſs of the priſon, and eſpecially the brewer's wife was caſt into marvellous great agonies and troubles of mind thereby. But Chriſt beholding the weak infirmity of his ſervant, did not fail to help her when ſhe was in this neceſſity. So at length they both ſuffered after Samuel, Feb. 19. 1556. as ſhall be by God's grace declared hereafter. And theſe, no doubt, were thoſe two ladders, which being joined with the third, Samuel ſaw ſtretched up into heaven. This bleſſed Samuel, the ſervant of Chriſt, ſuffered the 31ſt of Auguſt, Anno 1555.

The report goeth among ſome that were there preſent, and ſaw him burn, that his body in burning did ſhine as bright and white as new tried ſilver in the eyes of them that ſtood by, as I am informed by ſome that were there, and did behold the ſight.

Mr. Robert Samuel's Letter of Exhortation to the patient ſuffering of Affliction for the Cauſe of Chriſt.

A Man knoweth not his time, but as the fiſh is taken with the angle, and as the birds are caught with the ſnare, ſo are men caught and taken in the perilous time when it cometh upon them. The time cometh; the day draweth near, Ezekiel 7. Better it were to die (as the preacher ſaith), that to live and ſee the miſerable works which are done under the ſun; ſuch ſudden and ſtrange mutation, ſuch woful, heinous, and lamentable diviſions ſo faſt approach, and none, or very few thoroughly repent. Alas, for this ſinful nation, a people of great iniquity and ſeed of ungraciouſneſs, corrupting their ways. They have forſaken the Lord, they have provoked the Holy One of Iſrael to anger, and are gone backward. Who now liveth not in ſuch ſecurity and reſt as though all dangers were clean overpaſt? Who now blindeth and buffeteth not Chriſt, which ſeeth me, and ſeeth me not? Yea, who liveth not now in ſuch felicity, worldly pleaſures and joys, wholly ſeeking the world, providing, and craftily ſhifting for the earthly clod and carnal appetites, as though ſin were clean forgotten, overthrown, and devoured? Like hoggiſh Gergeſites, now are we more afraid and aſhamed of Chriſt our Meſſias, fearing the loſs of our filthy pigs, I mean our tranſitory goods, and diſquieting our ſinful and mortal bodies in this ſhort, uncertain, and miſerable life, than of a legion of devils, ſeducing and driving us from hearing, reading, and believing Chriſt, God's eternal Son, and his word, the power to ſave our ſouls, unto vanities, lyes, and fables, and to this bewitching world.

O perilous abundance of goods, too much ſaturity of meats, wealth and quietneſs, which deſtroyed with ſo many ſouls, thoſe goodly cities, Sodom and Gomorrah! Jeroboam, ſo long as he was but a poor man, nor yet advanced to his dignity, lived in the laws of God, and without reprehenſion: but brought once to wealth and a proſperous ſtate, he became a wicked and moſt ſhameful idolater. And what made the covetous young man ſo loth to follow Chriſt, when he was bidden to forſake but worldly wealth which he then enjoyed? Woe be unto theſe falſe illuſions of the world, baits of perdition, hooks of the devil, which have ſo ſhamefully deceived and ſeduced full many from the right path unto the Lord, into the high-ways of confuſion and perpetual perdition.

We might now worthily, dear chriſtians, lament and bewail our heavy eſtate, miſerable condition, and ſorrowful chance: yea, I ſay, we might well accuſe ourſelves, and with Job curſe theſe our turbulent, wicked, and bloody laſt days of this world, were it not that we both ſee and believe, and find in God's ſacred book, that God hath reſerved a remnant in all ages, I mean the faithful, as many as have been from the beginning of the world exerciſed, whetted, and poliſhed with divers afflictions, troubles and toſſings, caſt and daſhed againſt all perils and dangers, as the very droſs and out-caſts of the earth, and yet will in no wiſe halt between God and Baal; for God verily abhorreth two men in one: he cannot away with them that are between both, but caſteth them away as a filthy vomit. Chriſt will not part ſpoil with his mortal enemy the devil; he will have all, or loſe all: he will not permit the devil to have the ſervice of the body, and he to ſtand contented with the heart and mind: but "He will be glorified both in your bodies and in your ſpirits, which are his," as St. Paul ſaith, 1 Cor. 6. For he hath made, bought all, and dearly paid for all, as St. Peter ſaith, "With his own immaculate body hath he clean diſcharged your bodies from ſin, death, and hell, and with his moſt precious blood paid your ranſom and full price once for all and for ever."

Now what harm, I pray you, or what loſs ſuſtain you by this? Why are you, O vain men, more afraid of Jeſus your gentle Saviour, and his goſpel of ſalvation, than of a legion of cruel devils, going about with falſe deluſions utterly to deſtroy you both ſouls and bodies? Think you to be more ſure than under your captain, Chriſt? Do you promiſe yourſelves to be more quiet in Satan's ſervice, than in Chriſt's religion? Eſteem you more theſe tranſitory and pernicious pleaſures, than God and all his heavenly treaſures? O palpable darkneſs, horrible madneſs, and wilful blindneſs, without compariſon, too much to be ſuffered any longer! We ſee and will not ſee; we know and will not know; yea, we ſmart and will not feel, and that our conſcience well knoweth. O miſerable and brainleſs ſouls, which would for fooliſh pleaſures and ſlippery wealth loſe the royal kingdom and permanent joys of God, with the everlaſting glory which he hath prepared for them that truly love him, and renounce the world. The children of the world live in pleaſure and wealth; and the devil, who is their god, and prince of this world, keepeth their wealth which is proper unto them, and letteth them enjoy it. But let us, which be of Chriſt, ſeek and enquire for heavenly things, which by God's promiſe and mercy in Chriſt ſhall be peculiar unto us. Let, I ſay, the Cretians, Epicures, and ſuch other beaſtly Belials and carnal people, paſs for things that be pleaſant for the body, and do appertain to this tranſitory life: "Yet ſhall they once (as the kingly prophet ſaith) run about the city of God, to and fro, howling like dogs, deſiring one ſcrap of the joys of God's elect," but all too late, as the rich glutton did.

Let us therefore paſs for thoſe things that do pertain to the Spirit, and are celeſtial. "We muſt be here (ſaith St. Paul) not as inhabiters, and home-dwellers, but as ſtrangers;" not as ſtrangers only, but after the mind of Paul, as painful ſoldiers appointed by our governor, to fight againſt the governor of darkneſs of this world, againſt ſpiritual craftineſs in heavenly things. The time is come; we muſt to it; the judgment muſt begin firſt at

at the houſe of God. Began they not firſt with the green and ſappy tree? And what followed then on the dry branches? Jeremy, ſpeaking in the perſon of God, ſaith; "In the city wherein my name is invocated, will I begin to puniſh:" but as for you (meaning the wicked), ſhall you be as innocents, and not once touched? Nay, the dregs of God's wrath, the bottom of all ſorrows, are reſerved unto them in the end: but God's houſhold ſhall drink the flour of the cup of his mercy. And therefore let us ſay with Ezechias; "Play the men and ſhrink not: let us comfort ourſelves, for the Lord is with us our helper, and fighteth for us. The Lord is (ſaith he) with you, when you be with him; and when you ſeek him, he will be found of you: and again, when you forſake him, he will forſake you."

Wherefore we ought not to be diſmayed, or diſcourage ourſelves, but rather to be of good comfort; not to be ſad, but merry: not ſorrowful, but joyful, in that God of his goodneſs will vouchſafe to take us as his beloved children, to ſubdue our ſinful luſts, our wretched fleſh and blood unto his glory, the promoting of his holy word, and edifying of his church. What if the earthly houſe of this our habitation (St. Paul meaning the body) be deſtroyed? We know aſſuredly we ſhall have a building not made with hands, but everlaſting in heaven, with ſuch joys as faith taketh not, hope toucheth not, and charity apprehendeth not. They paſs all deſires and wiſhes. Gotten they may be by Chriſt, eſteemed they cannot be. Wherefore the more affliction and perſecution the word of God bringeth, the more felicity and greater joy abideth in heaven. But the worldly peace, idle eaſe, wealthy pleaſure, and this preſent and pleaſant tranſitory life and felicity, which the ungodly fooliſhly imagine to procure unto themſelves by perſecuting and thruſting away the goſpel, ſhall turn unto their own trouble, and at laſt unto horrible deſtructions and mutations of realms and countries; and after this life, if they repent not, unto their perpetual infelicity, perdition, and damnation. For they had rather with Nabal, and his temporal pleaſures, deſcend to the devil, than with poor Chriſt, and his bodily troubles, aſcend unto the kingdom of God his Father. "But an unwiſe man (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) comprehendeth them not, neither doth the fooliſh underſtand them;" that is, theſe bloody perſecutors grow up and flouriſh like the flower and graſs in the field. But unto this end do they ſo flouriſh, that they might be cut down and caſt into the fire for ever. For as Job ſaith, "Their joy laſteth but the twinkling of an eye," and death ſhall lie gnawing upon them as doth the flock upon the paſture; yea, the cruel worm, late repentance (as St. Mark ſaith), ſhall lie gnawing, tormenting, and accuſing their wretched conſcience for evermore.

Let us therefore (good chriſtians) be conſtant in obeying God rather than men. For although they ſlay our ſinful bodies (yea, rather our deadly enemies) for God's verity; yet they cannot do it, but by God's ſufferance and good will, to his praiſe and honour, and to our eternal joy and felicity. For our blood ſhed for the goſpel ſhall preach it with more fruit, and greater furtherance, than did our mouths, lives, and writings, as did the blood of Abel, Stephen, with many others. What though they laugh Chriſt and his word to ſcorn, who ſit in the chair of perverſe peſtilent ſcorners? To whom, as to the wiſe gentiles of the world, the goſpel of Chriſt is but fooliſhneſs, as it was to the Jews a ſlander and a ſtumbling ſtone, whereat they now being fallen, have provoked the wrath and vengeance of God upon them.

Theſe are the days of vengeance, ſaith Luke, that all things written may be fulfilled. And ſurely it ſhall be no leſs than a huge ſtorm of evils that ſhall come upon us, becauſe that a long and obſtinate maliciouſneſs of us hath gone before, crying in the ears of the Lord God of hoſts, who ſo many times and ſo many ways have been provoked with the unſpeakable riches of his goodneſs, his patience, and long-ſuffering, to amendment, and have nevertheleſs contemned the ſame, and proceeded forward to worſe and worſe, provoking and ſtirring the preſence of God's Majeſty to anger.

Now therefore ſaith God by the mouth of his prophet, "I will come unto thee, and I will ſend my wrath upon thee:" upon thee, I ſay, O England, and puniſh thee according to thy ways, and reward thee after thine abominations. Thou haſt kindled the fire of God's wrath, and haſt ſtirred up the coals. For thou waſt once enlightened, and hadſt taſted of the heavenly gift, and waſt become partaker of the Holy Ghoſt, and hadſt taſted of the good word of God: Yea, it is yet in thy mouth, ſaith the prophet. Alas, O England, thou kneweſt thy Lord and Maſter's will, but didſt not do it; Thou muſt therefore, ſaith he, ſuffer many ſtripes, and many ſharp ſtrokes, and walk in the glittering and hot flame of thine own fire, and on the coals that thou haſt kindled. This cometh to thee from my hand, ſaith the Lord, namely, that thou ſhalt ſleep in ſorrow, yea, even ſo thou ſhalt. The plain truth telleth the tale, the immutable juſtice of the everliving God, and the ordinary courſe of his plagues from the beginning confirmeth the ſame. The joy of our heart, ſaith Jeremy, is gone, our glory is fallen away, our merry ſinging is turned into mourning, the garland of our head is fallen: Alas and weal away, that ever we ſinned ſo ſore!

Let all the wicked enemies of Chriſt, and all the unbelievers, look to be tormented and vexed with all helliſh furies, and clean without hope of God's accounting day, who know not God in Chriſt to be their very righteouſneſs, their life, their only ſalvation and alone Saviour, nor believe in him. They muſt, as St. John ſaith, needs abide and periſh with their ſins in death and in eternal damnation. But we be the children of ſaints, as the elder Toby did anſwer, and look for another life, which God ſhall give to all them who change not their faith, and ſhrink not from him. Rejoice therefore, ye chriſtian afflicted brethren, for they cannot take our ſouls and bodies out of the hands of the Almighty, which be kept as in the boſom of our moſt ſweet and loving Father: and if we abide faſt in Chriſt, and turn not away like weathercocks, ſurely we ſhall live for ever. Chriſt affirmeth the ſame, ſaying, "My ſheep hear my voice, I know them, they hearken unto me, and to no ſtrangers, and I give them everlaſting life; for they ſhall not be loſt, and no man ſhall pluck them out of my hands:" no nor yet this flattering world with all his vain pleaſures, nor any tyrant with his great threats and ſtout brags can once move them out of the way of eternal life. What conſolation and comfort can we have more pleaſant and effectual than this? God is on our ſide and fighteth for us; he ſuffereth, he ſmarteth, and is afflicted with us. As the world can do nothing againſt his might, neither in taking away or diminiſhing from his glory, nor putting him from his celeſtial throne; ſo neither can it hurt any one of his children without his good will. For we are members of his body, of his fleſh, and of his bones, and as dear to him as the apple of his eye.

Let us therefore with an earneſt faith lay faſt hold on the promiſes in the goſpel, and let us not be ſeparated from the ſame by any temptation, tribulation, or perſecution. Let us conſider the verity of God to be invincible, inviolable, and immutable, promiſing and giving us his faithful ſoldiers life eternal. It is he only that hath deſerved it for us: it is his only benefit, and of his only mere mercy, and unto him only muſt we render thanks. Let not therefore the vain fantaſies and dreams of men, and fooliſh gaudy toys of the world, nor the crafty deluſions of the devil, drive and ſeparate us from our hope of the crown of righteouſneſs that is laid up in ſtore for us againſt the laſt day. O that happy and joyful day, I mean to the faithful, when Chriſt by his covenant ſhall grant and give unto them that overcome and keep his words to the end, that they may aſcend and ſit in ſeats with him, as he aſcended and ſitteth on

the throne with his Father. The ſame body and ſoul that is now with Chriſt afflicted, ſhall then with Chriſt be glorified: now in the butchers' hands, as ſheep appointed to die; then ſitting at God's table with Chriſt in his kingdom, as God's honourable and dear children; where we ſhall have heavenly riches for earthly poverty, ſaturity of the pleaſant preſence of the glory of God, for hunger and thirſt; celeſtial joys in the company of angels, for ſorrows, troubles, and cold irons; and life eternal, for bodily death. O happy ſouls! O precious death and evermore bleſſed, right dear in the eyes of God; to you the ſpring of the Lord ſhall ever be flouriſhing. Then (as ſaith Iſaiah) "the redeemed ſhall return and come again into Sion, praiſing the Lord, and eternal mercies ſhall be over their heads: they ſhall obtain mirth and ſolace; ſorrow and woe ſhall be utterly vanquiſhed." Yea, I am he, ſaith the Lord, that in all things giveth you everlaſting conſolation. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, be glory and praiſe for ever, Amen.

Robert Samuel.

Another Letter written to the Chriſtian Congregation by R. Samuel, where he declareth the Confeſſion of his Faith.

"The belief of the heart juſtifieth, and the knowledge with the mouth maketh a man ſafe," Rom. 10.

"Fear not the curſe of men, be not afraid of their blaſphemies and revilings; for worms and moths ſhall eat them up like cloth and wool, but my righteouſneſs ſhall endure for ever, and my ſaving health from generation to generation," Iſaiah 51.

CONſidering with myſelf theſe perilous times, periſhing days, and the unconſtant and miſerable ſtate of man, the decay of our faith, the ſiniſter report and falſe ſlander of God's moſt holy word, theſe urgent cauſes in conſcience do conſtrain me to confeſs and acknowledge my faith and meaning in Chriſt's holy religion, as St. Peter teacheth me, ſaying, "Be ready always to give an anſwer to every man that aſketh you a reaſon of the hope that is in you, and that with meekneſs and fear, having a good conſcience, that when they backbite you as evildoers, they may be aſhamed, foraſmuch as they have falſly accuſed your good converſation in Chriſt."

As touching my doctrine, for that little talent that God hath given me, God I take to record, mine own conſcience and mine auditory knoweth, that I neither in doctrine nor manners willingly taught any other thing than I received of the holy patriarchs, prophets, Chriſt and his apoſtles. For it were not only ſin, but alſo the very part of a curſed miſcreant, to deny, belye, or betray the innocency of that heavenly doctrine, or to be aſhamed to confeſs and ſtand to the defence of the ſame; ſeeing that Chriſt planted it with his moſt precious blood, and all good men have more eſteemed the true and infallible word of God, than all this tranſitory world, or their own mortal lives. And I believe this doctrine of the patriarchs, prophets, Chriſt and his apoſtles, to be ſufficient and abſolutely perfect to inſtruct and teach me, and all the holy church, of our duty towards God, the magiſtrates, and our neighbours.

Firſt and principally I do aſſuredly believe, without any doubting, that there is one Deity or Divine Eſſence, and Infinite Subſtance; which is both called, and is indeed God Everlaſting, unbodily, unpartible, unmeaſurable in power, wiſdom, and goodneſs, the maker and preſerver of all things, as well viſible as inviſible; and yet there be three diſtinct perſons, all of one Godhead, or Divine Being, and all of one power, co-equal, conſubſtantial, co-eternal, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.

I believe in GOD the Father Almighty, &c. As touching God the Father of heaven, I believe as much as holy ſcripture teacheth me to believe. The Father is the firſt Perſon in the Trinity, firſt cauſe of our ſalvation, who hath bleſſed us with all manner of bleſſings in heavenly things by Chriſt, who hath choſen us before the foundations of the world were laid, that we ſhould be holy and without blame before him; who hath predeſtinated and ordained us to be his children of adoption, through Chriſt Jeſus; in him, as it is ſaid, we live, we move, and have our being; he nouriſheth, feedeth, and giveth meat to every creature.

And in Jeſus Chriſt his only Son our Lord. I believe that the Word, that is, the Son of God, the ſecond Perſon in the Trinity, did take man's nature in the womb of the bleſſed virgin Mary: So that there be in him two natures, a Divine Nature and an human nature, in the unity of one Perſon inſeparable, conjoined and knit in one Chriſt, truly God, and truly man, the expreſs and perfect image of the inviſible God, wherein the will of God the Father apparently ſhineth, and wherein man, as it were in a glaſs, may behold what he ought to do, that he may pleaſe God the Father.

Born of the virgin Mary; truly ſuffering his paſſion, crucified, dead, and buried, to the intent to bring us again into favour with God the Father Almighty, and to be a ſacrifice, and oblation, not only for original ſin, but alſo for the actual ſins of the whole generation of mankind. For all the works, merits, deſervings, doings, and obedience of man towards God, although they be done by the Spirit of God, in the grace of God, yet being thus done, be of no validity, worthineſs, nor merit before God, except God for his mercy and grace account them worthy for the worthineſs and merits of Jeſus Chriſt.

The ſame Chriſt went down to the hells, and truly roſe again the third day, and aſcended into the heavens, that he might there ſtill reign and have dominion over all creatures; and from thence ſhall come, &c.

I believe in the Holy Ghoſt, co-equal with God the Father and the Son, and proceeding from them both; by whoſe virtue, ſtrength, and operation, the true catholic church, which is the community and ſociety of ſaints, is guided in all truth and verity, and kept from all errors and falſe doctrine, the devil, and all power of ſin. Which church is ſanctified and hallowed with the precious blood and Spirit of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; which hath alſo her ſign and mark, that ſhe heareth and followeth the voice of her only and true paſtor Chriſt, and no ſtrangers. This church alſo is the houſe of God, the congregation of the living God, the pillar of truth, the lively body of Chriſt, a church both in name and in deed.

I believe the remiſſion of ſins, by the only means and merits of Chriſt's death and paſſion; who is made unto us of God, that only ſacrifice and oblation offered once for all and for ever, for all them that be ſanctified.

I believe the reſurrection of the body, whereby in the laſt day all men ſhall riſe again from death, the ſouls joined again to the bodies, the good to everlaſting life, the wicked to everlaſting pain and puniſhment. And nothing may more certainly eſtabliſh and confirm our faith, that we ſhall riſe again immortal both in body and ſoul, than the reſurrection of Chriſt our Saviour, and firſt fruits of the dead. Now that Chriſt our head is riſen, we being his body and members muſt follow our head. Death, hell, and ſin cannot ſeparate or pluck us from him. For as the Son cannot be divided nor ſeparated from the Father, nor the Holy Ghoſt from them both; no more may we, being the faithful members of Chriſt, be ſeparated from Chriſt. And for a confirmation of our reſurrection, Chriſt would be ſeen after his reſurrection in his moſt glorious body, his wounds being handled and felt, ſpeaking and teaching, eating and drinking, &c. We look (ſaith St. Paul) for Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour, who ſhall change our vile bodies, and conform them to his glorious body, by the ſame power and virtue whereby he able to ſubdue all things: even like as the grain of wheat

ſown

ſown in the ground is firſt putrified and brought, as it were, to nothing, yet after that it ſpringeth up afreſh with a more goodly colour, form, and beauty than it had before. The body is ſown in corruption, and riſeth in incorruption; it is ſown in diſhonour, and riſeth in glory.

Thus I verily know, and aſſuredly believe the reſurrection of our bodies, and to have life eternal by Chriſt, and for Chriſt's ſake. Verily, verily, I ſay unto you, ſaith Chriſt, he that heareth my word, and believeth on him that ſent me, hath everlaſting life, and ſhall not come into damnation, but is eſcaped from death to life. It is Chriſt that died once for our ſins, and is riſen again, never more to die: It is he that ſwallowed up death, and hath caſt it under his feet for ever. What now can death do unto us? Verily nothing elſe, but for a little time ſeparate our precious ſouls from our wretched bodies, that divine ſubſtance from a maſs of ſin, that eternal life from a body of death, and ſo ſend our ſouls out of this miſerable, wretched and ſorrowful life, cumbered with all calamities, unto that moſt bleſſed felicity and joys eternal.

As concerning the holy and reverend ſacraments of Chriſt's church, which are two in number, the ſacrament of baptiſm, and the ſupper of the Lord: I believe them to be, as St. Paul calleth them, confirmations or ſeals of God's promiſes, which have added to them a promiſe of grace; and therefore they are called viſible ſigns of inviſible grace.

The ſacrament of baptiſm is a mark of Chriſt's church, a ſeal and confirmation of our acceptation into the grace and favour of God for Chriſt's ſake. For his innocency, his righteouſneſs, his holineſs, his juſtice, is ours, given us of God; and our ſins and unrighteouſneſs, by his obedience and abaſing of himſelf to the death of the croſs, are his, whereof baptiſm is the ſign, ſeal and confirmation.

Baptiſm is alſo a ſign of repentance, to teſtify that we are born to the waves of perils, and changes of life, to the intent that we ſhould die continually, as long as we live, from ſin, and riſe again like new men unto righteouſneſs, Rom. 6.

The other ſacrament, which is the ſupper of our Saviour Chriſt, whereby the church of Chriſt is known, I believe to be a remembrance of Chriſt's death and paſſion, a ſeal and confirmation of his moſt precious body given unto death, even to the vile death of the croſs, wherewith we are redeemed and delivered from ſin, death, hell and damnation. It is a viſible word, becauſe it worketh the ſame thing in the eyes, which the word worketh in the ears. For like as the word is a means to the ears, whereby the Holy Ghoſt moveth the heart to believe, Rom. 10. ſo this ſacrament is a means to the eyes, whereby the Holy Ghoſt moveth the heart to believe: it preacheth peace between God and man; it exhorteth to mutual love and all godly life, and teacheth to contemn the world for the life to come, when as Chriſt ſhall appear, which now is in heaven, and no-where elſe as concerning his human body.

Yet do I believe aſſuredly, that his very body is preſent in his moſt holy ſupper at the contemplation of our ſpiritual eyes, and ſo verily eaten with the mouth of our faith. For as ſoon as I hear theſe moſt comfortable and heavenly words ſpoke and pronounced by the mouth of the miniſter: "This is my body which is given for you:" When I hear (I ſay) this heavenly harmony of God's infallible promiſes and truth; I look not upon, neither do I behold bread and wine; for I take and believe the words ſimply and plainly, even as Chriſt ſpake them. For hearing theſe words, my ſenſes be wrapt and utterly excluded; for faith wholly taketh place, and not fleſh, nor the carnal imaginations of our groſs, fleſhly, and unreverent eating after the manner of our bodily food, which profiteth nothing at all, as Chriſt witneſſeth, John 6. but with a ſorrowful and wounded conſcience, an hungry and thirſty ſoul, a pure and faithful mind, do fully embrace, behold, and feed, and look upon that moſt glorious body of Chriſt in heaven, at the right hand of God the Father, very God and very man, which was crucified and ſlain, and his blood ſhed for our ſins, there now making interceſſion, offering and giving his holy body for me, for my body, for my ranſom, for my full price and ſatisfaction, who is my Chriſt, and all that ever he hath; and by this ſpiritual and faithful eating of this lively and heavenly bread, I feel the moſt ſweet ſap and taſte of the fruits, benefits, and unſpeakable joys of Chriſt's death and paſſion, fully digeſted into the bowels of my ſoul. For my mind is quieted from all worldly adverſities, turmoilings, and troubles, my conſcience is pacified from ſin, death, hell and damnation; my ſoul is full, and hath even enough, and will no more; for all things are but loſs, vile dung, droſs, and vain vanity, for the excellent knowledge ſake of Chriſt Jeſus my Lord and Saviour.

Thus now is Chriſt's fleſh my very meat indeed, and his blood my very drink indeed, and I am become fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bones. Now I live, yet not I, but Chriſt liveth in me: yea, I dwell in him, and he in me; for through faith in Chriſt, and for Chriſt's ſake we are one, that is, of one conſent, mind and fellowſhip with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, John 17. Thus am I aſſured and fully perſuaded, and on this rock have I built, by God's grace, my dwelling and reſting place for body and ſoul, life and death. And thus I commit my cauſe unto Chriſt the righteous and juſt judge, who will another day judge theſe debates and controverſies; whom I humbly beſeech to caſt his tender and merciful eyes upon the afflicted and ruinous churches, and ſhortly to reduce them into a godly and perpetual concord, Amen.

Thus do I believe, and this is my faith and my underſtanding in Chriſt my Saviour, and his true and holy religion. And this whoſoever is aſhamed to do among this adulterous and ſinful generation, of him ſhall the Son of man be aſhamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.

Robert Samuel.

William Allen, Martyr.

NOW after the ſuffering of Robert Samuel, about the beginning of September, William Allen was burnt in Walſingham, a labouring man, ſome time ſervant to John Houghton of Somerton. He being brought before the biſhop, and aſked the cauſe why he was impriſoned, anſwered, That he was put in priſon becauſe he would not follow the croſs, ſaying, that he would never go on proceſſion.

Then being willed by the biſhop to return again to the catholic church; he anſwered, That he would turn to the catholic church, but not to the Romiſh church: And ſaid, That if he ſaw the king and queen, and all others follow the croſs, or kneel down to the croſs, he would not. For which, ſentence of condemnation was given againſt him the 12th of Auguſt, to be burnt at Walſingham about the beginning of September, who declared ſuch conſtancy at his martyrdom, and had ſuch credit with the juſtices, by reaſon of his upright and well-tried converſation among them, that he was ſuffered to go untied to his ſuffering, and there being faſtened with a chain, ſtood quietly without ſhrinking until he died.

The Martyrdom of Roger Coo, of Melford in Suffolk, firſt examined by the Biſhop of Norwich, and by him condemned, Auguſt 12. 1555.

ROger Coo being brought before the biſhop, was firſt aſked by him why he was impriſoned.

Coo. At the juſtices commandment.

Biſhop. There was ſome cauſe why.

Coo.

Coo. Here is my accuſer, let him declare.

And his accuſer ſaid, that he would not receive the ſacrament.

Then the biſhop ſaid, that he thought he had tranſgreſſed a law.

But Coo anſwered, that there was no law to tranſgreſs.

The biſhop then aſked, What he ſaid to the law that then was?

Coo anſwered, That he had been in priſon a long time, and knew it not.

No, ſaid his accuſer, nor will not. My lord, aſk him when he received the ſacrament.

When Coo heard him ſay ſo, he ſaid, I pray you, my lord, let him ſit down and examine me himſelf.

But the biſhop would not hear that, but ſaid, Coo, why will ye not receive?

He anſwered him, That the biſhop of Rome had changed God's ordinances, and given the people bread and wine inſtead of the goſpel, and the belief of the ſame.

Biſhop. How prove you that?

Coo. Our Saviour ſaid, "My fleſh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him;" and the bread and wine doth not ſo.

Biſhop. Well, Coo, thou doſt ſlander our holy fathers. Did not Chriſt take bread, give thanks, and break it, and ſaid, "This is my body?"

Yes, ſaid he; and ſo he went further with the text, ſaying, "Which ſhall be given for you: Do this in remembrance of me."

Biſhop. You have ſaid the truth.

Then Coo replied further, and ſaid, Chriſt commanded to do this in remembrance of him, and not to ſay this in remembrance of him, neither did the Holy Ghoſt ſo lead the apoſtles, but taught them to give thanks, and to break bread from houſe to houſe, and not to ſay as the biſhop ſaid.

Biſhop. How prove you that?

Coo. It is written in the ſecond of the Acts.

Then the biſhop's chaplain ſaid it was true.

The biſhop aſked him if he could ſay his creed.

He anſwered yea, and ſo ſaid part of the creed; and then after he ſaid he believed more; for he believed the Ten Commandments, that it was meet for all ſuch as look to be ſaved, to be obedient unto them.

Biſhop. Is not the holy church to be believed alſo?

Coo. Yes, if it be built upon the word of God.

The biſhop ſaid to Coo, that he had charge of his ſoul.

Coo. Have ye ſo, my lord? Then if ye go to the devil for your ſins; where ſhall I become?

Biſhop. Do you not believe as your father did? Was not he an honeſt man?

Coo. It is written, that after Chriſt hath ſuffered, "There ſhall come a people with the prince that ſhall deſtroy both city and ſanctuary." I pray you ſhew me, whether this deſtruction was in my father's time, or now?

The biſhop not anſwering his queſtion, aſked him whether he would not obey the king's laws?

Coo. As far as they agree with the word of God, I will obey them.

Biſhop. Whether they agree with the word of God or not, we be bound to obey them, if the king were an infidel.

Coo. If Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abednego had ſo done, Nebuchadnezzar had not confeſſed the Living God.

Biſhop. Theſe two and twenty years we have been governed by ſuch kings.

Coo. My lord, why were ye then dumb, and did not ſpeak or bark?

Biſhop. I durſt not, for fear of death. And thus they ended.

But after this done, it was reported that I railed; wherefore I recollected, and wrote down my railing (as they called it) that light ſhould not be taken for darkneſs, nor ſin for holineſs, and the devil for God, who ought to be feared and honoured both now and ever, Amen.

This Roger Coo, an aged father, after his ſundry troubles and conflicts with his adverſaries, at length was committed to the fire at Yexford, in the county of Suffolk, where he moſt bleſſedly ended his aged years, in the month of September, 1555.

Thomas Cob, of Havervill, Butcher, Martyr.

THomas Cob, of Haverhill, butcher, was condemned on the 12th day of Auguſt, and executed in the month of September. Being brought and examined by Michael Dunnings, the bloody chancellor of Norwich; firſt, whether he believed that Chriſt is really and ſubſtantially in the ſacrament of the altar; anſwered, That the body of Chriſt, born of the virgin, was in heaven, and otherwiſe (he ſaid) he would not anſwer, becauſe he had read it in the ſcripture, that Chriſt did aſcend, and did never deſcend ſince; and therefore ſaid, that he had not learned in the ſcripture, that Chriſt ſhould be in the ſacrament.

Furthermore, being demanded whether he would obey the laws of the realm of England, made for the unity of faith, or no: he anſwered, That his body ſhould be at the king and queen's commandment ſo far as the law of God would ſuffer, &c. In fine, he being condemned, was burnt in the town of Thetford, in September, 1555.

The Martyrdom of George Catmer, Robert Streater, Anthony Burward, George Brodbridge, and James Tutty.

NOW to return from Norfolk and Suffolk into the dioceſe of Canterbury, where we ſhall treat of five worthy martyrs, whoſe blood in the ſame year and month of September was ſpilt for the true teſtimony of Chriſt and his goſpel. The names of whom are as follow.

George Catmer of Hith, Robert Streater of Hith, Anthony Burward of Calete, George Brodbridge of Bromfield, James Tutty of Brenchley.

Who upon the third day of Auguſt were brought before Dr. Thornton the aforeſaid biſhop of Dover, and his accomplices, and there were both jointly and ſeverally examined upon certain articles, touching the ſacrament of the altar, auricular confeſſion, and other ſuch like.

To which the ſaid Catmer (being firſt examined) made anſwer on this wiſe; Chriſt, ſaid he, ſitteth in heaven on the right hand of God the Father; and therefore I do not believe him to be in the ſacrament of the altar; but he is in the worthy receiver ſpiritually: and the ſacrament, as you uſe it, is an abominable idol.

Next unto him Robert Streater was called forth, who being alſo aſked, Whether he did believe the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar, ſaid, that he did not ſo believe; for you do maintain hereſy and idolatry (quoth he) in that ye teach to worſhip a falſe god in the ſacrament, incloſed in a box. It is you that are the malignant church; for in your church there are twenty things uſed againſt the law of God.

The like objection was likewiſe made againſt Anthony Burward, who alſo ſaid that their ſacrament was made an idol.

After him, it was demanded of George Brodbridge what he ſaid to thoſe articles. Who anſwered, that he would not be confeſſed of a prieſt, becauſe he could not forgive

Engrav'd for Fox's Book of Martyrs.

The Martyrdom of G. Catmer, R. Streater, A. Burward, G. Brodbridg, and I. Tutty, at CANTERBURY.

I am Cleans'd from my Sins.

The description of a Popish Priest, who when he had taken away y^e Glory & Office of Christ, fell down suddenly and dyed.

Terry sculp. 54.

Pater noster Row.

Publish'd as the Act directs for H. Trapp, Paternoster Row.

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give his own ſins. And further ſaid, that in the ſacrament of the altar there is not the real body of our Saviour Chriſt, but bread given in the remembrance of him. Moreover, as for your holy bread, your holy water, and your maſs, I do (quoth he) utterly defy them.

And laſt of all, James Tutty made and confirmed the foregoing anſwers.

And therefore they were all five condemned as heretics, and accordingly were all burnt at Canterbury in one fire, about the ſixth day of September then next following.

Although the rage and vehemency of this terrible perſecution in queen Mary's days did chiefly light in London, Eſſex, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent, as hath been partly already declared; yet notwithſtanding, few parts of the realm were free from this fatal ſtorm, but in almoſt all places ſome were put to death for the ſame righteous cauſe. And now to begin with the dioceſe of Litchfield and Coventry, where we ſhall juſt mention two perſons, namely, Thomas Hayward and John Goreway, who were both condemned as heretics, and were burnt at Litchfield about the middle of September.

The Hiſtory of Robert Glover, Gentleman, and Mr. John Glover his Brother, in the Dioceſe of Litchfield.

Robert Glover, gentleman, was likewiſe apprehended, and put to death in the month of September, in the dioceſe of Litchfield and Coventry. Of whoſe apprehenſion and troubles I cannot well treat, without mentioning ſome things relative to John Glover his brother, becauſe the commiſſion was chiefly ſent down for John, and not for Robert (although it pleaſed God that John eſcaped, and Robert in his ſtead was apprehended), therefore I thought it neceſſary to comprehend them both in one ſtory. In deſcribing ſome part of their virtuous inſtitution and order of life, I ſhall firſt begin with John the eldeſt brother: who being a gentleman, and heir to his father in the town of Mancetor, was endowed with fair poſſeſſions and worldly goods, but much more plentifully enriched with God's heavenly grace, and inward virtues: which grace ſo wrought in him, that he, with his other brethren Robert and William, not only received and embraced the happy light of Chriſt's holy goſpel, but alſo moſt zealouſly profeſſed, and no leſs diligently in their lives and converſation followed the ſame.

John Glover was a man of very tender conſcience, and ſeemed to have a deeper taſte and contemplation of heavenly things, and more mortified from worldly cares than the others were. His ſpiritual conflicts were very extraordinary; and becauſe the conſideration of them is both worthy of memory, and the example may work experience to the comfort of the godly, it may not be amiſs to rehearſe ſome part of them. It pleaſed God ſo to lay his heavy hand of inward afflictions and grievous paſſions upon him, that though he ſuffered not the pains of the outward fire, as his brother and other martyrs did; yet if we conſider what he ſuffered inwardly, and that for a long time, he may well be counted a martyr with his brother Robert, being no leſs deſirous with him of the ſame martyrdom; yea, and in compariſon may ſeem to be chronicled for a double martyr.

For as the ſaid Robert was ſpeedily diſpatched with the ſharp and extreme torments of the fire in a ſhort time; ſo this no leſs bleſſed ſaint of God, what, and how much more grievous pangs, what ſorrowful torments, what boiling heats of the fire of hell he inwardly felt, no tongue is able to expreſs. Being young, I remember I was once or twice with him, who partly by his talk I perceived, and partly by mine own eyes ſaw, to be ſo worn and conſumed by the ſpace of five years, that he could hardly digeſt any meat, enjoy the quietneſs of ſleep, or pleaſure of life; yea, and almoſt no kind of ſenſes were left in him. And truly I have often greatly wondered at the miraculous operation of Chriſt ſhewed upon him, who unleſs he had relieved in time his poor wretched ſervant ſo far worn, with ſome opportune conſolation now and then, it could not be poſſible for him to ſubſiſt under ſuch intolerable agonies. And yet the occaſion thereof was of no great moment neither. But nothing is more common amongſt the holieſt and beſt of men, by how much the more devout and watchful they are, (having the fear of God before their eyes), ſo much the more they miſtruſt and ſuſpect themſelves; whereby it cometh to paſs, that they are often ſo terrified and perplexed with ſmall matters (in compariſon) as though they were huge mountains; whereas on the contrary, others there be whom the blackeſt and moſt heinous crimes will nothing touch or move.

The occaſion of this was, That he being firſt called by the light of the Holy Spirit to the knowledge of the goſpel, and having received a wonderful ſweet and feeling ſenſe of Chriſt's heavenly kingdom, his mind, after that, falling a little to ſome cogitation of his former affairs belonging to his vocation, began by and by to miſdoubt himſelf upon occaſion of theſe words written in the ſixth chapter to the Hebrews; "For it is impoſſible for thoſe who were once enlightened, and have taſted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghoſt, and have taſted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come; if they ſhall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance: ſeeing they crucify to themſelves the Son of God afreſh, and put him to an open ſhame." Upon the conſideration of which words, he fully perſuaded himſelf that he had ſinned againſt the Holy Ghoſt: even ſo much, that had he been in hell, he could hardly deſpair much more of his ſalvation. Every good man may readily judge, by himſelf, what terrors, boilings, and convulſions turmoiled in the mean time in his woeful breaſt: although it be hard for any man to judge of the miſery thereof, but he who hath by experience felt the like.

Now in comparing the torments of all martyrs with his pains, I pray you what pains, puniſhment, and flames would he not willingly have ſuffered, to have had ſome ſmall eaſe and refreſhment? Being under ſuch intolerable agonies of mind, that he could have no enjoyment of his food, yet was he compelled to eat againſt his appetite, on purpoſe to defer the time of his damnation as long as he could, thinking with himſelf that he muſt needs be thrown into hell, as ſoon as the breath went out of his body. However, he thought Chriſt pitied his caſe, and was ſorry for him; yet he could not (as he imagined) help, becauſe of the verity of the word, which ſaid, "It is impoſſible for thoſe who were once enlightened," &c.

And this I mention not to open his wounds, and expoſe his misfortunes, but to encourage all good men by his example to glorify the Son of God, who ſuffereth none to be tempted above his ſtrength, but ſo tempereth and ſeaſoneth the aſperity of evils, that what ſeemeth to us intolerable, he doth not only alleviate, that we may bear it, but alſo turneth it more to our advantage than we can imagine: which manifeſtly appeared in this good ſervant of God, and in no man more. And although (as we have ſaid) he ſuffered many years theſe ſharp temptations and ſtrong buffetings of Satan; yet the Lord, who graciouſly preſerved him all the while, did not only at laſt rid him out of all diſcomfort, but alſo framed him thereby to ſuch mortification of life, as the like probably hath not been ſeen, in ſuch ſort as he being like one placed in heaven already, and dead to this world, both in word and meditation led a life altogether celeſtial, abhorring in his mind all prophane doings. Neither was his talk any thing different from the fruits

of his life, never throwing out an idle, vile, or vain word. The moſt part of his lands he diſtributed to the uſe of his brethren, and committed the reſt to the guiding of his ſervants and officers, whereby he might the more quietly give himſelf up to his godly ſtudy, as to a continual Sabbath reſt. This was about the latter end of king Henry's reign, and continued in the time of king Edward the ſixth.

After this, in the perſecuting days of queen Mary, as ſoon as the biſhop of Coventry heard of his fame, and of his being ſo ardent and zealous in the goſpel of Chriſt, he immediately wrote a letter to the mayor and officers of Coventry to apprehend him as ſoon as poſſible. But by the good providence of God, it happened otherwiſe: for God diſpoſeth all things after his own ſecret pleaſure, who ſeeing his old and truſty ſervant ſo many years with ſo extreme and many torments broken and dried up, would in no wiſe heap too many ſorrows upon one poor ſilly wretch: neither would he commit him to the flames of fire, who had been already baked and ſcorched with the ſharp fires of inward affliction, and had ſuſtained ſo many burning darts and conflicts of Satan ſo many years: God therefore of his divine providence, thinking it too much that one man ſhould be ſo overcharged with ſo many plagues and torments, did graciouſly provide, that Robert his brother being both ſtronger in body, and alſo better furniſhed with helps of learning to anſwer the adverſaries (being a Maſter of Arts in Cambridge), ſhould ſuſtain that conflict, and even ſo it came to paſs.

For as ſoon as the mayor of Coventry had received the biſhop's letters for the apprehending of Mr. John Glover, he forthwith ſent private notice to the ſaid John to convey himſelf away: who with his brother William was not ſo ſoon departed out of his houſe, but that yet in the ſight of the ſheriff and others, the ſearchers came and ruſhed in to take him, according to the biſhop's order.

But when the perſon they ſought for could not be found, one of the officers going into an upper chamber, found there Robert the other brother lying on his bed, and ſick of a long diſeaſe; who was by him immediately brought before the ſheriff. Which ſheriff, notwithſtanding, favouring Robert and his cauſe, would indeed fain have diſmiſſed him, and wrought what means he could, ſaying, that he was not the man for whom they were ſent: yet nevertheleſs being terrified with the ſtout words of the officer, contending with him to have him detained till the biſhop's coming, he was conſtrained to carry him away againſt his will, and ſo laid him faſt while the biſhop came. And thus much by way of preamble, concerning the worthy remembrance of Mr. John Glover.

Now to enter upon the matter which principally we have in hand, that is, to conſider the ſtory and martyrdom of Mr. Robert Glover; as the whole narration was ſent in a letter of his own writing to his wife, concerning the manner of his being handled; therefore it ſeemeth beſt, for the more credit of the matter, to exhibit his own letter, the contents whereof are as follow.

Mr. Robert Glover's Letter to his Wife, containing the whole Deſcription of his Troubles.

THE peace of conſcience which paſſeth all underſtanding, the ſweet conſolation, comfort, ſtrength and boldneſs of the Holy Ghoſt be continually increaſed in your heart, through a fervent, earneſt, and ſtedfaſt faith in our moſt dear and only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, Amen.

I thank you heartily (moſt loving wife) for your letters ſent to me in my impriſonment. I read them with tears more than once or twice, with tears (I ſay) for joy and gladneſs, that God had wrought in you ſo merciful a work; firſt, an unfeigned repentance; ſecondly, an humble and hearty reconciliation; thirdly, a voluntary ſubmiſſion and obedience to the will of God in all things. Which when I read in your letters, and judged them to proceed from the bottom of your heart, I could not but be thankful to God, rejoicing with tears for you, and theſe his great mercies poured upon you.

Theſe your letters, and the hearing of your moſt godly proceedings and conſtant doings from time to time, much relieved and comforted me at all times, and ſhall be a goodly teſtimony with you at the great day, againſt many worldly and dainty dames, who ſet more by their own pleaſure and pelf in this world, than by God's glory, little regarding (as it appeareth) the everlaſting health of their own ſouls or others. My prayer ſhall be whilſt I am in this world, that God, which of his great mercy hath begun his good work in you, will finiſh it to the glory of his name; and by the mighty power and inſpiration of his Holy Spirit ſo ſtrengthen, eſtabliſh, and confirm you in all his ways to the end, that we may together ſhew forth his praiſes in the world to come, to our unſpeakable conſolation everlaſtingly, Amen.

So long as God ſhall lend you continuance in this miſerable world, above all things give yourſelf continually to prayer, lifting up, as St. Paul ſaith, clean or pure hands without anger, wrath, or doubting, forgiving (as he ſaith alſo), if you have any thing againſt any man, as Chriſt forgiveth us. And that we may be the better willing to forgive, it is good often to call to remembrance the multitude and greatneſs of our ſins, which Chriſt daily and hourly pardoneth and forgiveth us; and then we ſhall, as St. Peter affirmeth, be ready to cover and hide the offences of our brethren, be they never ſo many. And becauſe God's word teacheth us, not only the true manner of praying, but alſo what we ought to do, or not to do, in the whole diſcourſe and practice of this life, what pleaſeth or diſpleaſeth God, and that, as Chriſt ſaith, "The word of God that he hath ſpoken, ſhall judge in the laſt day:" Let your prayers be to this end eſpecially, That God of his great mercy would open and reveal more and more daily to your heart, the true ſenſe, knowledge, and underſtanding of his moſt holy word, and give you grace, in your living, to expreſs the fruits thereof.

And foraſmuch as it is, as the Holy Ghoſt calleth it, the word of affliction, that is, it is ſeldom without hatred, perſecution, peril, danger of loſs of life and goods, and whatſoever ſeemeth pleaſant in this world, as experience teacheth you in this time: call upon God continually for his aſſiſtance always, as Chriſt teacheth, caſting your accounts what it is like to coſt you, endeavouring yourſelf, through the help of the Holy Ghoſt, by continuance of prayer, to lay your foundation ſo ſure, that no ſtorm or tempeſt ſhall be able to overthrow or caſt it down; remembering always (as Chriſt ſaith) Lot's wife; that is, to beware of looking back to that thing that diſpleaſeth God. And becauſe nothing diſpleaſed God ſo much as idolatry, that is, falſe worſhipping of God, otherwiſe than his word commandeth: look not back (I ſay) nor turn not your face to their idolatrous and blaſphemous maſs, manifeſtly againſt the word, practice, and example of Chriſt; as it is moſt manifeſt to all that have any taſte of the true underſtanding of God's word, that there remaineth nothing in the church of England, at this preſent, profitable or edifying to the church and congregation of the Lord, all things being done in an unknown tongue, contrary to the expreſs commandment of the Holy Ghoſt.

They object that they be the church, and therefore they muſt be believed. My anſwer was, The church of God knoweth and acknowledgeth no other head but Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God, whom ye have refuſed, and choſen the man of ſin, the ſon of perdition, enemy to Chriſt, the devil's deputy and lieutenant, the pope.

Chriſt's church heareth, teacheth, and is ruled by his word, as he ſaith, "My ſheep hear my voice. It you abide

abide in me, and my word in you, you be my disciples." Their church repelleth God's word, and forceth all men to follow their traditions.

Christ's church dare not add or diminish, alter or change his blessed testament; but they be not afraid to take away all that Christ instituted, and go a whoring (as the scripture saith), with their own inventions: to glory and rejoice in the works of their own hands.

The church of Christ is, hath been, and shall be in all ages under the cross, persecuted, molested, and afflicted, the world ever hating them, because they be not of the world. But these persecute, murder, slay and kill such as profess the true doctrine of Christ, be they in learning, living, conversation, and other virtues never so excellent.

Christ and his church reserved the trial of their doctrine to the word of God, and gave the people leave to judge thereof by the same word, "Search the scriptures." But this church taketh away the word from the people, and suffereth neither learned nor unlearned to examine or prove their doctrine by the word of God.

The true church of God laboureth by all means to resist and withstand the lusts, desires, and motions of the world, the flesh and the devil: These for the most part give themselves to all voluptuousness, and secretly commit such things, which (as St. Paul saith) it is shame to speak of.

By these and such like manifest probations, they declare themselves to be none of the church of Christ, but rather of the synagogue of Satan. It shall be good for you oftentimes to confer and compare their proceedings and doings with the practice of those whom the word of God doth teach to have been true members of the church of God, and it shall work in you both knowledge, erudition and boldness to withstand with suffering their doings. I likened them therefore to Nimrod, whom the scripture calleth a mighty hunter, or a stout champion, telling them that that which they could not have by the word, they would have by the sword, and be the church whether men will or no; and called them with good conscience, as Christ called their forefathers, the children of the devil; and as their father the devil is a lyar and a murderer, so their kingdom and church (as they call it) standeth by lying and murdering.

Have no fellowship with them therefore, my dear wife, nor with their doctrine and traditions, lest you be partaker of their sins, for whom is reserved a heavy damnation, without speedy repentance. Beware of such as shall advertise you to bear with the world for a season as they do. There is no dallying with God's matters: "It is a fearful thing (as St. Paul saith) to fall into the hands of the living God." Remember the prophet Elias, "Why halt ye on both sides?" Remember what Christ saith, "He that putteth his hands to the plough, and looketh back, is not worthy of me." And seeing God hath hitherto allowed you as a good soldier in the forefront, play not the coward, neither draw back to the rearward. St. John numbereth among them that shall dwell in the fiery lake, such as be fearful in God's cause. Set always before your eyes the examples of such as have behaved themselves boldly in God's cause, as Stephen, Peter, Paul, Daniel, the three children, the widow's sons, and in your days Anne Askew, Laurence Saunders, John Bradford, with many other faithful witnesses of Christ. "Be afraid in nothing (saith St. Paul) of the adversaries of Christ's doctrine, which is to them the sign of perdition, but to you of eternal salvation." Christ commandeth the same, saying, "Fear them not." Let us not follow the example of him which asked time first to take leave of his friends. If we so do, we shall find few of them that will encourage us to go forward in our business, please it God never so much. We do not read that James and John, Andrew and Simon, when they were called, put off the time till they had known their fathers or friends pleasure. But the scripture saith, "They forsook all, and by and by followed Christ." Christ likened the kingdom of God to a precious pearl, which whosoever findeth, selleth all that he hath to buy it. Yea, whosoever hath but a little taste or glimmering how precious a treasure the kingdom of heaven is, will gladly forego both life and goods for the obtaining of it. But the most part now-a-days are like Esop's cock, which when he had found a precious stone, wished rather to have found a barley-corn. So ignorant are they how precious a jewel the word of God is, that they choose rather the things of this world, which, being compared to it, are less in value than a barley-corn.

If I would have given place to worldly reasons, these might have moved me: first, the leaving of you and my children; the consideration of the state of my children, being yet tender of age, and young, apt and inclinable to virtue and learning, and so have the more need of my assistance, being not altogether destitute of gifts to help them withal; possessions above the common sort of men; because I was never called to be a preacher or minister; and (because of my sickness) fear of death in imprisonment before I should come to my answer, and so my death to be unprofitable.

But these and such like, I thank my heavenly Father (who of his infinite mercy inspired me with his Holy Spirit, for his Son's sake my only Saviour and Redeemer), prevailed not in me: but when I had by the wonderful permission of God fallen into their hands, at the first sight of the sheriff, nature a little abashed; yet before I came to the prison, by the working of God, and through his goodness, fear departed. I said to the sheriff at his coming to me, What matter have you, Mr. Sheriff, to charge me withal? He answered, You shall know when you come before the masters; and so taking me with him, I expected to have been carried before the masters, and to have heard what they could have burdened me withal: but, contrary to my expectation, I was committed forthwith to the jail, not being called to my answer, little justice being shewed therein. But the less justice a man findeth at their hands, the more consolation in conscience shall he find from God: for whosoever is of the world, the world will love him.

After I came into prison, and had reposed myself there awhile, I wept for joy and gladness, my belly full, musing much of the great mercies of God, and (as it were) saying to myself after this sort: O Lord, who am I, on whom thou shouldest bestow this thy great mercy, to be numbered among the saints that suffer for the gospel sake? And so beholding and considering on the one side my imperfection, unableness, sinful misery, and unworthiness, and on the other side the greatness of God's mercy, to be called to so high promotion, I was, as it were, amazed and overcome for a while with joy and gladness, concluding thus with myself in my heart; O Lord, thou shewest power in weakness, wisdom in foolishness, mercy in sinfulness; who shall hinder thee to choose where and whom thou wilt? As I have zealously loved the confession of thy word, so I ever thought myself to be most unworthy to be partaker of the affliction for the same.

Not long after Mr. W. Brasbridge, Mr. C. Phineas, Mr. N. Hopkins came unto me, persuading with me to be dismissed upon bonds. To whom my answer was (to my remembrance) after this sort: Forasmuch as the masters have imprisoned me, having nothing to burden me withal; if I should enter into bonds, I should in so doing accuse myself; and seeing they have no matter to lay to my charge, they may as well let me pass without bonds as with bonds.

Secondly, If I shall enter bonds, covenant and promise to appear, I shall do nothing but excuse, colour and cloak their wickedness, and indanger myself nevertheless, being bound by my promise to appear. They alledged many worldly persuasions to me, to avoid the present peril, and also how to avoid the forfeiture if I brake

brake my promiſe. I ſaid unto them, I had caſt up my pennyworth, by God's help. They undertook alſo to make the bond eaſy.

And when they were ſomewhat importunate, I ſaid to Mr. Hopkins, That liberty of conſcience was a precious thing; and took, as it were, a pauſe, lifting up my heart to God earneſtly for his aid and help, that I might do the thing that might pleaſe him. And ſo when they had let their ſuit fall, my heart (methought) was wonderfully comforted. Mr. Dudley communed with me in like manner; whom I anſwered in effect as I did before.

Afterward debating the matter with myſelf, theſe conſiderations came into my head; I have from time to time with good conſcience (God I take to record), moved all ſuch as I had conference withal to be no dalliers in God's matters, but to ſhew themſelves, after ſo great a light and knowledge, hearty, earneſt, conſtant and ſtable in ſo maniſeſt a truth, and not to give place one jot contrary to the ſame. Now thought I, if I ſhall withdraw myſelf, and make any ſhifts to pull my own neck out of the collar, I ſhall give great offence to my weak brethren in Chriſt, and advantage to the enemies to ſlander God's word. It will be ſaid, He hath encouraged others to be earneſt and fervent, to fear no worldly perils or dangers, but he himſelf will give no ſuch example.

Wherefore I thought it my bounden duty, both to God and man, being (as it were) by the great goodneſs of God marvellouſly called and appointed hereunto, to ſet aſide all fear, perils and dangers, all worldly reſpects and conſiderations, and like as I had heretofore, according to the meaſure of my ſmall gift within the compaſs of my vocation and calling, from the bottom of my heart unfeignedly moved, exhorted and perſuaded all that profeſs God's word, manfully to perſiſt in the defence of the ſame, not with ſword and violence, but with ſuffering and loſs of life, rather than to defile themſelves again with the whoriſh abomination of the Romiſh Antichriſt; ſo the hour being come, with my fact and example to ratify, confirm and proteſt the ſame to the hearts of all true believers: and to this end, by the mighty aſſiſtance of God's Holy Spirit, I reſolved myſelf with much peace of conſcience, willingly to ſuſtain whatſoever the Romiſh Antichriſt ſhould do againſt me, and the rather, becauſe I underſtood the biſhop's coming to be at hand, and conſidered that poor men's conſciences would be then ſharply aſſaulted. So I remained priſoner in Coventry, for the ſpace of ten or eleven days, being never called to my anſwer by the maſters, contrary to the laws of the realm, they having neither ſtatute, law, proclamation, letter, warrant, nor commandment for my apprehenſion. They would have laid all the matter upon the ſumner; who being examined, denied it before their faces, as one of my friends told me, ſaying, that he had no commandment concerning me, but for my elder brother. God lay not their extreme doings againſt me to their charge at the great day.

The ſecond day after the biſhop's coming to Coventry, Mr. Warren came to the Guildhall, and ordered the chief jailer to carry me to the biſhop. I laid to Mr. Warren's charge the cruel ſeeking of my death: and when he would have excuſed himſelf, I told him he could not wipe his hands ſo; he was guilty of my blood before God, as though he had murdered me with his own hands.

And ſo he departed from me, ſaying, I needed not to fear, if I would be of his belief. God open his eyes if it be his will, and give him grace to believe this, which he and all of his inclination ſhall find (I fear) too true for their parts; that is, that all they which cruelly, maliciouſly, and ſpitefully perſecute, moleſt, and afflict the members of Chriſt for their conſcience ſake, and for the true teſtimony of Chriſt's word, and cauſe them moſt unjuſtly to be ſlain and murdered, without ſpeedy repentance ſhall dwell with the devil and his angels in the fierce lake everlaſtingly, where they ſhall wiſh and deſire, cry and call, but in vain (as their right companion did) to be refreſhed by them whom in this world they contemned, deſpiſed, diſdained, as ſlaves, miſers and wretches.

When I came before the biſhop in Mr. Denton's houſe, he began with this proteſtation; That he was my biſhop for lack of a better, and willed me to ſubmit myſelf.

I ſaid to him, I am not come to accuſe myſelf: what have you to lay to my charge?

He aſked me, whether I was learned? I anſwered, Smally learned.

Mr. Chancellor ſtanding by, ſaid, I was a Maſter of Arts.

Then my lord laid to my charge my not coming to the church.

Here I might have dallied with him, and put him to his proofs, foraſmuch as I had not been in his dioceſe for a long ſeaſon, neither were any of the citizens able to prove any ſuch matter againſt me. Notwithſtanding I anſwered him through God's merciful help, that I neither had, nor would come to their church as long as their maſs was uſed there, to ſave (if I had them) five hundred lives. I deſired him to ſhew me one jot or tittle in the ſcriptures for the proof and defence of the maſs.

He anſwered, He came to teach, and not to be taught.

I was content (I told him) to learn of him, ſo far as he was able to teach me by the word of God.

Biſhop. Who ſhall judge the word?

Glover. Chriſt was willing that the people ſhould judge his doctrine by ſearching the ſcriptures, and ſo was Paul; methinks you ſhould claim no further privilege nor preheminence than they had.

Thus ſpake Robert Glover, offering him further, that he was content that the primitive church next to the apoſtles time ſhould judge between the biſhop and him. But the biſhop refuſed that. Then he ſaid he was his biſhop, and therefore he muſt believe him.

Glover. If you ſay black is white, my lord, muſt I ſay ſo too, and believe the ſame becauſe you ſay it is ſo? Mr. Chancellor here noted me to be arrogant, becauſe I would not give place to my biſhop.

Glover. If you will be believed becauſe you be a biſhop, why find you fault with the people that believed biſhop Latimer, biſhop Ridley, and biſhop Hooper, and the reſidue of them that were biſhops?

Biſhop. Becauſe they were heretics.

Glover. And may not you err as well as they? I expected my lord to uſe ſome learned arguments to perſuade me; but inſtead of that, he oppreſſed me only with his authority. He ſaid I diſſented from the church, and aſked me where my church was before king Edward's time?

I deſired him to ſhew me where their church was in Elias's time, and what outward ſhew it had in Chriſt's time.

Biſhop. Elias's complaint was only of the ten tribes that fell from David's houſe, whom he called heretics.

Glover. You be not able to ſhew any prophets that the other two tribes had at that ſame time.

My lord making no anſwer to that, Mr. Rogers, one of the maſters of the city, cometh in the mean ſeaſon, taking upon him as though he would anſwer to the text. But my lord forthwith commanded me to be committed to ſome Tower, if they had any beſides the common jail, ſaying, He would at the end of his viſitation of his dioceſe, weed out ſuch wolves. Mr. Rogers willed him to content himſelf for that night, till they had taken further order for me. Even where it pleaſeth you, ſaid I to my lord, I am content; and ſo I was returned at that time to the common jail again from whence I came.

On the Friday morning, being the next day, I had warning by one of the priſoners to prepare myſelf to ride with my fellow-priſoners the ſame day to Litchfield, there to be beſtowed at the biſhop's pleaſure. Which tidings at firſt ſomething diſcouraged me, fearing leſt I ſhould

ſhould by means of my great ſickneſs, through hard uſage (which I expected), have died in priſon before I ſhould come to anſwer: but immediately with God's word I rebuked this infidelity in myſelf, and by the ſame corrected mine own diſtruſt in the following manner. What make I of God? Is not his power as great in Litchfield as in Coventry? Doth not his promiſe extend as well to Litchfield as to Coventry? Was he not with Habakkuk, Daniel, Miſaach, and Jeremy, in their moſt dangerous impriſonments? He knoweth what things we have need of. He hath numbered all the hairs of our head. The ſparrow falleth not to the ground, without our heavenly Father's will; much more will he care for us if we be not faithleſs, whom he hath made worthy to be witneſſes of his truth. So long as we put our truſt in him, we ſhall never be deſtitute of his help, neither in priſon, in ſickneſs, nor in health, neither in life nor in death, neither before kings, biſhops, or the devil himſelf, much leſs one of his miniſters, ſhall be able to prevail againſt us. With ſuch meditations I grew chearful, of good conſolation and comfort: ſo that hearing one ſay that they could not provide horſes enow for us, I ſaid, Let them carry us in a dung-cart for lack of horſes, if they pleaſe, I am willing for my part.

Notwithſtanding, at the requeſt of my friends, I wrote to Mr. Mayor and his brethren, briefly requiring them that I might make anſwer here to ſuch things as ſhould be laid to my charge: the contents of which letter were theſe.

A Letter of Mr. Robert Glover to the Mayor of Coventry and his Brethren.

I Beſeech you to underſtand, that it is not unknown, as well to the keeper of the jail, as to the inhabitants about me where I dwell, that I am a man ſubject to very great ſickneſs, and have been for the ſpace of ſeven years and more, ſo that it is not like that I ſhall be removed without great peril and danger of life. And becauſe I was here committed toward by your appointment, I would gladly here anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be laid to my charge. If I may obtain this of you, I have cauſe thankfully to acknowledge your indifferency; if otherwiſe, I pray God it be not laid to your charge at the great day, where every man ſhall have juſt judgment without reſpect of perſon.

Your priſoner in the Lord, always of mindful of you in my prayers,

Robert Glover.

But receiving no anſwers to my letters, I conjectured, that when the biſhop and the chancellor had ſeen them, they moved them rather to have me away, being more deſirous (as I ſuppoſe) to have had me diſpatched privily in priſon, than to bring me openly to my anſwer; as did in ſome meaſure appear by the treatment I met with at my firſt coming to priſon.

Certain ſerjeants and conſtables of Coventry being appointed to have the conveying of us to Litchfield, to be delivered there to one Jephcot the chancellor's man, ſent from Coventry with us for the ſame purpoſe, we were commanded to be on horſeback about eleven or twelve of the clock on Friday, being market-day, that we might be the more gazed at: and to ſet the people's hearts more againſt us, they did proclaim a letter concerning a proclamation made for calling in and diſannulling of all ſuch books as truly expound and interpret the ſcriptures. We came to Litchfield about four of the clock at night, and had leave to repoſe ourſelves for ſupper-time. We put in at the ſign of the Swan, where we were entertained friendly and gently.

After ſupper Jephcot repaired to us, whom we intreated that upon ſureties we might reſt ourſelves that night, being unprovided of any thing to help ourſelves withal in the priſon at that preſent. He ſeemed willing at firſt, but afterwards (whether by perſuaſion, but I rather ſuppoſe out of policy, till he could gather a multitude to ſtare and gaze upon us, and alſo that we ſhould provide nothing to eaſe ourſelves withal) he revoked his promiſe, and ſo by conſent we were carried to priſon, in the ſight of a great multitude of people. I deſired Jephcot before to execute his office with mercy, telling him that they ſhould have judgment without mercy, that ſhewed no mercy. And this mercy I found at his hand.

He put me into a priſon that ſame night, where I continued till I was condemned, in a place next the dungeon, where was ſmall room, ſtrong building, and very cold, with little light, and there he allowed me a bundle of ſtraw inſtead of my bed, without chair, form, or any thing elſe to eaſe myſelf withal. God of his mercy gave me great patience through prayer that night, ſo that if it had been his pleaſure, I could have been contented to have ended my life: but Jephcot and one Perſey the biſhop's man, who afterwards was my continual keeper for the moſt part, came to me in the morning, to whom I ſaid, This is a great extremity, God ſend us patience; and no more.

Then they were content that I ſhould have a bed of my own procuring. But I was allowed no help, neither night nor day, nor company of any man, notwithſtanding my great ſickneſs; nor yet paper, pen nor ink, or books, except my New Teſtament in Latin, and a Prayer-book which I privily ſtole in.

Within two days after, Mr. Chancellor and Mr. Temſey a prebendary there, came to me into my priſon. Mr. Chancellor exhorted me to conform myſelf to my lord and to the church. He wiſhed no more hurt to my ſoul than to his own: belike becauſe I had laid to his charge at Coventry the ſeeking of my blood unjuſtly and wrongfully.

Now thus the ſecond time I anſwered Mr. Chancellor to his exhortation, That I refuſed not to be ruled by that church, that was content to be ordered and governed by the word of God.

Chancellor. How know you the word of God, but by the church?

Glover. The church ſheweth which is the word of God, therefore the church is above the word of God.

This is no good reaſon in learning, ſaid I to Mr. Chancellor. For it is like unto this; John ſhewed the people who was Chriſt: Ergo, John was above Chriſt. Or elſe, I have a man that knoweth not the king, and I tell him who was the king, am I therefore above the king?

Mr. Chancellor ſaid, he came not to reaſon with me; and ſo departed. And I remained for the ſpace of eight days without any further conference with any man, until the biſhop's coming; in which time I gave myſelf continually to prayer, and meditation of the merciful promiſes of God made unto all, without exception of perſon, that call upon the name of his dear Son Jeſus Chriſt. I found in myſelf daily amendment of health of body, increaſe of peace in conſcience, and many conſolations from God, by the help of his Holy Spirit, and ſometimes as it were a taſte and glimmering of the life to come; all for his only Son Jeſus Chriſt's ſake: to him be all praiſe for ever and ever.

The enemy ceaſed not many times ſundry ways to aſſault me, often objecting to my conſcience mine own unworthineſs, through the greatneſs of the benefit to be counted among the number of them that ſhould ſuffer for Chriſt, for his goſpel ſake. Againſt him I replied with the word of God on this ſort, What were all thoſe whom God had choſen from the beginning, to be his witneſſes, and to carry his name before the world? Were they not men, as Paul and Barnabas ſaid, as well ſubject to wickedneſs, ſin, and imperfections, as other men be? Even

ſuch were Noah, Abraham, David, and all the reſt. "Who gave firſt unto him," as Paul ſaith. And alſo ſpeaking to every man: "What haſt thou that thou receivedſt not?" Likewiſe John, "All have received of his fulneſs:" they were no bringers of any goodneſs to God, but altogether receivers. They choſe not God firſt, but he choſe them. They loved not God firſt, but he loved them firſt. Yea, he both loved and choſe them when they were his enemies, full of ſin and corruption, and void of all goodneſs. He is and will be ſtill the ſame God, as rich in mercy, as mighty, as able, as ready, as willing to forgive ſins without reſpect of perſons, to the world's end, of all them that call upon him. "The Lord is nigh unto all that call upon him: to all that call upon him in truth." God is near, he is at hand, he is with all, with all (I ſay), and refuſeth none, excepteth none that faithfully in true repentance call upon him, in what hour, what place, or what time ſoever it be. It is no arrogancy nor preſumption in any man, to burthen God (as it were) with his promiſe, and of duty to claim and challenge his aid, help and aſſiſtance in all our perils, dangers and diſtreſs, calling upon him, not in the confidence of our own godlineſs, but in the truſt of his promiſes made in Chriſt, in whom and by whom, and for whoſe ſake, whoſoever boldly approacheth to the mercy-ſeat of the Father, is ſure to receive whatſoever is expedient or neceſſary, either for body or ſoul, in a more bountiful manner, than he can well wiſh, or dare deſire. His word cannot lye, "Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear thee, and thou ſhalt praiſe me."

I anſwered the enemy alſo on this manner; I am a ſinner, and therefore unworthy to be a witneſs of his truth. What then? muſt I deny his word, becauſe I am not worthy to profeſs it? what bring I to paſs in ſo doing, but add ſin to ſin? what is greater ſin, than to deny the truth of Chriſt's goſpel? as Chriſt himſelf beareth witneſs, "He that is aſhamed of me or of my words, of him I alſo will be aſhamed before my Father and all his angels. I might alſo for the like reaſon neglect obedience to any of God's commandments.

When I am provoked to pray, the enemy may ſay to me, I am not worthy to pray, therefore I ſhall not pray: and ſo in like manner of all the commandments, I ſhall not forbear ſwearing, ſtealing, or murdering, becauſe I am not worthy to keep any commandment of God. Theſe be the deluſions of the devil, and Satan's ſuggeſtions, which muſt be overcome by continual prayer, and with the word of God applied according to the meaſure of every man's gift, againſt all aſſaults of the devil.

At the biſhop's firſt coming to Litchfield, after mine impriſonment. I was called into a by-chamber next to my priſon, to my lord. Before whom when I came, and ſaw none but his officers, chaplains and ſervants, except it were an old prieſt, I was partly amazed, and lifted up my heart to God for his merciful help and aſſiſtance.

My lord aſked me how I liked my impriſonment: I gave him no anſwer touching that queſtion. He proceeded to perſuade me to be a member of his church, which had continued ſo many years. As for your church (ſaid he to me), it was not known but lately in king Edward's time.

I profeſs myſelf to be a member of that church (ſaid I) that is built upon the foundation of the apoſtles and prophets, Jeſus Chriſt being the head corner-ſtone; and ſo alledged the place of St. Paul to the Epheſians. And this church hath been from the beginning (I ſaid), though it bear no glorious ſhew before the world, being ever, for the moſt part, under the croſs and affliction, contemned, deſpiſed, and perſecuted. My lord contended, on the other ſide, that they were the church.

So cried all the clergy (ſaid I) againſt the prophets of Jeruſalem, ſaying, "The church of the Lord, the church of the Lord." And always when I was about to ſpeak any thing, my lord cried, Hold thy peace, I command thee by the virtue of thy obedience to hold thy peace, calling me a proud arrogant heretic.

I deſired my lord to lay ſomething to my charge in particular, and then to convince me with ſome ſcriptures and good learning.

Then my lord began to move certain queſtions. I refuſed to anſwer him in corners, requiring that I might make my anſwer openly. He ſaid, I ſhould anſwer him there. I ſtood with him upon that point till he ſaid I ſhould go to priſon again, and there have neither meat nor drink till I had anſwered him.

Then I lifted up my heart to God, that I might ſtand and agree with the doctrine of his moſt holy word.

The firſt queſtion was this, How many ſacraments Chriſt inſtituted to be uſed in the church?

The ſacrament of baptiſm, ſaid I, and the ſacrament that he inſtituted at his laſt ſupper.

No more? ſaid he.

Then ſaid I, To all thoſe that declare a true and unfeigned repentance, a ſure hope, truſt and confidence in the death of Chriſt, to ſuch, miniſters (I grant) have authority to pronounce, by the power of God's word, the remiſſion of ſins.

Here interrupting me, he would needs bear me in hand that I called this a ſacrament: I would not greatly contend with him in that point, becauſe the matter was of no great weight or importance; although he in ſo doing did me wrong, for I called it not a ſacrament.

He aſked me further, Whether I allowed their confeſſion?

I anſwered, No.

Then the biſhop would know my mind, what I thought of the preſence of Chriſt's body in the ſacrament.

I anſwered, That their maſs was neither ſacrifice nor ſacrament, becauſe (ſaid I) you have taken away the true inſtitution, which when you reſtore again, I will tell you my judgment concerning Chriſt's body in the ſacrament.

And thus much did this worthy martyr of God leave behind him in his own hand-writing, concerning the manner of his uſage in priſon, and alſo of his conflicts with the biſhop and his chancellor. More examinations he had (no doubt) with the biſhop in the public conſiſtory, when he was brought forth to be condemned, which he would alſo have left unto us, if either length of life, or leiſure of time, or haſte of execution, had permitted him to finiſh what he intended; but by reaſon of the writ of his burning being come down from London, want of time did neither ſerve him ſo to do, neither yet could I get the records of his laſt examination, whereſoever they are become.

Only this which I could learn by the relation of one Auguſtine Bernher, a miniſter, and a familiar friend of his, concerning the going to his death, I can report; That the ſaid Mr. Robert Glover, after he was condemned by the biſhop, and was now at a point to be delivered out of this world, it ſo happened, that two or three days before, his heart being lumpiſh, and deſolate of all ſpiritual conſolation, felt in himſelf no aptneſs or willingneſs, but rather a heavineſs and dullneſs of ſpirit, full of much diſcomfort to bear the bitter croſs of martyrdom ready to be laid upon him.

Whereupon fearing in himſelf leſt the Lord had utterly withdrawn his wonted favour from him, made his moan to this Auguſtine his friend above-mentioned, ſignifying unto him how earneſtly he had prayed day and night unto the Lord, and yet could receive no motion nor ſenſe of any comfort from him.

Unto whom the ſaid Auguſtine anſwering again, deſired him patiently to wait the Lord's pleaſure, and howſoever his preſent feeling was yet, ſeeing his cauſe was juſt and true, he exhorted him conſtantly to ſtick to the ſame,

ſame, and to play the man, nothing miſdoubting but the Lord in his good time would viſit him, and ſatisfy his deſire with plenty of conſolation: whereof (he ſaid) he was right certain and ſure; and therefore deſired him, whenſoever any ſuch feeling of God's heavenly mercies ſhould begin to touch his heart, that then he ſhould ſhew ſome ſignification thereof, whereby he might witneſs with him the ſame; and ſo departed from him.

The next day, when the time came of his martyrdom, as he was going to the place, and was come within ſight of the ſtake (although all the night before praying for ſtrength and courage he could feel none), ſuddenly he was ſo mightily repleniſhed with God's holy comfort and heavenly joys, that he cried out, clapping his hands to Auſtin, and ſaying theſe words, "Auſtin, He is come, He is come!" &c. and that with ſuch joy and alacrity, as one ſeeming rather to be riſen from ſome deadly danger to liberty of life, than as one paſſing out of the world by any pains of death. Such was the change of the marvellous working of the Lord's hand upon that good man.

Cornelius Bungey, Fellow-Martyr with Mr. Robert Glover.

IN the ſame fire with Mr. Glover, Cornelius Bungey of Coventry was likewiſe burnt, who was condemned by the ſaid biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield. As concerning the articles which were objected to him, the effect thereof was this.

Firſt, It was objected againſt him, that theſe three years laſt, in the city of Coventry and Litchfield, and places thereabout, he did hold, maintain, argue and teach, that the prieſt hath no power here to abſolve any ſinner from his ſins.

Secondly, That by baptiſm ſins are not waſhed away, becauſe he ſaid that the waſhing of the fleſh purgeth the fleſh outwardly, and not the ſoul.

Thirdly, That there be in the church only two ſacraments, that is, baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper.

Fourthly, That in the ſacrament of the popiſh altar, was not the real body and blood of Chriſt, but the ſubſtance of bread and wine there remaining ſtill, becauſe St. Paul called it bread and wine, &c.

Fifthly, That he within the compaſs of the ſaid years and time, did hold, maintain, and defend, that the pope is not the head of the viſible church here on earth, &c.

Sixthly, That he was of the dioceſe and juriſdiction of the biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield, &c.

Seventhly, That the premiſſes are true, manifeſt and notorious, and that upon the ſame there hath been and is a public voice and fame, as well in the places above rehearſed, as in other quarters alſo about, &c.

To which articles he anſwered again;

To the firſt he granted, and to every part thereof, meaning after the popiſh manner of abſolution.

To the ſecond he granted firſt, after revoked the ſame.

To the third alſo he granted, adding withal, that in ſcripture there is no more contained.

To the fourth, touching the ſacrament, he granted, and to every part thereof.

To the fifth concerning the pope likewiſe.

Alſo to the ſixth he granted, and likewiſe to the ſeventh.

Upon theſe articles and his anſwers to the ſame, the ſaid Radulph the biſhop read the ſentence, and ſo committed him alſo, after condemnation of Mr. Robert Glover, to the ſecular power.

Thus this aforeſaid Cornelius, falſly condemned by the biſhop beforementioned, ſuffered at the ſame ſtake with the chriſtian martyr Mr. Robert Glover at Coventry, about the twentieth day of September.

The Hiſtory of John Glover and William Glover, who were excommunicated after their Death, and buried in the Fields.

JOhn and William Glover, the two brothers of Robert Glover, the martyr, ought not to be omitted in this hiſtory, although they were not called to finiſh their courſe in fire, as their brother and other martyrs were; yet they were caſt out of the church, and excommunicated even after they were dead, and denied chriſtian burial.

And firſt concerning Mr. John Glover the eldeſt brother, what inward ſtorms and agonies he ſuſtained by the ghoſtly enemy, ye have partly heard before deſcribed: now what his bodily enemies wrought againſt him, remaineth to be declared. Whoſe rage and malice, although God reſtrained, that they could little prevail againſt him ſo long as his life endured, yet after his deceaſe, having power upon him, what they did ye ſhall now underſtand.

After the martyrdom of Mr. Robert Glover, although John Glover, ſeeing his brother to be apprehended for him, had ſmall joy of his life for the great ſorrow of his heart, wherewith he was ſore oppreſſed, and would gladly have put himſelf in his brother's ſtead, if his friends had not otherwiſe perſuaded him, ſhewing that in ſo doing he might entangle himſelf, but could do his brother no good. He thus remained in great care and vexation, yet notwithſtanding endured as well as he could, till at length about the latter end of queen Mary, there was a new ſearch made for the ſaid John Glover.

Whereupon the ſheriffs, with their under officers and ſervants, being ſent to ſeek him, came into his houſe where he and his wife were. It chanced as he was in the chamber by himſelf, the officers burſting into the houſe, and ſearching other rooms, came to the chamber door where John Glover was, who being within, and holding the latch ſoftly with his hand, perceived and heard the officers buſtling about the door, among whom one of the ſaid officers having the ſtring in his hand, was ready to draw and pluck at the ſame.

In the mean time another coming by (whoſe voice he heard and knew), bade them come away, ſaying they had been there before. Whereupon they departing thence, went to ſearch other corners of the houſe, where they found Agnes Glover his wife, who being carried to Litchfield, and there examined before the biſhop, at length, after much ado, was conſtrained to give place to their tyranny. John Glover in the mean time, partly for care of his wife, partly through cold taken in the woods where he did lie, took an ague, whereupon not long after he left his life, which the cruel papiſts ſo long had ſought for.

Thus by the mighty protection of the Almighty Lord, how John Glover was delivered and defended from the hands of the perſecuting enemies during all the time of his life, ye have heard. Now what befel after his death, both to him and his brother William, is worthy to be remembered. Who after he was dead, and buried in the church-yard without prieſt or clerk, Dr. Dracot, then chancellor, ſix weeks after, ſent for the parſon of the town, and demanded how it happened that he was there buried. The parſon anſwered, that he was then ſick, and knew not of it. Then the chancellor commanded the parſon to go home, and to cauſe the body of the ſaid John Glover to be taken up, and to be caſt over the wall into the highway: the parſon again anſwered, that he had been ſix weeks in the earth, and ſo ſmelled, that none were able to endure it. Well, quoth Dr. Dracot, then take this bill, and pronounce him in the pulpit a damned ſoul, and a twelvemonth after take up his bones (for then the fleſh will be conſumed), and caſt them over the wall, that the carts and horſes may tread upon them, and then I will come and hallow again that place in the church-

church-yard where he was buried. Recorded by the parſon of the town, who told the ſame to Hugh Burrows, dwelling at Fynden, in Derbyſhire, and to Mr. Robert Glover's wife, by whoſe credible information we received the ſame.

Not much unlike uſage was practiſed alſo by theſe catholic children of the mother church upon the body of William the third brother, whom after it had pleaſed Almighty God about the ſame ſeaſon to call out of this vale of miſery, the well diſpoſed people of the town of Weme in Shropſhire, where he died, brought the body into the pariſh church, intending there to have it buried. But one Bernard being then curate of the ſaid church (and yet is, as I hear ſay, to this day), to ſtop the burial thereof, rode to the biſhop named Ralph Baine, to certify him of the matter, and to have his advice therein. In the mean time the body lying there a whole day, in the night-time one Richard Morice, a taylor, would have interred him. But then came John Thorlyne, of Weme, with ſome others, and would not ſuffer the body to be buried; expreſſing to us the contrary examples of good Tobit; for as he was religious in burying the dead, ſo this man putteth religion in not burying the dead; ſo that after he had lain there two days and one night, the aforeſaid Bernard the curate came with the biſhop's letter, the contents of which letter, being copied out word for word, here followeth.

A Copy of the Biſhop's Letter, written to the Pariſh of Weme.

UNderſtanding that one Glover, an heretic, is dead in the pariſh of Weme, which Glover hath, all the time of my being in this country, been known for a rebel againſt our holy faith and religion, a contemner of the holy ſacraments and ceremonies uſed in the holy church, and hath ſeparated himſelf from the holy communion of all good chriſtian men, and never required to be reconciled to our mother holy church, nor in his laſt days did call for his ghoſtly father, but died without all rites belonging to a chriſtian man; I thought it good not only to command the curate of Weme, that he ſhould not be buried in chriſtian man's burial, but alſo will and command all the pariſh of Weme, that no man procure, help, nor ſpeak to have him buried in holy ground: but I do charge and command the churchwardens of Weme in ſpecial, and all the pariſh of the ſame, that they aſſiſt the ſaid curate in defending and hindering, and procuring that he be not buried in the church, or within the walls of the church-yard: and likewiſe I charge thoſe that brought the body to the place, to carry it away again, and that at their charge, as they will anſwer at their peril. At Eccleſch, this ſixth of September, 1558.

By your Ordinary, Radulph,
Coventry and Litchfield.

By virtue of this aforeſaid letter, ſo it fell out, that they who brought the corpſe thither, were obliged to carry it back again at their own charges. But as the body was corrupted and ſmelt ſo ſtrong, that no man could well come near it, they were forced to draw it with horſes into a broom-field, and there he was buried.

Witneſſes of the godly end of the ſaid William Glover, dying in the true faith and confeſſion of Chriſt: Mr. Nowell dean of Litchfield, George Wileſtone and his wife, Thomas Conſtantine, Roger Wydhouſe, John Prynne, George Torpelley, &c.

The like example of charitable affection in theſe catholic churchmen, is alſo to be ſeen and noted in the burying one Edward Burton, Eſq; who in the ſame dioceſe of Cheſter, departing out of this world the very day before queen Elizabeth was crowned, required of his friends, as they would anſwer for it, that his body ſhould be buried in his pariſh church (which was St. Chad's in Shrewſbury), ſo that no maſs-monger ſhould be preſent thereat. Which thing being declared to the curate of that pariſh, named Sir John Marſhall, and the body being withal brought to the burial, upon the ſame day when the queen was crowned, the curate being therewith offended, ſaid plainly, that he ſhould not be buried in the church there.

Whereunto one of the friends of the deceaſed, named George Torpelley, anſwering again, ſaid, That God would judge him in the laſt day, &c. Then ſaid the prieſt, Judge God or devil, the body ſhall not come there. And ſo they buried him in his own garden, where he is, no doubt, as near the kingdom of heaven, as if he had been buried in the midſt of the church.

Moreover, in the ſaid county of Salop, I find that one Oliver Richardine of the pariſh of Whitchurch, was burnt in Haverford-weſt, Sir John Ygone being ſheriff the ſame time, which ſeemeth to be about the laſt year of king Henry the eighth. Whoſe name, as it was not mentioned before, I thought here to give ſome little touch of him, having now in hand to ſpeak of the perſecution within the dioceſe of Coventry and Litchfield.

The Martyrdom of William Wolſey, and Robert Pygot, Painter.

WIlliam Wolſey and Robert Pygot, both inhabitants of the town of Wiſbich, were the next condemned after the ſuffering of Robert Glover and Cornelius Bungey. Theſe two bleſſed martyrs were judged and condemned at Ely, by John Fuller, the biſhop's chancellor of Ely, Dr. Shaxton his ſuffragan: Robert Stewart, dean of Ely; John Chriſtopherſon, dean of Norwich, October 9, 1555. The ſaid William Wolſey, who was then a conſtable, was brought into trouble by the procurement of one Richard Everard, gentleman, a juſtice appointed for thoſe days, who extremely handled the ſaid William Wolſey, and cauſed him to put in ſureties for his good behaviour and appearance at the next general ſeſſions held within the Iſle of Ely.

Being called again at the next ſeſſions, he was ſtill conſtrained to put in new ſureties, which at length he refuſed to do, and ſo was commanded to jail at the aſſize held at Ely, in Lent.

In the Eaſter week following, Dr. Fuller the chancellor, with Chriſtopherſon, and one Dr. Yong, came to confer with him, who laid earneſtly to his charge that he was out of the catholic faith, willing him to meddle no further with the ſcriptures, than it did become ſuch a lay-man as he was, to do. The ſaid William Wolſey ſtanding ſtill a great while, ſuffering them to ſay their pleaſure, at laſt he anſwered in this wiſe; Good Mr. Doctor, what did our Saviour Chriſt mean when he ſpake theſe words written in the 23d chapter of St. Matthew's goſpel? "Wo be unto you, ſcribes and phariſees, hypocrites; for ye ſhut up the kingdom of heaven againſt men; for ye neither go in yourſelves, neither ſuffer ye them that are entering, to go in."

Yea, ſaith Dr. Fuller, you muſt underſtand, that Chriſt ſpake to the ſcribes and phariſees.

Nay, Mr. Doctor, (ſaid Wolſey) Chriſt ſpake even to you, and your fellows here preſent, and to all others ſuch as you be.

Away Mr. Doctor, ſaid Chriſtopherſon, for you can do no good with this man. Yet, ſaith Dr. Fuller, I will leave thee a book to read, I promiſe thee, of a learned man's doctrine, that is to ſay, of Dr. Watſon's doing (who was then biſhop of Lincoln).

Wolſey receiving the ſame book, did diligently read it over, which in many places did manifeſtly appear contrary to the known truth of God's word. At length, a fort-

Engraved for Fox's Book of Martyrs.

The Martyrdom of W. Wolfey & R. Pygot at Ely.

The Martyrdom of C. Bungey & R. Glover, at Coventry.

The manner of Burying W. Wiseman in the Fields, who died in Prison.

G. Terry Sculp.

Publish'd as the Act directs for H. Trapp, Paternoster Row.

Pater-noster Row.

BRITISH
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a fortnight or three weeks following, the ſaid Dr. Fuller reſorting again to the priſon to confer with the ſaid Wolſey, aſked him how he liked the ſaid book (thinking that he had won him by the reading of the ſame); who anſwered, him and ſaid, Sir, I like the book no otherwiſe than I thought before I ſhould find it. Whereupon the chancellor taking his book, departed home.

At night when Dr. Fuller came to his chamber to look on it, he found in many places, contrary to his mind, the book raſed with a pen by the ſaid Wolſey. Which he ſeeing, and being vexed therewith, ſaid, O this is an obſtinate heretic, and hath quite marred my book.

Then the aſſizes to be held at Wiſbich drawing nigh, Dr. Fuller cometh again to the ſaid Wolſey, and ſpake unto him on this manner: Thou doſt much trouble my conſcience, wherefore I pray thee depart, and rule thy tongue, ſo that I hear no more complaint of thee, and come to the church when thou wilt; and if thou be complained upon, ſo far as I may, I promiſe thee I will not hear of it.

Mr. Doctor, ſaid Wolſey, I was brought hither by a law, and by a law I will be delivered.

Then being brought to the ſeſſions before named, Wolſey was laid in the caſtle at Wiſbich, he and all his friends thinking, that he ſhould have ſuffered there at that preſent time, but it proved otherwiſe.

Then Robert Pygot, the painter, being at liberty, was there preſented by ſome evil diſpoſed perſons (ſworn men as they called them), for not coming to the church.

The ſaid Pygot being called in the ſeſſions, would not abſent himſelf, but there did plainly appear before Sir Clement Hygham being judge, who ſaid unto him; Ah, are you the holy father the painter? How chance ye came not to the church? Sir, quoth the painter, I am not out of the church, I truſt in God.

No, Sir, ſaid the judge, this is no church, this is a hall. Yea, Sir, ſaid Pygot, I know very well it is a hall: but he that is in the true faith of Jeſus Chriſt, is never abſent, but preſent in the church of God.

Ah Sirrah, ſaid the judge, you are too high learned for me to talk withal, wherefore I will ſend you to them that are better learned than I, ſtraightways commanding him to the jail where Wolſey lay. So the ſeſſions being broke up and ended, the ſaid Wolſey and Pygot were carried again to Ely in priſon, where they both remained till the day of their death.

In the mean time ſome of their neighbours of Wiſbich being at Ely, came to ſee how they did. There came thither alſo a chaplain of biſhop Goodrick's, a Frenchman born, one Peter Valentius, who ſaid to the ſaid Wolſey and Pygot: My brethren, according to my office I am come to talk with you, for I have been amner here theſe twenty years and above. Wherefore I muſt deſire you, my brethren, to take it in good part that I am come to talk with you, I promiſe you not to pull you from your faith. But I both require and deſire in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, that you ſtand to the truth of the goſpel and word, and I beſeech the Almighty God, for his Son Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, to preſerve both you and me in the ſame unto the end. For I know not myſelf (my brethren) how ſoon I ſhall be at the ſame point that you are. Thus with many other like words he made an end, cauſing all that were there preſent to water their cheeks, contrary to the expectation they all had of him. God be praiſed therefore.

Then within a ſhort time after, Pygot and Wolſey were called to judgment about the 9th day of October, before Dr. Fuller then chancellor, with old Dr. Shaxton, Chriſtopherſon and others in commiſſion, who laid earneſtly to their charge for their belief in divers articles, but eſpecially the ſacrament of the altar. Whereunto their anſwer was, That the ſacrament of the altar was an idol, and that the natural body and blood of Chriſt was not preſent really in the ſaid ſacrament; and to this opinion they ſaid they would ſtick, perfectly believing the ſame to be no hereſy that they had affirmed, but the very truth, whereunto they would ſtand. Then the doctors ſaid, that they were out of the catholic faith.

Then Dr. Shaxton ſaid unto them, Good brethren, remember yourſelves, and become new men, for I myſelf was in this fond opinion that you are now in, but I am now become a new man.

Ah, ſaid Wolſey, are you become a new man? wo be to thee, thou wicked new man, for God ſhall juſtly judge thee.

Dr. Fuller then ſpake, ſaying, This Wolſey is an obſtinate fellow, and one that I could never do good upon. But as for the painter, he is a man quiet and indifferent (as far as I perceive), and is ſoon reformed, and may very well be delivered for any ill opinion I find in him.

Then Chriſtopherſon called for pen and ink, and wrote theſe words following; I Robert Pygot do believe, that after the words of conſecration ſpoken by the prieſt, there remaineth no more bread and wine, but the very body and blood of Chriſt really and ſubſtantially, the ſelf-ſame that was born of the virgin Mary: and reading it to the painter, he ſaid thus, Doſt thou believe all this according as it is written?

No, Sir, ſaid the painter, that is your faith, and not mine.

Chriſtopher. Lo, Dr. Fuller, you would have let this fellow go, he is as much an heretic as the other. And ſo immediately judgment was given upon them to die. Which done, after the ſentence read, they were ſent again to priſon, where they lay till the day of their death. On which day, one Peacock, a bachelor of divinity, being appointed to preach, took his text out of the firſt epiſtle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, chap. 5. of one that had lived inordinately by abuſing his father's wife; likening the ſaid Pygot and Wolſey to the ſame man, oftentimes ſaying, that ſuch members muſt be cut off from the congregation, moſt maliciouſly reporting the ſaid Wolſey to be clean out of the faith, and in many places quite denying the ſcriptures.

So his ſermon being ended, the aforeſaid Pygot and Wolſey were brought to the place of execution, and ſo bound to the ſtake with a chain, thither came one Sir Richard Collinſon a prieſt, at that time deſtitute of any abiding place or ſettled benefice, who ſaid unto Wolſey; Brother Wolſey, the preacher hath openly reported in his ſermon this day, that you are quite out of the catholic faith, and deny baptiſm, and that you do err in the holy ſcripture; wherefore I beſeech you for the certifying of my conſcience, with others here preſent, that you declare in what place of the ſcripture you do err or find fault.

Wolſey. I take the eternal and everlaſting God to witneſs, that I do err in no part or point of God's book, the holy bible, but hold and believe in the ſame to be moſt firm and ſound doctrine in all points moſt worthy for my ſalvation, and for all other chriſtians to the end of the world. Whatſoever mine adverſaries report of me, God forgive them therefore. With that came one to the fire with a great ſheet full of books to burn, like as they had been New Teſtaments. O, ſaid Wolſey, give me one of them, and Pygot deſired another, both of them clapping them cloſe to their breaſts, ſaying the 106th Pſalm, deſiring all the people to ſay Amen, and ſo received the fire moſt thankfully. Witneſſes and informers hereof were, Robert Scortred, Robert Crane, Edward Story, Robert Kendall, Richard Beſt, &c.

Concerning the ſtory of William Wolſey, I received moreover from the univerſity of Cambridge, by a credible perſon, and my faithful friend William Fulke, this relation, which I thought in this place not improper to be notified to the reader in order and form as followeth.

There were two godly martyrs burnt at Ely, the one named Wolſey, the other Pygot. In theſe two appeared a different diſpoſition of ſpirit. Pygot was mild, humble, and modeſt, promiſing that he would be conformable to his perſecutors, if they could perſuade him by the ſcrip-

ture. Wolſey was ſtout, ſtrong, and vehement, as one having the fullneſs of the Spirit, and deteſted all their doings, as of whom he was ſure to receive nothing but cruelty and tyranny. He was wonderfully jealous over his companion, fearing leſt his gentle nature would have been overcome by the flattering enticements of the world, and therefore the ſame day that they were burnt, when they would have talked with him alone, he pulled him away from them almoſt by force. He was ſo deſirous to glorify God with his ſuffering, that being wonderful ſore tormented in the priſon with the tooth-ach, he feared nothing more than that he ſhould depart before the day of execution (which he called his glad day) were come.

This Wolſey being in priſon at Ely, was viſited by Thomas Hodilo, brewer in Ely. To him he delivered certain money to be diſtributed (as he appointed) part to his wife, and part to his kinsfolks and friends, and eſpecially ſix ſhillings and eight-pence to be delivered to one Richard Denton, a ſmith, dwelling at Wells, in Cambridgeſhire, within the juriſdiction of the iſle of Ely, with his commendation, that he marvelled that he tarried ſo long behind him, ſeeing that he was the firſt that delivered him the book of ſcripture into his hand, and told him that it was the truth, deſiring him to make haſte after as faſt as he could.

This Thomas Hodilo, both to avoid the danger of the time, and to have a witneſs of his doings herein, delivered the ſaid ſum of money to one Mr. Laurence, a preacher in Eſſex (who then reſorted often to his houſe), to be diſtributed as Wolſey had appointed; which thing he performed, riding from place to place. And when this ſix ſhillings and eight-pence was delivered to Richard Denton, with the commendation aforeſaid: his anſwer was this, I confeſs it is true, but, alas! I cannot burn. This was almoſt one whole year after Wolſey was burnt. But he that could not burn for the cauſe of Chriſt, was afterwards burnt againſt his will, even after Chriſt had given peace to his church. For in the year of our Lord 1564, on Tueſday being the 18th day of April, his houſe was ſet on fire, and he going to ſave his goods, periſhed in the flames, with two others that were in the ſame houſe.

Witneſſed by Tho. Hodilo and Will. Fulke.

Not much unlike this, was the example of Mr. Weſt, chaplain to biſhop Ridley, who refuſing to die in the cauſe of Chriſt with his maſter, ſaid maſs againſt his conſcience, and died ſoon after.

The Hiſtory of Dr. Nicholas Ridley and Mr. Hugh Latimer, both Biſhops, Preachers, and Martyrs of Chriſt, with their Conferences and Sufferings deſcribed.

ON the 16th of October, 1555 (the day on which William Wolſey and Thomas Pygot ſuffered at Ely), thoſe two famous and ſingular captains, the principal pillars of Chriſt's church, Dr. Nicholas Ridley, biſhop of London, and Mr. H. Latimer, ſometime biſhop of Worceſter, were cruelly burnt in one fire at Oxford. Men, ever memorable for their piety, learning, and incomparable ornaments and gifts of grace, joined with no leſs commendable ſincerity of life, as the whole realm can ſufficiently teſtify; ſo it needeth not greatly that we ſhould ſtand exactly at this time in ſetting forth a full deſcription of the ſame, but only to comprehend briefly in a few words, touching the order of their lives, ſo much as neceſſarily ſerveth to the due inſtruction of the reader, and maketh to the uſe of this preſent hiſtory, in declaring firſt their beginning and bringing up, then their ſtudies and acts in the univerſity, their preferments alſo by their ſtudies to higher dignity, at laſt their care and trouble in ſetting forth religion, and in maintaining the ſame to the ſhedding of their blood. And firſt to begin with the life of Dr. Ridley, whoſe ſtory here enſueth.

Among many other worthy hiſtories and notable acts of ſuch as of late days have been troubled, murdered and martyred for the true goſpel of Chriſt in queen Mary's reign, the tragical ſtory and life of Dr. Ridley, I thought good to commend to chronicle, and leave to perpetual memory; beſeeching thee (gentle reader) with care and ſtudy well to peruſe, diligently to conſider, and deeply to print the ſame in thy breaſt, ſeeing him to be a man beautified with ſuch excellent qualities, ſo ghoſtly inſpired, and godly learned, and now written doubtleſs in the book of life, with the bleſſed ſaints of the Almighty, crowned and enthroned amongſt the glorious company of martyrs. Firſt, deſcending of a ſtock right worſhipful, he was born in the county of Northumberland, who being a child, learned his grammar with great dexterity in Newcaſtle, and was removed from thence to the univerſity of Cambridge, where he in ſhort time became ſo famous, that for his ſingular aptneſs, he was called to higher functions and offices of the univerſity, by degrees attaining thereunto; and was called to the head of Pembroke-Hall, and there made doctor of divinity. After this, departing from thence, he travelled to Paris, and at his return was made chaplain to king Henry the eighth, and promoted afterwards by him to the biſhoprick of Rocheſter, and from thence tranſlated to the ſee and biſhoprick of London in king Edward's days.

In which calling and offices he ſo diligently occupied himſelf by preaching and teaching the true and wholeſome doctrine of Chriſt, that no good child was more ſingularly loved by his dear parents, than he by his flock and dioceſe. Every holiday and Sunday he preached in ſome one place or other, except he were otherwiſe hindered by weighty affairs and buſineſs, to whoſe ſermons the people reſorted ſwarming about him like bees, and coveting the ſweet flowers and wholeſome juice of the fruitful doctrine, which he did not only preach, but ſhewed the ſame by his life, as a glittering lanthorn to the eyes and ſenſes of the blind, in ſuch pure order and chaſtity of life (declining from evil deſires and concupiſcences), that even his very enemies could not reprove him in any one jot thereof.

Beſides this, he was very well learned, his memory was great, and he of ſuch reading withal, that of right he deſerved to be compared to the beſt of this our age, as his notable works, pithy ſermons, and his ſundry diſputations in both the univerſities can well teſtify, and alſo his very adverſaries will ſay the ſame themſelves.

Beſides all this, he was wiſe of counſel, deep of wit, and very politic in all his doings. How merciful and careful he was to reduce the obſtinate papiſts from their erroneous opinions, and by gentleneſs to win them to the truth, his gentle ordering and courteous handling of Dr. Heath, late archbiſhop of York, being priſoner with him in king Edward's time in his houſe one year, ſufficiently declareth. In fine, he was ſuch a prelate, and in all points ſo good, pious and ſpiritual a man, that England may juſtly rue the loſs of ſo worthy a treaſure. And thus much concerning theſe public matters.

Now I will ſpeak ſomething further particularly of his perſon and conditions. He was a man right comely and well proportioned in all points, both in complexion and lineaments of the body. He took all things in good part, bearing no malice nor rancour from his heart, but ſtraitways forgetting all injuries and offences done againſt him. He was very kind and natural to his kinſfolk, and yet not bearing with them any otherwiſe than right would require, giving them always for a general rule, yea to his own brother and ſiſter, that they doing evil ſhould ſeek or look for nothing at his hand, but ſhould be as ſtrangers and aliens to him, and they to be his brother and ſiſter, who uſed honeſty and a godly trade of life.

He

He uſed all kinds of ways to mortify himſelf, and was much given to prayer and contemplation: For duly every morning, as ſoon as his apparel was put upon him, he went forthwith to his bed-chamber, and there upon his knees prayed the ſpace of half an hour; which being done, immediately he went to his ſtudy (if no other buſineſs came to interrupt him), where he continued till ten of the clock, and then came to the common prayer, daily uſed in his houſe. The prayers being done, he went to dinner; where he uſed little talk, except otherwiſe occaſion had been miniſtered, and then it was ſober, diſcreet and wiſe, and ſometimes merry, as cauſe required.

The dinner done, which was not very long, he uſed to ſit an hour or thereabouts talking, or playing at the cheſs: that done, he returned to his ſtudy, and there would continue, except ſuitors, or buſineſs abroad were occaſion of the contrary, until five of the clock at night, and then would come to common prayer, as in the forenoon; which being finiſhed, he went to ſupper, behaving himſelf there as at his dinner before. After ſupper recreating himſelf in playing at cheſs the ſpace of an hour, he would then return again to his ſtudy; continuing there till eleven of the clock at night, which was his common hour of going to bed, then ſaying his prayers upon his knees as in the morning when he roſe. Being at his manor of Fulham, as ſometimes he uſed to be, he read daily a lecture to his family at the common prayer, beginning at the Acts of the apoſtles, and ſo going through all the epiſtles of St. Paul, giving to every man that could read a New Teſtament, hiring them beſides with money to learn by heart certain principal chapters, but eſpecially the 13th chapter of the Acts of the apoſtles, reading alſo unto his houſhold oftentimes the 101ſt Pſalm, being marvellous careful over his family, that they might be a ſpectacle of all virtue and honeſty to others. To be ſhort, as he was godly and virtuous himſelf, ſo nothing but virtue and godlineſs reigned in his houſe, feeding them with the food of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

Now remaineth a word or two to be declared of his gentle nature and kind behaviour to old Mrs. Bonner, mother to Dr. Bonner ſometime biſhop of London, which I thought good to mention, as well for the rare clemency of Dr. Ridley, as the unworthy inhumanity and ungrateful diſpoſition again of Dr. Bonner. Biſhop Ridley being at his manor of Fulham, always ſent for the ſaid Mrs. Bonner, dwelling in a houſe adjoining to his houſe, to dinner and ſupper, with one Mrs. Mungey, Bonner's ſiſter, ſaying, Go for my mother Bonner; who coming, was always placed in the chair at the head of the table. being ſo gently treated, welcomed and taken, as though ſhe had been his own mother, being never diſplaced from her ſeat, although the king's council had been preſent; ſaying, when any of them were there (as ſeveral times they were), By your lordſhip's favour, this place of right and cuſtom is for my mother Bonner. But how well he was recompenſed for this his ſingular kindneſs, and gentle pity afterwards at the hands of the ſaid Dr. Bonner, almoſt the leaſt child that goeth on the ground can declare. For who afterwards was more enemy to Dr. Ridley than Dr. Bonner and his? Who more went about to ſeek his deſtruction than he? recompenſing this his gentleneſs with extreme cruelty: as well appeared by the ſtrict handling of Dr. Ridley's own ſiſter, and her huſband George Shipſide from time to time: whereas the gentleneſs of the other permitted Bonner's mother, ſiſter, and others of his kindred, not only quietly to enjoy all that which they had from biſhop Bonner, but alſo entertained them in his own houſe, ſhewing much courteſy and friendſhip daily unto them: whereas on the other ſide, biſhop Bonner being reſtored again, would not ſuffer the brother and ſiſter of biſhop Ridley, and others of his friends, not only not to enjoy that which they had by their ſaid brother biſhop Ridley, but alſo curriſhly, without all order of law or honeſty, wreſted from them all the livings they had.

And yet being not therewith ſatisfied, he ſought all the means he could to work the death of the foreſaid Shipſide, ſaying, that he would make twelve godfathers to go upon him; which indeed had been brought to paſs, at the time he was priſoner at Oxford, had not God otherwiſe wrought his deliverance by the means of Dr. Heath, then biſhop of Worceſter. Witneſſed by George Shipſide.

Whereby all good impartial readers may eaſily underſtand what great diverſity there was in the diſpoſition of theſe two natures. Inſomuch that as the one excelled in mercy and piety, ſo the other again, as much, or more, excelled in churliſh ingratitude, and deſpiteful diſdain. But of this matter enough.

Now concerning God's vocation, how Dr. Ridley was firſt called to the ſavouring and favouring of Chriſt and his goſpel, partly by his diſputation before, and by his other treatiſes it may appear, that the firſt occaſion of his converſion was by reading of Bertram's book of the ſacrament, whom alſo the conference with archbiſhop Cranmer, and with Peter Martyr, did not a little confirm in that behalf. Who now by the grace of God, being thoroughly won and brought to the true way, as he was before blind and zealous in his old ignorance, ſo was he conſtant and faithful in the right knowledge which the Lord had opened unto him (as well appeared by his life and doctrine during all the time of king Edward), and ſo long he did much good, when power and authority defended the goſpel, and ſupported the peace and happineſs of the church. But after it pleaſed God (in his wiſe providence) to bereave us of our ſtay, in taking from us that precious prince king Edward, the whole ſtate of the church of England was left deſolate and open to the enemies hand: ſo that biſhop Ridley, after the coming in of queen Mary, was one of the firſt that hands were laid on, and committed to priſon, as before hath been ſufficiently declared: firſt in the Tower, and from thence tranſlated with the archbiſhop of Canterbury and Mr. Latimer to Oxford, and with them incloſed in the common priſon of Bocardo, but at length being ſeparated from them, he was committed to cuſtody in the houſe of one Iriſh, where he remained till the day of his martyrdom, which was from the year of our Lord 1554, till October 16, 1555.

As for his diſputations at Oxford, his determination at Cambridge, his reaſons and conference in the Tower at the lieutenant's table, enough hath been ſaid already. Beſides, he had other conferences in priſon, both with Dr. Cranmer and Mr. Latimer, as here followeth to be read.

Conference between Dr. Ridley and Mr. Latimer in Priſon upon the Objections of Antonian, meaning by that Name ſome Popiſh Perſecutor, as Wincheſter, alluding thereby to the Story of Victor. lib. 3. De Perſecut. Aphri.

Dr. Ridley to Mr. Latimer.

IN writing again ye have done me an unſpeakable pleaſure, and I pray that the Lord may requite it you in that day. For I have received great comfort at your words: but yet I am not ſo filled withal, but that I thirſt much more now than before, to drink more of the cup of yours, wherein ye mingle unto me profitable with pleaſant. I pray you, good father, let me have one draught more to comfort my ſtomach. For ſurely except the Lord aſſiſt me with his gracious aid, in the time of his ſervice, I know I ſhall play but the part of a white-livered knight. But truly my truſt is in him, that in mine infirmity he ſhould try himſelf ſtrong, and that he can make the coward in his cauſe, to fight like a man.

Sir, now I daily look when Diotrephes with his warriors ſhall aſſault me: wherefore I pray you, good father, for

for that you are an old ſoldier, and an expert warrior, and God knoweth I am but a young ſoldier, and as yet of ſmall experience in theſe feats, help me, I pray you, to buckle my harneſs. And now I would have you to think, that theſe darts are caſt at my head by ſome of Diotrephes', or Antonius' ſoldiers.

Lat. Except the Lord help me, ye ſay. Truth it is. For without me, ſaith he, ye can do nothing, much leſs ſuffer death by our adverſaries, through the bloody law now prepared againſt us. But it followeth, If you abide in me, and my word abide in you, aſk what you will, and it ſhall be done for you. What can be more comfortable? Sir, you make anſwer yourſelf ſo well, that I cannot better it. Sir, I begin now to ſmell what you mean by travailing thus with me; you uſe me as Bilney once did, when he converted me, pretending as though he would be taught by me, he ſought ways and means to teach me, and ſo do you. I thank you therefore moſt heartily. For indeed you miniſter armour unto me, whereas I was unarmed before and unprovided, ſaving that I give myſelf to prayer for my refuge.

The firſt objection of the Antonian.

All men marvel greatly, why you, after the liberty you have granted unto you, more than the reſt, do not go to maſs, which is a thing much eſteemed of all men, yea, of the queen herſelf.

Rid. Becauſe no man that layeth hand on the plough and looketh back, is fit for the kingdom of God, and alſo for the ſelf-ſame cauſe why St. Paul would not ſuffer Titus to be circumciſed, which is, that the truth of the goſpel might remain with us uncorrupt, Gal. 2. And alſo, if I build again the things which I deſtroyed, I make myſelf a treſpaſſer. This is likewiſe another cauſe: leſt I ſhould ſeem by outward fact to allow the thing, which I am perſuaded is contrary to ſound doctrine, and ſo ſhould be a ſtumbling-block unto the weak. But woe be unto him by whom offence cometh: it were better for him that a mill-ſtone were hanged about his neck, and he caſt into the midſt of the ſea.

The ſecond objection of the Antonian.

What is it then that offendeth you ſo greatly in the maſs, that you will not vouchſafe once either to hear it or ſee it? And from whence cometh this new religion upon you? Have not you uſed in times paſt to ſay maſs yourſelf?

Rid. I confeſs unto you my fault and ignorance; but know you that for theſe matters I have done penance long ago, both at Paul's Croſs, and alſo openly in the pulpit at Cambridge, and I truſt God hath forgiven me this mine offence: for I did it ignorantly. But if you be deſirous to know, and will vouchſafe to hear what things do offend me in the maſs, I will rehearſe thoſe things which be moſt clear, and ſeem moſt manifeſtly to repugn againſt God's word, and they be theſe: The ſtrange tongue, the want of the ſhewing of the Lord's death the breaking of the Lord's commandment of having a communion; the ſacrament is not communicated to all under both kinds, according to the word of the Lord; the ſign is ſervilely worſhipped for the thing ſignified; Chriſt's paſſion is injured, foraſmuch as this maſs-ſacrifice is affirmed to remain for the purging of ſins; to be ſhort, the manifold ſuperſtitions, and trifling fooleries which are in the maſs, and about the ſame.

Lat. Better a few things well pondered, than to trouble the memory with too much; you ſhall prevail more with praying than with ſtudying, though mixture be beſt, for ſo one ſhall alleviate the tedioufneſs of the other. I intend not to contend much with them in words, after a reaſonable account of my faith given: for it will be but in vain. They will ſay as their fathers ſaid, when they have no more to ſay: We have a law, and by our law he ought to die. Be ye ſtedfaſt and unmoveable, ſaith St. Paul; and again, Stand faſt: and how oft is this repeated, If ye abide, if ye abide, &c. But we ſhall be called obſtinate, ſturdy, ignorant, heady, and what not: ſo that a man hath need of much patience, having to do with ſuch men.

The third objection of the Antonian.

But you know how great a crime it is to ſeparate yourſelf from the communion or fellowſhip of the church, and to make a ſchiſm, or diviſion. You have been reported to have hated the ſect of the Anabaptiſts, and always to have impugned the ſame. Moreover, this was the pernicious error of Novatus, and of the heretics called [Cathari], that they would not communicate with the church.

Rid. I know that the unity of the church is to be retained by all means, and the ſame to be neceſſary to ſalvation. But I do not take the maſs, as it is at this day, for the communion of the church, but a popiſh device, whereby both the commandment and inſtitution of our Saviour Chriſt, for the oft frequenting of the remembrance of his death, is eluded, and the people of God are miſerably deluded. The ſect of the Anabaptiſts, and the hereſy of the Novations, ought of right to be condemned, foraſmuch as without any juſt or neceſſary cauſe they wickedly ſeparated themſelves from the communion of the congregation, for they did not alledge that the ſacraments were unduly adminiſtered, but turning away their eyes from themſelves, wherewith according to St. Paul's rule they ought to examine themſelves, and caſting their eyes ever upon others, either miniſters, or communicants with them, they always reproved ſomething for which they abſtained from the communion, as from an unholy thing.

Lat. I remember that Calvin beginneth to confute the Interim after this ſort with this ſaying of Hilary, The name of peace is beautiful, and the opinion of unity is fair: but who doubteth that to be the true and only peace of the church, which is Chriſt? I would you had that little book, there ſhould you ſee how much is to be given to unity. St. Paul, when he requireth unity, joineth with it, according to Jeſus Chriſt, no further. Diotrephes now of late did always harp upon unity, unity. Yea, Sir, ſaid I, but in verity, not in popery. Better is diverſity, than an unity in popery. I had nothing again but ſcornful taunts, with commandment to the Tower.

The fourth objection of the Antonian.

But admit there be in the maſs, that peradventure might be amended, or at leaſt made better: yea, ſeeing you will have it ſo, admit there be a fault; if you do not conſent thereto, why do you trouble yourſelf in vain? Do you not know both by Cyprian and Auguſtine, that communion of ſacraments doth not defile a man, but conſent of deeds?

Rid. If it were any one trifling ceremony, or if it were ſome one thing of itſelf indifferent (although I would wiſh nothing ſhould be done in the church which doth not edify the ſame), yet for the continuance of the common quietneſs I could be content to bear it. But foraſmuch as things done in the maſs tend openly to the overthrow of Chriſt's inſtitution, I judge that by no means either in word or deed I ought to conſent unto it. As for that which is objected out of the fathers, I acknowledge it to be well ſpoken, if it be well underſtood. But it is meant of them which ſuppoſe they are defiled, if any ſecret vice be either in the miniſters, or in them that communicate with them; and is not meant of them which do abhor ſuperſtition, and wicked traditions of men, and will not ſuffer the ſame to be thruſt upon themſelves, or upon the church, inſtead of God's word and the truth of the goſpel.

Lat. The very marrow-bones of the maſs are altogether deteſtable, and therefore by no means to be borne withal; ſo that of neceſſity the mending of it is to abolifh it for ever. For if you take away oblation and adoration, which do hang upon conſecration and tranſubſtantiation,

ſtantiation, moſt of the papiſts will not ſet a button by the maſs, as a thing which they eſteem not, but for the gain that followeth thereon. For if the Engliſh communion which of late was uſed, were as gainful to them, as the maſs hath been heretofore, they would ſtrive no more for their maſs: from thence groweth the grief.

The fifth objection of the Antonian.

Conſider into what dangers you caſt yourſelf, if you forſake the church; and you cannot but forſake it, if you refuſe to go to maſs. For the maſs is the ſacrament of unity; without the ark, there is no ſalvation. The church is the ark and Peter's ſhip. Ye know this ſaying well enough: He ſhall not have God to be his Father, which acknowledgeth not the church to be his mother. Moreover without the church (ſaith St. Auguſtine), be the life never ſo well ſpent, it ſhall not inherit the kingdom of heaven.

Rid. The holy catholic or univerſal church, which is the communion of ſaints, the houſe of God, the city of God, the ſpouſe of Chriſt, the body of Chriſt, the pillar and ſtay of the truth; this church I believe, according to the creed. This church I do reverence and honour in the Lord. But the rule of this church is the word of God, according to which rule we go forward unto life. And as many as walk according to this rule, I ſay with St. Paul, Peace be upon them, and upon Iſrael which pertaineth unto God. The guide of this church is the Holy Ghoſt. The marks whereby this church is known unto me in this dark world, and in the midſt of this crooked and froward generation, are theſe; The ſincere preaching of God's holy word, the due adminiſtration of the ſacraments, charity, and faithful obſerving of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, according to the word of God. And that church or congregation which is garniſhed with theſe marks, is in very deed that heavenly Jeruſalem, which conſiſteth of thoſe that be born from above. This is the mother of us all, and by God's grace I will live and die the child of this church. Forth of this (I grant) there is no ſalvation; and I ſuppoſe the reſt of the places objected are rightly to be underſtood of this church only. In times paſt (ſaith Chryſoſtom) there were many ways to know the church of Chriſt, that is to ſay, by good life, by miracles, by chaſtity, by doctrine, by adminiſtering the ſacraments. But from that time that hereſies did take hold of the church, it is only known by the ſcriptures, which is the true church. They have all things in outward ſhew, which the true church hath in truth. They have temples like unto ours.

And in the end concluded: Wherefore only by the ſcriptures do we know which is the true church. To that which they ſay, That the maſs is the ſacrament of unity, I anſwer; The bread which we break, according to the inſtitution of the Lord, is the ſacrament of the unity of Chriſt's myſtical body. For we being many are one bread and one body, foraſmuch as we all are partakers of one bread. But in the maſs the Lord's inſtitution is not obſerved; for we are not all partakers of one bread, but one devoureth all, &c. So that (as it is uſed) it may ſeem a ſacrament of ſingularity, and of a certain ſpecial privilege for one ſect of people, whereby they may be diſcerned from the reſt, rather than a ſacrament of unity, wherein our knitting together in one is repreſented.

Lat. Yea, what fellowſhip hath Chriſt with Antichriſt? Therefore it is not lawful to bear the yoke with papiſts. Come forth from among them, and ſeparate yourſelves from them, ſaith the Lord. It is one thing to be the church indeed, another thing to counterfeit the church. Would God it were well known what is the forſaking of the church. In the king's days that is dead, who was the church of England? The king and his favourers, or maſs-mongers in corners? If the king and the favourers of his proceedings, why be we not now the church, abiding in the ſame proceedings? If private maſs-mongers might be of the church, and yet contrary to the king's proceedings, why may not we as well be of the church contrary to the queen's proceedings? Not all that are covered with the title of the church, are the church indeed. Separate thyſelf from them that are ſuch, ſaith St. Paul; From whom? The text hath before, If any man follow other doctrine, &c. he is puffed up, and knoweth nothing, &c. Weigh the whole text, that ye may perceive what is the fruit of contentious diſputations: but wherefore are ſuch men ſaid to know nothing, when they know ſo many things? You know the old verſes,

Hoc eſt neſcire, ſine Chriſto plurima ſcire:
Si Chriſtum bene ſcis, ſatis eſt, ſi cætera neſcis.

That is, "This is to be ignorant, to know many things without Chriſt. If thou knoweſt Chriſt well, thou knoweſt enough, though thou know no more." Therefore would St. Paul know nothing but Jeſus Chriſt crucified, &c. As many as are papiſts and maſs-mongers, they may well be ſaid to know nothing. For they know not Chriſt, foraſmuch as in their maſſing they take much away from the benefit and merit of Chriſt.

The ſixth objection of the Antonian.

That church which you have deſcribed to me is inviſible, but Chriſt's church is viſible and known. For elſe why ſhould Chriſt have ſaid, Tell it unto the church. For he had commanded in vain to go unto the church, if a man cannot tell which it is.

Rid. The church which I have deſcribed is viſible, it hath members which may be ſeen; and alſo I have before declared, by what marks and tokens it may be known, but if either our eyes are ſo dazzled, that we cannot ſee, or that Satan hath brought ſuch darkneſs into the world, that it is hard to diſcern the true church; that is not the fault of the church, but either of our blindneſs or of Satan's darkneſs. But yet in this moſt deep darkneſs there is one moſt clear candle, which of itſelf alone is able to put away all darkneſs. Thy word is a candle unto my feet, and a light unto my ſteps.

The ſeventh objection of the Antonian.

The church of Chriſt is a catholic or univerſal church, diſperſed throughout the whole world; this church is the great houſe of God, in this are good men and evil mingled together, goats and ſheep, corn and chaff; it is the net which gathereth all kind of fiſhes: this church cannot err, becauſe Chriſt hath promiſed it his Spirit, which ſhall lead it into all truth, and that the gates of hell ſhall not prevail againſt it; that he will be with it unto the end of the world; whatſoever it ſhall looſe or bind upon earth, ſhall be ratified in heaven, &c. This church is the pillar and ſtay of the truth: this is it for which St. Auguſtine ſaith, he believeth the goſpel: but this univerſal church alloweth the maſs, becauſe the greater part of the ſame alloweth it. Therefore, &c.

Rid. I grant that the name of the church is taken after three divers manners in the ſcripture. Sometimes for the whole multitude of them who profeſs the name of Chriſt, of which they are alſo named Chriſtians. But as St. Paul ſaith of the Jew, Not every one is a Jew, that is a Jew outwardly, &c. neither yet all that be of Iſrael are counted the ſeed; even ſo not every one that is a chriſtian outwardly is a chriſtian indeed. For if any man have not the Spirit of Chriſt, the ſame is none of his. Therefore that church which is his body, and of which Chriſt is the head, ſtandeth only in living ſtones, and true chriſtians, not only outwardly in name and title, but inwardly in heart and in truth. But foraſmuch as this church (which is the ſecond taking of the church), as touching the outward fellowſhip, is contained within the great houſe, and hath with the ſame, outward ſociety of the ſacraments and miniſtry of the word, many things

are ſpoken of that univerſal church (which St. Auguſtine calleth the mingled church), which cannot truly be underſtood but only of that pure part of the church. So that the rule of Ticonius concerning the mingled church, may here well take place; where there is attributed unto the whole church that which cannot agree to the ſame, but by reaſon of the one part thereof; that is, either for the multitude of good men, which is the very true church indeed; or for the multitude of evil men, which is the malignant church and ſynagogue of Satan. And there is alſo a third taking of the church; of which, although there be ſeldomer mention in the ſcriptures, in that ſignification, yet in the world, even in the moſt famous aſſemblies of Chriſtendom, this church hath borne the greateſt ſway. This diſtinction preſuppoſed of the three ſorts of churches, it is an eaſy matter, by a figure called Synecdoche, to give to the mingled and univerſal church, that which cannot truly be underſtood but only of the one part thereof. But if any man will ſtiffly affirm, that Univerſal doth ſo pertain unto Church, that whatſoever Chriſt hath promiſed to the church, it muſt needs be underſtood of that, I would gladly know of the ſame man, where that univerſal church was in the times of the patriarchs and prophets, of Noah, Abraham, and Moſes (at ſuch time as the people would have ſtoned him), of Elias, of Jeremiah, in the times of Chriſt, and the diſperſion of the apoſtles, in the time of Arius, when Conſtantius was emperor, and Felix biſhop of Rome ſucceeded Liberius. It is worthy to be noted, that Lyra writeth upon Matthew; The church (ſaith he) doth not ſtand in men by reaſon of their power or dignity, whether it be eccleſiaſtical or ſecular. For many princes and popes, and other inferiors, have been found to have fallen away from God. Therefore the church conſiſteth in thoſe perſons, in whom is true knowledge and confeſſion of the faith, and of the truth. Evil men (as it is in a gloſs of the decrees) are in the church in name, and not in deed. And St. Auguſtine (Contra Creſconium grammaticum) ſaith, Whoſoever is afraid to be deceived by the darkneſs of this queſtion, let him aſk counſel at the ſame church of it: which church the ſcripture doth point out without any doubtfulneſs. All my notes which I have written and gathered out of ſuch authors as I have read in this matter, and ſuch like, are come into the hands of ſuch as will not let me have the leaſt of all my written books; wherein I am inforced to complain of them unto God: for they ſpoil me of all my labours, which I have taken in my ſtudy theſe many years. My memory was never good, for help whereof I have uſed, for the moſt part, to gather out notes of my reading, and ſo to place them, that thereby I might have had the uſe of them when the time required. But who knoweth whether this be God's will, that I ſhould be thus ordered, and ſpoiled of the poor learning I had (as I thought) in ſtore, to the intent that I now deſtitute of that, ſhould from henceforth, with St. Paul, learn only to know Chriſt, and him crucified? The Lord grant me herein to be a good young ſcholar, and to learn this leſſon ſo well, that neither death nor life, wealth nor woe, &c. make me ever to forget that, Amen, Amen.

Lat. I have no more to ſay in this matter; for you yourſelf have ſaid all that is to be ſaid. That ſame vehement ſaying of St. Auguſtine, I would not believe the goſpel, &c. was wont to trouble many men; as I remember, I have read it well qualified of Philip Melancthon; but my memory is altogether ſlippery. This it is in effect; the church is not a judge, but a witneſs. There were ſome in his time that lightly eſteemed the teſtimony of the church, and the outward miniſtry of preaching, and rejected the outward word itſelf, ſticking only to their inward revelations. Such raſh contempt of the word provoked and drave St. Auguſtine into that exceſſive vehemency. In which after the bare ſound of the words, he might ſeem to ſuch as do not attain unto his meaning, that he preferred the church far before the goſpel, and that the church hath a free authority over the ſame; but that pious man never thought ſo. It were a ſaying worthy to be brought forth againſt the Anabaptiſts, who think the open miniſtry to be a thing not neceſſary, if they any thing eſteemed ſuch teſtimonies. I would not ſtick to affirm, that the moſt part of the great houſe, that is to ſay, of the whole univerſal church, may eaſily err. And again, I would not ſtick to affirm, that it is one thing to be gathered together in the name of Chriſt, and another thing to come together with a maſs of the Holy Ghoſt going before. For in the firſt, Chriſt ruleth; in the latter, the devil beareth the ſway; and how then can any thing be good that they go about? From this latter ſhall our ſix articles come forth again into the light, they themſelves being very darkneſs. But it is demanded, whether the ſounder or better part of the catholic church may be ſeen of men, or no? St. Paul ſaith, The Lord knoweth them that are his. What manner of ſpeaking is this in commendation of the Lord, if we knew as well as he who are his? Well, thus is the text: "The ſure foundation of God ſtandeth ſtill, and hath this ſeal, The Lord knoweth them that are his; and let every man that nameth the name of Chriſt depart from iniquity." Now how many are there of the whole catholic church of England who depart from iniquity? How many of the noblemen, how many of the biſhops or clergy, how many of the rich men or merchants, how many of the queen's counſellors, yea, how many of the whole realm? In how ſmall room then I pray you is the true church within the realm of England? And where is it? And in what ſtate? I had a conceit of mine own well grounded (as they ſay) when I began, but now it is fallen by the way.

The eighth objection of the Antonian.

General councils repreſent the univerſal church, and have this promiſe of Chriſt: "Where two or three be gathered together in my name, there am I in the midſt of them." If Chriſt be preſent with two or three, then much more where there is ſo great a multitude, &c. But in general councils maſs hath been approved and uſed. Therefore, &c.

Rid. Of the univerſal church, which is mingled of good and bad, thus I think; Whenſoever they which be chief in it, which rule and govern the ſame, and to whom the whole myſtical body of Chriſt doth obey, are the lively members of Chriſt, and walk after the guiding and rule of his word, and go before the flock towards everlaſting life, then undoubtedly councils gathered together of ſuch guides and paſtors of the chriſtian flock, do indeed repreſent the univerſal church; and being ſo gathered in the name of Chriſt, they have a promiſe of the gift and guiding of his Spirit into all truth. But that any ſuch council hath at any time allowed the maſs, ſuch an one was of late, in a ſtrange tongue, and ſtuffed with ſo many abſurdities, errors and ſuperſtitions; that I utterly deny, and affirm it to be impoſſible. For like as there is no agreement betwixt light and darkneſs, betwixt Chriſt and Belial; ſo ſurely ſuperſtition and the ſincere religion of Chriſt, will-worſhip, and the pure worſhipping of God, ſuch as God requireth of his, that is, in ſpirit and truth, can never agree together. But ye will ſay, where ſo great a company is gathered together, it is not credible but there are two or three gathered in the name of Chriſt. I anſwer, If there be one hundred good, and two hundred bad (foraſmuch as the decrees and ordinances are pronounced according to the greater number of the multitude of voices), what can the leſs number of voices avail? It is a known thing, and a common proverb; Oftentimes the greater part overcometh the better.

Lat. As touching general councils, at this preſent I have no more to ſay than you have ſaid. Only I refer you to your own experience, to think of our country parliaments and convocations, how and what ye have ſeen and heard. The greater part in my time did bring forth ſix articles; for then the king would have it ſo, being ſeduced of certain.

tain. Afterward the greater part did repel the ſame, our good Joſias willing to have it ſo. The ſame articles now again (alas) another great but worſe part hath reſtored. O what an uncertainty is this! But after this manner moſt commonly are man's proceedings, God be merciful unto us! Who ſhall deliver us from ſuch torments of mind? Therefore is death the beſt phyſician but unto the faithful, whom ſhe together and at once delivereth from all griefs. You muſt think this written upon this occaſion, becauſe you would needs have your paper blotted.

The ninth objection of the Antonian.

If the matter ſhould go thus, that in general councils men ſhould not ſtand to the greater number of the multitude (I mean of them which ought to give voices), then ſhould no certain rule be left unto the church, by which controverſies in weighty matters might be determined; but it is not to be believed, that Chriſt would leave his church deſtitute of ſo neceſſary a help and ſafeguard.

Rid. Chriſt, who is the moſt loving ſpouſe of his church, who alſo gave himſelf for it, that he might ſanctify it unto himſelf, did give unto it abundantly all things which are neceſſary to ſalvation; but yet ſo, that the church ſhould declare itſelf obedient unto him in all things, and keep itſelf within the bounds of his commandments, and further not to ſeek any thing which he teacheth not, as neceſſary unto ſalvation. Now further, for determination of all controverſies in Chriſt's religion, Chriſt himſelf hath left unto the church not only Moſes and the prophets, whom he willeth in all doubts to go unto, and aſk counſel at, but alſo the goſpels, and the reſt of the body of the New Teſtament; in which whatſoever is heard of Moſes and the prophets, and whatſoever is neceſſary to be known unto ſalvation, is revealed and opened.

So that now we have no need to ſay, Who ſhall climb up into heaven, or who ſhall go down into the depth, to tell us what is needful to be done? Chriſt hath done both, and hath commended to us the word of faith, which alſo is abundantly declared unto us in his word written; ſo that hereafter if we walk earneſtly in this way, to the ſearching out of the truth, it is not to be doubted, but through the certain benefit of Chriſt's Spirit, which he hath promiſed unto his, we may find it, and obtain everlaſting life. Should men aſk counſel of the dead for the living? ſaith Iſaiah. Let them go rather to the law and to the teſtimony, &c. Chriſt ſendeth them that be deſirous to know the truth, unto the ſcriptures, ſaying, Search the ſcriptures. I remember a like thing well ſpoken of St. Jerome; Ignorance of the ſcriptures is the mother and cauſe of all errors. And in another place, as I remember in the ſame author; The knowledge of the ſcriptures is the food of everlaſting life. But now methinks I enter into a very broad ſea, in that I begin to ſhew, either out of the ſcriptures themſelves, or out of the ancient writers, how much the holy ſcripture is of force to teach the truth of our religion. But this is it, that I am now about, that Chriſt would have the church his ſpouſe in all doubts to aſk counſel at the word of his Father written, and faithfully left, and commended unto it in both Teſtaments, the old and new. Neither do we read, that Chriſt in any place hath laid ſo great a burden upon the members of his ſpouſe, that he hath commanded them to go to the univerſal church. Whatſoever things are written, ſaith St. Paul, are written for our learning. And it is true, that Chriſt gave unto his church, ſome apoſtles, ſome prophets, ſome evangeliſts, ſome ſhepherds and teachers, to the edifying of the ſaints, till we come all to the unity of faith, &c. But that all men ſhould meet together out of all parts of the world, to define of the articles of our faith, I neither find it commanded by Chriſt, nor written in the word of God.

There is difference betwixt things pertaining to God or faith, and politic and civil matters. For in the firſt we muſt ſtand only to the ſcriptures, which are able to make us all perfect and inſtructed unto ſalvation, if they well be underſtood. And they offer themſelves to be well underſtood only to them, which have good wills, and give themſelves to ſtudy and prayer. Neither are there any men leſs apt to underſtand them, than the prudent and wiſe men of the world. But in the other, that is, in civil and political matters, oftentimes the magiſtrates do tolerate a leſs evil, for avoiding of a greater, as they which have this ſaying oft in their mouths; Better an inconveniency than a miſchief. And it is the property of a wiſe man, ſaith one, to diſſemble many things; and he that cannot diſſemble, cannot rule. In which ſayings they bewray themſelves, that they do not earneſtly weigh what is juſt, and what is not. Wherefore forſomuch as man's laws, if it be but in this reſpect only, that they be deviſed by men, are not able to bring any thing to perfection, but are inforced of neceſſity to ſuffer many things out of ſquare, and are compelled ſometimes to wink at the worſt things: ſeeing they know not how to maintain the common peace and quiet otherwiſe, they do ordain that the greater part ſhall take place. You know what theſe kind of ſpeeches mean, I ſpeak after the manner of men; ye walk after the manner of men, all men are lyars. And that of St. Auguſtine, If ye live after man's reaſon, ye do not live after the will of God.

The tenth objection of the Antonian.

If ye ſay that councils have ſometimes erred, or may err, how then ſhould we believe the catholic church? for that councils are gathered by the authority of the catholic church.

Rid. From may be, to be indeed, is no good argument. But from being, to may be, no man doubteth but it is a moſt ſure argument. But now that councils have ſometimes erred, it is manifeſt. How many councils were there in the eaſt parts of the world, which condemned the Nicene council? and all thoſe who would not forſake the ſame, they called by a ſlanderous name (as they thought) Homouſians. Was not Athanaſius, Chryſoſtom, Cyril, Euſtachius, men very well learned, and of godly life, baniſhed and condemned as famous heretics, and that by wicked councils? How many things are there in the canons and conſtitutions of the councils, which the papiſts themſelves do much miſlike? But here peradventure one man will ſay unto me, We will grant you this in provincial councils, or councils of ſome one nation, that they may ſometimes err, forſomuch as they do not repreſent the univerſal church; but it is not to be believed, that the general and full councils have erred at any time. Here if I had my books of the councils, or rather ſuch notes as I have gathered out of thoſe books, I could bring ſomething which ſhould ſerve for this purpoſe. But now ſeeing I have them not, I will recite one place only out of St. Auſtin, which, in my judgment, may ſuffice in this matter inſtead of many. Who knoweth not (ſaith he) that the holy ſcripture is ſo ſet before us, that it is not lawful to doubt of it, and that the letters of biſhops may be reproved by other men's words, and by councils, and that the councils themſelves which are gathered by provinces and countries, do give place to the authority of the general and full councils: and that the former and general councils are amended by the latter, when as by ſome experience of things, either what was ſhut up is opened, or that which was hid is known. Thus much out of St. Auſtin. But I will plead with our Antonian upon matter confeſſed. Here with us when as popery reigned, I pray you how doth that book, which was called, The biſhop's book, made in the time of king Henry the eighth, whereof the biſhop of Wincheſter is thought to be either the firſt father, or chief gatherer; how doth it (I ſay) ſharply reprove the Florentine council, in which was decreed the ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome, and that with the conſent of the emperor of Conſtantinople, and of the Grecians? So that in thoſe

days our learned ancient fathers and biſhops of England did not ſtick to affirm, that a general council might err. But methinks I hear another man deſpiſing all that I have brought forth, and ſaying, Theſe which you have called councils, are not worthy to be called councils, but rather aſſemblies and conventicles of heretics. I pray you, Sir, why do you judge them worthy of ſo ſcandalous a name? Becauſe (ſaith he) they decreed things heretical, contrary to ſound doctrine and true godlineſs, and againſt the faith of chriſtian religion. The cauſe is weighty for which they ought of right ſo to be called. But if it be ſo that all councils ought to be deſpiſed which decree any thing contrary to ſound doctrine, and the true word, which is according to godlineſs, forſomuch as the maſs, ſuch as we had here of late, is openly againſt the word of God; forſooth, it muſt of neceſſity follow, that all ſuch councils, as have approved ſuch maſſes, ought of right to be ſhunned and deſpiſed, as conventicles and aſſemblies that ſtray from the truth.

Another man alledgeth unto me the authority of the biſhop of Rome, without which neither can the councils (ſaith he) be lawfully gathered, neither being gathered determine any thing concerning religion. But this objection is only grounded upon the ambitious and ſhameleſs maintenance of the Romiſh tyranny and uſurped dominion over the clergy; which tyranny we Engliſh men long ago, by the conſent of the whole realm, have expulſed and abjured. And how rightly we have done it, a little book ſet forth of both the powers, doth clearly ſhew. I grant that the Romiſh ambition hath gone about to challenge to itſelf, and to uſurp ſuch a privilege of old time. But the council of Carthage, in the year of our Lord 457, did openly withſtand it, and alſo the council at Milevite, in which St. Auſtin was preſent, did prohibit any appellations to be made to biſhops beyond the ſea.

The eleventh objection of the Antonian.

St. Auſtin ſaith, the good men are not to be forſaken for the evil, but the evil are to be borne withal for the good. Ye will not ſay (I ſuppoſe) that in our congregations all be evil.

Rid. I ſpeak nothing of the goodneſs or badneſs of your congregations; but I fight in Chriſt's quarrel againſt the maſs, which doth utterly take away and overthrow the ordinance of Chriſt. Let that be taken quite away, and then the partition of the wall that made the ſtrife ſhall be broken down. Now to the place of St. Auſtin, For bearing with the evil for the good's ſake, there ought to be added other words, which the ſame writer hath expreſſed in other places; that is, if thoſe evil men do caſt abroad no ſeeds of falſe doctrine, nor lead others to deſtruction by their example.

The twelfth objection of the Antonian.

It is perilous to attempt any new thing in the church, which lacketh example of good men. How much more perilous is it to commit any act, unto which the example of the prophets, of Chriſt, and of the apoſtles are contrary? But unto this your fact, in abſtaining from the church by reaſon of the maſs, the example of the prophets, of Chriſt, and of the apoſtles, are clear contrary: Therefore, &c. The firſt part of the argument is evident, and the ſecond part I prove thus. In the times of the prophets, of Chriſt, and his apoſtles, all things were moſt corrupt. The people were miſerably given to ſuperſtition, the prieſts deſpiſed the law of God; and yet notwithſtanding we read not that the prophets made any ſchiſms or diviſions; and Chriſt himſelf haunted the temple, and taught in the temple of the Jews. Peter and John went up into the temple at the ninth hour of prayer; Paul after the reading of the law, being deſired to ſay ſomething to the people, did not refuſe to do it. Yea further, no man can ſhew, that either the prophets, or Chriſt, or his apoſtles, did refuſe to pray together with others, to ſacrifice, or to be partakers of the ſacrament of Moſes' law.

Rid. I grant the former part of your argument; and to the ſecond part I ſay, that although it contain many true things, as of the corrupt ſtate in the times of the prophets, of Chriſt, and the apoſtles, and of the temple being frequented by Chriſt and his apoſtles; yet notwithſtanding the ſecond part of your argument is not ſufficiently proved. For ye ought to have proved, that either the prophets, either Chriſt or his apoſtles did in the temple communicate with the people in any kind of worſhipping which is forbidden by the law of God, or repugnant to the word of God. But that can no where be ſhewed. And as for the church, I am not angry with it, and I never refuſed to go to it, and to pray with the people, to hear the word of God, and to do all other things whatſoever may agree with the word of God. St. Auſtin ſpeaking of the ceremonies of the Jews (I ſuppoſe in the epiſtle ad Januarium), although he grants they grievouſly oppreſſed that people, both for the number and bondage of the ſame, yet he calleth them burdens of the law, which were delivered unto them in the word of God, not preſumptions of men, which notwithſtanding if they were not contrary to God's word, might in ſome meaſure be borne withal. But now, ſeeing they are contrary to ſuch things as are written in the word of God, whether they ought to be borne by any chriſtian or no, let him judge who is ſpiritual, who feareth God more than man, and loveth everlaſting life more than this ſhort and tranſitory life. To that which was ſaid, that my fact lacketh example of the godly fathers that have gone before, the contrary is moſt evident in the hiſtory of Toby: of whom it is ſaid, that when all others went to the golden calves, which Jeroboam the king of Iſrael had made, he himſelf alone fled from their company, and got him to Jeruſalem unto the temple of the Lord, and there worſhipped the Lord God of Iſrael. Did not the man of God threaten grievous plagues both unto the prieſts of Bethel, and to the altar which Jeroboam had there made after his own fantaſy? Which plagues king Joſias, the true miniſter of God, did execute at the time appointed. And where do we read, that the prophets or the apoſtles did agree with the people in their idolatry, when as the people went a whoring with their hill-altars? For what cauſe, I pray you, did the prophets rebuke the people ſo much, as for their falſe worſhipping of God after their own minds, and not after God's word? For what was ſo much as that was? Wherefore the falſe prophets ceaſed not to malign the true prophets of God: therefore they beat them, they baniſhed them, &c. How elſe, I pray you, can you underſtand what St. Paul alledgeth, when he ſaith, "What concord hath Chriſt with Belial? or what part hath the believer with the infidel? or how agreeth the temple of God with images? for ye are the temple of the living God, as God himſelf hath ſaid; I will dwell among them, and will be their God, and they ſhall be my people. Wherefore, come out from among them, and ſeparate yourſelves from them (ſaith the Lord), and touch no unclean thing; ſo will I receive you, and be a Father unto you, and ye ſhall be my ſons and daughters, ſaith the Lord God Almighty."

Judith, that holy woman, would not ſuffer herſelf to be defiled with the meats of the wicked. All the ſaints of God, which truly feared God, when they have been provoked to do any thing which they knew to be contrary to God's laws, have choſe to die rather than to forſake the laws of their God. Wherefore the Maccabees put themſelves in danger of death for the defence of the law, and at length died manfully in the defence of the ſame. If we do praiſe (ſaith St. Auguſtine) the Maccabees, and that with great admiration, becauſe they did ſtoutly ſtand even unto death, for the law of their country; how much more ought we to ſuffer all things for our baptiſm, for the ſacrament of the body and blood of

of Chriſt, &c? But the ſupper of the Lord, ſuch a one (I mean) as Chriſt commandeth us to celebrate, the maſs utterly aboliſheth, and corrupteth moſt ſhamefully.

Lat. Who am I that I ſhould add any thing to this which you have ſpoken? Nay, I rather thank you that have vouchſafed to miniſter ſo plentiful armour to me, being otherwiſe altogether unarmed, ſaving that he cannot be left deſtitute of help, who rightly truſteth in the help of God. I only learn to die in reading of the New Teſtament, and am ever now and then praying unto my God, that he will be an helper unto me in time of need.

The thirteenth objection of the Antonian.

Seeing you are ſo obſtinately ſet againſt the maſs, that you affirm, becauſe it is done in a tongue not underſtood of the people, and for other cauſes, I cannot tell what; therefore is it not the true ſacrament ordained of Chriſt? I begin to ſuſpect you, that you think not catholicly of baptiſm alſo. Is our baptiſm, which we do uſe in a tongue unknown unto the people, the true baptiſm of Chriſt, or no? If it be, then the ſtrange tongue doth not hurt the maſs. If it be not the baptiſm of Chriſt, tell me how you were baptized. Or whether will ye (as the anabaptiſts do), that all which were baptized in Latin, ſhould be baptized again in the Engliſh tongue?

Rid. Although I would wiſh baptiſm to be given in the vulgar tongue for the people's ſake which are preſent, that they may the better underſtand their own profeſſion, and alſo be more able to teach their children the ſame, yet notwithſtanding there is not like neceſſity of the vulgar tongue in baptiſm, as in the Lord's ſupper. Baptiſm is given to children, who by reaſon of their age are not able to underſtand what is ſpoken unto them, what tongue ſoever it be. The Lord's ſupper is, and ought to be given to them that are at years of maturity. Moreover, in baptiſm, which is accuſtomed to be given to children in the Latin tongue, all the ſubſtantial points (as a man would ſay) which Chriſt commanded to be done, are obſerved. And therefore I judge that baptiſm to be a perfect and true baptiſm; and that it is not only not needful, but alſo not lawful for any man ſo baptized, to be chriſtened again. But yet notwithſtanding, they ought to be taught the catechiſm of the chriſtian faith, when they ſhall come to years of diſcretion; which catechiſm whoſoever deſpiſeth, or will not deſirouſly embrace and willingly learn, in my judgment he playeth not the part of a chriſtian man. But in the popiſh maſs are wanting certain ſubſtantials, that is to ſay, things commanded by the word of God to be obſerved in the miniſtration of the Lord's ſupper: of which there is ſufficient declaration made before.

Lat. Where you ſay [I would wiſh] ſurely I would wiſh that you had ſpoken more vehemently, and to have ſaid, It is of neceſſity, that all things in the congregation ſhould be done in the vulgar tongue, for the edifying and comfort of them that are preſent, notwithſtanding that the child itſelf is ſufficiently baptized in the Latin tongue.

The fourteenth objection of the Antonian.

Foraſmuch as I perceive you are ſo ſtiffly, I will not ſay obſtinately bent, and ſo wedded to your opinion, that no gentle exhortations, no wholeſome counſels, no other kind of means can call you home to a better mind, there remaineth that which in like caſes was wont be the only remedy againſt ſtiff-necked and ſtubborn perſons, that is, you muſt be hampered by the laws and be compelled to obey whether ye will or no, or elſe to ſuffer that which a rebel to the laws ought to ſuffer. Do you not know that whoſoever refuſeth to obey the laws of the realm, he bewrayeth himſelf to be an enemy to his country? Do not you know that this is the readieſt way to ſtir up ſedition and civil war? It is better that you ſhould bear your own ſin, than that through the example of your breach of the common laws, the common quiet ſhould be diſturbed. How can you ſay, you will be the queen's true ſubject, when as you do openly profeſs that you will not keep her laws?

Rid. O heavenly Father, the Father of all wiſdom, underſtanding, and true ſtrength, I beſeech thee for thy only Son our Saviour Chriſt's ſake, look mercifully upon me wretched creature, and ſend thy Holy Spirit into my breaſt, that not only I may underſtand according to thy wiſdom, how this peſtilent and deadly dart is to be borne off, and with what anſwer it is to be beaten back, but alſo when I muſt join to fight in the field for the glory of thy name, that then I being ſtrengthened with the defence of thy right hand, may manfully ſtand in the confeſſion of thy faith, and of thy truth, and continue in the ſame unto the end of my life, through the ſame our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Amen.

Now to the objection. I grant it to be reaſonable, that he which by words and gentleneſs cannot be made to yield to that is right and good, ſhould be bridled by the ſtrait correction of the laws: that is to ſay, He that will not be ſubject to God's word, muſt be puniſhed by the laws. It is true that is commonly ſaid, He that will not obey the goſpel, muſt be tamed and taught by the rigour of the law. But theſe things ought to take place againſt him, which refuſeth to do that is right and juſt according to true godlineſs, not againſt him which cannot quietly bear ſuperſtitions, but doth hate and deteſt from his heart ſuch kind of proceedings, and that for the glory of the name of God. To that which ye ſay, a tranſgreſſor of the common laws bewrayeth himſelf to be an enemy of his country, ſurely a man ought to look unto the nature of the laws, what manner of laws they be which are broken. For a faithful chriſtian ought not to think alike of all manner of laws. But that ſaying ought truly only to be underſtood of ſuch laws as are not contrary to God's word. Otherwiſe, whoſoever love their country in truth (that is to ſay, in God) they will always judge, if at any time the laws of God and man be the one contrary to the other, that a man ought rather to obey God than man. And they that think otherwiſe, and pretend a love to that country, foraſmuch as they make their country to fight as it were againſt God, in whom conſiſteth the only ſtay of their country, ſurely I do think that ſuch are to be judged moſt deadly enemies, and traitors to their country. For they that fight againſt God, which is the ſafety of their country, what do they elſe but go about to bring upon their country a preſent ruin and deſtruction? But they that do ſo are worthy to be judged enemies to their country, and betrayers of the realm. Therefore, &c.

But this is the readieſt way (ye ſay) to ſtir up ſedition, to trouble the quiet of the commonwealth; therefore are theſe things to be repreſſed in time by force of laws. Behold Satan doth not ceaſe to practiſe his old guiles and accuſtomed ſubtleties. He hath ever this dart in a readineſs to hurl againſt his adverſaries, to accuſe them of ſedition, that he may bring them, if he can, in danger of the higher powers. For ſo hath he by his miniſter always charged the prophets of God. Ahab ſaid unto Elias, "Art thou he that troubleth Iſrael?" The falſe prophets alſo complained to their princes of Jeremy, that his words were ſeditious, and not to be ſuffered: Did not the ſcribes and phariſees falſly accuſe Chriſt as a ſeditious perſon, and one that ſpake againſt Cæſar? Did they not at the laſt cry, "If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæſar's friend?" The orator Tertullus, how doth he accuſe Paul before Felix the high deputy? "We have found this man, ſaith he, a peſtilent fellow, and a ſtirrer of ſedition, unto all the Jews in the whole world, &c." But, I pray you, were theſe men, as they were called, ſeditious perſons? Chriſt, Paul, and the prophets? God forbid. But they were by falſe men falſely accuſed. And for what, I pray you?

but becauſe they reproved before the people their guiles, ſuperſtition and deceit. And when the others could not bear it, and would gladly have had them taken out of the way, they accuſed them as ſeditious perſons, and troublers of the commonwealth, that being by this means made hateful to the people and princes, they might the more eaſily be ſnatched up to be tormented, and put to death. But how far they were from all ſedition, their whole doctrine, life, and converſation doth well declare. For that which was objected laſt of all, that he cannot be a faithful ſubject to his prince, who profeſſeth openly that he will not obſerve the laws which the prince hath made; here I would wiſh that I might have an impartial judge, and one that feareth God, to whoſe judgment in this cauſe, I promiſe I will ſtand. I anſwer therefore, A man ought to obey his prince, but in the Lord, and never againſt the Lord. For he that knowingly obeyeth his prince againſt God, doth not a duty to the prince, but is a deceiver of the prince, and an helper unto him to work his own deſtruction. He is alſo unjuſt, who giveth not to the prince that which is the prince's, and to God that which is God's. Here cometh to my remembrance that notable ſaying of Valentinian the emperor for chuſing the biſhop of Milan. Set him (ſaith he) in the biſhop's ſeat, to whom if we (as man) do offend at any time, we may ſubmit ourſelves. Polycarp the moſt conſtant martyr, when he ſtood before the chief rulers, and was commanded to blaſpheme Chriſt, and to ſwear by the fortune of Cæſar, &c. he anſwered with a mild ſpirit; We are taught (ſaith he) to give honour unto princes, and thoſe powers which be of God; but ſuch honour as is not contrary to God's religion.

Hitherto ye ſee (good father) how I have in words only made as it were a flouriſh before the fight, which I ſhortly look for, and how I have begun to prepare certain kinds of weapons to fight againſt the adverſary of Chriſt, and to muſe with myſelf how the darts of the old enemy may be borne off, and after what manner I may ſmite him again with the ſword of the Spirit. I learn alſo hereby to accuſtom myſelf to armour, and to try how I can go armed. In Tindal where I was born, not far from the borders of Scotland, I have known my countrymen to watch night and day in their harneſs, ſuch as they had, and their ſpears in their hands, eſpecially when they had any private warning of the coming of the Scots. And ſo doing, although at every ſuch bickering ſome of them ſpent their lives, yet by ſuch means, like valiant men, they defended their country. And thoſe that ſo died, I think that before God they died in a good quarrel, and their offspring and progeny all the country loved them the better for their fathers ſake. And in the quarrel of Chriſt our Saviour, in the defence of his own divine ordinances, by which he giveth unto us life and immortality; yea, in the quarrel of faith and the chriſtian religion, wherein reſteth our everlaſting ſalvation, ſhall we not watch? Shall we not go always armed? Always looking when our adverſary (which like a roaring lion ſeeketh whom he may devour) ſhall come upon us by reaſon of our ſlothfulneſs? Yea, and woe be unto us, if he can oppreſs us unawares, which undoubtedly he will do, if he find us ſleeping. Let us awake therefore. "For if the good man of the houſe knew at what hour the thief would come, he would ſurely watch, and not ſuffer his houſe to be broken up." Let us awake therefore, I ſay: Let us not ſuffer our houſe to be broken up. Reſiſt the devil, ſaith St. James, and he will fly from you. Let us therefore reſiſt him manfully, and taking the croſs upon our ſhoulders, let us follow our captain Chriſt, who by his own blood hath dedicated and hallowed the way which leadeth unto the Father, that is to the light which no man can attain, the fountain of the everlaſting joys. Let us follow, I ſay, whither he calleth and inviteth us, that after theſe afflictions, which laſt but for a moment, whereby he trieth our faith, as gold by the fire, we may everlaſtingly reign and triumph with him in the glory of the Father, and that through the ſame our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour and glory now and for ever, Amen, Amen.

Good father, foraſmuch as I have determined with myſelf, to pour forth theſe my cogitations into your boſom, here, methinks, I ſee you ſuddenly lifting up your head towards heaven, after your manner, and then looking upon me with your prophetical countenance, and ſpeaking to me, with theſe or like words, Truſt not, my ſon (I beſeech you vouchſafe me the honour of this name; for in ſo doing I ſhall think myſelf both honoured and beloved of you), truſt not, I ſay, my ſon, to theſe word-weapons; for the kingdom of God is not in words, but in power. And remember always the words of the Lord. "Do not imagine beforehand, what and how you will ſpeak; for it ſhall be given you in that ſame hour what ye ſhall ſpeak. For it is not ye that ſpeak, but the Spirit of your Father which ſpeaketh in you." I pray you therefore, father, pray for me, that I may caſt my whole care upon him, and truſt upon him in all perils, For I know, and am ſurely perſuaded, that whatſoever I can imagine or think beforehand, it is nothing, except he aſſiſt me with his Spirit when the time is. I beſeech you therefore, father, pray for me, that ſuch a complete harneſs of the Spirit, ſuch a boldneſs of mind may be given to me, that I may out of a true faith ſay with David: "I will not truſt in my bow, and it is not my ſword that ſhall ſave me. For he hath no pleaſure in the ſtrength of an horſe, &c. but the Lord's delight is in them that fear him, and put their truſt in his mercy." I beſeech you pray, pray, that I may enter this fight only in the name of God, and that when all is paſt, I being not overcome, through his gracious aid may remain and ſtand faſt in him, till that day of the Lord, in which to them that obtain the victory ſhall be given the lively manna to eat, and a triumphant crown for evermore.

Now father, I pray you help me to buckle on this harneſs a little better. For ye know the deepneſs of Satan, being an old ſoldier, and you have collared with him ere now: bleſſed be God, that hath ever aided you ſo well. I ſuppoſe he may well hold you at the bay. But truly he will not be ſo willing (I think) to join with you as with us youngſters: Sir, I beſeech you, let your ſervant read this my babbling unto you, and now and then, as it ſhall ſeem unto you beſt, let your pen run on my book: ſpare not to blot my paper: I give you good leave.

Lat. Sir, I have cauſed my man not only to read your armour unto me, but alſo to write it out, for it is not only no bare armour, but alſo well-buckled armour. I ſee not how it could be better. I thank you even from the bottom of my heart for it, and my prayers you ſhall not lack, truſting that you do the like for me; for indeed there is the help, &c. Many things make confuſion in memory. And if I were learned as well as St. Paul, I would not beſtow much among them, further than to gall them, and ſpur-gall too, when and whereas occaſion were given, and matter came to mind; for the law ſhall be their ſhoot-anchor ſtay, and refuge. Therefore there is no remedy (namely, now when they have the maſter bowl in their hand, and rule the roaſt) but patience. Better it is to ſuffer what cruelly they will put upon us, than to incur God's high indignation. Wherefore (my good lord) be of good cheer in the Lord, with due conſideration what he requireth of you, and what he doth promiſe you. Our common enemy ſhall do no more than God will permit him. God is faithful, who will not ſuffer us to be tempted above our ſtrength, &c. Be at a point what ye will ſtand unto; ſtick unto that, and let them both ſay and do what they liſt. They can but kill the body, which otherwiſe is of itſelf mortal. Neither yet ſhall they do that when they liſt, but as God will ſuffer them, when the hour appointed is come. It will be but in vain to uſe many words with them, now they have a bloody and deadly law prepared for them. But

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it is very requiſite that ye give a reaſonable account of your faith, if they will quietly hear you; elſe, ye know, in a wicked place of judgment a man may keep ſilence, after the example of Chriſt. Let them not deceive you with their ſophiſtical ſophiſms and fallacies: you know that falſe things may have more appearance of truth, than things that be moſt true: therefore St. Paul giveth us a watch-word, Let no man deceive you with likelineſs of ſpeech. Neither is it requiſite that with the contentious ye ſhould follow ſtrife of words, which tend to no edification, but to the ſubverſion of the hearers, and vain bragging and oſtentation of the adverſaries. Fear of death doth moſt perſuade a great number. Be well aware of that argument; for that perſuaded Shaxton (as many men thought) after that he had once made a good profeſſion openly before the judgment-ſeat. The fleſh is weak, but the willingneſs of the ſpirit ſhall refreſh the weakneſs of the fleſh.

The number of the criers under the altar muſt needs be fulfilled; if we be ſeparated thereunto, happy be we. That is the greateſt promotion that God giveth in this world, to be ſuch Philippians to whom it is given not only to believe, but alſo to ſuffer, &c. But who is able to do theſe things? ſurely all our ability, all our ſufficiency is of God. He requireth and promiſeth. Let us declare our obedience to his will when it ſhall be requiſite in the time of trouble, yea, in the midſt of the fire.

When that number is fulfilled, which I ſuppoſe will be ſhortly, then have-at the papiſts, when they ſhall ſay Peace, all things are ſafe, when Chriſt ſhall come to keep his great parliament to redreſs all things that are amiſs. But he ſhall not come as the papiſts feign him, to hide himſelf, and to play bo-peep as it were under a piece of bread: but he ſhall come gloriouſly, to the terror and fear of all papiſts, but to the great comfort and conſolation of all that will here ſuffer for him. Comfort yourſelves and one another with theſe words.

Lo, Sir, here have I blotted your paper vainly, and played the fool egregiouſly; but ſo I thought better than not to do your requeſt at this time. Pardon me, and pray for me, pray for me I ſay, pray for me I ſay. For I am ſometimes ſo fearful, that I would creep into a mouſe-hole; ſometimes God doth viſit me again with his comfort. So he cometh and goeth, to teach me to feel and to know mine infirmity, to the intent to give thanks to him that is worthy, leſt I ſhould rob him of his due, as many do, and almoſt all the world. Fare ye well.

What belief is to be given to papiſts, may appear by their wracking, writing, wrenching, and monſtrouſly injuring of God's holy ſcripture, as appeareth in the pope's law. But I dwell here now in a ſchool of obliviouſneſs. Fare you well once again, and be you ſtedfaſt and unmoveable in the Lord. Paul loved Timothy marvellous well, notwithſtanding he ſaith unto him, "Be thou partaker of the afflictions of the goſpel;" and again, "Harden thyſelf to ſuffer afflictions. Be faithful unto death and I will give thee a crown of life," ſaith the Lord.

A Letter ſent from Biſhop Ridley and his Fellow-Priſoners, to Mr. Bradford and his Fellow-Priſoners in the King's-Bench in Southwark, Anno 1554.

WELL beloved in Chriſt our Saviour, we all with one heart wiſh to you, with all thoſe that love God in deed and truth, grace and health, and eſpecially to our dearly beloved companions which are in Chriſt's cauſe, and the cauſe both of their brethren and of their own ſalvation, to put their neck willingly under the yoke of Chriſt's croſs. How joyful it was to us to hear the report of Dr. Taylor and of his godly confeſſion, &c. I aſſure you it is hard for me to expreſs.

Bleſſed be God, which was and is the giver of that, and of all godly ſtrength and ſupport in the time of adverſity. As for the rumours that have or do go abroad either of our relenting or maſſing, we truſt, that they which know God and their duty towards their brethren in Chriſt, will not be too light of belief. For it is not the ſlanderer's evil tongue, but a man's evil deed that can with God defile a man; and therefore with God's grace, ye ſhall never have cauſe to do otherwiſe than ye ſay ye do, that is, not to doubt but that we will, by God's grace, continue, &c. Like rumours as ye have heard of our coming to London, hath been here ſpread of the coming of certain learned men priſoners, hither from London: but as yet we know no certainty which of theſe rumours is, or ſhall be more true. Know ye that we have you in our daily remembrance, and wiſh you and all the reſt of our foreſaid companions well in Chriſt.

It would much comfort us, if we might have knowledge of the ſtate of the reſt of our moſt dearly beloved, which in this troubleſome time do ſtand in Chriſt's cauſe, and in the defence of the truth thereof. We have heard ſomewhat of Mr. Hooper's matter, but nothing of the reſt. We long to hear of father Crome, Dr. Sands, Mr. Saunders, Veron, Beacon, Rogers, &c. We are in good health, thanks be to God, and yet the manner of uſing us doth change as ſour ale in ſummer. It is reported to us by our keepers, that the univerſity beareth us heavily. A coal happened to fall in the night out of the chimney, and burnt a hole in the floor, and no more harm was done, the bailiff's ſervant ſitting by the fire. Another night there chanced (as Mr. Bailiffs told us), a drunken fellow to multiply words, and for the ſame he was ſet in Bocardo. Upon theſe things as is reported, there is a rumour riſen in the town and country about, that we would have broke the priſon with ſuch violence, as that if Mr. Bailiffs had not played the pretty men, we ſhould have made an eſcape. We had out of our priſon a wall that we might have walked upon, and our ſervants had liberty to go abroad in the town or fields, but now both they and we are reſtrained of both. My lord of Worceſter paſſed through Oxford, but he did not viſit us. The ſame day our reſtraint began to be more cloſe, and the book of the communion was taken from us by the bailiffs at the mayor's commandment, as the bailiffs did report to us. No man is licenſed to come unto us: before they might, that would ſee us upon the wall, but that is ſo grudged at, and ſo evil reported, that we are now reſtrained, &c. Sir, bleſſed be God, with all our evil reports, grudges and reſtraints, we are merry in God, all our care is and ſhall be (by God's grace) to pleaſe and ſerve him, of whom we look and hope, after theſe temporal and momentary miſeries, to have eternal joy and perpetual felicity with Abraham, Iſaac and Jacob, Peter and Paul, and all the heavenly company of the angels in heaven, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. As yet there has no learned man, nor any ſcholar, been to viſit us ſince we came into Bocardo, which now in Oxford may be called a college of Quondams. For as ye know we are no fewer than three, and I dare ſay every one well contented with his portion, which I do reckon to be our heavenly Father's fatherly, good and gracious gift. Thus fare you well. We ſhall by God's grace one day meet together, and be merry. The day aſſuredly approacheth apace; the Lord grant that it may ſhortly come. For before that day come, I fear the world will wax worſe and worſe. But then all our enemies ſhall be overthrown and trodden under foot; righteouſneſs and truth then ſhall have the victory, and bear the bell away, whereof the Lord grant us to be partakers, and all that love truly the truth.

We all pray you, as we can, to cauſe all our commendations to be made unto all ſuch as ye know did viſit us and you when we were in the Tower, with their friendly remembrances and benefits. Mrs. Wilkinſon and Mrs. Warcup have not forgotten us, but ever ſince we came to Bocardo, with their charitable and friendly benevolence have comforted us: not that elſe we did lack (for God be bleſſed, he hath always hitherto ſufficiently provided

vided for us), but that is a great comfort, and an occaſion for us to bleſs God, when we ſee that he maketh them ſo friendly to tender us, whom ſome of us were never familiarly acquainted withal.

Yours in Chriſt,
Nich. Ridley.

Biſhop Ridley's Letter to his Couſin.

GOD's Holy Spirit be with you now and ever, Amen.

When I call to remembrance, beloved couſin, the ſtate of thoſe that for fear of trouble, either for loſs of goods. will do in the ſight of the world thoſe things that they know and are aſſured are contrary to the will of God, I can do no leſs than lament their caſe, being aſſured the end thereof will be ſo pitiful (without ſpeedy repentance) that I tremble and fear to have it in remembrance. I would to God it lay upon ſome earthly burden, ſo that freedom of conſcience might be given unto them. I wrote (as God knoweth) not of preſumption, but only lamenting the ſtate of thoſe whom I thought now in this dangerous time ſhould have given both you and me comfortable inſtruction. But alas! inſtead thereof we have inſtructions to follow (I lament to rehearſe it) ſuperſtitious idolatry. Yea, and what is worſt of all, they will ſeek to prove it by the ſcriptures. The Lord for his mercy turn their hearts, Amen. Commend me, &c.

Yours, Nicholas Ridley.

Another Letter from Biſhop Ridley to Mr. Bradford,

BRother Bradford, I wiſh you and your company in Chriſt, yea, and all the holy brotherhood, that now with you in divers priſons ſuffereth and beareth patiently the croſs of Chriſt for the maintenance of his goſpel, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

Sir, conſidering the ſtate of this chivalry and warfare, wherein I doubt not but we be ſet to fight under Chriſt's banner, and his croſs, againſt our ghoſtly enemy the devil, and the old ſerpent ſatan, methinks I perceive two things to be his moſt perilous and moſt dangerous engines, which he hath to impugn the verity of Chriſt, his goſpel, and his faith; and the ſame two alſo be the moſt maſſy poſts and moſt mighty pillars, whereby he maintaineth and upholdeth this ſatanical ſynagogue. Theſe two, Sir, are they, in my judgment: the one, his falſe doctrine and idolatrical uſe of the Lord's ſupper; and the other, the wicked and abominable uſurpation of the primacy of the ſee of Rome. By theſe two ſatan ſeemeth to me principally to maintain and uphold his kingdom; by theſe two he driveth down mightily (alas, I fear me) the third part of the ſtars in heaven. Theſe two poiſonous rotten poſts he had ſo painted over with ſuch a pretence and colour of religion, of unity in Chriſt's church, of the catholic faith, and ſuch like, that the wily ſerpent is able to deceive (if it were poſſible) even the elect of God. Wherefore St. John ſaith, not without great cauſe, "If any man know not ſatan's ſubtilties and the profundities thereof, I will wiſh him no other burden to be laden withal.

Sir, becauſe theſe be his principal and main poſts whereupon ſtandeth all his falſhood, craft, and treachery, therefore according to the poor power that God hath given me, I have bended mine artillery to ſhoot at the ſame. I know it to be but little (God knoweth) that I can do, and of my ſhot I know they paſs not. Yet I will not, God willing, ceaſe to do the beſt I can, to ſhake thoſe cankered and rotten poſts. The Lord grant me good ſucceſs, to the glory of his name, and the furtherance of his goſpel. I have now already (I thank God) for this preſent time ſpent a good part of my powder in theſe ſcribblings, whereof this bearer ſhall give you knowledge. Good brother Bradford, let the wicked ſurmiſe and ſay what they liſt; know you for a certainty, by God's grace, without all doubt, that in the cauſe of Chriſt's goſpel, againſt and upon the aforeſaid enemies of God, I am fully determined to live and die. Farewel (dear brother) and I beſeech you and all the reſt of our brethren to have good remembrance of the condemned heretics (as they call them) of Oxford, in your prayers. The bearer ſhall certify you of our ſtate. Farewel in the Lord. From Bocardo.

Yours in Chriſt,
Nicholas Ridley.

Another Letter from Biſhop Ridley to Mr. Bradford and his Fellow Priſoners.

DEARLY beloved, I wiſh you grace, mercy, and peace.

According to your mind, I have run over all your papers, and what I have done (which is but ſmall) therein may appear. In two places I have put in two looſe leaves. I had much ado to read what was written in your great leaves, and I think ſomewhere I have altered ſome words, becauſe I could not perfectly read that which was written. Sir, what ſhall be beſt done with theſe things, now ye muſt conſider; for if they come in ſight at this time, undoubtedly they muſt go to the fire with their author: and as for any ſafeguard that your cuſtody can be unto them, I am ſure you look not for it. For as you have been partner of the work, ſo I am ſure you look for none other, but to have and receive like wages, and to drink of the ſame cup. Bleſſed be God, that hath given you liberty in the mean ſeaſon, that you may uſe your pen to his glory, and the comfort (as I hear ſay) of many. I bleſs God daily in you, and all your whole company, to whom I beſeech you commend me heartily. Now I love my countryman in deed and in truth, I mean Dr. Taylor, not for my earthly country's ſake, but for our heavenly Father's ſake, and for Chriſt's ſake, whom I heard ſay, he did ſtoutly in time of danger confeſs, and yet alſo for our country's ſake, and for all our mother's ſake; but I mean of the kingdom of heaven, and of heavenly Jeruſalem, and becauſe of the Spirit which bringeth forth in him, in you, and in our company ſuch bleſſed fruits of boldneſs in the Lord's cauſe, of patience and conſtancy. The Lord who hath begun this work in you all, perfect this his own deed, until his own day come, Amen.

And yet I perceived ye have not been baited, and the cauſe thereof God knoweth, which will let them do no more than is his good will and pleaſure to ſuffer them to do for his own glory, and to the profit of them which be truly his. For the Father, who guideth them that be Chriſt's to Chriſt, is more mighty than all they, and no man is able to pull them out of the Father's hands: except, I ſay, it pleaſe our Father, it pleaſe our maſter Chriſt to ſuffer them, they ſhall not ſtir one hair of your head.

My brother P. the bearer hereof, and Mr. Hooper's letters, would that we ſhould ſay what we think good concerning your mind: that is, not to anſwer, except ye might have impartial judges: we are (as ye know) ſeparated, and cannot conſult with one another, and we be ſo narrowly watched by the bailiffs about us, that we have no oportunity of private conference. And yet, as we hear, the ſcholars bear us more heavily than the townſmen. A wonderful thing, among ſo many, never yet a ſcholar offered any of us (ſo far as we know) any manner of favour, either for or in Chriſt's cauſe.

Now as concerning your demand of your counſel, for my part I do not miſlike that which I perceive ye are minded to do. For I look for none other, but if ye anſwer before the ſame commiſſioners that we did, ye ſhall

ſhall be ſerved and handled as we were, though ye were as well learned as ever was either Peter or Paul. And yet further I think, that occaſion afterward may be given you, and the conſideration of the profit of your auditory may perchance move you to do otherwiſe.

Finally, determinately to ſay what ſhall be beſt, I am not able: but I truſt he, whoſe cauſe ye have in hand, ſhall put you in mind to do that which ſhall be moſt to his glory, the profit of his flock, and your own ſalvation. This letter muſt be common to you and Mr. Hooper, in whom and in his fellow-priſoner good father C— I bleſs God, even from the bottom of my heart; for I doubt not but they both do to our maſter Chriſt, true, acceptable, and honourable ſervice, and profitable to the flock; the one with his pen, and the other with his fatherly example of patience and conſtancy, and all manner of true godlineſs. But what ſhall I need to ſay to you? Let this be common among your brethren, among whom (I dare ſay) it is with you as it is with us, to whom all things here are common, meat, money, and whatſoever any of us hath, that can or may do another good. Although I ſaid the bailiffs and our hoſteſs do ſtrictly watch us, that we have no conference or intelligence of any thing abroad, yet God hath provided for every one of us, inſtead of our ſervants, faithful fellows, who are content to hear and ſee, and to do for us whatſoever they can. It is God's work ſurely, bleſſed be God for his unſpeakable goodneſs. The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the love of God, and the communication of the Holy Ghoſt be with you all, Amen, Amen.

As far as London is from Oxford, yet thence we have received of late, both meat, money and ſhirts, not only from ſuch as are of our acquaintance, but of ſome (whom this bearer can tell) with whom I had never to my knowledge any acquaintance. I know for whoſe ſake they do it; to him therefore be all honour, glory, and due thanks.

And yet I pray you do ſo much as to ſhew them, that we have received their benevolence, and (God be bleſſed) have plenty of all ſuch things. This I deſire you to do; for I know they be of Mr. Hooper's and your familiar acquaintance. Mr. Latimer was out of order: but now (thanks be to God) he amendeth again.

Nicholas Ridley.

Another Letter from Biſhop Ridley to Mr. Bradford.

O Dear brother, ſeeing the time is now come, wherein it pleaſeth the heavenly Father for Chriſt our Saviour's ſake to call upon you, and to bid you to come, happy are you that ever you were born, thus to be found awake at the Lord's calling. "Well done, good and faithful ſervant, becauſe thou haſt been faithful in ſmall matters, he ſhall ſet thee over great things, and thou ſhalt enter into the joy of thy Lord."

O dear brother, what meaneth that you are ſent into your own native country? The wiſdom and policy of the world may mean what they will, but I truſt God will ſo order the matter finally by his fatherly providence, that ſome great occaſion of God's gracious goodneſs ſhall be plentifully poured abroad amongſt our dear brethren in that country by this your martyrdom, where the martyrs for Chriſt's ſake ſhed their blood, and loſt their lives. O what wondrous things hath Chriſt afterwards wrought to his glory, and confirmation of their doctrine? If it be not the place that ſanctifieth the man, but the holy man doth by Chriſt ſanctify the place, brother Bradford, then happy and holy ſhall be that place wherein thou ſhalt ſuffer, and ſhall be with thy aſhes in Chriſt's cauſe ſprinkled over withal. All the country may rejoice of thee, that it ever brought forth ſuch a one, which would render his life again in his cauſe, of whom he had received it. Brother Bradford, ſo long as I ſhall underſtand thou art in thy journey, by God's grace I ſhall call upon our heavenly Father for Chriſt's ſake to ſet thee ſafely home; and then, good brother, ſpeak you, and pray for the remnant which are to ſuffer for Chriſt's ſake, according to that thou then ſhalt know more clearly.

We do look now every day when we ſhall be called on, bleſſed be God. I think I am the weakeſt many ways of our company; and yet I thank our Lord God and heavenly Father by Chriſt, that ſince I heard of our dear brother Rogers departing, and ſtout confeſſion of Chriſt and his truth even unto the death, my heart (bleſſed be God) rejoiced for it, that ſince that time (I ſay) I never felt any lumpiſh heavineſs in my heart, as I grant I have felt ſometimes before. O good brother, bleſſed be God in thee, and bleſſed be the time that ever I knew thee. Farewel, farewel.

Your brother in Chriſt,
Nicholas Ridley.

To the Brethren remaining in Captivity, and diſperſed abroad in ſundry Priſons, but knit together in Unity of Spirit and Holy Religion in the Bowels of the Lord Jeſus.

GRACE, peace and mercy be multiplied among you.

What worthy thanks can we render unto the Lord for you, my brethren, namely, for the great conſolation which through you we have received in the Lord, who notwithſtanding the rage of Satan, that goeth about by all manner of ſubtle means to beguile the world, and alſo buſily laboureth to reſtore and ſet up his kingdom again, that of late began to decay and fall to ruin; ye remain yet ſtill unmoveable, as men ſurely grounded upon a ſtrong rock. And now albeit that Satan, by his ſoldiers and wicked miniſters, daily (as we hear) draweth numbers unto him, ſo that it is ſaid of him, that he plucketh even the very ſtars out of heaven, while he driveth into ſome men the fear of death, and loſs of all their goods, and ſheweth and offereth to others the pleaſant baits of the world; namely, riches, wealth, and all kinds of delights and pleaſures, fair houſes, great revenues, fat benefices, and what not; and all to the intent they ſhould fall down and worſhip, not the Lord, but the dragon, the old ſerpent, which is the devil, that great beaſt and his image, and ſhould be enticed to commit fornication with the ſtrumpet of Babylon, together with the kings of the earth, with the leſſer beaſt and with the falſe prophets, and ſo to rejoice and be pleaſant with her, and to be drunken with the wine of her fornication: yet bleſſed be God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which hath given unto you a manly courage, and hath ſo ſtrengthened you in the inward man, by the power of his Spirit, that you can contemn as well all the terrors, as alſo the vain flattering allurements of the world, eſteeming them as vanities, mere trifles, and things of nought: who hath alſo wrought, planted, and ſurely eſtabliſhed in your hearts, ſo ſtedfaſt a faith and love of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, joined with ſuch conſtancy, that by no engines of Antichriſt, be they never ſo terrible or plauſible, ye will ſuffer any other Jeſus, or any other Chriſt to be forced upon you, beſides him whom the prophets have ſpoken of before, the apoſtles have preached, the holy martyrs of God have confeſſed and teſtified with the effuſion of their blood.

In this faith ſtand ye faſt, my brethren, and ſuffer not yourſelves to be brought under the yoke of bondage and ſuperſtition any more. For ye know, brethren, how that our Saviour warned his beforehand, that ſuch ſhould come as would point unto the world another Chriſt, and would ſet him out with ſo many falſe miracles, and with ſuch deceivable and ſubtle practices, that even the very elect (if it were poſſible) ſhould thereby be deceived: ſuch ſtrong deluſion to come did our Saviour give warning of before. But continue ye faithful and conſtant, and be of

good comfort, and remember that our grand Captain hath overcome the world; for he that is in us is ſtronger than he that is in the world, and the Lord promiſeth unto us that for the elect ſake, the days of wickedneſs ſhall be ſhortened. In the mean ſeaſon abide ye and endure with patience as ye have begun: endure, I ſay, and reſerve yourſelves unto better times, as one of the heathen poets ſaid, Ceaſe not to ſhew yourſelves valiant ſoldiers of the Lord, and help to maintain the travailing faith of the goſpel.

Ye have need of patience, that after ye have done the will of God, ye may receive the promiſes. "For yet a very little, and he that ſhall come, will come, and will not tarry; and the juſt ſhall live by faith: but if any withdraw himſelf, my ſoul ſhall have no pleaſure in him (ſaith the Lord). But we are not they which do withdraw ourſelves unto damnation, but believe unto the ſalvation of the ſoul." Let us not ſuffer theſe words of Chriſt to fall out of our hearts by any manner of terror, or threatenings of the world. Fear not them which kill the body; the reſt ye know. For I write not unto you, as to men which are ignorant of the truth, but who know the truth, and to this end only, that we agreeing together in one faith, may comfort one another, and be more confirmed and ſtrengthened thereby. We never had a better or more juſt cauſe either to contemn our life, or ſhed our blood; we cannot take in hand the defence of a more certain, clear, and manifeſt truth. For it is not any ceremony for which we contend; but it toucheth the very ſubſtance of our whole religion, yea, even Chriſt himſelf. Shall we, or can we receive and acknowledge any other Chriſt inſtead of him, who is alone the everlaſting Son of the everlaſting Father, and is the brightneſs of the glory, and a lively image of the ſubſtance of the Father, in whom only dwelleth corporally the fulneſs of the Godhead, who is the only way, the truth, and the life? Let ſuch wickedneſs (my brethren) let ſuch horrible wickedneſs be far from us. For although there be that be called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, as there be many gods and many lords, yet unto us there is but one God, who is the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom are all things, and we by him: but every man hath not knowledge. "This is life eternal (ſaith St. John), that they know thee to be the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom thou haſt ſent." If any therefore would force upon us any other God, beſides him whom Paul and the apoſtles have taught, let us not hear him, but let us fly from him, and hold him accurſed.

Brethren, ye are not ignorant of the deep and profound ſubtilties of Satan; for he will not ceaſe to range about you, ſeeking by all means poſſible whom he may devour: but play ye the men, and be of good comfort in the Lord. And although your enemies and the adverſaries of the truth, armed with all worldly force and power that may be, do ſet upon you; yet be ye not faint-hearted, and ſhrink not therefore, but truſt unto your captain Chriſt, truſt unto the Spirit of truth, and truſt to the truth of your cauſe; which as it may by the malice of Satan be darkened, ſo can it never be clean put out. For we have (high praiſe be given to God therefore) moſt plainly, evidently, and clearly on our ſide, all the prophets, all the apoſtles, and undoubtedly all the ancient eccleſiaſtical writers which have written, until of late years paſt.

Let us be hearty and of good courage therefore, and thoroughly comfort ourſelves in the Lord. Be in no wiſe afraid of your adverſaries; for that which is to them an occaſion of perdition, is to you a ſure token of ſalvation, and that of God. For unto you it is given, that not only ye ſhould believe on him, but alſo ſuffer for his ſake. And when ye are railed upon for the name of Chriſt, remember that by the voice of Peter, yea, and of Chriſt our Saviour alſo, ye are counted with the prophets, with the apoſtles, and with the holy martyrs of Chriſt, happy and bleſſed therefore: for the glory and Spirit of God reſteth upon you.

On their part our Saviour Chriſt is evil ſpoken of, but on your part he is glorified. For what can they elſe do unto you by perſecuting you, and working all cruelty and villainy againſt you, but make your crowns more glorious, yea, beautify and multiply the ſame, and heap upon themſelves the horrible plagues and heavy wrath of God: and therefore, good brethren, though they rage never ſo fiercely againſt us, yet let us not wiſh evil to them again, knowing that while for Chriſt's cauſe they vex and perſecute us, they are like mad men, moſt outrageous and cruel againſt themſelves, heaping hot burning coals upon their own heads: but rather let us wiſh well unto them, knowing that we are thereunto called in Chriſt Jeſus, that we ſhould be heirs of the bleſſing. Let us pray therefore unto God, that he would drive out of their hearts this darkneſs of errors, and make the light of his truth to ſhine unto them, that they acknowledging their blindneſs, may with all humble repentance be converted unto the Lord, and together with us confeſs him to be the only true God, which is the Father of light, and his only Son Jeſus Chriſt, worſhipping him in ſpirit and truth, Amen. The Spirit of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt comfort your hearts in the love of God, and patience of Chriſt, Amen.

Your brother in the Lord, whoſe name this bearer ſhall ſignify unto you, ready always by the grace of God to live and die with you.

To the Brethren which conſtantly cleave unto Chriſt, in ſuffering Affliction with him and for his Sake.

GRACE and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be multiplied unto you, Amen.

Although, brethren, we have of late heard nothing from you, neither have at this preſent any news to ſend to you; yet we thought good to write ſomething unto you, whereby ye might underſtand that we have good remembrance of you continually, as we doubt not but ye have of us alſo. When this meſſenger, coming unto us from you of late, had brought unto us good tidings of your great conſtancy, fortitude, and patience in the Lord, we were filled with much joy and gladneſs, giving thanks to God the Father through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which hath cauſed his face ſo to ſhine upon you, and with the light of ſpiritual underſtanding hath ſo enlightened your hearts, that now being in captivity and bonds for Chriſt's cauſe, ye have not ceaſed as much as in you lieth, by words, but much more by deeds and by your example, to eſtabliſh and confirm that thing, which when ye were at liberty in the world, ye laboured to publiſh and ſet abroad by the word and doctrine: that is to ſay, holding faſt the word of life, ye ſhine as lights in the world, in the midſt of a wicked and crooked nation, and that with ſo much the greater glory of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and profit of your brethren, by how much Satan more cruelly now rageth, and buſily laboureth to darken the light of the goſpel.

And as for the darkneſs that Satan now bringeth upon the church of England, who needeth to doubt thereof? Of late time our Saviour Chriſt, his apoſtles, prophets, and teachers, ſpake in the temple to the people of England in the Engliſh tongue, ſo that they might be plainly underſtood by the godly, and ſuch as ſought for heavenly knowledge in matters, which of neceſſity pertained to the obtaining of eternal life; but now thoſe things which once were written by them for the edifying of the congregation, are read in a ſtrange tongue without interpretation, manifeſtly againſt St. Paul's commandment, ſo that there is no man able to underſtand them, who hath not learned that ſtrange and unknown tongue.

Of late days thoſe heavenly myſteries, whereby Chriſt hath ingrafted us into his body, and hath united us one to another, whereby alſo being regenerate, and born anew to God, he hath nouriſhed, increaſed and ſtrengthened us, whereby moreover either he hath taught and ſet forth an order amongſt them which are whole, or elſe to the ſick in ſoul or body, hath given, as it were, wholeſome medicines and remedies; thoſe (I ſay) were all plainly ſet forth to the people in their own language; ſo that what great and exceeding good things every man had received of God, what duty every one owed to another by God's ordinance, what every one had promiſed in his vocation, and was bound to obſerve, where remedy was to be had for the wicked and feeble, he to whom God hath given a deſire and willing heart to underſtand theſe things, might ſoon perceive and underſtand. But now all theſe things are taught and ſet forth in ſuch ſort, that the people redeemed with Chriſt's blood, and for whoſe ſakes they were by Chriſt himſelf ordained, can have no manner of underſtanding thereof at all.

Of late (foraſmuch as we know not how to pray as we ought) our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in his prayer, whereof he would have no man ignorant, and alſo the Holy Ghoſt in the pſalms, hymns, and ſpiritual ſongs which are ſet forth in the Bible, did teach and inſtruct all the people of England in the Engliſh tongue, that they might aſk ſuch things as are according to the will of the Father, and might join their hearts and lips in prayer together; but now all theſe things are commanded to be hid and ſhut up from them in a ſtrange tongue, whereby it muſt needs follow, that the people can neither tell how to pray, nor what to pray for; and how can they join their hearts and voice together, when they underſtand no more what the voice ſignifieth than a brute beaſt?

Finally, I hear ſay, that the catechiſm which was lately ſet forth in the Engliſh tongue, is now in every pulpit condemned. O deviliſh malice, and moſt ſpitefully injurious to the ſalvation of mankind purchaſed by Jeſus Chriſt! Indeed Satan could not long ſuffer that ſo great light ſhould be ſpread abroad in the world; he ſaw well enough that nothing was able to overthrow his kingdom ſo much, as if children being godly inſtructed in religion, ſhould learn to know Chriſt whilſt they are yet young; whereby not only children, but the elder ſort alſo, and aged people that were not taught before how to know Chriſt in their childhood, ſhould now even with children and babes, be forced to learn to know him. Now therefore he roareth, now he rageth. But what elſe do they (brethren) who ſerve Satan, and become his miniſters and ſlaves in maintaining of his impiety, but even the ſame which they did, to whom Chriſt our Saviour threateneth his curſe in the goſpel; "Woe unto you who ſhut up the kingdom of heaven before men, and take away the key of knowledge from them: you yourſelves have not entered in, neither have ye ſuffered them that would enter, to come in."

And from whence ſhall we ſay (brethren) that this horrible and miſchievous darkneſs proceedeth, which is now brought upon the world? From whence, I pray you, but even from the ſmoke of the great furnace of the bottomleſs pit, ſo that the ſun and the air are now darkened by the ſmoke of the pit? Now, even now, (out of doubt, brethren) the pit is opened againſt us, and the locuſts begin to ſwarm, and Abaddon now reigneth.

Ye therefore (my brethren) which pertain unto Chriſt, and have the ſeal of God marked in your foreheads; that is, are ſealed with the earneſt of the Spirit to be a peculiar people of God, quit yourſelves like men, and be ſtrong; for he that is in us, is ſtronger than he that is in the world; and ye know that all who are born of God overcometh the world, and this is our victory that overcometh the world, even our faith. Let the world fret, let it rage never ſo much, be it never ſo cruel and bloody, yet be ye ſure that no man can take us out of the Father's hands: for he is greater than all, who hath not ſpared his own Son, but hath given him to death for us all; and therefore how ſhall he not with him give us all things alſo? "Who ſhall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that juſtifieth, who then ſhall condemn? It is Chriſt that is dead, yea rather which is riſen again, who alſo is at the right hand of God, and maketh requeſt alſo for us. Who ſhall ſeparate us from the love of Chriſt? Shall tribulation, or anguiſh, or perſecution, or famine, or nakedneſs, or peril, or the ſword?" the reſt, ye know, brethren. We are certainly perſuaded with St. Paul, by the grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that no kind of thing ſhall be able to ſeparate us from the love of God which is in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord. Which thing, that it may come to paſs by the grace and mercy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, to the comfort both of you and of us all, as we for our parts will continually (God willing) pray for you; ſo (dear brethren in the Lord) with all earneſt and hearty requeſt we beſeech you, even in the bowels of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that ye will not ceaſe to pray for us. Fare ye wel, dear brethren. The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with you all evermore, Amen.

A Letter from Biſhop Ridley, anſwering to a certain Letter of one Mr. Weſt, ſometime his Chaplain.

I Wiſh you grace in God, and love of the truth, without which truly eſtabliſhed in men's hearts by the mighty hand of Almighty God, it is no more poſſible to ſtand by the truth in Chriſt in time of trouble, that it is for the wax to abide the heat of the fire. Sir, you know this, that I am, bleſſed be God, perſuaded that this world is but tranſitory, and (as St. John ſaith) "The world paſſeth away and the luſt thereof." I am perſuaded that Chriſt's words be true; "Whoſoever ſhall confeſs me before men, him will I confeſs alſo before my Father which is in heaven." And I believe that no earthly creature ſhall be ſaved, whom the Redeemer and Saviour of the world ſhall before his Father deny. This the Lord grant, that it may be ſo grafted, fixed, and eſtabliſhed in my heart, that neither things preſent nor to come, high or low, life nor death be able to remove me thence. It is a goodly wiſh, that you wiſh me deeply to conſider the things pertaining unto God's glory; but if you had wiſhed alſo, that neither fear of death, nor hope of worldly proſperity ſhould hinder me to maintain God's word and his truth, which is his glory and true honour, it would have pleaſed me well. You deſire me for God's ſake to remember myſelf. Indeed, Sir, now it is time ſo to do; for, ſo far as I can perceive, it ſtandeth me upon no leſs danger, than of the loſs both of body and ſoul; and I think it is time for a man to awake, if any thing will awake him. He that will not fear him that threateneth to caſt both body and ſoul into everlaſting fire, whom will he fear? With this fear, O Lord, faſten thou together our frail fleſh, that we never ſwerve from thy laws. You ſay you have made much ſuit for me. Sir, God grant that you have not in ſuing for my worldly deliverance, impaired and hindered the furtherance of God's word and his truth.

You have known me long indeed; in which time I happened, as you ſay, to miſlike ſome things. I grant it is true; for ſudden changes without ſubſtantial and neceſſary cauſe, and the haſty ſetting forth of extremities, I did never love. Confeſſion unto the miniſter who is able inſtruct, correct, comfort, and inform the weak, wounded, and ignorant conſcience, indeed I ever thought might do much good in Chriſt's congregation, and ſo I aſſure you, I think even at this day. My doctrine and my preaching, you ſay, you have heard often, and after your judgment have thought it godly, ſaving only for the ſacrament, which thing although it was by me reverently handled, and a great deal better than of the reſt (as you ſay) yet in the margin you write Warily, and this

in this world Wisely; and yet methought all sounding not well. Sir, but that I see so many changes in this world, and so much alteration, else at this your saying I would not a little marvel. I have taken you for my friend, and a man whom I fansied for plainness and faithfulness, as much, I assure you, as for your learning; and have you kept this so close in your heart for me unto this day? Sir, I consider more things than one, and will not say all that I think. But what need you to care what I think, for any thing I shall be able to do to you, either good or harm? you give me good lessons to stand in nothing against my learning, and to beware of vain-glory. Truly, I herein like your counsel very well, and by God's grace I intend to follow it to my life's end.

To write unto those whom you name, I cannot see what it will avail me. For this I would have you know, that I esteem nothing available for me, which will not also further the glory of God. And now, because I perceive you have an entire zeal and desire of my deliverance out of this captivity and worldly misery, if I should not bear you a good heart in God again, methinks I were to blame. Sir, how nigh the day of my dissolution and departure out of this world is at hand, I cannot tell: the Lord's will be fulfilled, how soon soever it shall come. I know the Lord's words must be verified on me, that I shall appear before the uncorrupt judge, and be accountable to him for all my former life. And though the hope of his mercies is my shoot-anchor of eternal salvation, yet am I persuaded, that whosoever wittingly neglecteth and regardeth not to clear his conscience, he cannot have peace with God, nor a lively faith in his mercy. Conscience therefore moveth me, considering you were one of my family, and one of my household, of whom when I think I had a special cure, and of all them which were within my house, which indeed ought to have been an example of godliness to all the rest of my cure, not only of good life, but also in promoting of God's word to the uttermost of their power (but, alas, now when the trial doth separate the chaff from the corn, how small a quantity it is, God knoweth, which the wind doth not blow away), this conscience, I say, doth move me to fear, lest the lightness of my family shall be laid to my charge for lack of more earnest and diligent instruction, which should have been done. But blessed be God who hath given me grace to see this my fault, and to lament it from the bottom of my heart, before my departing hence.

This conscience doth also move me now to require both you and my friend Dr. Harvey, to remember your promises made to me in times past, of the pure setting forth and preaching of God's word and his truth. These promises although you need not fear being charged with them by me hereafter before the world, yet look for none other (I exhort you as my friends), but to be charged with them at God's hand. This conscience and the love that I bear unto you, biddeth me now say unto you both in God's name; Fear God, and love not the world: for God is able to cast both body and soul into hell-fire. When his wrath shall be suddenly kindled, blessed are all they that put their trust in him. And the saying of St. John is true, "All that is in the world, as the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but of the world; and the world passeth away, and the lusts thereof, but he that doth the will of God abideth for ever." If this gift of grace (which undoubtedly is necessarily required unto eternal salvation), were truly and unfeignedly grafted and firmly established in men's hearts, they would not be so light, so suddenly to shrink from the maintenance and confession of the truth, as is now, alas, manifestly seen of so many in these days. But here, peradventure, you would know of me, what is the truth. Sir, God's word is the truth, as St. John saith, and that even the same that was heretofore. For although men do vary and change as the moon, yet God's word is stable, and abideth one for evermore: and of Christ it is truly said, "Christ yesterday and to-day, the same is also for ever."

When I was in office, all that were esteemed learned in God's word, agreed this to be a truth in God's word written, that the Common Prayer of the church should be had in the common tongue. You know I have conferred with many, and I assure you, I never found man (so far as I do remember), neither old nor young, gospeller nor papist, of what judgment soever he was, in this thing to be of a contrary opinion. If then it were a truth of God's word, think you that the alteration of the world can make it an untruth? If it cannot, why then do so many men shrink from the confession and maintenance of this truth received once of us all? For what is it, I pray you, else to confess or deny Christ in this world, but to maintain the truth taught in God's word, or for any worldly respect to shrink from the same? This one thing have I brought for an ensample; other things be in like case, which now particularly I need not rehearse. For he that will forsake wittingly, either for fear or gain of the world, any open truth of God's word, if he be constrained, he will assuredly forsake God and all his truth, rather than he will endanger himself to lose or to leave what he loveth better indeed, than he doth God and the truth of his word.

I like very well your plain speaking, wherein you say, I must either agree or die; and I think that you mean of the bodily death, which is common both to good and bad. Sir, I know I must die, whether I agree or no. But what folly were it then to make such an agreement, by which I could never escape this death which is common to all, and also incur the guilt of death and eternal damnation? Lord grant that I may utterly abhor and detest this damnable agreement so long as I live. And because I dare say, you wrote this short earnest advertisement to me out of love, and I think verily, wishing me to live and not to die, therefore bearing you in my heart no less love in God, than you do me in the world, I say unto you in the word of the Lord (and that I say to you, I say to all my friends and lovers of us in God), that if you do not confess and maintain to your power and knowledge that which is grounded upon God's word, but will either for fear or gain of the world shrink and play the Apostata, indeed you shall die the death; you know what I mean. And I beseech you all true friends and lovers in God, remember what I say, for this may best be the last time peradventure that ever I shall write unto you.

From Bocardo in Oxford,
April 8, 1555.

Mr. Grindal (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury) being in the time of exile in the city of Frankfort, wrote to Dr. Ridley then prisoner, a certain epistle, wherein first he lamenteth his captivity, exhorting him withal to be constant. Secondly, he certifieth him of the state of the English exiles being dispersed in Germany, and of the singular providence of God in stirring up the magistrates and rulers there towards them. Thirdly, he writeth to know his mind and will concerning the printing of his book against transubstantiation, and of certain other treatises and his disputations. Whereunto bishop Ridley answereth again in order as followeth.

Dr. Ridley's Answer to Mr. Grindal's Letter.

BLessed be God our heavenly Father, which inclined your heart to have such a desire to write unto me, and blessed be he again which hath heard your request, and brought your letters safe unto my hands; and over all this I bless him through our Lord Jesus Christ, for the great comfort I have received by the same, of the knowledge of your state, and of other our dearly beloved

loved brethren and countrymen in thoſe parts beyond the ſea.

Dearly beloved brother Grindal, I ſay to you and all the reſt of our brethren in Chriſt with you, rejoice in the Lord, and as you love me, and the other my reverend fathers and fellow-priſoners (which undoubtedly are Gloria Chriſti), lament not our ſtate, but I beſeech you and them all to give to our heavenly Father for his boundleſs mercies and unſpeakable benefits, even in the midſt of all our troubles given unto us, moſt hearty thanks. For know ye, that as the weight of his croſs hath increaſed upon us, ſo he hath not, nor doth not ceaſe to multiply his mercies to ſtrengthen us; and I truſt, yet by his grace I doubt nothing, but he will do ſo for Chriſt our maſter's ſake even to the end. To hear that you and our other brethren do find favour and grace in your exile, with the magiſtrates, miniſters, and citizens at Tigury, Frankfort, and other places, it doth greatly comfort (I dare ſay) all here that do love Chriſt and his true word. I do aſſure you it warmed my heart, to hear you by chance name ſome, as Scory, Cox, &c. O that it had come in your mind to have ſaid ſomewhat alſo of Cheek, Turner, Leaver, Sampſon, and Chambers, but I truſt in God they be all well. And, Sir, ſeeing you ſay, that there be in thoſe parts with you of ſtudents and miniſters ſo good a number, now therefore care you not for us, otherwiſe than to wiſh that God's glory may be ſet forth by us. For whenſoever God ſhall call us home (as we look daily for none other, but when it ſhall pleaſe God to ſay, Come), you, bleſſed be God, are enow through his aid, to light, and ſet up again the lanthorn of his word in England. As concerning the copies ye ſay ye have with you, I wonder how ever they did or could find the way to come to you. My diſputation, except ye have that which I gathered myſelf after the diſputation was done, I cannot think ye have it truly. If ye have that, then ye have therewithal the whole manner after which I was uſed in the diſputation.

As for the treatiſe in Engliſh againſt tranſubſtantiation, I cannot think it worth tranſlating into Latin, nor would I have you tranſlate any other of my writings, till you are certain how the Lord will diſpoſe of me. And thus much concerning your letters. Now, although I ſuppoſe you know a good part of our condition here (for we are forthcoming, even as when ye departed, &c.) you ſhall underſtand that I was in the Tower about the ſpace of two months cloſe priſoner, and after that had granted to me, without my labour, the liberty of the Tower, and ſo continued about half a year, and then, becauſe I refuſed to allow the maſs with my preſence, I was ſhut up in priſon again.

The laſt Lent ſave one, it chanced by reaſon of the tumult ſtirred up in Kent, there were ſo many priſoners in the Tower, that my lord of Canterbury, Mr. Latimer, and Mr. Bradford and I were put all together in one priſon, where we remained till almoſt the next Eaſter, and then we three, Canterbury, Latimer and I, were ſuddenly ſent a little before Eaſter to Oxford, and were ſuffered to have nothing with us, but what we carried upon us. About the Whitſuntide following was our diſputations at Oxford, after which all was taken from us, as pen, ink, &c. Our own ſervants were taken from us before, and every one had a ſtrange man put to him, and each of us were appointed to be kept in ſeparate places, as we are unto this day.

Bleſſed be God, we three at writing hereof were in good health, and (in God) of good chear. We expected long ago to have been diſpatched, for we were all three on one day condemned as heretics by Dr. Weſton (he being the head commiſſioner), within a day or two of our diſputations, and ever ſince we remain as we were by him left. The Lord's will be fulfilled in us, as I doubt not but by his grace it ſhall be to his glory, and our eternal ſalvation, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

No. 27.

Likewiſe the Lord hath hitherto preſerved above all our expectation, our dear brother, and in Chriſt's cauſe, a ſtrong champion, John Bradford. He is alſo condemned, and is already delivered to the ſecular power, and writs (as we have heard ſay), given out for his execution, and called in again.

Thus the Lord, ſo long as his bleſſed pleaſure is, preſerveth whom he liſteth, notwithſtanding the wonderful raging of the world. Many (as we hear ſay) have valiantly ſuffered confeſſing Chriſt's truth, and nothing yielding to the adverſary, yea not for the fear or pains of death.

The names of them which I knew, and have now ſuffered, are theſe; Farrar biſhop of St. David's, Hooper biſhop of Worceſter, Rogers your fellow-prebend, Dr. Taylor of Hadley, Mr. Saunders, and one Tomkins a weaver, and now this laſt day Mr. Cardmaker, with another, was burnt in Smithfield at London, and many others in Eſſex and Kent, whoſe names are written in the book of life, whom yet I do not know.

Weſt, your old companion, and ſometime my officer (alas) hath relented (as I have heard), but the Lord hath ſhortened his days, for ſoon after he died, and is gone. Grimbold was caught by the heel, and caſt into the Marſhalſea, but now is at liberty again, but I fear he eſcaped not without bowing of his knee to Baal.

My dear friend Thomas Ridley, of the Bull-head, in Cheap, which was to me the moſt faithful friend that I had in my trouble, is departed alſo unto God. My brother Shipſide, that hath married my ſiſter, hath been almoſt half a year in priſon, for delivering (as he was accuſed) of certain things from me; but now, thanks be to God, he is at liberty again, but ſo that the biſhop taketh from him his park.

Of all us three priſoners in Oxford, I am kept moſt ſtrict, and with leaſt liberty; either becauſe the man in whoſe houſe I am a priſoner is governed by his wife, who is a moroſe, ſuperſtitious old woman, and thinks ſhe ſhall merit by having me very cloſely confined; for the man himſelf, whoſe name is Iriſh, is civil enough to all, but too much ruled by his wife. Though I never had a wife, yet from this daily uſage I begin to underſtand how great and intolerable a burthen it is to have a bad one. The wiſe man ſays rightly, A good wife is the gift of God: and again, Bleſſed is the man who has a good wife. Or elſe I ſay the reaſon is (for I know not from which), that he is ſo commanded from the higher powers, which is what he pleads, when I complain of my hard uſage.

At Cambridge (as I hear ſay), all the reformations of ſtudents and ſtatutes which were lately made, are now undone: and all things are reduced to their ancient confuſion and old popiſh ſuperſtition. All the heads of colleges who preached the ſincere word of God, or favoured it, are turned out, and others of popiſh faction put in their places: inſomuch that I hear no one can be admitted fellow of a college, that will not bow the knee to Baal. Nor do I wonder, ſince it is ſo throughout the whole realm of England among archbiſhops, biſhops, prieſts and deacons, and the whole body of the clergy. And to tell you much naughty matter in few words, Popery every where reigns among us in its full and ancient force.

The Lord be merciful, and for Chriſt's ſake pardon us our old unkindneſs and unthankfulneſs; for when he poured upon us the gifts of his manifold graces and favours (alas), we did not ſerve him, nor render thanks unto him according to the ſame. We paſtors many of us were too cold, and bare too much with the wicked world: our magiſtrates did abuſe, to their own worldly gain, both God's goſpel and the miniſters of the ſame. The people in many places were unruly and unkind. Thus of every ſide and of every ſort we have provoked God's anger and wrath to fall upon us: but bleſſed might

he be that hath not ſuffered his to continue in thoſe ways which ſo wholly have diſpleaſed his ſacred majeſty, but hath awaked them by the fatherly correction of his own Son's croſs, unto his glory and our endleſs ſalvation, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

My daily prayer is (as God doth know), and by God's grace ſhall be ſo long as I live in this world, for you my dear brethren that are fled out of your own country, becauſe you will rather forſake all worldly things than the truth of God's word. It is even the ſame that I uſe to make to God, for all thoſe churches abroad through the world, which have forſaken the kingdom of Antichriſt, and profeſſed openly the purity of the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt: that is, that God our eternal Father, for our Saviour Chriſt's ſake, will daily increaſe in you the gracious gift of his heavenly Spirit, to the true ſetting forth of his glory and of his goſpel, and make you to agree brotherly in the truth of the ſame, that there ariſe no root of bitterneſs among you, that may infect that good ſeed which God hath ſown in your hearts already, and finally that your life may be ſo pure and ſo honeſt, according to the rule of God's word, and according to that vocation whereunto we are called by the goſpel of Chriſt our Saviour, that the honeſty and purity of the ſame may provoke all that ſhall ſee or know it, to the love of your doctrine, and to love you for your honeſty and virtue ſake, and ſo both in brotherly unity of your true doctrine, and alſo in the godly virtue of your honeſt life, to glorify our Father which is in heaven.

Several of our magiſtrates, viz. the chancellor of Wincheſter, earl of Arundel, and lord Paget, are embaſſadors with cardinal Pool beyond the ſeas, to make peace (as it is ſaid) between the emperor, our realm, and the king of France. After whoſe return, and the delivery of the queen, which we daily expect, and have long expected, and which God for the glory of his name grant to be a ſafe and happy one, then ſhall we expect from the old enemy of our profeſſion, ſoon to receive triumphant crowns in the Lord.

I humbly with my whole heart commend myſelf to all your prayers, and firſt to yours, O moſt dear brother in Chriſt, and my moſt beloved Grindal, to yours moſt dear and together with me beloved in the Lord, Cheek, Cox, Turner, Leaver, Sampſon, Chambers, and all our brethren and fellow-countrymen who live amongſt you, and love our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in truth. I commend alſo to you the reverend fathers in God, and my fellow-captives in the Lord, Thomas Cranmer, now moſt worthy of the name of a true great paſtor and archbiſhop; and that old ſoldier of Chriſt and true apoſtle of our Engliſh nation, Hugh Latimer. I here give myſelf the greater length in this letter, moſt dear brother, becauſe after this I am perſuaded they will be too ſhort to trouble you.

Oxford, N. R.

To Auguſtine Bernher.

BRother Auguſtine, I bleſs God with all my heart in his manifold merciful gifts, given unto our dear brethren in Chriſt, eſpecially to our brother Rogers, whom it pleaſed him to ſet forth firſt, no doubt out of his gracious goodneſs and fatherly favour towards him. And likewiſe bleſſed be God in the reſt, as Hooper, Saunders and Taylor, whom it hath pleaſed the Lord likewiſe to ſet in the forefront of the battle againſt his adverſaries, and hath endured them all (ſo far as I can hear) to ſtand in the confeſſion of his truth, and to be content in his cauſe, and for his goſpel ſake to loſe their life. And evermore and without end bleſſed be even the ſame our heavenly Father for our dear and entirely beloved brother Bradford, whom now the Lord (I perceive) calleth for: for I believe he will no longer vouchſafe him to abide among the adulterous and wicked generation of this world. I do not doubt but that he (for thoſe gifts of grace which the Lord hath beſtowed on him plenteouſly) hath helped thoſe which are gone before in their journey, that is, hath animated and encouraged them to keep the high-way, and ſo to run, that at length they may receive the reward. The Lord be his comfort, whereof I do not doubt, and I thank God heartily that ever I was acquainted with him, and that ever I had ſuch a one in my houſe. And yet again I bleſs God in our dear brother, and of this time protomartyr Rogers, that he was alſo one of my calling to be a prebendary preacher of London. And now becauſe Grindal is gone (the Lord I doubt not hath and knoweth wherein he will beſtow him), I truſt to God it ſhall pleaſe him of his goodneſs to ſtrengthen me to make up the Trinity out of Paul's church, to ſuffer for Chriſt whom God the Father hath anointed, the Holy Spirit doth bear witneſs unto, Paul and all the apoſtles preached. Thus fare you well; I had no paper, I was conſtrained thus to write.

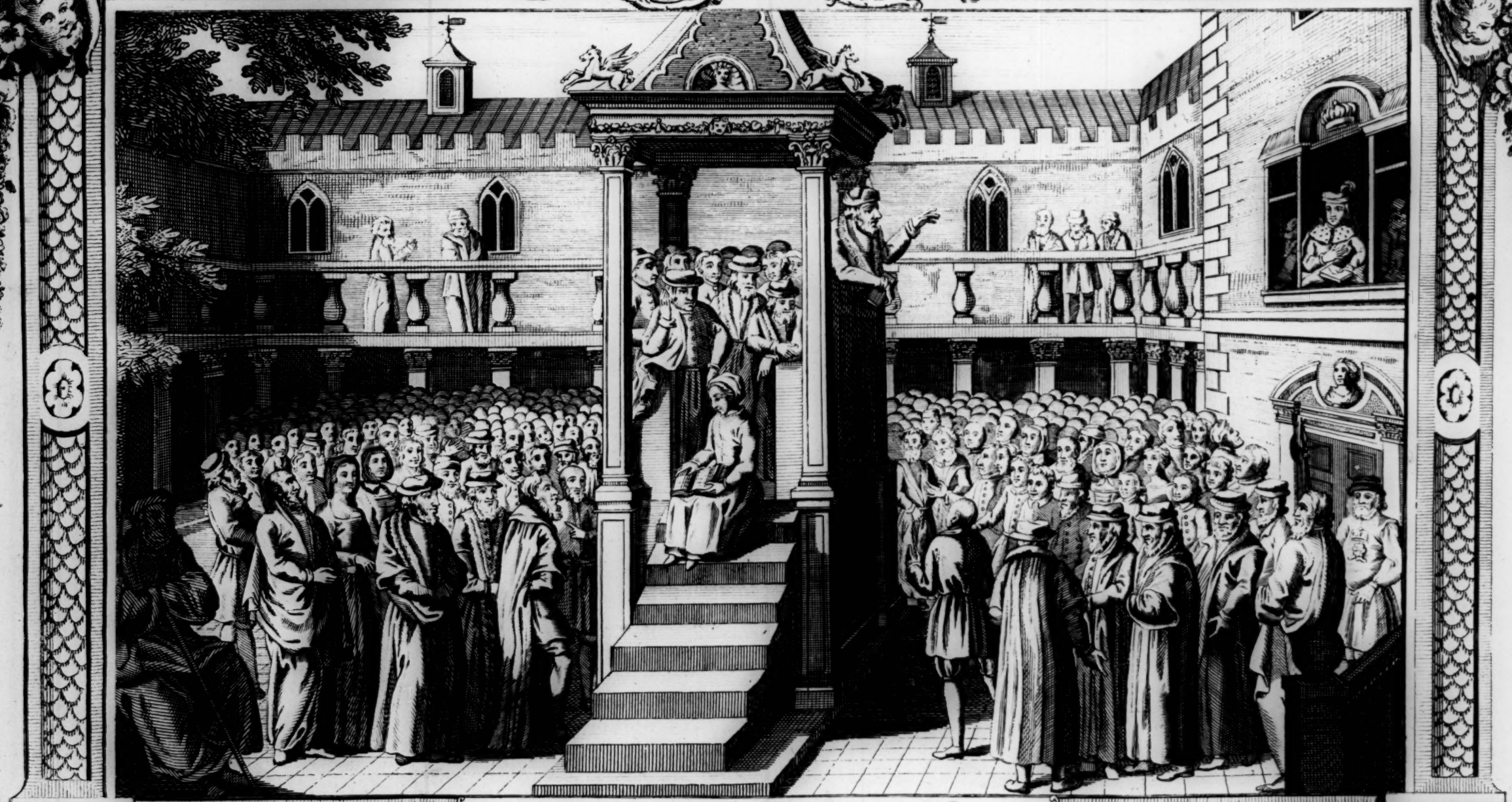
The Life of Biſhop Latimer, a famous Preacher, and worthy Martyr of Chriſt.

NOW conſequently after the life of Biſhop Ridley, followeth the life of that valiant champion and old diſciplin'd ſoldier of Chriſt, biſhop Hugh Latimer, who was the ſon of one Hugh Latimer of Thirkeſſon in the county of Leiceſter, a huſbandman in good repute; with whom he was brought up till he was about four years old: at which time his parents (having him as then left for their only ſon, with ſix daughters) ſeeing him to be of a ready, prompt, and ſharp wit, purpoſed to train him up in erudition, and knowledge of good literature; wherein he ſo profited in the common ſchools of his own country, that at fourteen years of age he was ſent to the univerſity of Cambridge: where, after ſome continuance in the exerciſe of other things, he gave himſelf up to the ſtudy of ſchool divinity, as the ignorance of that age would ſuffer.

Zealous he was then in the popiſh religion, and therewith ſo ſcrupulous, as himſelf confeſſed, that being a prieſt, and uſing to ſay maſs, he was ſo ſervile an obſerver of the Romiſh decrees, that he thought he had never ſufficiently mingled his maſſing wine with water; and moreover, that he ſhould never be damned, if he were once a profeſſed friar, with divers of ſuch ſuperſtitious fantaſies. And in this blind zeal he was a very enemy to the profeſſors of Chriſt's goſpel; as both his oration made when he proceeded bachelor of divinity, againſt Melanchton, and alſo his other works did plainly appear. But eſpecially in thoſe days his popiſh zeal could in no caſe abide good Mr. Stafford, reader of the divinity lectures in Cambridge, moſt ſpitefully railing againſt him, and perſuading the youth of Cambridge in no wiſe to believe him.

Notwithſtanding, ſuch was the goodneſs and merciful purpoſe of God, that when he ſaw his good time, by which way he thought utterly to have defaced the profeſſors of the goſpel, and true church of Chriſt, he was at length himſelf by a member of the ſame prettily caught in the bleſſed net of God's word. For Mr. Thomas Bilney being at that time a trier out of Satan's ſubtilties, and a ſecret overthrower of Antichriſt's kingdom, ſeeing Mr. Latimer to have a zeal in his way (although not according to knowledge), was ſtricken with a brotherly pity towards him, and began to conſider by what means he might beſt win this zealous ignorant brother to the true knowledge of Chriſt. Wherefore, after a ſhort time, he came to Mr. Latimer's ſtudy, and deſired him to hear him make his confeſſion, which he willingly did; and by hearing thereof he was, by the good Spirit of God, ſo touched, that thereupon he forſook the ſtudy of the ſchool doctors, and other ſuch fopperies, and became an earneſt

Engraved for Fox's Book of Martyrs



Mr Latimer, Preaching before King Edward VI. at Westminster.

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ſtudent in true divinity, as he himſelf, as well in his conference with biſhop Ridley, as alſo in his firſt ſermon made upon the Pater Noſter, doth confeſs. So that whereas before he was an enemy, and almoſt a perſecutor of Chriſt, he was now a zealous ſeeker after him, changing his old manner of caviling, and railing, into a diligent kind of conferring, both with Mr. Bilney and others, and came alſo to Mr. Stafford before he died, and deſired him to forgive him.

After his own converſion, he was not ſatisfied without endeavouring that of others, and like a true diſciple of the bleſſed Samaritan, pitied the miſery of others, and therefore became both a public preacher, and alſo a private inſtructor to the reſt of his brethren within the univerſity, by the ſpace of three years, ſpending his time partly in the Latin tongue among the learned, and partly amongſt the ſimple people in his natural and vulgar language. Howbeit, as Satan never ſleepeth when he ſeeth his kingdom to decay, ſo likewiſe now, ſeeing that this worthy member of Chriſt would be a terrible ſhaker thereof, he raiſed up his impious imps to moleſt and trouble him.

Amongſt theſe there was an Auguſtine friar, who took occaſion upon certain ſermons that Mr. Latimer made about Chriſtmas, 1529. as well in the church of St. Edward, as alſo in St. Auguſtine's, within the univerſity of Cambridge, to inveigh againſt him, for that Mr. Latimer in the ſaid ſermons (alluding to the common uſage of the ſeaſon), gave the people certain cards out of the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters of St. Matthew, whereupon they might, not only then, but always elſe occupy their time. For the chief Triumph in the cards he limited the heart, as the principal thing that they ſhould ſerve God withal, whereby he quite overthrew all hypocritical and external ceremonies, not tending to the neceſſary furtherance of God's holy word and ſacraments. For the better attaining hereof, he wiſhed the ſcriptures to be in Engliſh, whereby the common people might the better learn their duty, as well to God as to their neighbour.

The handling of this matter was ſo apt for the time, and ſo pleaſantly applyed by him, that it not only declared the wit and dexterity of the preacher, but alſo wrought in the hearers much fruit, to the overthrow of popiſh ſuperſtition, and ſetting up of perfect religion.

This was upon the Sunday before Chriſtmas day; on which day coming to the church, and cauſing the bell to be tolled to a ſermon, he entered into the pulpit, taking for his text the words of the goſpel aforeſaid, read in the church that day; "Who art thou? &c." In delivering which cards (as is aboveſaid) he made the Heart to be Triumph, exhorting and inviting all men thereby to ſerve the Lord with inward heart and true affection, and not with outward ceremonies: adding moreover to the praiſe of that Triumph, that though it were never ſo ſmall, yet it would take up the beſt court card beſide in the bunch, yea, though it were the king of clubs, &c. meaning thereby how the Lord would be worſhipped and ſerved in ſimplicity of heart and verity, wherein conſiſteth true chriſtian religion, and not in the outward deeds of the letter only, or in the glittering ſhew of man's traditions, or pardons, pilgrimages, ceremonies, vows, devotions, voluntary works, and works of ſupererogation, foundations, oblations, the pope's ſupremacy, &c. ſo that all theſe either were needleſs, where the other is preſent; or elſe were of ſmall eſtimation, in compariſon of the other. The tenor and effect of theſe his ſermons, ſo far as they could come to our hands, here followeth.

The Tenor and Effect of certain Sermons made by Mr. Latimer in Cambridge, about the Year of our Lord 1529.

TU QUIS ES? Which words are as much as to ſay in Engliſh, "Who art thou?" Theſe be the words of the Phariſees, which were ſent by the Jews unto St. John Baptiſt in the wilderneſs, to have knowledge of him who he was; which words they ſpake unto him of an evil intent, thinking that he would have taken on him to be Chriſt, and ſo they would have had him done by their good wills, becauſe they knew that he was more carnal, and given to their laws, than Chriſt indeed ſhould be, as they perceived by their old prophecies; and alſo, becauſe they marvelled much of his great doctrine, preaching and baptizing, they were in doubt whether he was Chriſt or not: wherefore they ſaid unto him, "Who art thou?" Then anſwered St. John, and confeſſed that he was not Chriſt. Now here is to be noted the great and prudent anſwer of St. John Baptiſt unto the Phariſees, that when they required of him who he was, he would not directly anſwer of himſelf, what he was himſelf; but he ſaid he was not Chriſt. By which ſaying he thought to put the Jews and Phariſees out of their falſe opinion, and belief towards him, in that they would have had him to exerciſe the office of Chriſt, and ſo declared further unto them of Chriſt, ſaying, "He is in the midſt of you, and amongſt you, whom ye know not, the latchet of whoſe ſhoe I am not worthy to unlooſe." By this you may perceive that St. John ſpake much in the praiſe of his Maſter Chriſt, profeſſing himſelf to be in no wiſe like unto him. So likewiſe it ſhall be neceſſary unto all men and women of this world, not to aſcribe unto themſelves any goodneſs of themſelves, but all unto our Lord God, as ſhall appear hereafter, when this queſtion aforeſaid [Who art thou?] ſhall be moved unto them: not as the Phariſees did unto St. John, of an evil purpoſe, but of a good and ſimple mind, as may appear hereafter.

Now then, according to the preacher's mind, let every man and woman, of a good and ſimple mind, contrary to the Phariſees intent, aſk this queſtion [Who art thou?] This queſtion muſt be moved to themſelves, what they be of themſelves, on this faſhion, What art thou of thy only and natural generation between father and mother, when thou cameſt into the world? What ſubſtance, what virtue, what goodneſs art thou of by thyſelf? which queſtion if thou rehearſe oftentimes to thyſelf, thou ſhalt well perceive and underſtand, how thou ſhalt make anſwer to it: which muſt be made on this wiſe; I am of myſelf, and by myſelf, coming from my natural father and mother, the child of the anger and indignation of God, the true inheritor of hell, a lump of ſin, and working nothing of myſelf, but all towards hell, except I have better help of another, than I have of myſelf. Now we may ſee in what ſtate we enter into this world, that we be of ourſelves the true and juſt inheritors of hell, the children of the ire and indignation of Chriſt, working all towards hell, whereby we deſerve of ourſelves perpetual damnation, by the right judgment of God, and the true claim of ourſelves: which unthrifty ſtate that we be born unto is come unto us for our own deſerts, as proveth well this example following.

Let it be admitted for the probation of this, that it might pleaſe the king's grace now being, to accept into his favour a mean man, of ſimple degree and birth, not born to any poſſeſſion; whom the king's grace favoureth, not becauſe this perſon hath of himſelf deſerved any ſuch favour, but that the king caſteth his favour unto him of his own mere motion and fancy: and becauſe the king's grace will more declare his favour unto him, he giveth unto this ſaid man a thouſand pounds in lands, to him and his heirs, on this condition, that he ſhall take upon him to be the chief captain and defender of his town of Calais, and to be true and faithful to him in the cuſtody of the ſame, againſt the Frenchmen eſpecially above all other enemies.

This man taketh on him this charge, promiſing his fidelity thereunto; it chanceth in proceſs of time, that by the ſingular acquaintance and frequent familiarity of this captain with the Frenchmen, theſe Frenchmen give unto the ſaid captain of Calais a great ſum of money, ſo that he will be but content and agreeable, that they may enter

enter into the ſaid town of Calais, by force of arms, and ſo thereby poſſeſs the ſame unto the crown of France. Upon this agreement the Frenchmen do invade the ſaid town of Calais, only by the negligence of this captain.

Now the king's grace hearing of this invaſion, cometh with a great puiſſance to defend this his ſaid town, and ſo by good policy of war overcometh the ſaid Frenchmen, and entereth again into his town of Calais. Then he being deſirous to know how theſe enemies of his came thither, he maketh ſtrict ſearch and inquiry by whom this treaſon was conſpired; by this ſearch it was known and found his own captain to be the very author and the beginner of the betraying of it. The king, ſeeing the great infidelity of this perſon, diſchargeth this man of his office, and taketh from him and his heirs this thouſand pounds poſſeſſions. Think you not that the king doth uſe juſtice unto him, and all his poſterity and heirs? Yes, truly: the ſaid captain cannot deny himſelf but that he had true juſtice, conſidering how unfaithfully he behaved himſelf to his prince, contrary to his own fidelity and promiſe: So likewiſe it was of our firſt father Adam. He had given unto him the ſpirit and ſcience of knowledge, to work all goodneſs therewith; this ſaid ſpirit was not given only to him, but unto all his heirs and poſterity. He had alſo delivered him the town of Calais, that is to ſay, paradiſe in earth, the moſt ſtrong and faireſt town in the world, to be in his cuſtody; he nevertheleſs by the inſtigation of theſe Frenchmen, that is, the temptation of the fiend, did obey unto their deſire, and ſo he brake his promiſe and fidelity, the commandment of the everlaſting King his maſter, in eating of the apple by him inhibited.

Now then, the king, ſeeing this great treaſon in his captain, depoſed him of the thouſand pounds of poſſeſſions, that is to ſay, from everlaſting life in glory, and all his heirs and poſterity: for likewiſe as he had the ſpirit of ſcience and knowledge, for him and his heirs; ſo in like manner when he loſt the ſame, his heirs alſo loſt it by him. and in him. So now this example proveth, that by our father Adam we had once in him the very inheritance of everlaſting joy; and by him, and in him again we loſt the ſame.

The heirs of the captain of Calais could not by any manner of claim aſk of the king the right and title of their father in the thouſand pounds poſſeſſions, by reaſon the king might anſwer and ſay unto them, that although their father deſerved not of himſelf to enjoy ſo great poſſeſſions, yet he deſerved by himſelf to loſe them, and greater, committing ſo high treaſon as he did, againſt his prince's commandments; whereby he had no wrong to loſe his title, but was unworthy to have the ſame, and had therein true juſtice; let not you think which be his heirs, that if he had juſtice to loſe his poſſeſſions, you have wrong to loſe the ſame: In the ſame manner it may be anſwered unto all men and women now being, that if our father Adam had true juſtice to be excluded from his poſſeſſion of everlaſting glory in paradiſe, let us not think the contrary that be his heirs, but that we have no wrong in loſing alſo the ſame; yea, we have true juſtice and right. Then in what miſerable eſtate we be, that of the right and juſt title of our own deſerts have loſt the everlaſting joy and claim of ourſelves, to be true inheritors of hell? For he that committeth deadly ſin willingly, bindeth himſelf to be an inheritor of everlaſting pain: and ſo did our fore-father Adam willingly eat of the apple forbidden. Wherefore he was caſt out of the everlaſting joy in paradiſe, into this corrupt world amongſt all vileneſs, whereby of himſelf he was not worthy to do any thing laudable or pleaſant to God, evermore bound to corrupt affections and beaſtly appetites, transformed into the uncleanneſt and moſt variable nature that was made under heaven, of whoſe ſeed and diſpoſition all the world is lineally deſcended; inſomuch that this evil nature is ſo diffuſed and ſhed from one into another, that at this day there is no man nor woman living, that can of themſelves waſh away this abominable vileneſs; and ſo we muſt needs grant of ourſelves to be in like diſpleaſure unto God, as our father Adam was; by reaſon hereof, as I ſaid, we be of ourſelves the very children of the indignation and vengeance of God, the true inheritors of hell, and working all towards hell, which is the anſwer to this queſtion, made to every man and woman by themſelves, Who art thou?

And now the world ſtanding in this damnable ſtate, cometh in the occaſion of the incarnation of Chriſt; the Father in heaven perceiving the frail nature of man, that he by himſelf and of himſelf could do nothing for himſelf, by his prudent wiſdom ſent down the ſecond perſon in the Trinity, his Son Jeſus Chriſt, to declare unto man his pleaſure and commandment: and ſo at the Father's will Chriſt took on him human nature, being willing to deliver man out of this miſerable way, and was content to ſuffer cruel paſſion in ſhedding his blood for all mankind, and ſo left behind for our ſafeguard, laws and ordinances, to keep us always in the right path unto everlaſting life, as the goſpels, the ſacraments, the commandments, &c. which if we do keep and obſerve according to our profeſſion, we ſhall anſwer better unto this queſtion [Who art thou?] than we did before: for before thou didſt enter into the ſacrament of baptiſm, thou wert but a natural man or a natural woman; as I might ſay, a man, a woman; but after thou takeſt on thee Chriſt's religion, thou haſt a longer name; for then thou art a chriſtian man, a chriſtian woman. Now then, ſeeing thou art a chriſtian man, what ſhall be the anſwer of this queſtion, [Who art thou?]

The anſwer of this queſtion is, when I aſk it unto myſelf, I muſt ſay that I am a chriſtian man, a chriſtian woman, the child of everlaſting joy, through the merits of the bitter paſſion of Chriſt. This is a joyful anſwer. Here we may ſee how much we be bound, and in danger unto God, that hath revived us from death to life, and ſaved us that were damned: which great benefit we cannot well conſider, unleſs we do remember what we were of ourſelves before we meddled with him or his laws: and the more we know our feeble nature, and ſet leſs by it, the more we ſhall conceive and know in our hearts what God hath done for us: and the more we know what God hath done for us, the leſs we ſhall ſet by ourſelves, and the more we ſhall love and pleaſe God; ſo that in no condition we ſhall either know ourſelves or God, except we do utterly confeſs ourſelves to be mere vileneſs and corruption. Well, now it is come unto this point, that we be chriſtian men, chriſtian women, I pray you what doth Chriſt require of a chriſtian man, or of a chriſtian woman? Chriſt requireth nothing elſe of a chriſtian man or woman, but that they will obſerve his rule. For likewiſe as he is a good Auguſtine friar that keepeth well St. Auguſtine's rule, ſo is he a good chriſtian man that keepeth well Chriſt's rule.

Now then what is Chriſt's rule? Chriſt's rule conſiſteth in many things, as in the commandments, and the works of mercy, and ſo forth. And becauſe I cannot declare Chriſt's rule unto you at one time, as it ought to be done, I will apply myſelf according to your cuſtom at this time of Chriſtmas, I will, as I ſaid, declare unto you Chriſt's rule, but that ſhall be in Chriſt's cards. And where you are wont to celebrate Chriſtmas in playing at cards, I intend by God's grace to deal unto you Chriſt's cards, wherein you ſhall perceive Chriſt's rule. The game that we will play at, ſhall be called the Triumph, which if it be well played at, he that dealeth ſhall win; the players ſhall likewiſe win, and the ſtanders and lookers-upon ſhall do the ſame; inſomuch that there is no man that is willing to play at this Triumph with theſe cards, but they ſhall be all winners, and no loſers.

Let therefore every chriſtian man and woman play at theſe cards, that they may have and obtain the triumph; you muſt mark alſo that the triumph muſt apply to fetch home

home unto him all the other cards, whatſoever ſuit they be of. Now then take ye this firſt card, which muſt appear and be ſhewed unto you as followeth. You have heard what was ſpoken to men of the old law, Thou ſhalt not kill; whoſoever ſhall kill ſhall be in danger of judgment. But I ſay unto you of the new law, ſaith Chriſt, that whoſoever is angry with his neighbour, ſhall be in danger of judgment, and whoſoever ſhall ſay unto his neighbour Racha, that is to ſay, Brainleſs, or any other like word of rebuking, ſhall be in danger of a council; and whoſoever ſhall ſay unto his neighbour, Fool, ſhall be in danger of hell-fire. This card was made and ſpoken by Chriſt, as appeareth in the fifth chapter of St. Matthew.

Now it muſt be noted, that whoſoever ſhall play with this card, muſt firſt before they play with it, know the ſtrength and virtue of the ſame; wherefore you muſt well note and mark terms how they be ſpoken, and to what purpoſe: let us therefore read it once or twice, that we may be the better acquainted with it.

Now behold and ſee, this card is divided into four parts: the firſt part is one of the commandments that was given unto Moſes in the old law, before the coming of Chriſt, which commandment we of the new law are bound to obſerve and keep, and it is one of our commandments. The other three parts ſpoken by Chriſt, be nothing elſe but expoſitions to the firſt part of this commandment: for in very effect of all theſe four parts be but one commandment, that is to ſay, "Thou ſhalt not kill." Yet nevertheleſs, the three laſt parts do ſhew unto thee how many ways thou mayeſt kill thy neighbour contrary to this commandment: yet for all Chriſt's expoſition, in the three laſt parts of this card, the terms be not open enough to thee that doſt read and hear them ſpoken. No doubt the Jews underſtood Chriſt well enough when he ſpake to them theſe three laſt ſentences, for he ſpake unto them in their own natural terms and tongue: wherefore ſeeing that theſe terms were natural terms of the Jews, it ſhall be neceſſary to expound them, and compare them unto ſome like terms of our natural ſpeech, that we in like manner may underſtand Chriſt as well as the Jews did. We will begin firſt with the firſt part of this card, and then after with the other three parts: you muſt therefore underſtand that the Jews and the Phariſees of the old law, to whom this firſt part, this commandment, "Thou ſhalt not kill," was ſpoken, thought it ſufficient and enough for their diſcharge not to kill with any manner of material weapon, as ſword, dagger, or with any ſuch weapon, and they thought it no great fault whatſoever they ſaid or did by their neighbour, ſo that they did not harm or meddle with their corporal bodies, which was a falſe opinion in them, as prove well the three laſt other ſentences following the firſt part of this card.

Now as concerning the three other ſentences, you muſt note and take heed what difference is between theſe three manner of offences, To be angry with your neighbour, To call your neighbour brainleſs, or any ſuch word of diſdain, or to call your neighbour Fool: whether theſe three manner of offences be of themſelves more grievous one than the other, it is to be opened unto you. Truly, as they be of themſelves divers offences, ſo they kill diverſly one more than the other, as you ſhall perceive by the firſt of theſe three, and ſo forth: A man which conceiveth againſt his neighbour or brother, anger or wrath in his mind, by ſome manner of occaſion given unto him, although he be angry in his mind againſt his ſaid neighbour, he will peradventure expreſs his anger by no manner of ſign, either in word or deed; yet nevertheleſs he offendeth againſt God, and breaketh this commandment in killing his own ſoul; and is therefore in danger of judgment.

Now to the ſecond part of theſe three; That man that is moved with anger againſt his neighbour, and in his anger calleth his neigbour brainleſs, or ſome other like word of diſpleaſure; as a man might ſay in a fury, I ſhall handle thee well enough, which words and countenances do more repreſent and declare anger to be in this man, that in him that was but angry, and ſpake no manner of word, nor ſhewed any countenance to declare his anger: wherefore as he that ſo declareth his anger either by word or countenance, offendeth more againſt God, ſo he both killeth his own ſoul, and doth what in him is to kill his neighbour's ſoul in moving him to anger, wherein he is faulty himſelf, and ſo this man is in danger of a council.

Now to the third offence, and laſt of theſe three; That man that calleth his neighbour Fool, doth more declare his angry mind toward him, than he that called his neighbour brainleſs, or any ſuch words moving anger: but to call a man Fool, that word repreſenteth more envy in a man, than brainleſs doth. Wherefore he doth moſt offend, becauſe he doth moſt earneſtly with ſuch words expreſs his anger, and ſo he is in danger of hell-fire: wherefore you may underſtand now theſe three parts of this card to be three offences, and that one is more grievous to God than the other, and that one killeth more the ſoul of man than the other.

Now peradventure there be ſome that will marvel that Chriſt did not declare this commandment by ſome greater faults of anger, than by theſe which ſeem but ſmall faults, as to be angry and ſpeak nothing of it, to declare it and to call a man brainleſs, and to call his neighbour fool; truly theſe be the ſmalleſt, and the leaſt faults that belong to anger, or to killing in anger. Therefore beware how you offend in any kind of anger: ſeeing that the ſmalleſt be damnable to offend in, ſee that you offend not in the greateſt. For Chriſt thought, if he might bring you from the ſmalleſt manner of faults, and give you warning to avoid the leaſt, he reckoned you would not offend in the greateſt and worſt, as to call your neighbour thief, whoreſon, whore, drab, &c. into more blaſphemous names, which offences muſt needs have puniſhment in hell, conſidering how that Chriſt hath appointed theſe three ſmall faults, to have three degrees of puniſhment in hell, as appeareth by theſe three terms, judgment, council, and hell-fire; theſe three terms do ſignify nothing elſe but three divers puniſhments in hell, according to the offences; Judgment is leſs in degree than council, therefore it ſignifieth a leſſer pain in hell, and it is ordained for him that is angry in his mind with his neighbour, and doth expreſs his malice neither by word nor countenance: council is a leſs degree in hell than hell-fire, and is a greater degree in hell than judgment, and it is ordained for him that calleth his neighbour brainleſs, or any ſuch word that declareth his anger and malice: wherefore it is more pain than judgment. Hell-fire is more pain in hell, than council or judgment, and it is ordained for him that calleth his neighbour fool, by reaſon that in calling his neighbour fool, he declareth more his malice, in that it is an earneſt word of anger. Wherefore hell-fire is appointed for it, that is, the moſt pain of the three puniſhments.

Now you have heard that to theſe divers offences of ire and killing, be appointed puniſhments according to their degrees: for look as the offence is, ſo ſhall the pain be: if the offence be great, the pain ſhall be according: if it be leſs, there ſhall be leſs pain for it. I would not now that you ſhould think becauſe that here are but three degrees of puniſhment ſpoke of, that there be no more in hell: no doubt Chriſt ſpake of no more here but of theſe three degrees of puniſhment, thinking they were ſufficient enow for example, whereby we might underſtand, that there be as many pains as there be offences: and ſo by theſe three offences, and theſe three puniſhments, all other offences and puniſhments may be compared with each other; yet I would ſatisfy your minds farther in theſe three terms, of judgment, council, and hell fire. Where you might ſay, what was the cauſe that Chriſt declared more the pains of hell by theſe terms than by

any other terms? I told you before that he knew well to whom he ſpake them: theſe terms were natural and well known among the Jews and the Phariſees. Wherefore Chriſt taught them with their own terms, to the intent they might underſtand the better his doctrine: and theſe terms may be likened unto three terms which we have common and uſual amongſt us, that is to ſay, the ſeſſions of enquirance, the ſeſſions of deliverance, and the execution day: ſeſſions of enquirance is like unto judgment; for when ſeſſions of enquiry is, then the judges cauſe twelve men to give verdict of the felon's crime, whereby he ſhall be judged to be indicted: ſeſſions of deliverance is much like council; for at ſeſſions of deliverance the judges go among themſelves to council, to determine ſentence againſt the felon. Execution-day is to be compared to hell-fire: for the Jews had a place of execution among themſelves named Hell-fire: and ſurely when a man goeth to his death, it is the greateſt pain in this world: wherefore you may ſee that there are degrees in theſe our terms, as there be in thoſe terms. Theſe evil diſpoſed affections and ſenſualities in us are always contrary to the rule of our ſalvation. What ſhall we do now or imagine to thruſt down theſe Turks, and to ſubdue them? It is a great ignominy and ſhame for a chriſtian man to be bound and ſubject unto a Turk: nay, it ſhall not be ſo, we will firſt caſt a Trump in their way, and play with them at cards who ſhall have the better, let us play therefore on this faſhion with this card. Whenſoever it ſhall happen theſe foul paſſions and Turks to riſe in our ſtomachs againſt our brother or neighbour, either for unkind words, injuries, or wrongs, which they have done unto us, contrary to our mind, ſtraitways let us call unto our remembrance, and ſpeak this queſtion unto ourſelves, [Who art thou?] the anſwer is, I am a chriſtian man. Then further we muſt ſay to ourſelves, What requireth Chriſt of a chriſtian man? Now turn up your trump, your heart (hearts is trump, as I ſaid before) and caſt your trump, your heart on this card, and upon this card you ſhall learn what Chriſt requireth of a chriſtian man, not to be angry, nor moved to ire againſt his neighbour, in mind, countenance, nor other ways by word or deed. Then take up this card with your heart, and lay them together; that done, you have won the game of the Turk, whereby you have defaced and overcome by true and lawful play: but alas, for pity, the Rhodes are won and overcome by theſe falſe Turks, the ſtrong caſtle faith is decayed, ſo that I fear it is almoſt impoſſible to win it again.

The great occaſion of the loſs of this Rhodes is by reaſon that chriſtian men do ſo daily kill their own nation, that the very true number of chriſtianity is decayed: which murder and killing one of another, is increaſed eſpecially two ways, to the utter undoing of Chriſtendom, that is to ſay, by example and ſilence. By example thus: When the father, the mother, the lord, the lady, the maſter, the dame, be themſelves overcome with theſe Turks, they be continual ſwearers, adulterers, diſpoſers to malice, never in patience, and ſo forth in all other vices: think you not when the father, the mother, the maſter, the dame, be diſpoſed unto vice or impatience, but that their children and ſervants ſhall incline and be diſpoſed to the ſame? No doubt as the child ſhall take diſpoſition natural of his father and mother, ſo ſhall the ſervants apply unto the vices of their maſters and dames: if the heads be falſe in their faculties and crafts, it is no marvel if the children, ſervants, and apprentices do join therein. This is a great and ſhameful manner of killing chriſtian men, that the fathers, the mothers, the maſters, and the dames, ſhall not only kill themſelves, but all theirs, and all that belongeth unto them, and ſo this way is a great number of chriſtian linage murdered and ſpoiled. The ſecond manner of killing is ſilence. By ſilence alſo is a great number of chriſtian men ſlain: which is on this faſhion: although that the father and mother, maſter and dame of themſelves be well diſpoſed to live after the law of God, yet they may kill their children and ſervants in ſuffering them to do evil before their own faces, and do not uſe due correction according to their offences: the maſter ſeeth his ſervant or apprentice take more of his neighbour than the king's laws, or the order of his faculty doth admit him, or he ſuffered him to take more of his neighbour than he himſelf would be content to pay if he were in like condition: thus doing, I ſay, ſuch men kill willingly their children and ſervants, and ſhall go to hell for ſo doing; but alſo their fathers and mothers, maſters, and dames ſhall bear them company for ſo ſuffering. Wherefore I exhort all true chriſtian men and women to give good example unto your children and ſervants, and ſuffer not them by ſilence to offend: every man muſt be in his own houſe, according to St. Auguſtine's mind, a biſhop, not only giving good example, but teaching according to it, rebuke and puniſh vice, not ſuffering your children and ſervants to forget the laws of God: you ought to ſee them have their belief, to know the commandments of God, to keep their holy days, not to loſe their time in idleneſs; if they do ſo, you ſhall all ſuffer pain for it, if God be true of his ſaying, as there is no doubt thereof. And ſo you may perceive that there be many one that break this card, "Thou ſhalt not kill." and playeth therewith oftentimes, at the blind Trump, whereby they be no winners, but great loſers, but who be thoſe now-a-days that can clear themſelves of theſe manifeſt murders uſed to their children and ſervants? I think not the contrary, but that many have theſe two ways ſlain their own children unto their damnation; were not the great mercy of God ready to help them when they repent therefore.

Wherefore conſidering that we be ſo prone and ready to continue in ſin, let us caſt ourſelves down with Mary Magdalen, and the more we bow down with her toward Chriſt's feet, the more we ſhall be afraid to riſe again in ſin, and the more we know and ſubmit ourſelves, the more we ſhall be forgiven, and the leſs we know and ſubmit ourſelves, the leſs we ſhall be forgiven, as appeareth by the following example.

Chriſt when he was in the world amongſt the Jews and the Phariſees, there was a great Phariſee whoſe name was Simon; this Phariſee deſired Chriſt on a time to dine with him, thinking with himſelf that he was able and worthy to give Chriſt a dinner: Chriſt refuſed not his dinner, but came unto him. In time of their dinner there happened to come into the houſe a great ſinner named Mary Magdalen. As ſoon as ſhe perceived Chriſt ſhe caſt herſelf down, and called unto her remembrance what ſhe was of herſelf, and how greatly ſhe had offended God, whereby ſhe conceived in Chriſt great love, and ſo came near unto him, and waſhed his feet with bitter tears, and ſhed upon his head precious ointment, thinking that by him ſhe could be delivered from her ſins; this great proud Phariſee ſeeing that Chriſt did accept her oblation in the beſt part, had great indignation againſt this woman, and ſaid to himſelf, If this man Chriſt were a holy prophet, as he is taken for, he would not ſuffer this ſinner to come ſo nigh him. Chriſt underſtanding the naughty mind of this Phariſee, ſaid to him; Simon, I have ſomewhat to ſay unto thee: Say what you pleaſe (quoth the Phariſee). Then, ſaid Chriſt, I pray thee tell me this: if there be a man to whom there is owing twenty pounds by one, and forty by another, this man to whom this money is owing, perceiving theſe two men be not able to pay him, he forgiveth them both. Which of theſe two debtors ought to love this man moſt? The Phariſee ſaid, That man ought to love him beſt that had moſt forgiven him: Likewiſe, ſaid Chriſt, it is by this woman. She hath loved me moſt, therefore moſt is forgiven her, ſhe hath known her ſins moſt, whereby ſhe hath moſt loved me; and thou haſt leaſt loved me, becauſe thou haſt leaſt known thy ſins, therefore becauſe thou haſt leaſt known thine offences, thou art leaſt forgiven. So this proud Phariſee had an anſwer to allay his pride: and think you not but that there be amongſt us

us a great number of theſe proud Phariſees, which think themſelves worthy to bid Chriſt to dinner, who will perk and preſume to ſit by Chriſt in the church, and have diſdain of this poor woman Magdalen, this poor neighbour, with an high diſdainful and ſolemn countenance, and being always deſirous to climb higheſt in the church, reckoning themſelves more worthy to ſit there than another, I fear me poor Magdalen under the boord and in the belfry, hath more forgiven of Chriſt than they have: for it is like that theſe Phariſees do leſs know themſelves and their offences, whereby they leſs love God and ſo they be leſs forgiven.

I would to God we would follow this example, and be like unto Magdalen. I doubt not but we be all Magdalens in falling into ſin, and in offending: but we be not again Magdalens in knowing ourſelves, and in riſing from ſin. If we be the true Magdalens, we ſhould be as willing to forſake our ſin, and riſe from ſin, as we were willing to commit ſin, and to continue in it; and we then ſhould know ourſelves beſt, and make more perfect anſwer than ever we did, unto this queſtion [Who art thou?] To which we might anſwer, that we be true chriſtian men and women: and then, I ſay, you ſhould underſtand and know how you ought to play at this card, "Thou ſhalt not kill," without any interruption of your deadly enemies the Turks, and ſo Triumph at the laſt by winning everlaſting life in glory, Amen.

It would require a long diſcourſe to declare what a ſtir there was in Cambridge upon this preaching of Mr. Latimer. Belike Satan began to feel himſelf and his kingdom to be touched too near, and therefore thought it time to look about him, and to make out his men of arms.

Firſt came out the prior of the Black Friars called Buckneham, who thinking to make a great hand againſt Mr. Latimer, about the ſame time of Chriſtmas, when Mr. Latimer brought forth his cards to deface belike the doings of the other, brought out his Chriſtmas dice, caſting there to his audience Cinque and Quater, meaning by the Cinque five places in the New Teſtament, and the four doctors by the Quater; by which his Cinque Quater, he would prove that it was not expedient the ſcripture to be in Engliſh, leſt the ignorant and vulgar ſort through the occaſion thereof, might aptly be brought in danger to leave their vocation, or elſe to run into ſome inconvenience: as for example.

The ploughman when he heareth this in the goſpel, "No man that layeth his hand on the plough and looketh back, is meet for the kingdom of God;" might peradventure hearing this, ceaſe from his plough. Likewiſe the baker, when he hears that little leaven corrupteth a whole lump of dough, may perchance leave our bread unleavened, and ſo our bodies ſhall be unſeaſoned. Alſo the ſimple man when he heareth in the goſpel, "If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and caſt it from thee," may make himſelf blind, and ſo fill the world with beggars. Theſe with ſome others this clerkly friar brought out, to the number of five, to prove his purpoſe.

Mr. Latimer hearing this ſermon of Dr. Buckneham, cometh again in the afternoon, or ſhortly after, to the church, to anſwer the friar, where reſorted to him a great multitude, as well of the univerſity as of the town, both doctors and other graduates, with great expectation to hear what he could ſay: among whom alſo, directly in the face of Latimer, underneath the pulpit, ſate Buckneham the aforeſaid friar, prior of the Black Friars, with his black friar's cowl about his ſhoulders.

Then Mr. Latimer firſt repeating the friarly reaſons of Dr. Buckneham, whereby he would prove it a dangerous thing for the vulgar people to have the ſcripture in the vulgar tongue, ſo refuted the friar, ſo anſwered to his objections, ſo dallied with his bald reaſon of the ploughman looking back, and of the baker leaving his bread unleavened, that the vanity of the friar might to all men appear, well proving and declaring to the people, that there was no ſuch fear nor danger for the ſcriptures to be in Engliſh, as the friar pretended; at leaſt requiring this, that the ſcripture might be ſo long in the Engliſh tongue, till Engliſhmen were ſo mad, that either the ploughman durſt not look back, or the baker ſhould leave his bread unleavened. And proceeding moreover, in his ſermon, he began to diſcourſe of the myſtical ſpeeches and figurative phraſes of the ſcripture: which phraſes he ſaid were not ſo diffuſe and difficult, as they were common in the ſcripture, and in the Hebrew tongue are commonly uſed and unknown: and not only in the Hebrew tongue, but alſo every ſpeech (ſaith he) hath his like metaphors and figurative ſignifications, ſo common and vulgar to all men, that the very painters do paint them on walls and on houſes.

As for example (ſaith he, looking towards the friar that ſate over againſt him), when they paint a fox preaching out of a friar's cowl, none is ſo mad to take this to be a fox that preacheth, but know well enough the meaning of the matter; which is to paint out unto us, what hypocriſy, crafts, and ſubtle diſſimulation lieth hid many times in theſe friars cowls, willing us thereby to beware of them. In fine, friar Buckneham was ſo daſhed with this ſermon, that he durſt never after peep out of the pulpit againſt Mr. Latimer.

Beſides this Buckneham, there was alſo another railing friar, not of the ſame coat, but of the ſame note and faction, a gray friar and a doctor, an outlandiſh man, named Dr. Venetus, who likewiſe in his brawling ſermons railed and raged againſt Mr. Latimer, calling him a mad and brainleſs man, and willing the people not to believe him, &c. To whom Mr. Latimer anſwering again, taketh for his ground the words of our Saviour Chriſt, Matt. 5. Thou ſhalt not kill, &c. But I ſay unto you, Whoſoever is angry with his neighbour ſhall be in danger of judgment; and whoſoever ſhall ſay unto his neighbour, Racha, (or any other like words of rebuking, as brainleſs), ſhall be in danger of council: and whoſoever ſhall ſay to his neighbour, fool, ſhall be in danger of hell-fire.

In diſcuſſing of which place, firſt he divideth the offence of killing into three branches. One to be with hand, the other with heart, the third with word. With hand, when we uſe any weapon drawn, to ſpill the life of our neighbour. With heart, when we be angry with him. With word, when in word or countenance we diſdainfully rebuke our neighbour, or deſpitefully revile him. Words of rebuking are, when we ſpeak any opprobrious or unſeemly thing, whereby the patience of our neighbour is moved, as when we call him mad (ſaid he), or brainleſs, or ſuch like, which are guilty of council: Words of ſpite, or reviling, are, when we call him fool; which Chriſt ſaith is guilty of hell-fire.

Thus Mr. Latimer, in handling and trimming this matter, after that with the weight of Chriſt's words, and the explaining of the ſame, he had ſufficiently borne the friar clean down, then he turned to the fifth chapter of the book of Wiſdom. Out of which chapter he declared to the audience, how the true ſervants and preachers of God in this world, commonly are ſcorned and reviled by the proud enemies of God's word, which account them here as mad men, fools, brainleſs and drunken: ſo did they (ſaid he) in the ſcripture call them which moſt purely preached, and ſet forth the glory of God's word. But (ſaid he), what will be the end of theſe jolly fellows, or what will they ſay in the end? We mad men, we mad fools, we, we ourſelves, &c. And that will be their end except they repent. And thus ending his ſermon, he ſo confounded the poor friar, that he drave him not only out of countenance, but alſo clean out of the univerſity.

But what ſhould I here ſtand deciphering the names of his adverſaries, when whole ſwarms of friars and doctors flocked againſt him on every ſide, almoſt thorough the whole univerſity, preaching and likewiſe barking againſt him? Amongſt whom was Dr. Watſon, maſter

of

of Chriſt's college, whoſe ſcholar Latimer had been before; Dr. Notaries, maſter of Clare-hall; Dr. Philo, maſter of Michael-houſe; Dr. Metecalfe, maſter of St. John's; Dr. Blithe, of the King's-hall; Dr. Bullock, maſter of the Queen's-college; Dr. Cliffe, of Clement-houſe; Dr. Donnes, of Jeſus-college, Dr. Pſalms, maſter of St. Nicholas Hoſtel, Baſh, Rud, and Greenwood, bachelors of divinity, all three of St. John's college; alſo Brickenden, bachelor of divinity, of the ſame houſe, and ſcholar ſometime to the ſaid Latimer. In ſhort, almoſt as many as were heads there of houſes, ſo many impugners did this worthy ſtandard-bearer of Chriſt's goſpel ſuſtain.

Then came at laſt Dr. Weſt, biſhop of Ely, who preaching againſt Mr. Latimer at Barwel Abby, forbad him within the churches of that univerſity to preach any more. Notwithſtanding, ſo the Lord provided, that Dr. Barnes, prior of the Auguſtine friars, did licence Mr. Latimer to preach in his church of the Auguſtines, and he himſelf preached at the church by, called St. Edward's church, which was the firſt ſermon of the goſpel that Dr. Barnes preached, being Sunday and Chriſtmas Eve. Whereupon certain articles were gathered out of his ſermon, and were commenced againſt him by Mr. Tirell, fellow of the King's-hall, and ſo by the vice-chancellor preſented to the cardinal.

This Mr. Latimer (as you have heard), being baited by the friars, doctors, and maſters of that univerſity, about the year aforeſaid, 1529, notwithſtanding the malice of theſe malignant adverſaries, continued yet in Cambridge preaching for the ſpace of three years together with favour and applauſe of the godly, alſo with ſuch admiration of his enemies that heard him, that the biſhop himſelf coming in, and hearing his gift, wiſhed himſelf to have the like, and was compelled to commend him upon the ſame.

So Mr. Latimer and Mr. Bilney after this continued in Cambridge for ſome time, where they ſo frequently conferred together, that the fields wherein they uſually walked, was for a long time after called, The heretics hill.

The ſociety of theſe two, as it was much noted by many in that univerſity, ſo it was full of many good examples, to all ſuch as would follow them, both in viſiting the priſoners, relieving the needy, and in feeding the hungry. Mr. Latimer maketh mention of a certain hiſtory which happened about this time in Cambridge, between them both and a certain woman then priſoner in the caſtle or tower of Cambridge, which I thought here worthy to be mentioned. The ſtory is this: It ſo happened, that after Mr. Latimer had been ſo acquainted with the aforeſaid Mr. Bilney, he went with him to viſit the priſoners in the Tower of Cambridge, and being there, among other priſoners, there was a woman who was accuſed that ſhe had killed her own child, which act ſhe plainly and ſtedfaſtly denied. Whereby it gave them occaſion to ſearch for the matter, and at length they found that her huſband loved her not, and therefore ſought all means he could to make her away. The matter was thus:

A child of hers had been ſick a whole year, and at length died in harveſt time, as it were in a conſumption: which when it was gone, ſhe went to have her neighbours to help her at the burial, but all were abroad in the harveſt, whereby ſhe was enforced with heavineſs of heart, alone to prepare the child for the burial. Her huſband coming home, and not loving her, accuſed her of murdering the child. This was the cauſe of her trouble, and Mr. Latimer, by earneſt inquiſition, of conſcience thought the woman not guilty. Then immediately after he was called to preach before king Henry the eighth at Windſor, where after his ſermon the king's majeſty ſent for him, and talked familiarly with him. At which time Mr. Latimer, finding an opportunity, kneeled down, opened this whole matter to the king, and deſired her pardon, which the king moſt graciouſly granted, and gave it to him at his return homeward. In the mean time the woman was delivered of a child in the priſon, whoſe godfather was Mr. Latimer, and Mrs. Cheek godmother. But all the while he would not tell her of the pardon, but laboured to have her confeſs the truth of the matter. At length the time came when ſhe expected to ſuffer, and Mr. Latimer came, as he was wont to inſtruct her; unto whom ſhe made great lamentation and moan, to be purified before her ſuffering, for ſhe thought ſhe muſt be damned if ſhe died without purification.

Then Mr. Bilney being with Mr. Latimer, both told her that the law was made for the Jews, and not for us, and that women be as well in the favour of God before they be purified as after; and rather it was appointed for a civil and politic law, for natural honeſty ſake, than that they ſhould any thing the more be purified from ſin thereby, &c. So thus they argued with this woman till they had better inſtructed her, and at length ſhewed her the king's pardon, and let her go.

This good act, among many others about that time, happened in Cambridge by Mr. Latimer and Mr. Bilney. But this was not all, for many more like matters were wrought by them. But as it is commonly ſeen in the natural courſe of things, that as the fire beginneth more to kindle, ſo the more ſmoke ariſeth withal, in much like ſort it happened with Mr. Latimer; whoſe towardneſs the more it began to ſpring, his virtues to be ſeen, and his doings to be known, the more his adverſaries began to kick and ſpurn againſt him. Concerning theſe adverſaries, and ſuch as did moleſt him, partly their names be above expreſſed. Among the reſt of this number was Dr. Redman, a man ſavouring more of ſuperſtition than of true religion, after the zeal of the Phariſees, yet not ſo malignant or hurtful, but of a civil and quiet diſpoſition, and alſo liberal in well-doing, that few poor ſcholars were in that univerſity, who fared not better by his purſe. This Dr. Redman was a man of great authority in the univerſity of Cambridge, and perceiving the bold enterprize of Mr. Latimer, in ſetting abroad the word and doctrine of the goſpel, at this time, or much about the ſame, writeth to him, ſeeking by perſuaſion to revoke the ſaid Latimer from that kind and manner of teaching; to whom Mr. Latimer maketh anſwer again in a few words: the ſum and effect of both their letters, tranſlated out of Latin, here followeth.

The Subſtance of the Epiſtle written by Dr. Redman to Mr. Latimer.

GRACE be with you, and true peace in Chriſt Jeſus. I beſeech you heartily, and require moſt earneſtly, even for charity's ſake, that you will not ſtand in your own conceit with a mind ſo indurate, nor prefer your own ſingular judgment in matters of religion and controverſy before ſo many learned men, and which is more, before the whole catholic church, eſpecially conſidering that you neither have any thing in the word of God to make for you, nor yet the teſtimony of any authentic writer. Nay, nay, I beſeech you rather conſider that you are a man, and that lying and vanity may quickly blear your eyes, which doth ſometimes transform itſelf into an angel of light.

Judge not ſo raſhly of us, as that wicked ſpirit hath tickled you in the ear. Wit you well that we are careful for you, and that we wiſh you to be ſaved, and that we are careful alſo for your own ſalvation. Lay down your ſtomach I pray you, and humble your ſpirit, and ſuffer not the church to take offence with the hardneſs of your heart, nor that her unity and Chriſt's coat without ſeam (as much as lieth in you) ſhould be torn aſunder. Conſider what the ſaying of the wiſe man is, and be obedient thereunto. Truſt not your own wiſdom. The Lord Jeſus Chriſt, &c.

The Sum of Mr. Latimer's Anſwer to Dr. Redman.

REverend Mr. Redman, it is even enough for me, that Chriſt's ſheep hear no man's voice but Chriſt's: and as for you, you have no voice of Chriſt againſt me, whereas for my part I have a heart that is ready to hearken to any voice of Chriſt that you can bring me. Thus fare you well, and trouble me no more from the talking with the Lord my God.

After Mr. Latimer had thus travelled in preaching and teaching in the univerſity of Cambridge about the ſpace of three years, at length he was called up to the cardinal for hereſy, by the procurement of ſome of the ſaid univerſity, where he was content to ſubſcribe and grant to ſuch articles as then they propounded to him, &c.

After that he returned to the univerſity again, where ſhortly after by the means of Dr. Buts, the king's phyſician, a ſingular good man, and a ſpecial favourer of good proceedings, he was in the number of them which laboured in the cauſe of the king's ſupremacy. Then went he to the court, where he remained a certain time in the ſaid Dr. But's chamber, preaching then in London very often. At laſt being weary of the court, having a benefice offered by the king, at the ſute of the lord Cromwel, and Dr. Buts, was glad thereof, ſeeking by that means to be rid out of the court, wherewith in no caſe he could agree; and ſo having a grant of the benefice, contrary to the mind of Dr. Buts, he would needs depart and be reſident at the ſame.

This benefice was in Wiltſhire, under the dioceſe of Sarum, the name of which town was called Weſt Kingſton, where this good preacher did exerciſe himſelf with much diligence of teaching to inſtruct his flock, and not only to them his diligence extended, but alſo to all the country about. In fine, his diligence was ſo great, his preaching ſo powerful, the manner of his teaching ſo zealous, that there in like ſort he could not eſcape without enemies. So true it is that St. Paul foretelleth us, Whoſoever will live godly in Chriſt, ſhall ſuffer perſecution. It ſo happened, that whereas he, preaching upon the bleſſed virgin Chriſt's mother (whom we call our lady), had thereupon declared his mind, referring and reducing all honour only to Chriſt our only Saviour, certain popiſh prieſts being therewith offended, ſought and wrought much trouble againſt him, drawing out articles and impoſitions which they untruly, unjuſtly, falſely, and uncharitably imputed unto him: Firſt, that he ſhould preach againſt our lady, for that he reproved in a ſermon the ſuperſtitious rudeneſs of certain blind prieſts, which ſo held together upon the bleſſed virgin, as though ſhe never had any ſin, nor were ſaved by Chriſt the only Saviour of the whole world.

Item, That he ſhould ſay, that ſaints were not to be worſhipped.

Item, That Ave Maria was a ſalutation only, and no prayer.

Item, That there was no material fire in hell.

Item, That there was no purgatory, in ſaying, that he had rather be in purgatory than in Lollard's Tower.

Touching the whole diſcourſe of which articles, with his reply and anſwer to the ſame, hereafter ſhall follow (by the Lord's aſſiſtance), when we come to his letters.

The chief impugners and moleſters of him, beſides theſe country prieſts, were Dr. Powel of Saliſbury, Dr. Wilſon ſometime of Cambridge, Mr. Hubberdin, and Dr. Sherwood. Of whom ſome preached and ſome wrote againſt him; inſomuch that by their procurement he was cited up, and called to appear before W. Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and John Stokeſly, biſhop of London, Jan. 29, 1531. The copy of which citation (as now tranſlated from the Latin) here followeth.

No. 27.

The Copy of a Citation ſent to the ſaid Mr. Latimer, by the Chancellor of Sarum, at the Interceſſion of the Biſhop of London.

RIchard Hilley, doctor of the decrees of the moſt reverend father in God, Laurence, by divine providence biſhop of Sarum, and vicar-general in ſpiritual affairs throughout England. To all and ſingular rectors, vicars, chaplains, curates, and the reſt of the clergy and learned perſons throughout the whole dioceſe of Sarum, health in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Together and apart we commit and firmly command, that ye immediately cite or cauſe to be cited, Mr. Hugh Latimer, vicar of Weſt Kingſton in the county of Wilts and dioceſe of Sarum, that he may appear before the reverend father in God, John, by divine providence biſhop of London, or his vicar-general in ſpirituals, or before the chapter held in the church of St. Paul, London, on Monday the 29th of this inſtant January, between the hours of nine and eleven in the forenoon of the ſame day, there perſonally to anſwer to certain articles or queſtions concerning grievous crimes and miſdemeanors by him committed, and under the cognizance of the biſhop of London, and furthermore to receive condign puniſhment for the ſame: and that ye certify us at Sarum of what is done on the premiſſes before the 22d of this ſame month of January, that we may be able to certify the ſame to the aboveſaid reverend father, the lord biſhop of London, on or before the ſaid 22d of January, according as the ſame reverend father having prayed and required it of us, in aid of the law, and out of mutual kindneſs.

Given at Sarum, under the ſeal of the aforeſaid father in God, the 10th day of January, 1531.

Againſt this citation, although Mr. Latimer did appeal to his own ordinary, requiring by him to be ordered, yet all that notwithſtanding, he was had up to London before Warham the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the biſhop of London, where he was greatly moleſted, and detained a long time from his cure at home. There he being called thrice every week before the ſaid biſhops, to make anſwer for his preaching, had certain articles or propoſitions drawn out and laid to him, whereunto they required him to ſubſcribe. At length he not only perceiving their practical proceedings, but alſo much grieved with their troubleſome unquietneſs, who neither would preach themſelves, nor yet ſuffer him to preach and do his duty, writeth to the aforeſaid archbiſhop, partly excuſing his infirmity, whereby he could not appear at their commandment, partly expoſtulating with them for ſo troubling and detaining him from doing his duty, and that for no juſt cauſe, but only for preaching the truth againſt certain vain abuſes crept into religion, much needful to be ſpoken againſt. Which all may appear by his epiſtle ſent to a certain biſhop or archbiſhop, whoſe name is not expreſſed; the copy of which epiſtle is now tranſlated from Latin, and is as followeth.

A copy of the Epiſtle written by Mr. Latimer to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

MOST REVEREND GOVERNOR,

HAD not ſickneſs prevented me, I had myſelf waited on you at your palace; but theſe freſh troubles have brought on me a ſharp return of an old diſtemper, ſo that I cannot be able to wait on you to-day, I cannot (I ſay) without great pain, but that your lordſhip might no longer in vain expect my coming, I have ſent theſe lines ſcribled with mine own hand to your grace, as to a moſt upright judge, of my excuſe, in which I wiſh I had

more time or more judgment to frame a juſt expoſtulation with your grace for detaining me ſo long againſt my will from my cure, and that ſo unſeaſonably, at a time when it moſt behoves every paſtor to be with his flock. But what ſhall I ſay, if it is lawful for ſo mean a priſoner to plead with ſo great a father? If we eſteem a prieſt good for doing his duty, who while he remains in this earthly tabernacle, never ceaſeth to teach and admoniſh his congregation, and ſo much the more as he draws nearer his laſt home, what muſt we think of thoſe who neither preach themſelves now (at which I ſhould not wonder had they not been uſed to it before), nor permit thoſe who are deſirous to do it, unleſs they are bound to do and ſay nothing but what they pleaſe. At firſt I thought it ſafe to ſubmit myſelf entirely to your clemency, but now it ſeems as ſafe to juſtify myſelf a little, ſince one thing was pretended in the beginning, but now another, and what will be the end I have great room to doubt; but I hope truth only will be uſed. St. Jerome, on theſe words (which I hope I ſhall never forget), "The Lord who preſerveth truth, for ever ſhall deliver thee," writes thus, Whatſoever I ſuffer for truth's ſake, ſhall never trouble me, for the Lord liveth and careth for me. Firſt I was ſent to London, where I was before the court of Canterbury, then all was ſtopped that had been done, and the matter had bounds and limits ſet to it by him who ſent me, but ſo the buſineſs was handled and brought into doubt, that at length there ſeemed no end to it, but that it muſt be infinitely prolonged. For while, without either method or deſign, I was queſtioned of one thing after another, whether pertitent or impertinent, now by one and then by another, if I gave them no anſwer, or if I anſwered them to the purpoſe (which I thought was not imprudent ſometimes to put an end to the diſpute), I was equally uncivil; while one anſwers to many and of many things, he may inadvertently ſay ſomething that may prejudice the moſt righteous cauſe. None ought to judge me wicked for what at moſt they can call but an error of conſcience, and to remember all things it behoves a man to remember the foundation of the other world. When a man acts againſt conſcience he doth it to gain, to maintain, or defend his own, but what they charge me with is far different, and I believe without example, wickedly requeſting, to know the cauſe of my confinement. If any perſon is diſpoſed to attack my ſermons, that they are obſcure, or not cautiouſly enough worded, I am prepared either to explain or vindicate them, for (to the beſt of my knowledge) I never preached any thing againſt the truth, againſt the councils of the fathers, or againſt the catholic faith. All that my adverſaries or detractors truly charge me with, is what I have long deſired, and do deſire, namely, the improving the common people's judgment. I heartily deſire that all men might know and comprehend the diſagreement of things, the worth, the place, time, degrees and order proper for each, and how much they are concerned in thoſe things which God has prepared for them to walk in: every man ought to be very diligent in doing the works of his calling, after which, things indifferent may be done with equal diligence, amongſt which are all things which no law has forbid, unleſs we forbid them to ourſelves: it is lawful to uſe images, to go on pilgrimages, to invoke ſaints, to remember the ſouls in purgatory, but theſe which are voluntary acts are to be ſo reſtrained that they diminiſh not the juſt eſteem the precepts of God (which beſtow eternal life on thoſe who do them), ſhould neceſſarily have; they who uſe them otherwiſe, are ſo far from gaining the love of God, that they rather incur his hatred. The true love of God is to keep his commandments, as our Saviour ſays, He who heareth my words and doth them, he it is who loveth me. Let no man then have ſo mean an opinion of the laws of God, as to make them equal with the fancies of men, ſince by thoſe at the laſt day before the tribunal of Chriſt we ſhall all be judged, and not by theſe; as Chriſt ſays, The word that I ſpeak that ſhall judge you at the laſt day; and what man is able to make amends for the breach of one of thoſe commandments, by any or all of theſe ſpecious additions? O that we would be but as ready, as diligent, as devoted to do his will as we are to follow our own empty notions. Many things done with an upright heart God accepts of, making an allowance for our infirmities, though he has not commanded or required them; but theſe things ought to be taken away when they begin to have the force of commands, leſt while we do theſe, we omit thoſe that are abſolutely neceſſary; and what can be more abſurd than to revere as ordinances of God, the idle fancies of men, whilſt his true ordinances are neglected? whence I, in behalf of the commandments of God, ſtand hitherto immoveable, not ſeeking my own but Chriſt's gain, not my own but God's glory, and whilſt I live, I will ſtand ſtedfaſt; ſo all the German divines have hitherto complained of the intolerable abuſe of theſe things, that no man deſirous of the glory of Chriſt can accept of the miniſtry without doing thoſe things againſt his conſcience; and if ſome have (for I won't ſay none) ſubmitted to this hardſhip purely to do good, yet what doth the chriſtian religion ſuffer by it? unleſs we are ſo miſerably blinded as to think that theſe things are to be diſpenſed with for our own filthy gain, though they are not for the honour of God. Now who can juſtify the conſtant practice of ſuch things which in themſelves are highly criminal? Some things are conſtantly performed which ought never, while others are omitted which ought always, to be done: now who cannot ſee this manifeſt abuſe? and who ſees, and don't grieve? and who grieves, that would not labour to remove it? and when ſhall it be removed, while it is conſtantly preached and commended? why it is hardly poſſible for it not to be univerſal. It is one thing barely to permit, and another to inforce as law. Go (ſays Chriſt) and teach all things; but what are thoſe all things? Why all that ye have heard of me, not all that ſeems fit to yourſelves. Let us therefore, by the help of God, go and do likewiſe: let us employ our whole ſtrength to preach the ſincere word of God, not to flatter or cook up our ſermons to men's depraved taſte, then ſhall we be true preachers of God's word, As careleſs as men are in what relates to God, they are diligent enough in what relates to themſelves, to this they want no ſpurs; but they are miſerably deceived by an unjuſt eſteem of things, and an early ſuperſtition received in their tender years from their fore-fathers, which we are hardly able to remedy by any preaching, how frequent, how earneſt, how ſincere and pure ſoever, which God doth not now permit; for in theſe evil days they who ought to preach themſelves (for to us, ſays St. Peter, has he given to preach the goſpel), forbid them to preach who are willing and able, and on the contrary, compel time-ſervers, who damnably detain the miſerable people in ſuperſtition and falſe confidence; but Lord have mercy upon us, and grant we may know thy way upon earth, not to be found amongſt thoſe to whom the Lord ſays, My ways are not your ways, neither are my thoughts your thoughts. Hence I dare not ſubſcribe to theſe propoſitions, moſt honoured father, becauſe I would no ways be acceſſary to the longer continuance of theſe popular ſuperſtitions, leſt I ſhould be the author of my own damnation. Was I worthy, I would give even you ſome advice; but that little impertinent thing the heart, can do little elſe than gueſs, none knowing the things of a man but the ſpirit of a man which is in him. It is not any pride that hinders me from ſubſcribing to theſe propoſitions; on the contrary, I am very ſorry I cannot wholly perform your requeſt. I know how great a crime it is to diſobey the fathers and governors of the church, but then regard is to be had to what they command, in which caſe we ought always to obey God rather than man.

My head aches ſo much, and my body is ſo weak, that I can neither come, nor write over again and correct theſe lines;

lines; but your lordſhip, I hope, will approve, if not the judgment, yet the endeavours of

Your lordſhip's devoted ſervant.

In this aforeſaid epiſtle (as ye hear) he maketh mention of certain articles or propoſitions, whereunto he was required by the biſhops to ſubſcribe. The copy and effect of thoſe articles or rude propoſitions (as he calleth them) are theſe:

Articles deviſed by the Biſhops for Mr. Latimer to ſubſcribe unto.

I Believe that there is a purgatory to purge the ſouls of the dead after this life.

That the ſouls in purgatory are holpen with the maſſes, prayers, and alms of the living.

That the ſaints do pray as mediators now for us in heaven.

That they are to be honoured of us in heaven.

That it is profitable for chriſtians to call upon the ſaints, that they may pray as mediators for us unto God.

That pilgrimages and oblations done to the ſepulchres and relics of ſaints are meritorious.

That they which have vowed perpetual chaſtity may not marry, nor break their vow, without the diſpenſation of the pope.

That the keys of binding and looſing delivered to Peter, do ſtill remain with the biſhops of Rome his ſucceſſors, although they live wickedly, and are by no means nor at any time committed to laymen.

That men may merit and deſerve at God's hand by faſting, prayer, and other good works of piety.

That they which are forbidden by the biſhop to preach, as ſuſpect perſons, ought to ceaſe until they have purged themſelves before the ſaid biſhop, or their ſuperiors, and be reſtored again.

That the faſt which is uſed in Lent, and other faſts preſcribed by the cannons, and by cuſtom received of the chriſtians (except neceſſity otherwiſe require) are to be obſerved and kept.

That God in every one of the ſeven ſacraments giveth grace to a man, rightly receiving the ſame.

That conſecrations, ſanctifyings and bleſſings, by uſe and cuſtom received in the church, are laudable and profitable.

That it is laudable and profitable, that the venerable images of the crucifix and other ſaints, ſhould be had in the churches as a remembrance, and to the honour and worſhip of Jeſus Chriſt and his ſaints.

That it is laudable and profitable to deck and to cloath thoſe images, and ſet up burning lights before them to the honour of the ſaid ſaints.

To theſe articles, whether he did ſubſcribe or no, it is uncertain. It appeareth by this epiſtle above written to the biſhop, that he durſt not conſent unto them where he writeth in theſe words, I dare not ſubſcribe to theſe propoſitions, becauſe I would no ways be acceſſary to the longer continuance of theſe popular ſuperſtitions, leſt I be the author, &c. But yet whether he was compelled afterwards to agree through the cruel handling of the biſhops, it is in doubt. By the words and the title in Tonſtal's regiſter prefixed before the articles, it may ſeem that he did ſubſcribe. The words of the regiſter are theſe: Hugh Latimer, bachelor of divinity, of the univerſity of Cambridge, in a convication held at Weſtminſter before the lord archbiſhop of Canterbury, John lord biſhop of London, and the reſt of the clergy, has acknowledged and made the following confeſſion of his faith, as in theſe articles, March 21, 1531. If theſe words be true, it may be thought he ſubſcribed. And whether he ſo did, no great matter or marvel, the iniquity of the time being ſuch, that either he muſt needs ſo do, or elſe abide the biſhop's bleſſing, that is, cruel ſentence of death, which he at that time (as he himſelf confeſſed preaching at Stamford) was loth to ſuſtain for ſuch matters as theſe were, unleſs it were for articles neceſſary of his belief; by which his words of conjecture rather that he did ſubſcribe at length; albeit it was long before he could be brought ſo to do. Yet this by the way is to be noted, concerning the crafty and deceitful handling of theſe biſhops in his examinations, what ſubtle devices they uſed the ſame time to entrap him in their ſnares. The truth of the ſtory he ſhewed forth himſelf in a certain ſermon preached at Stamford, Oct. 9. 1550. his words be theſe:

I was once (ſaith he) in examination before five or ſix biſhops, where I had much turmoiling; thrice every week I came to examinations, and many ſnares and traps were laid to get ſomething. Now God knoweth I was ignorant of the law, but that God gave me anſwer and wiſdom what I ſhould ſpeak; it was God indeed, for elſe I had never eſcaped them. At laſt I was brought forth to be examined into a chamber hanged with arras where I was wont to be examined: but now at this time the chamber was ſomewhat altered. For whereas before there was wont always to be a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras hanged over the chimney, and the table near the chimney's end.

There was amongſt the biſhops that examined me, one with whom I have been very familiar, and took him for my great friend, an aged man, and he ſate next the table's end.

Then amongſt all other queſtions he put forth one, a very ſubtle and crafty one, and ſuch an one indeed as I could not think ſo great danger in. And when I ſhould make anſwer, I pray you, Mr. Latimer, ſaid one, ſpeak out, I amvery thick of hearing, and here be many that ſit far off. I marvelled at this that I was bid to ſpeak out, and begun to ſuſpect, and give an ear to the chimney; and, Sir, there I heard a pen walking in the chimney behind the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all mine anſwers: for they made ſure that I ſhould not ſtart from them: there was no ſtarting from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me anſwer, I could never elſe have eſcaped it. The queſtion there and then objected to him was this; Whether he thought in his conſcience, that he hath been ſuſpected of hereſy. This was a captious queſtion. There was no holding of peace would ſerve; for that was to grant himſelf faulty. To anſwer, it was every way full of danger: but God which alway giveth in need what to anſwer, helped him, or elſe (as he confeſſed himſelf) he never had eſcaped their bloody hands. Albeit what was his anſwer, he doth not there expreſs. And thus hitherto you have heard declared the manifold troubles of this godly preacher, in the time not only of his being in the univerſity, but eſpecially at his benefice, as partly in his own words abovementioned, and partly by his own letters hereafter following, may better appear.

In theſe ſo hard and dangerous ſtraits, and ſuch ſnares of the biſhops, hard it had been for him, and impoſſible to have eſcaped and continued ſo long, had not the Almighty helping hand of the Higheſt, as he ſtirred him up, ſo preſerved him through the favour and power of his prince; who with much favour embraced him, and with his mere power ſometime reſcued and delivered him out of the crooked claws of his enemies. Moreover, at length alſo through the procurement partly of Dr. Buts, partly of the good lord Cromwel, he advanced him to the dignity and degree of a biſhop, making him the biſhop of Worceſter, which ſo continued a few years, inſtructing his dioceſe, according to the duty of a diligent and vigilant paſtor, with wholeſome doctrine and example of perfect converſation duly agreeing to the ſame. It were a long matter to ſtand particularly upon ſuch things as might here be brought to the commendation of his

his pains; as ſtudy, readineſs, and continual carefulneſs in teaching, preaching, exhorting, viſiting, correcting and reforming, either as his ability could ſerve, or elſe the time would bear. But the days then were ſo dangerous and variable, that he could not in all things do that he would. Yet what he might do, that he performed to the uttermoſt of his ſtrength, ſo that although he could not utterly extinguiſh all the ſparkling relics of old ſuperſtition, yet he ſo wrought, that though they could not be taken away, yet they ſhould be uſed with as little hurt, and with as much profit as might be. As for example, in this thing, and in divers others it did appear, that when it could not be avoided, but holy water and holy bread muſt needs be received, yet ſo he prepared and inſtructed them of his dioceſe, with ſuch informations and leſſons, that in receiving thereof, ſuperſtition ſhould be excluded, and ſome remembrance taken thereby, touching and charging the miniſters of his dioceſe, in delivering the holy water and the holy bread, to ſay theſe words following:

Words ſpoken to the People in giving them holy Water.

" Remember your promiſe in baptiſm,
Chriſt his mercy and blood-ſhedding,
By whoſe moſt holy ſprinkling,
Of all your ſins you have free pardoning."

What to ſay in giving holy Bread.

" Of Chriſt's body this is a token,
Which on the croſs for our ſins was broken:
Wherefore of your ſins you muſt be forſakers,
If of Chriſt's death ye will be partakers."

By this it may be conſidered what the diligent care of this biſhop was in doing the duty of a faithfnl paſtor among his flock. And moreover it is to be thought, that he would have brought more things elſe to paſs, if the time then had anſwered to his deſire; for he was not ignorant how the inſtitution of holy water and holy bread, not only had no ground in ſcripture, but alſo how full of profane exorciſms and conjurations they were, contrary to the rule and learning of the goſpel. Thus this good man behaved himſelf in his dioceſe. But (as before) both in the univerſity and at his benefice he was toſt and troubled by wicked and evil diſpoſed perſons; ſo in his biſhopric alſo he was not free from ſome that ſought his trouble. As among many other evil willers, one eſpecially there was, and that no ſmall perſon, who accuſed him then to the king for his ſermons. The ſtory, becauſe he himſelf ſheweth in a ſermon of his before king Edward, I thought therefore to uſe his own words, which be theſe:

In the king's day's that is dead, a great mary of us were called together before him, to ſpeak our minds in certain matters. In the end one kneeleth down and accuſeth me of ſedition; and that I had preached ſeditious doctrine. A heavy ſalutation, and a hard point of ſuch a man's doing, as if I ſhould name ye would not think.

The king turned to me, and ſaid; What ſay you to that, Sir? Then I kneeled down, and turned firſt to my accuſer, and required him; Sir, what form of preaching would you appoint me in preaching before a king? Would you have me preach nothing as concerning a king in the king's ſermon? Have you any commiſſion to appoint me what I ſhall preach? Beſides this, I aſked him divers other queſtions, and he would make no anſwer to any of them all; he had nothing to ſay.

Then I turned to the king, and ſubmitted myſelf to his grace, and ſaid, I never thought myſelf worthy, nor did I ever ſue to be a preacher before your grace, but I was called to it, and would be willing (if you miſlike me) to give place to my betters; for I grant there be a great many more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your grace's pleaſure ſo to allow them for preachers, I could be content to carry their books after them. But if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would deſire your grace to give me leave to diſcharge my conſcience, give me leave to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very blockhead to have preached ſo at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your grace.

And I thank Almighty God (who hath always been my remedy) that my ſayings were well accepted of the king; for like a gracious lord he turned into another communication. It is even as the ſcripture ſaith, The Lord directeth the king's heart. Some of my friends came to me with tears in their eyes, and told me, they expected I ſhould have been in the Tower the ſame night.

Beſides this, divers other conflicts and combats this godly biſhop ſuſtained in his own country and dioceſe, in taking the cauſe of right and equity againſt oppreſſion and wrong. As for another example: There was at this time not far from the dioceſe of Worceſter a certain juſtice of peace, whom here I will not name, being a good man afterwards, and now deceaſed. This juſtice in purchaſing of certain land for his brother or for himſelf, went about to wrong or damnify a poor man, who made his complaint to Mr. Latimer. He firſt hearing, then tendering his rightful cauſe, wrote his letter to the gentleman, exhorting him to remember himſelf, to conſider the cauſe, and to abſtain from injury. The juſtice of peace not content withal (as the faſhion of men is when they are told of their faults) ſendeth word again in diſpleaſure, that he would not ſo take it at his hands, with ſuch threatening words. Mr. Latimer hearing his, anſwered again by writing to a certain gentleman: the copy whereof among his letters hereafter followeth in the ſequel of this ſtory to be ſeen.

It were a large and long proceſs to declare all the doings, travels, and writings of this chriſtian biſhop, neither yet have we expreſſed all that came to our hands; but this I thought ſufficient for this preſent. Thus he continued in his laborious function of a biſhop ſome years, till the coming in of the ſix articles. Then being diſtreſſed through the ſtraightneſs of time, ſo that either he muſt loſe the quietneſs of a good conſcience, or elſe forſake his biſhopric, the latter of which he freely did, and Dr. Shaxton the biſhop of Saliſbury reſigned likewiſe with him. At which time he threw off his rochet in his chamber among his friends, and ſuddenly gave a ſkip on the floor for joy, feeling his ſhoulder ſo light, and being diſcharged (as he ſaid) of ſuch an heavy burden. However he was not ſo lightened, but that troubles and labour followed him whereſoever he went. For a little after he had renounced his biſhopric, he was much bruiſed by the fall of a tree: then coming up to London for remedy, he was moleſted and troubled by the biſhops, whereby he was again in no little danger, and at length was ſent to the Tower, where he continually remained priſoner, till the time that bleſſed king Edward entered his crown, by which means the golden mouth of this preacher, long ſhut up before, was now opened again. And ſo he beginning afreſh to ſet forth his plough again, continued all the time of the ſaid king labouring in the Lord's harveſt moſt fruitfully, diſcharging his talent at Stamford, and before the ducheſs of Suffolk, and many other places in this realm (whoſe ſermons are now extant), as alſo at London in the convocation-houſe, and eſpecially before the king at the court: in the ſame place of the inward garden, which was before applied to laſcivious and courtly paſtimes, there he diſpenſed the fruitful word of the glorious goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, preaching there before the king and his whole court, to the edification of many.

And

And thus he ſpent his time in king Edward's days, preaching, for the moſt part, twice every Sunday, to the ſhame of all other loitering and unpreaching prelates, who occupy great rooms, and do little good; and ſo much the more to their ſhame, becauſe he, being a man ſo bruiſed by the fall of a tree, and above ſixty ſeven years of age, took ſo little eaſe and care of ſparing himſelf, to do the people good. Now to ſpeak here of his indefatigable diligence in his private ſtudies: Notwithſtanding his years, and the fatigue of ſo often preaching, it was his common cuſtom every morning, winter and ſummer, to be diligently at his book, by two of the clock. How careful his heart was of the preſervation of the church, and the good ſucceſs of the goſpel, his letters can teſtify, wherein he admoniſheth thoſe of their duty that were then in authority, and aſſiſted them with his godly counſel.

As the diligence of this man of God never ceaſed all the time of king Edward, to profit the church both publicly and privately, ſo it is likewiſe to be obſerved, that the ſame good Spirit of God that aſſiſted and comforted him in preaching the goſpel, did alſo enable him evidently to foretel all thoſe kinds of plagues, which afterwards enſued; if England ever had a prophet, he ſeemed to have been one. And as touching himſelf, he ever affirmed, that the preaching of the goſpel would coſt him his life, to which he no leſs chearfully prepared himſelf, than certainly was perſuaded, that Wincheſter was kept in the Tower for the ſame purpoſe, as the event did too truly prove the ſame. For after the death of the ſaid pious king Edward, not long after queen Mary was proclaimed, a purſuivant was ſent down (by the means, no doubt, of Wincheſter), into the country, to call him up, of whoſe coming, although Mr. Latimer lacked no forewarning, being premoniſhed about ſix hours before by one John Careles (whoſe ſtory hereafter followeth), yet he was ſo far from endeavouring to eſcape, that he prepared himſelf for his journey before the ſaid officer came to his houſe.

At which when the purſuivant marvelled, ſeeing him ſo prepared for his journey, Mr. Latimer ſaid unto him, My friend, you be a welcome meſſenger to me. And be it known unto you and to all the world, that I go as willingly to London at this preſent, being called by my prince to render a reckoning of my doctrine, as ever I went to any place in the world. I doubt not but that God, as he hath made me worthy to preach his word before two excellent princes, ſo will he enable me to witneſs the ſame unto the third, either to her comfort or diſcomfort eternally, &c. When the purſuivant had delivered his letters, he departed, affirming that he had commandment not to tarry for him. By whoſe ſudden departure it was manifeſt that they would not have him appear, but rather to have fled out of the realm. They knew that his conſtancy ſhould deface them in their popery, and confirm the godly in the truth.

Thus Mr. Latimer being ſent for, and coming up to London, (entering Smithfield, he merrily ſaid, That Smithfield had long groaned for him), was brought before the council, where he patiently bearing all the mocks and taunts given him by the ſcornful papiſts, was again ſent to the Tower, where he being aſſiſted with the heavenly grace of Chriſt, patiently ſuſtained impriſonment a long time; notwithſtanding the cruel and unmerciful uſage of the lordly papiſts, who then thought their kingdom would never fall, yet he ſhewed himſelf not only patient, but alſo merry and chearful in and above all that which they could work againſt him; yea, ſuch a valiant ſpirit the Lord gave him, that he was able not only to deſpiſe the terribleneſs of priſons and torments, but alſo to deride and laugh to ſcorn even the cruel proceedings of his enemies. It is well known to many what anſwer he made to the lieutenant when he was in the Tower. For when the lieutenant's man, upon a time came to him, the aged father kept without fire in the froſty winter, and well nigh ſtarved for cold, he bade the man tell his maſter, That if he did not look better after him, perchance he might deceive him.

The lieutenant hearing this, and not knowing what to make of ſo odd a ſpeech, and fearing that he would in earneſt make his eſcape, began to look more ſtrictly to his priſoner, and coming to him, beginneth to charge him with his words, reciting the ſame unto him which his man had told him before; That if he were not better looked unto, purchance he might deceive him. Yea, Mr. Lieutenant, ſo I ſaid (quoth he) for I ſuppoſe you expect that I ſhould burn; but except you let me have ſome fire, I am like to deceive your expectation, for I am like here to ſtarve for cold.

Many ſuch-like anſwers and reaſons, merry, but ſavoury, coming not from a vain mind, but from a conſtant and quiet reaſon, proceeded from that man, declaring a firm and ſtable heart, little minding all the bluſtering of their terrible threats, but rather deriding the ſame.

Thus Mr. Latimer, paſſing a long time in the Tower, with as much patience as a man in his caſe could do, from thence was tranſported to Oxford, with Dr. Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Dr. Ridley, biſhop of London, there to diſpute upon articles ſent down from Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, as is before mentioned, the manner and order of which diſputations between them and the univerſity doctors, is alſo before ſufficiently expreſſed. Where alſo is declared, how and by whom the ſaid Latimer with his other fellow-priſoners were condemned after the diſputations, and ſo committed again to the priſon, and there they continued from the month of April, till the month of October; where they were moſt godly occupied, either with brotherly conference, or with fervent prayer, or with fruitful writing.

Albeit Mr. Latimer, by reaſon of the feebleneſs of his age, wrote leaſt of all in this latter time of his impriſonment; yet in prayer he was frequently occupied, wherein oftentimes ſo long he continued kneeling, that he was not able to riſe without help: and amongſt other things, theſe were the principal matters he prayed for.

Firſt, That as God had appointed him to be a preacher of his word, ſo alſo he would give him grace to ſtand to his doctrine until his death, that he might give his heart blood for the ſame.

Secondly, That God of his mercy would reſtore his goſpel to England once again; and theſe words ONCE AGAIN, ONCE AGAIN, he did ſo inculcate and beat into the ears of the Lord God, as though he had ſeen God before him, and ſpoken to him face to face.

The third matter was, to pray for the preſervation of the lady Elizabeth, whom in his prayer he uſed to name, and even with tears deſired God to make her a comfort to this comfortleſs realm of England.

Theſe were the matters he prayed for ſo earneſtly. Neither were theſe things of him deſired in vain, as the good ſucceſs thereof, after following, did declare; for the Lord moſt graciouſly did grant all thoſe his requeſts.

Firſt, Concerning his conſtancy, even in the moſt extremity, the Lord graciouſly aſſiſted him. For when he ſtood at the ſtake without Bocardo-gate at Oxford, and the tormenters about to ſet the fire to him, and to the learned and pious biſhop Dr. Ridley, he lifted up his eyes towards heaven with an amiable and comfortable countenance, ſaying theſe words, "God is faithful, which doth not ſuffer us to be tempted above our ſtrength;" and ſo afterward ſhed his blood in the cauſe of Chriſt, which blood ran out of his heart in ſuch abundance, that all thoſe that were preſent, being godly, did marvel to ſee the moſt part of his blood in his body to be gathered to his heart, and with ſuch violence to guſh out, his body being opened by the force of the fire; by which things God moſt graciouſly granted his requeſt, which was, That he might ſhed his heart blood in the defence of the goſpel.

How mercifully the Lord heard his ſecond requeſt, in reſtoring his goſpel once again unto this realm, theſe preſent days can bear record. And what then ſhall England ſay now for her defence, which being ſo mercifully viſited and refreſhed with the word of God, ſo ſlenderly and unthankfully conſidereth either her own miſery paſt, or the great benefit of God now preſent? The Lord be merciful unto us, Amen.

Again, concerning his third requeſt, it ſeemeth likewiſe moſt effectually granted, to the great praiſe of God, the furtherance of his goſpel, and to the unſpeakable comfort of this realm. For whether at the requeſt of his prayer, or of other God's holy ſaints, or whether God was moved with the cry of his whole church, the truth is, that when all was deplorable and in a deſperate caſe, and ſo deſperate, that the enemies mightily flouriſhed and triumphed, God's word was baniſhed, Spaniards received, no place left for Chriſt's ſervants to cover their heads; ſuddenly the Lord called to remembrance his mercy, and forgetting our former iniquity, made an end of all theſe miſeries, and wrought a marvellous change of things; at the change whereof the ſaid queen Elizabeth was appointed and anointed, for whom this gray-headed father ſo earneſtly prayed in his impriſonment: through whoſe true, natural, and imperial crown, the brightneſs of God's word was ſet up again to confound the dark and falſe vizored kingdom of Antichriſt, the true temple of Chriſt re-edified, the captivity of ſorrowful chriſtians releaſed, which ſo long was wiſhed for in the prayers of ſo many good men, eſpecially of this faithful and true ſervant of the Lord, Mr. Latimer.

The ſame God, who, at the requeſts of his holy and faithful ſaints, hath poured upon us ſuch benefits of his mercy, peace and tranquillity, aſſiſt our moſt virtuous and chriſtian princeſs, and her ſubjects, that we may every one, in his ſtate and calling, ſerve to his glory, and walk in our vocation, that we loſe not that which they have obtained, but may proceed in all faithfulneſs, to build and keep up the houſe and temple of the Lord, to the advancing of his glory, and our everlaſting comfort in him. And thus much concerning the laborious travels of Mr. Latimer. Now after theſe things thus finiſhed and diſcourſed, pertaining to the ſtory of his life, let us come to his letters, which he wrote at divers and ſundry times, from the firſt beginning of his preaching, all which hereto comprehend which he wrote both in Engliſh and Latin, lack of room at preſent will not permit: nevertheleſs ſome we ſhall inſert, and firſt concerning the articles above-mentioned, for which he was troubled by the prieſts of the country about his benefice at Weſt Kingſton; which he writeth thereof to Mr. Morice, the copies whereof follow.

Articles untruly, unjuſtly, falſly, uncharitably imputed to me by Dr. Powel, of Saliſbury.

Firſt, That our Lady was a Sinner.

OCcaſioned of ſome, not only lay-men, but alſo prieſts and beneficed men, who gave ſo much to our lady of devotion without judgment, as though ſhe had not needed Chriſt to ſave her: to prove Chriſt her Saviour, to make Chriſt a whole Saviour of all that be, or ſhall be ſaved, I reaſoned after this manner: That either ſhe was a ſinner, or no ſinner; there is no mean. If ſhe were a ſinner, then ſhe was redeemed or delivered from ſin by Chriſt, as other ſinners be: if ſhe were no ſinner, then ſhe was preſerved from ſin by Chriſt; ſo that Chriſt ſaved her, and was her neceſſary Saviour, whether ſhe ſinned or no. Now certain authors, ſaid I, as Chryſoſtom, Theophilact, and others, write, as though ſhe had been ſomething faulty in her time. Alſo, I ſaid, that certain ſcriptures ſtandeth to the ſame, unleſs they be the more warily underſtood and taken, (as in Rom. 3. 10, 20.) All have declined, that every mouth be ſtopped, and all the world be bounden or in danger to God. And after in the ſame chapter; All have ſinned, and need the glory of God. And in the fifth, And ſo death paſſed through into all men and women, foraſmuch as all have ſinned. But to theſe ſcriptures I ſaid, it might be anſwered, that the privilege of one, or of a few, doth not derogate or diminiſh the verity of an univerſal expoſition in ſcriptures.

And as to the doctors, I ſaid, that others ſay otherwiſe; and foraſmuch as now it is univerſally and conſtantly received and applied, that ſhe was no ſinner, it becometh every man to ſtand and agree to the ſame; and ſo will I, quoth I, nor any man that is wiſe, will the contrary: but to my purpoſe it is neither to nor from, to prove neither this nor that; for I will have her ſaved, and Chriſt her Saviour, whether ever ſhe was, &c.

And to that, what need you to ſpeak of this? I anſwered great need, when men cannot be content that ſhe was a creature ſaved, but as it were a Savioureſs, not needing ſalvation, it is neceſſary to ſet her in degree to the glory of Chriſt, Creator and Saviour of all that be or ſhall be ſaved. Good authors have written that ſhe was not a ſinner: but good authors never wrote that ſhe was not ſaved: for though ſhe never ſinned, yet ſhe was not ſo impeccable, but ſhe might have ſinned, if ſhe had not been preſerved: it was of the goodneſs of God that ſhe never ſinned: it had come of her own illneſs if ſhe had ſinned: there was difference betwixt her and Chriſt. And I will give as little to her as I can (doing her no wrong), rather than Chriſt her ſon and Saviour ſhall lack any parcel of his glory; and I am ſure that our lady will not be diſpleaſed with me for ſo doing, for our lady ſought his glory here upon earth, ſhe would not defraud him now in heaven: but ſome are ſo ſuperſtitiouſly religious, or ſo irreligiouſly ſuperſtitious, ſo prepoſterouſly devout toward our lady, as though there could not too much be given to her: ſuch are zeals without knowledge and judgment to our lady's diſpleaſure.

No doubt our lady was, through the goodneſs of God, a good and a gracious creature, a devout handmaid of the Lord, indued with ſingular gifts and graces from above, which through the help of God, ſhe uſed to God's pleaſure, according to her duty, ſo giving us enſample to do likewiſe; ſo that all the goodneſs that ſhe had, ſhe had it not of herſelf, but of God the author of all goodneſs: the Lord was with her favourably, and poured graces unto her plenteouſly, as it is in the Ave Maria. The Son of God, when he would become man, to ſave both man and woman, did chooſe her to his mother, which love he ſhewed to her alone, and to none other, of his benign goodneſs, by which ſhe was the natural mother of Chriſt: and through faith in Chriſt ſhe was the ſpiritual ſiſter of Chriſt, ſaved by Chriſt, bleſſed by hearing Chriſt's word, and keeping the ſame. It would not availed her to ſalvation, to have been his natural mother, if ſhe had not done the will of his heavenly Father: by him ſhe was his mother, by him ſhe did the will of his Father: ſhe the handmaiden, he the Lord. The handmaiden did magnify the Lord, the handmaiden would that all ſhould magnify the Lord, to whom be honour and glory for ever, Amen.

To honour him worthily, is not to diſhonour our lady; he is as able to preſerve from ſin, as to deliver from ſin; he was then ſubject to Joſeph his father-in-law, his mother's huſband, Joſeph is now ſubject to him. He never diſhonoured Joachim and Anna, his grandfather and grandmother, and yet I have not read that he preſerved them from all ſin.

To ſay that Peter and Paul, David, and Mary Magdalen, were ſinners, is not to diſhonour them: for then, ſcripture doth diſhonour them. It had not been for our profit to have preſerved all that he could have preſerved. For

For remembrance of that fall and up-riſing keepeth us in our fall from deſpairing: both is of God, to have not ſinned, and to have forſaken and left ſin. And as ſure is this of heaven as that, and this more common than that, and to us that have been ſinners, more comfortable.

It hath been ſaid, in times paſt, without ſin, that our lady was a ſinner: but it was never ſaid without ſin, that our lady was not ſaved, but a ſaviour: I do not go about to make our lady a ſinner, but to have Chriſt her Saviour. When mine adverſaries cannot reprove the thing that I ſay, then they will bely me, to ſay the thing that they can reprove. They will ſin to make our lady no ſinner, to prove that, that no man dieth. So that provers, and ſo cold probations ſaw you never. It were better unproved, than ſo weakly proved. But they be devout towards honouring of our lady, but to ſin to have our lady no ſinner, or to ſay ſhe was no ſinner.

I would be as loth to diſhonour our lady as they, I pray God we may honour her as ſhe would be honoured; for verily ſhe is worthy to be honoured.

To make a pernicious and a damnable lie, to have our lady no ſinner, is neither honour, nor yet pleaſure to our lady, but great ſin, to the diſhonour and diſpleaſure both of God and her.

They ſhould both pleaſe and honour our lady much better, to believe their ſinful living, and keep themſelves from ſinfulneſs, as our lady did, than ſo ſinfully to lie to make our lady no ſinner; which if they do not, they ſhall certainly go to the devil, though they believe never ſo ſurely, that our lady was no ſinner.

And for the Ave Maria, they lie falſly, I never denied it: I know it was a heavenly ſaluting or greeting of our lady, ſpoken by the angel Gabriel, and written in the holy ſcripture of St. Luke. But yet it is not properly a prayer, as the Pater Noſter is. Saluting or greeting, lauding or praiſing, is not properly praying. The angel was ſent to greet our lady, and to annunciate and ſhew the good will of God towards her, and therefore it is called, the Annunciation of our lady, and not to pray her, or to pray to her, properly: Shall the Father of heaven pray to our lady? When the angel ſpake it, it was not properly a prayer. And is it not the ſame thing now as it was then? nor yet he that denieth the Ave Maria to be properly a prayer, denieth the Ave Maria; ſo that we may ſalute our lady with Hail Mary! as the angel did, though we be not ſent of God ſo to do, as the angel was. Yet though we may ſo do, we have no plain command for ſo doing, as the angel had; ſo that the angel had been more to blame peradventure to have left it unſaid, than we be, foraſmuch as he was appointed of God to ſay it, and not we: but as I deny not, but as we may ſay the Pater Noſter, and the Ave Maria together, that to God, this to our lady, ſo we may ſay them ſeparately, the Pater Noſter by itſelf, and the Ave by itſelf; and the Pater Noſter is a whole and a perfect prayer, without the Ave Maria; ſo that it is but a ſuperſtition to think that a Pater Noſter cannot be well ſaid without an Ave Maria at his heel. For Chriſt was no fool, and when he taught the people to ſay a Pater Noſter to God, he taught them not to ſay, neither Pater Noſter, neither Ave Maria to our lady, nor yet Pater Noſter to St. Peter, as Mr. Hubberdin doth: therefore to teach to ſay twenty Ave Maria's for one Pater Noſter, is not to ſpeak the word of God as the word of God. And one Ave Maria well ſaid, and devoutly, with affection, ſenſe and underſtanding, is better than twenty-five ſaid ſuperſtitiouſly. And it is not like, but our lady ſaid many times the Pater Noſter, foraſmuch as her ſon Chriſt, whom ſhe loved and honoured over all, did make it, and taught it to be ſaid; whether ſhe made an Ave Maria with all, or ten or twenty Ave Maria's for one Pater Noſter, I will leave that to learned men, as Hubberdin and Powel, to diſcuſs and determine; ſhe was not ſaved by often ſaying of the Ave Maria, but by conſenting to the will of him, that ſent the angel to ſalute her with, Hail Mary! wherefore if the praying of them which decline their ear from hearing the law of God is execrable in the ſight of God, yea, though they ſay the Pater Noſter, I doubt not but the ſalvation of them hath been unpleaſant to our lady in her ſight, for whatſoever pleaſeth not her Son, pleaſeth not her; for ſhe hath delight and pleaſure in nothing, but in him, and in that which delighteth and pleaſeth him. Now we will be traitors to her Son by cuſtomable ſinful living, and yet we ſhall think great perfection and holineſs in numbering every day many Ave Maria's to our lady, and ſo we think to make her our friend and patroneſs, and then we care not for God: for having our lady on our ſide, we may be bold to take our pleaſure: for we fantaſy as though the very work and labour of flummering the Ave Maria is very acceptable to our lady, and the more, the more acceptable, not minding how they be ſaid, ſo that they be ſaid; if the Pater Noſter which Chriſt both made, and commanded us to uſe, may be uſed to Chriſt's diſpleaſure, much more the Ave Maria, which neither Chriſt nor our lady bid us ſay, may be ſaid to her diſpleaſure: and better never once ſaid, than often ſo ſaid. I would have a difference betwixt well ſaying and often ſaying, and betwixt that which Chriſt bid us ſay, and that which he bid us not ſay: and whether Ave Maria be ſaid in heaven or no, who can tell but Dr. Powel? and if it be ſaid alway there without a Pater Noſter, why may not Pater Noſter be ſaid here without Ave Maria; and whether doth our lady ſay it in heaven or no? which thing I ſpeak not to withdraw you from ſaying of it, but to withdraw you from ſuperſtitious and unfruitful ſaying of it. So that by occaſion of falſe faith and truſt, that ye have in the daily ſaying of it, you ſet not aſide imitation and following of holy living, which will ſerve, at length, when ſuperſtitious greeting will neither ſerve nor ſtand in ſtrength: it is meet that every thing be taken, eſteemed, and valued as it is.

We ſalute alſo and greet well the holy croſs, or the image of the holy croſs, ſaying, All hail holy croſs, which hath deſerved to bear the precious Talent of the world: and yet, who will ſay that we pray properly to the holy croſs? whereby it may appear that greeting is one thing, praying another thing. The croſs can neither hear nor ſpeak again, no more than this pulpit: wherefore we do ſalute it, not properly pray to it.

The angel ſpake alſo to Zachary, before he ſpake to our lady. Be not afraid, Zachary, for thy prayer is heard, and thy wife Elizabeth ſhall bring thee forth a child which ſhall be called John, and great joy and gladneſs ſhall be at his birth, and he ſhall be great and full of the Holy Ghoſt from the womb of his mother, &c,

What if a man ſhould ſay theſe words every day, betwixt the Pater Noſter and the Ave Maria, in the worſhip of St. Zachary, who I think is a ſaint in heaven, and was ere ever our lady came therefore to be honoured, I think he might pleaſe and honour St. Zachary, as well ſome other way, and better too; though they be words ſent from God, ſpoken by an angel, and written by St. Luke in holy ſcripture.

And yet if it were once begun and accuſtomed, I warrant ſome men would make it more than ſacrilege to leave it off, though the devil ſhould ſow never ſo much ſuperſtition by proceſs of time unto it.

Chriſt made the Pater Noſter for a prayer, and bid his people ſay it to his heavenly Father, One God in Trinity of Perſons, one Father and Comforter, one Worker and Doer of all things here in this world, ſaying unto us, After this manner ſhall ye pray, Our Father, &c. God ſent his Son, amongſt other things, to teach his people to pray; God ſent his angel to greet our lady, not to teach his people to pray. For neither Chriſt nor the angel ſaid to the people, This ſhall ye pray, Ave Maria. When the apoſtles ſaid to Chriſt, Teach us to pray; Chriſt ſaid,

ſaid, When you pray ſay, Our Father: he ſaid not when you pray, ſay, Ave Mary. I ſuppoſe Chriſt could teach to pray, as well as Dr. Powel and Mr. Hubberdin. I ſay that the Ave Maria was before the Pater Noſter; Dr. Powel ſaith, it ſhall endure after the Pater Noſter: I can prove my ſaying by ſcripture, ſo cannot he his: yet as it is no good argument, The Ave Mary was before the Pater Noſter, Ergo, it is properly a prayer: ſo it is no good argument, The Ave Mary ſhall laſt after the Pater Noſter, Ergo, it is properly a prayer, without the antecedent be impoſſible, which is not credible to come out of ſuch a fantaſtical brain.

Who was ever ſo mad as to think, that words of holy ſcripture could not be well ſaid: and yet we may not be ſo peeviſh as to allow the ſuperſtitious ſaying of holy ſcripture. The devil is crafty, and we frail and prone to ſuperſtition and idolatry, God give me grace to worſhip him and his, not after our own curioſity, but according to his ordinance with all humility.

St. Zachary is to be honoured, and in no wiſe to be diſhonoured: ſo that we may leave unſaid that which the angel ſaid without diſhonouring him.

It is not neceſſary to our ſalvation to make an ordinance of honouring him, with ſaying as the angel did.

It is better for a mortal man to do the office of a man, which God biddeth him to do, than to leave that undone, and do the office of an angel which God biddeth us not to do: if the other be preſumption, I had rather preſume to pray to God, which is God's bidding and man's office, than to preſume into the office of an angel without God's bidding.

It is a godly preſumption, to preſume to do the bidding of God.

Here I neither ſay, that our lady was a ſinner, nor yet I deny the Ave Mary.

Saints are not to be honoured.

I Said, this word Saints, is diverſly taken by the vulgar people; images of ſaints are called ſaints, and inhabiters of heaven are called ſaints. Now by honouring of ſaints, is meant praying to ſaints. Take honouring ſo, and images for ſaints; ſo ſaints are not to be honoured: that is to ſay, dead images are not to be prayed unto; for they have neither ears to hear withal, nor tongue to ſpeak withal, nor heart to think withal, &c.

They can neither help me, nor mine ox, neither my head nor my tooth, nor work any miracle for me, one no more than another: and yet I ſhewed the good uſe of them to be lay-men's books, as they be called, reverently to look upon them, to remember the things that are ſignified by them, &c.

And yet I would not have them ſo coſtly and curiouſly gilt and decked, that the quick image of God, (for whom Chriſt ſhed his blood, and to whom whatſoever is done, Chriſt reputeth it done to himſelf), lack neceſſaries and be unprovided for by that occaſion, for then the layman doth abuſe his book.

A man may read upon his book, though it be not very curiouſly gilded; and in the day-time a man may behold it without many candles, if he be not blind.

Now, I ſay, there be two manner of mediators, one by way of redemption, another by way of interceſſion; and I ſaid, that theſe ſaints, that is to ſay, images called ſaints, be mediators neither way.

As touching pilgrimages, I ſaid, that all idolatry, ſuperſtition, error, falſe faith, and hope in the images, muſt be pared away, before they can be well done, houſhold looked upon, poor chriſtian people provided for, reſtitutions made, all ordinances of God diſcharged, or ever they can be well done. And when they be at beſt, before they be vowed, they need not to be done: they ſhall never be required of us, though they be never done, and yet we ſhall be blamed when they be all done; wives muſt adviſe with their huſbands, and huſbands with their wives, both with curates, ere ever they may be vowed to be done.

And yet idolatry, may be committed in doing of them, as it appeareth by St. Paul, in the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, chap. 10. where he biddeth the Corinthians this; to beware of idolatry, and that after they had received the true faith in Chriſt; which had been vain, if they could not have done idolatry: and expoſitors add, to beware, not only of the act of idolatry, but alſo of all occaſion of that act: which is plain againſt Mr. Hubberdin, and parſon of Chriſt's church, who went about to prove, that now there could be no idolatry.

As touching the ſaints in heaven, I ſaid, they be not our mediators by way of redemption: for ſo Chriſt alone is our mediator and theirs both: ſo that the blood of martyrs hath nothing to do by way of redemption: the blood of Chriſt is enough for a thouſand worlds, &c.

But by way of interceſſion, ſo ſaints in heaven may be mediators, and pray for us, as I think they do when we call not upon them: for they be charitable, and need no ſpurs, and we are not openly required of God in ſcripture to call upon them, as we are to call upon God, nor yet may we call upon them without any diffidence or miſtruſt in God; for God is more charitable, more merciful, more able, more ready to help than them all, ſo that though we may deſire the ſaints in heaven to pray to God for us, yet it is not ſo neceſſary to be done, but that we may pray to God ourſelves, without making ſute firſt to them, and obtain of him whatſoever we need, if we continue in prayer, ſo that whatſoever we aſk the Father, in the name of Chriſt his Son, the Father will give it us: for ſaints can give nothing without him, but he can without them, as he did give to them: ſcripture doth ſet ſaints, that be departed before our eyes, for our enſamples, ſo that the chiefeſt and moſt principal worſhip and honouring of them is to know their holy living, and to follow them, as they followed Chriſt, &c.

God biddeth us come to him with prayer, and to follow his advice is no preſumption, it is rather preſuming to leave it undone, to do that which he biddeth us not do, &c. We muſt have ſaints in reverent memory, and learn at God's goodneſs towards them to truſt in God, and mark well their faith toward God and his word, their charity toward their neighbour, their patience in all adverſity, and pray to God who gave them grace ſo to do, that we may do likewiſe, for which like doings we ſhall have like ſpeedings, they be well honoured when God is well pleaſed; the ſaints were not ſaints by praying to ſaints, but by believing in him that made them ſaints: and as they were ſaints, ſo may we be ſaints: yea, there be many ſaints that never prayed to ſaints: and yet I deny not, but we may pray to ſaints, but rather to him who can make us ſaints, who calleth us to him, biddeth us call upon him, promiſeth help, cannot deceive us and break his promiſe; when we pray faithfully to him we honour him, not after our own fantaſtical imagination, but even after his own moſt wiſe ordination, whom to honour is not to diſhonour ſaints; therefore they lie, that ſay, that I would not have ſaints to be honoured, &c.

There is no Fire in Hell.

I Never knew man that ever ſaid ſo. I ſpeak of divers opinions that have been written of the nature of that fire; ſome that it is a ſpiritual fire, or at leaſt way, a ſpiritual pain in the corporal fire; for as it is called a fire, ſo it is called a worm: now becauſe they think not that it is a corporal worm, but a ſpiritul and metaphorical worm, ſo they think of the fire. Some, that it is a corporal and natural fire; ſome have thought diverſly before the reſurrection without the body, and after with the body; ſome, that the ſoul without body ſuffereth in the fire, but not of the fire; ſome, both in and of the fire. The

ſcholaſtic authors think, that the ſouls before the reſurrection, becauſe they be ſpiritual ſubſtance, doth not receive the heat of the fire into them, which is a ſenſible and corporal quality, ſo that Athanaſius, a Greek author calleth their pain Triſtitiam, a heavineſs or an anguiſh: and this opinion is probable enough: ſome think that though they be alway in pain, yet they be not always in fire, but go from waters of ſnow to exceeding heat: but it is when their bodies be there; but whether in cold or in heat, in water or in fire, in air or in earth, they lack no pain, their torment goeth with them, for they think that the devils that tempt us, though they have pain with them, yet they have not fire with them, for then they ſhould be known by heat of the fire.

I am certain, ſaith St. Auguſtine, that there is a fire in hell, but what manner of fire, or in what part of the world, no man can tell but he that is of God's privy council: I would adviſe every man to be more careful to keep out of hell, than truſt he ſhall find no fire in hell. Chryſoſtom ſaith, That to be deprived of the fruition of the Godhead, is greater pain than the being in hell: there is fire burning, there is the worm gnawing, there is heat, there is cold, there is pain without pleaſure, torment without eaſe, anguiſh, heavineſs, ſorrow, and penſiveneſs, which tarrieth and abideth for all lyars and hinderers of the truth.

There is no Purgatory after this Life.

NOT for ſuch lyars as will hear me in hand to ſay that I ſaid not: I ſhewed the ſtate and condition of them that be in purgatory: then I denied it, not that they have charity in ſuch ſurety that they cannot loſe it, ſo that they cannot murmur againſt God, cannot diſhonour God, can neither diſpleaſe God, nor be diſpleaſed with God, cannot be diſſevered from God, cannot die, nor be in peril of death, cannot be damned, nor be in danger of damnation; cannot be but in ſurety of ſalvation; they be members of the myſtical body of Chriſt as we be, and in more ſurety than we be; they love us charitably; charity is not idle, if it be, it worketh and ſheweth itſelf, and therefore I ſay, they wiſh us well, and pray for us; they need not cry loud to God, they be in Chriſt, and Chriſt in them, they be with Chriſt, and Chriſt with them, they joy in the Lord Chriſt alway, taking thankfully whatſoever God doth with them, ever giving thanks to their Lord God, ever lauding and praiſing him in all things that he doth, diſcontent with nothing that he doth, &c.

And foraſmuch as they be always in charity, and when they pray for us, they pray always in charity, and be always God's friends, God's children, brethren and ſiſters to our Saviour Chriſt, even in God's favour, even have Chriſt with them, to offer their prayer to the Father of heaven, to whom they pray in the name of the Son. And we many times for lack of charity, having malice and envy, rancour, hatred one toward another, be the children of the devil, inheritors of hell, adverſaries to Chriſt, hated of God, his angels, and all his ſaints; they in their ſtate may do us more good with their prayers, than we in this ſtate: and they do us alway good, unleſs the lack and impediment be in us; for prayer ſaid in charity is more fruitful to him that it is ſaid for, and more acceptable to God, than ſaid out of charity; for God looketh not to the work of praying, but to the heart of the prayer. We may well pray for them, and they much better for us, which they will do of their charity, though we deſire them not.

I had rather be in purgatory than in the biſhop of London's priſon; for in this I might die bodily, for lack of meat; in that I could not. In this I might die ghoſtly for fear of pain, or lack of good counſel; in that I could not. In this I might be in extream neceſſity; in that I could not, if extreme neceſſity be peril of periſhing. And then you know what followeth, if we be not bounden by precept to help, but them that be in extreme neceſſity, we ſee not who needeth in purgatory, but we ſee who needeth in this world. And John ſaith, If thou ſee thy brother, and help him not, how is the charity of God in thee? Here, either we be, or we may be in extreme neceſſity, both in body and ſoul; in purgatory neither one nor other. Here we be bound to help one another, as we would be helped ourſelves under pain of damnation. Here for lack of help we may murmur and grudge againſt God, diſhonour God, undo ourſelves, which inconveniencies ſhall not follow, if we do our duty one to another. I am ſure the ſouls in purgatory be ſo charitable, and of charity ſo loth to have God diſhonoured, that they would have nothing withdrawn from the poor here in this world, to be beſtowed upon them which might occaſion the diſhonour of God, &c.

Therefore howſoever we do for purgatory, let us provide to keep out of hell. And had I a thouſand pounds to beſtow, as long as I ſaw neceſſary occaſion offered to me of God to diſpenſe it upon my needy brother here in this world, according to God's commandment, I would not withdraw my duty from him for any proviſion of purgatory, as long as I ſaw dangerous ways unrepaired, poor men's daughters unmarried, men beg for lack of work, ſick and ſore for lack of ſuccour. I would have difference between that which may be done, and that which ought to be done, and this to go before that, and that to come after this: if God command one way, mine own devotion moveth me another way, which way ſhould I go? I may by no trentals, no maſſes, no ladders of heaven make no foundations for myſelf with other men's goods; goods wrongfully gotten muſt needs home again, muſt needs be reſtored to the owners, if they can be known, if not, they be poor men's goods: debts muſt needs be paid, creditors ſatisfied and content, God's ordinance toward my neighbour here in this world diſcharged, all affections and luſts moving to the contrary purged. Or elſe though our ſoul-prieſts ſing till they be blear-eyed, or ſay maſs till they have worn their tongues to the ſtumps, neither their ſinging nor their ſayings ſhall bring us out of hell, whither we ſhall go for contemning God's prohibitions.

He that purgeth all error of falſe opinions, all unwillingneſs to do God's ordinance, provideth not for hell and purgatory. Purgatory's iniquity hath ſet aſide reſtitutions, and brought poor chriſtians to extreme beggary, repleniſhed hell, and left heaven almoſt empty.

In Purgatory there is no pain

- That can break their charity.
- That can break their patience.
- That can diſſever them from Chriſt.
- That can diſſever Chriſt from them.

- That can cauſe them to diſhonour God.
- That can cauſe them to diſpleaſe God.
- That can cauſe them to be diſpleaſed with God.
- That can cauſe them to be diſcontent with God.

- That can bring them to peril of death.
- That can bring them to peril of damnation.
- That can bring them to extreme neceſſity.
- That can bring them from ſurety of ſalvation.

And yet it followeth not that there is no pain.

Howbeit if the biſhop's two fingers can ſhake away a good part, if a friar's cowl, or the pope's pardon, or Scala Cœli of a groat can diſpatch for all together, it is not ſo greatly to be cared for. I have not leiſure to write at large, and I wrote before ſuch things which in this haſte cometh now to mind.

They that can reclaim at this, that the ſouls in purgatory do pray for us, if they could get as much money for the prayer, that the ſouls in purgatory ſaith for us, as they have done for that that they have ſaid for them, they

ſaid, When you pray ſay, Our Father: he ſaid not when you pray, ſay, Ave Mary. I ſuppoſe Chriſt could teach to pray, as well as Dr. Powel and Mr. Hubberdin. I ſay that the Ave Maria was before the Pater Noſter; Dr. Powel ſaith, it ſhall endure after the Pater Noſter: I can prove my ſaying by ſcripture, ſo cannot he his: yet as it is no good argument, The Ave Mary was before the Pater Noſter, Ergo, it is properly a prayer: ſo it is no good argument, The Ave Mary ſhall laſt after the Pater Noſter, Ergo, it is properly a prayer, without the antecedent be impoſſible, which is not credible to come out of ſuch a fantaſtical brain.

Who was ever ſo mad as to think, that words of holy ſcripture could not be well ſaid: and yet we may not be ſo peeviſh as to allow the ſuperſtitious ſaying of holy ſcripture. The devil is crafty, and we frail and prone to ſuperſtition and idolatry, God give me grace to worſhip him and his, not after our own curioſity, but according to his ordinance with all humility.

St. Zachary is to be honoured, and in no wiſe to be diſhonoured: ſo that we may leave unſaid that which the angel ſaid without diſhonouring him.

It is not neceſſary to our ſalvation to make an ordinance of honouring him, with ſaying as the angel did.

It is better for a mortal man to do the office of a man, which God biddeth him to do, than to leave that undone, and do the office of an angel which God biddeth us not to do: if the other be preſumption, I had rather preſume to pray to God, which is God's bidding and man's office, than to preſume into the office of an angel without God's bidding.

It is a godly preſumption, to preſume to do the bidding of God.

Here I neither ſay, that our lady was a ſinner, nor yet I deny the Ave Mary.

Saints are not to be honoured.

I Said, this word Saints, is diverſly taken by the vulgar people; images of ſaints are called ſaints, and inhabiters of heaven are called ſaints. Now by honouring of ſaints, is meant praying to ſaints. Take honouring ſo, and images for ſaints; ſo ſaints are not to be honoured: that is to ſay, dead images are not to be prayed unto; for they have neither ears to hear withal, nor tongue to ſpeak withal, nor heart to think withal, &c.

They can neither help me, nor mine ox, neither my head nor my tooth, nor work any miracle for me, one no more than another: and yet I ſhewed the good uſe of them to be lay-men's books, as they be called, reverently to look upon them, to remember the things that are ſignified by them, &c.

And yet I would not have them ſo coſtly and curiouſly gilt and decked, that the quick image of God, (for whom Chriſt ſhed his blood, and to whom whatſoever is done, Chriſt reputeth it done to himſelf), lack neceſſaries and be unprovided for by that occaſion, for then the layman doth abuſe his book.

A man may read upon his book, though it be not very curiouſly gilded; and in the day-time a man may behold it without many candles, if he be not blind.

Now, I ſay, there be two manner of mediators, one by way of redemption, another by way of interceſſion; and I ſaid, that theſe ſaints, that is to ſay, images called ſaints, be mediators neither way.

As touching pilgrimages, I ſaid, that all idolatry, ſuperſtition, error, falſe faith, and hope in the images, muſt be pared away, before they can be well done, houſhold looked upon, poor chriſtian people provided for, reſtitutions made, all ordinances of God diſcharged, or ever they can be well done. And when they be at beſt, before they be vowed, they need not to be done: they ſhall never be required of us, though they be never done, and yet we ſhall be blamed when they be all done; wives muſt adviſe with their huſbands, and huſbands with their wives, both with curates, ere ever they may be vowed to be done.

And yet idolatry, may be committed in doing of them, as it appeareth by St. Paul, in the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, chap. 10. where he biddeth the Corinthians this; to beware of idolatry, and that after they had received the true faith in Chriſt; which had been vain, if they could not have done idolatry: and expoſitors add, to beware, not only of the act of idolatry, but alſo of all occaſion of that act: which is plain againſt Mr. Hubberdin, and parſon of Chriſt's church, who went about to prove, that now there could be no idolatry.

As touching the ſaints in heaven, I ſaid, they be not our mediators by way of redemption: for ſo Chriſt alone is our mediator and theirs both: ſo that the blood of martyrs hath nothing to do by way of redemption: the blood of Chriſt is enough for a thouſand worlds, &c.

But by way of interceſſion, ſo ſaints in heaven may be mediators, and pray for us, as I think they do when we call not upon them: for they be charitable, and need no ſpurs, and we are not openly required of God in ſcripture to call upon them, as we are to call upon God, nor yet may we call upon them without any diffidence or miſtruſt in God; for God is more charitable, more merciful, more able, more ready to help than them all, ſo that though we may deſire the ſaints in heaven to pray to God for us, yet it is not ſo neceſſary to be done, but that we may pray to God ourſelves, without making ſute firſt to them, and obtain of him whatſoever we need, if we continue in prayer, ſo that whatſoever we aſk the Father, in the name of Chriſt his Son, the Father will give it us: for ſaints can give nothing without him, but he can without them, as he did give to them: ſcripture doth ſet ſaints, that be departed before our eyes, for our enſamples, ſo that the chiefeſt and moſt principal worſhip and honouring of them is to know their holy living, and to follow them, as they followed Chriſt, &c.

God biddeth us come to him with prayer, and to follow his advice is no preſumption, it is rather preſuming to leave it undone, to do that which he biddeth us not do, &c. We muſt have ſaints in reverent memory, and learn at God's goodneſs towards them to truſt in God, and mark well their faith toward God and his word, their charity toward their neighbour, their patience in all adverſity, and pray to God who gave them grace ſo to do, that we may do likewiſe, for which like doings we ſhall have like ſpeedings, they be well honoured when God is well pleaſed; the ſaints were not ſaints by praying to ſaints, but by believing in him that made them ſaints: and as they were ſaints, ſo may we be ſaints: yea, there be many ſaints that never prayed to ſaints: and yet I deny not, but we may pray to ſaints, but rather to him who can make us ſaints, who calleth us to him, biddeth us call upon him, promiſeth help, cannot deceive us and break his promiſe; when we pray faithfully to him we honour him, not after our own fantaſtical imagination, but even after his own moſt wiſe ordination, whom to honour is not to diſhonour ſaints; therefore they lie, that ſay, that I would not have ſaints to be honoured, &c.

There is no Fire in Hell.

I Never knew man that ever ſaid ſo. I ſpeak of divers opinions that have been written of the nature of that fire; ſome that it is a ſpiritual fire, or at leaſt way, a ſpiritual pain in the corporal fire; for as it is called a fire, ſo it is called a worm: now becauſe they think not that it is a corporal worm, but a ſpiritul and metaphorical worm, ſo they think of the fire. Some, that it is a corporal and natural fire; ſome have thought diverſly before the reſurrection without the body, and after with the body; ſome, that the ſoul without body ſuffereth in the fire, but not of the fire; ſome, both in and of the fire. The

ſcholaſtic authors think, that the ſouls before the reſurrection, becauſe they be ſpiritual ſubſtance, doth not receive the heat of the fire into them, which is a ſenſible and corporal quality, ſo that Athanaſius, a Greek author calleth their pain Triſtitiam, a heavineſs or an anguiſh: and this opinion is probable enough: ſome think that though they be alway in pain, yet they be not always in fire, but go from waters of ſnow to exceeding heat: but it is when their bodies be there; but whether in cold or in heat, in water or in fire, in air or in earth, they lack no pain, their torment goeth with them, for they think that the devils that tempt us, though they have pain with them, yet they have not fire with them, for then they ſhould be known by heat of the fire.

I am certain, ſaith St. Auguſtine, that there is a fire in hell, but what manner of fire, or in what part of the world, no man can tell but he that is of God's privy council: I would adviſe every man to be more careful to keep out of hell, than truſt he ſhall find no fire in hell. Chryſoſtom ſaith, That to be deprived of the fruition of the Godhead, is greater pain than the being in hell: there is fire burning, there is the worm gnawing, there is heat, there is cold, there is pain without pleaſure, torment without eaſe, anguiſh, heavineſs, ſorrow, and penſiveneſs, which tarrieth and abideth for all lyars and hinderers of the truth.

There is no Purgatory after this Life.

NOT for ſuch lyars as will hear me in hand to ſay that I ſaid not: I ſhewed the ſtate and condition of them that be in purgatory: then I denied it, not that they have charity in ſuch ſurety that they cannot loſe it, ſo that they cannot murmur againſt God, cannot diſhonour God, can neither diſpleaſe God, nor be diſpleaſed with God, cannot be diſſevered from God, cannot die, nor be in peril of death, cannot be damned, nor be in danger of damnation; cannot be but in ſurety of ſalvation; they be members of the myſtical body of Chriſt as we be, and in more ſurety than we be; they love us charitably; charity is not idle, if it be, it worketh and ſheweth itſelf, and therefore I ſay, they wiſh us well, and pray for us; they need not cry loud to God, they be in Chriſt, and Chriſt in them, they be with Chriſt, and Chriſt with them, they joy in the Lord Chriſt alway, taking thankfully whatſoever God doth with them, ever giving thanks to their Lord God, ever lauding and praiſing him in all things that he doth, diſcontent with nothing that he doth, &c.

And foraſmuch as they be always in charity, and when they pray for us, they pray always in charity, and be always God's friends, God's children, brethren and ſiſters to our Saviour Chriſt, even in God's favour, even have Chriſt with them, to offer their prayer to the Father of heaven, to whom they pray in the name of the Son. And we many times for lack of charity, having malice and envy, rancour, hatred one toward another, be the children of the devil, inheritors of hell, adverſaries to Chriſt, hated of God, his angels, and all his ſaints; they in their ſtate may do us more good with their prayers, than we in this ſtate: and they do us alway good, unleſs the lack and impediment be in us; for prayer ſaid in charity is more fruitful to him that it is ſaid for, and more acceptable to God, than ſaid out of charity; for God looketh not to the work of praying, but to the heart of the prayer. We may well pray for them, and they much better for us, which they will do of their charity, though we deſire them not.

I had rather be in purgatory than in the biſhop of London's priſon; for in this I might die bodily, for lack of meat; in that I could not. In this I might die ghoſtly for fear of pain, or lack of good counſel; in that I could not. In this I might be in extream neceſſity; in that I could not, if extreme neceſſity be peril of periſhing. And then you know what followeth, if we be not bounden by precept to help, but them that be in extreme neceſſity, we ſee not who needeth in purgatory, but we ſee who needeth in this world. And John ſaith, If thou ſee thy brother, and help him not, how is the charity of God in thee? Here, either we be, or we may be in extreme neceſſity, both in body and ſoul; in purgatory neither one nor other. Here we be bound to help one another, as we would be helped ourſelves under pain of damnation. Here for lack of help we may murmur and grudge againſt God, diſhonour God, undo ourſelves, which inconveniencies ſhall not follow, if we do our duty one to another. I am ſure the ſouls in purgatory be ſo charitable, and of charity ſo loth to have God diſhonoured, that they would have nothing withdrawn from the poor here in this world, to be beſtowed upon them which might occaſion the diſhonour of God, &c.

Therefore howſoever we do for purgatory, let us provide to keep out of hell. And had I a thouſand pounds to beſtow, as long as I ſaw neceſſary occaſion offered to me of God to diſpenſe it upon my needy brother here in this world, according to God's commandment, I would not withdraw my duty from him for any proviſion of purgatory, as long as I ſaw dangerous ways unrepaired, poor men's daughters unmarried, men beg for lack of work, ſick and ſore for lack of ſuccour. I would have difference between that which may be done, and that which ought to be done, and this to go before that, and that to come after this: if God command one way, mine own devotion moveth me another way, which way ſhould I go? I may by no trentals, no maſſes, no ladders of heaven make no foundations for myſelf with other men's goods; goods wrongfully gotten muſt needs home again, muſt needs be reſtored to the owners, if they can be known, if not, they be poor men's goods: debts muſt needs be paid, creditors ſatisfied and content, God's ordinance toward my neighbour here in this world diſcharged, all affections and luſts moving to the contrary purged. Or elſe though our ſoul-prieſts ſing till they be blear-eyed, or ſay maſs till they have worn their tongues to the ſtumps, neither their ſinging nor their ſayings ſhall bring us out of hell, whither we ſhall go for contemning God's prohibitions.

He that purgeth all error of falſe opinions, all unwillingneſs to do God's ordinance, provideth not for hell and purgatory. Purgatory's iniquity hath ſet aſide reſtitutions, and brought poor chriſtians to extreme beggary, repleniſhed hell, and left heaven almoſt empty.

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- That can bring them to peril of death.
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And yet it followeth not that there is no pain.

Howbeit if the biſhop's two fingers can ſhake away a good part, if a friar's cowl, or the pope's pardon, or Scala Cœli of a groat can diſpatch for all together, it is not ſo greatly to be cared for. I have not leiſure to write at large, and I wrote before ſuch things which in this haſte cometh now to mind.

They that can reclaim at this, that the ſouls in purgatory do pray for us, if they could get as much money for the prayer, that the ſouls in purgatory ſaith for us, as they have done for that that they have ſaid for them, they would

would not reclaim: you know the waſp that doth ſting them, and maketh them ſo ſwell, they that reclaim at that, doth not reclaim at this.

Nor at this.
- Chriſt's blood is not ſufficient without blood of martyrs.
- Magdalen did not know Chriſt to be God before his reſurrection.
- There can be no idolatry.
- Rome cannot be deſtroyed.
- The pope is lord of all the world.
- Whatſoever he doth is well done.
- Pater Noſter is to be ſaid to St. Peter.
- Pater Noſter is but a beggarly prayer.
- Ave Mary is infinitely better.
- Twenty Ave Maries for one Pater Noſter.
- It was not neceſſary ſcripture to be written.
- He that leaveth father and mother maketh for our pilgrimage.
- With many more.

Mr. Latimer's Letter to Mr. Morice, concerning the Articles written, which were falſly laid againſt him.

RIght worſhipful, and mine own good maſter Morice, Salutem in Chriſto Jeſu. And I thank you for all hearty kindneſs, not only heretofore ſhewed unto me, but alſo, that now of late you would vouchſafe to write unto me ſo poor a wretch, to my great comfort among all theſe my troubles. I truſt and doubt nothing in it, but God will reward you for me, and abundantly ſupply mine inability, &c. Mr. Morice, you would wonder to know how I have been treated at Briſtow, I mean, by ſome of the prieſts, who firſt deſired me, welcomed me, made me chear, heard what I ſaid, and allowed my ſaying in all things, while I was with them; when I was gone home to my benefice, perceiving that the people favoured me ſo greatly, and that the mayor had appointed me to preach at Eaſter, privily they procured an inhibition for all them that had not the biſhop's licenſe, which they knew well enough I had not, and ſo craftily defeated maſter mayor's appointment, pretending that they were ſorry for it, procuring alſo certain preachers to blatter againſt me, as Hubberdin, and Powel, with others, whom when I had brought before the mayor and the wiſe council of the town, to know what they could lay to my charge, wherefore they ſo declaimed againſt me; they ſaid, they ſpake as they were informed; however, no man could be brought forth, that could ſtand to any thing: ſo that they had place and time to bely me ſhamefully, but they had no place or time to lay to my charge, when I was preſent, and ready to make them anſwer. God amend them, and aſſuage their malice, that they have againſt the truth and me, &c.

Our Lady was a Sinner.

SO they did bely me to have ſaid, when I had ſaid nothing ſo, but to reprove certain, both prieſts and beneficed men, which do give ſo much to our lady, as though ſhe had not been ſaved by Chriſt, a whole Saviour both of her, and of all that be, or ſhall be ſaved; I did reaſon after this manner, that either ſhe was a ſinner, or no ſinner: if a ſinner, then ſhe was delivered from ſin by Chriſt; ſo that he ſaved her, either by delivering, or preſerving her from ſin, ſo that without him, neither ſhe, nor none other, either be, or could be ſaved. And to avoid all offence I ſhewed how it might be anſwered, both to certain ſcriptures which maketh all generally ſinners, and how it might be anſwered unto Chryſoſtom and Theophilact which make her namely and ſpecially a ſinner. But all would not ſerve, their malice was ſo great; notwithſtanding that five hundred honeſt men can and will bear record. When they cannot reprove that thing that I do ſay, they bely me, to ſay that thing which they can reprove; for they will needs appear to be againſt me.

Saints are not to be worſhipped.

SO they lied when I had ſhewed divers ſignifications of this word [Saints] among the vulgar people: Firſt, images of ſaints are called ſaints, and ſo they are not to be worſhipped: take worſhipping of them for praying to them; for they are neither mediators by way of redemption, nor yet by way of inrerceſſion. And yet they may be well uſed when they be applied to the uſe for which they were ordained, to be laymen's books for remembrance of heavenly things, &c.

Take ſaints for inhabitants of heaven, and worſhipping of them for praying to them, I never denied, but that they might be worſhipped, and be our mediators, though not by way of redemption (for ſo Chriſt alone is a whole mediator, both for them and for us) yet by the way of of interceſſion.

Pilgrimage.

AND I never denied pilgrimage. And yet I have ſaid that much ſcurf muſt be pared away, ere ever it can be well done; ſuperſtition, idolatry, falſe faith and truſt in the image, unjuſt eſtimation of the thing, ſetting aſide God's ordinance for doing of the thing; debts muſt be paid, reſtitution made, wife and children muſt be provided for, duty to our neighbours diſcharged. And when it is at the beſt, before it be vowed, it need not be done, for it is neither under the command of God nor man to be done. And wives muſt adviſe with huſbands, and huſbands and wives with curates, before it be vowed to be done, &c.

Ave Maria.

AS for the Ave Mary, who can think that I would deny it? I ſaid it was an heavenly greeting or ſaluting of our bleſſed lady, wherein the angel Gabriel, ſent from the Father of heaven, did annunciate and ſhew unto her the good will of God towards her, what he would with her, and to what he had choſen her. But I ſaid it was not properly a prayer, as the Pater Noſter, which our Saviour Chriſt himſelf made for a proper prayer, and bid us ſay it for a prayer, not adding that we ſhould ſay ten or twenty Ave Maries withal: and I denied not but that we may well ſay Ave Mary alſo, but not ſo that we ſhall think that the Pater Noſter is not good, a whole and perfect prayer, nor cannot be well ſaid without Ave Mary; ſo that I did not ſpeak againſt well ſaying of it, but againſt ſuperſtitious ſaying of it, and of the Pater Noſter too; and yet I put a difference betwixt that, and that which Chriſt made to be ſaid for a prayer.

No Fire in Hell.

WHO ever could ſay or think ſo? However good authors do make a difference betwixt a ſuffering in the fire with bodies, and without bodies. The ſoul without the body is a ſpiritual ſubſtance, which they ſay cannot receive a corporal quality, and ſome make it a ſpiritual fire, and ſome a corporal fire. And as it is called a fire, ſo it is called a worm, and it is thought of ſome not to be a material worm, that is, a living beaſt, but it is a metaphor, but that is neither here nor there: for a fire it is, a worm it is, pain it is, a torment it is, anguiſh it is, a grief, a miſery, a ſorrow, a heavineſs inexplicable, intolerable,

intolerable, whoſe nature and condition in every point who can tell, but he that is of God's privy counſel, ſaith St. Auſtin? God give us grace rather to be diligent to keep us out of it, than to be curious to diſcuſs the property of it; for certain we be, that there is little eaſe, yea, none at all, but weeping, wailing, and gnaſhing of teeth, which be two effects of extreme pain, rather certain tokens what pain there is, than what manner of pain there is.

No Purgatory.

HE that ſheweth the ſtate and condition of it, doth not deny it. But I had rather be in it than in Lollard's Tower, the biſhop's priſon, for divers reaſons.

Firſt, In this I might die bodily for lack of meat and drink; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might die ſpiritually for fear of pain, or lack of good counſel; there I could not.

Item, In this I might be in extreme neceſſity; in that I could not, if it be peril of periſhing.

Item, In this I might lack charity; there I could not.

Item, In this I might loſe my patience; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be in danger of death; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be without ſurety of ſalvation; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might diſhonour God; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might murmur and grudge againſt God; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might diſpleaſe God; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be diſpleaſed with God; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be judged to perpetual priſon, as they call it; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be craftily handled; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be brought to bear a faggot; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be diſcontented with God; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be ſeparated and diſſevered from Chriſt: in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be a member of the devil; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be an inheritor in hell; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might pray out of charity, and in vain; in that I could not.

Item, In this my lord and his chaplains might manacle me by night; in that they could not.

Item, In this they might ſtrangle me, and ſay that I hanged myſelf; in that they could not.

Item, In this they might have me to the conſiſtory and judge me after their faſhion; from thence they could not.

Ergo, I had rather be there than here. For though the fire be called never ſo hot, yet if the biſhop's two fingers can ſhake away a piece, a friar's cowl another part, and Scala Cœli all together, I will never found abbey, college, nor chauntry, for that purpoſe.

For ſeeing there is no pain that can break my charity, break my patience, cauſe me to diſhonour God, to diſpleaſe God, to be diſpleaſed with God, cauſe me not to joy in God, nor that can bring me to danger of death, or to danger of deſperation, or from ſurety of ſalvation, that can ſeparate me from Chriſt, or Chriſt from me, I care the leſs for it. John Chryſoſtom ſaith, that the greateſt pain that damned ſouls have, is to be ſeparate and cut off from Chriſt for ever: which pains the ſouls in purgatory neither have nor can have.

Conſider, Mr. Morice, whether proviſion for purgatory hath not brought thouſands to hell. Debts have not been paid; reſtitution of evil gotten lands and goods hath not been made; chriſtian people (whoſe neceſſities we ſee, to whom whatſoever we do Chriſt reputeth done to himſelf, to whom we are bound under pain of damnation to do for, as we would be done for ourſelves), are neglected and ſuffered to periſh; laſt wills unfulfilled and broken; God's ordinance ſet aſide: And alſo for purgatory, foundations have been taken for ſufficient ſatisfaction; ſo we have trifled away the ordinance of God and reſtitutions. Thus we have gone to hell with maſſes, dirges, and ringing of many a bell. And who can pull pilgrimages from idolatry, and purge purgatory from robbery, but he ſhall be in peril to come in ſuſpicion of hereſy with them? ſo that they may fleece one with pilgrimage, and ſpoil with purgatory. And verily the abuſe of them cannot be taken away, but great lucre and advantage ſhall fall away from them, who had rather have profit with abuſe, than lack the ſame with uſe; and that is the waſp that doth ſting them, and maketh them to ſwell. And if purgatory were purged of all that it hath gotten, by ſetting aſide reſtitution, and robbing of Chriſt, it would be but a poor purgatory; ſo poor, that it ſhould not be able to feed ſo fat, and trick up ſo many idle and ſlothful lubbers.

I take God to witneſs, I would hurt no man, but it grieveth me to ſee ſuch abuſe continue without remedy. I cannot underſtand what they mean by the pope's pardoning of purgatory, but by way of ſuffrage; and as for ſuffrage, unleſs he do his duty, and ſeek not his own, but Chriſt's glory, I had rather have the ſuffrage of Jack of the ſkullery, who in his calling doth exerciſe both faith and charity; but as for his maſs, that is as good of another ſimple prieſt as of him. As for authority of keys, it is to looſe from guiltineſs of ſin and eternal pain, due to the ſame, according to Chriſt's word and not to his own private will: and as for pilgrimage, you would wonder what juggling there is to get money withal. I dwell within half a mile of the Foſs-way, and you would wonder to ſee how they come by flocks out of the weſt-country to many images, but chiefly to the blood of Hailes. And they believe verily that it is the very blood that was in Chriſt's body, ſhed upon the mount of Calvary for our ſalvation, and that the ſight of it with their bodily eye, doth certify them, and putteth them out of doubt, but they be in clean life, and in a ſtate of ſalvation without ſpot of ſin, which doth embolden them to do many things. For you would wonder, if you ſhould commune with them both coming and going, what faiths they have. For as forgiving their enemies and reconciling their chriſtian brethren, they cannot away withal; for the ſight of that blood doth quit them for the time.

I read in ſcripture of two certifications; one to the Romans; "We being juſtified by faith have peace with God."

If I ſee the blood of Chriſt with the eye of my ſoul, that is, true faith, that his blood was ſhed for me, &c.

Another in the epiſtle of St. John: "We know that we are tranſlated from death to life, becauſe we love the brethren." But I read not that I have peace with God, or that I am tranſlated from death to life, becauſe I ſee with my bodily eye the blood of Hailes. It is very probable, that all the blood that was in the body of Chriſt, was united and knit to his divinity, and then no part thereof ſhall return to his corruption. And I marvel that Chriſt ſhall have two reſurrections. And if it were that they that did violently and injuriouſly pluck it out of his body when they ſcourged him and nailed him to the croſs, did ſee it with their bodily eye, yet they were not in clean life. And we ſee the ſelf-ſame blood in form of wine, when we have conſecrated, and may both ſee it, feel

feel it, and receive it to our damnation, as touching bodily receiving. And many do ſee it at Hailes without confeſſion, as they ſay. God knoweth all, and the devil in our time is not dead.

Chriſt hath left a doctrine behind him, wherein we be taught how to believe, and what to believe: he doth ſuffer the devil to uſe his craftineſs for our trial and probation. It were little thank-worthy to believe well and rightly, if nothing ſhould move us to falſe faith, and to believe ſuperſtitiouſly. It was not in vain that Chriſt, when he had taught truly, by and by, bade, Beware of falſe prophets, who would bring in error ſlyly. But we be ſecure and careleſs, as though falſe prophets could not meddle with us, and as though the warning of Chriſt were no more earneſt and effectual, than is the warning of mothers when they trifle with their children, and bid them beware the bugg, &c.

Lo, Sir, how I run at riot beyond meaſure. When I began, I was minded to have written but half a dozen lines; but thus I forget myſelf, ever when I write to a truſty friend, who will take in worth my folly, and keep it from mine enemy, &c.

As for Dr. Wilſon, I know not what I ſhould ſay; but I pray God endue him with charity. Neither he nor any of his country-men, did ever love me, ſince I did inveigh againſt their factions, and partiality in Cambridge. Before that, who was more favoured of him than I? That is the byle that may not be touched, &c.

A certain friend ſhewed me, that Dr. Wilſon is gone now into his country about Beverly in Holderneſs, and from thence he will go a progreſs through Yorkſhire, Lancaſhire, Cheſhire, and ſo from thence to Briſtol. What he intended by this progreſs, God knoweth, and not I. If he come to Briſtol, I ſhall hear, till, &c.

As for Hubberdin (no doubt), he is a man of no great learning, nor yet of ſtable wit. He is here Servus Hominum; for he will preach whatſoever the biſhops will bid him preach. Verily in my mind they are more to be blamed than he. He doth magnify the pope more than enough.

As for our Saviour Chriſt and chriſtian kings, they are little beholding to him. No boubt he did miſs the cuſhion in many things. Howbeit they that did ſend him, men think, will defend him; I pray God amend him and them both. They would fain make matter againſt me, intending ſo either to deliver him by me, or elſe to rid us both together, and ſo they would think him well beſtowed, &c.

As touching Dr. Powel, how highly he took upon him in Briſtol, and how little he regarded the ſword, which repreſenteth the king's perſon, many cannot tell you. I think there is never an earl in this realm that knoweth his obedience by Chriſt's commandment to his prince, and knoweth what the ſword doth ſignify, that would have taken upon him ſo ſtoutly. However Mr. mayor, as he is a profound wiſe man; did twit him prettily; it were too long to write all. Our pilgrimages are not a little beholding to him. For to occaſion the people to them, he alledged this text.

Whoſoever leaveth father, houſe, wife, &c. By that you may perceive his hot zeal and crooked judgment, &c. Becauſe I am ſo belied, I could wiſh that it would pleaſe the king's grace to command me to preach before his highneſs a whole year together every Sunday, that he himſelf might perceive how they bely me, ſaying, that I have neither learning, nor utterance worthy thereunto, &c. I pray you pardon me, I cannot make an end.

A brief Digreſſion concerning the railing of Mr. Hubberdin againſt Mr. Latimer.

FOraſmuch as mention hath been made in this letter of Mr. Hubberdin, an old divine of Oxford, a right painted phariſee, and a great ſtrayer abroad in all quarters of the realm, to deface and impeach the ſpringing of God's holy goſpel, ſomething will be added more concerning that man, whoſe doings and pageants, if they might be deſcribed at large, it were as good as any enterlude for the reader to behold. Who in all his life, and in all his actions (in one word to deſcribe him) ſeemeth nothing elſe but a right image or a counterfeit, ſetting out unto us, in lively colours, the pattern of perfect hypocriſy. But becauſe the man is now gone, to ſpare therefore the dead, (although he little deſerved to be ſpared, who never ſpared to work what villainy he could againſt the true ſervants of the Lord), this ſhall be enough for example ſake, for all chriſtian men neceſſarily to obſerve, how the ſaid Hubberdin, after his long railing in all places againſt Luther, Melanchon, Zuinglius, John Frith, Tindal, Latimer, and all other like profeſſors, after his hypocritical open alms-given out of other men's purſes, his long prayers, devout faſtings, his mean habit, and other his prodigious demeanour, riding in his long gown down to the horſe heels like a phariſee, or rather like a ſloven dirted up to the horſe belly, after his forged tales and fables, dialogues, dreams, dancings, hoppings and leapings, with other player-like toys and geſtures uſed in the pulpit, and all againſt heretics; at laſt riding by a church ſide, where the youth of the pariſh were dancing in the church-yard, he ſuddenly alighting from his horſe; by the occaſion of their dancing came into the church, and there cauſing the bell to toll-in the people, thought, inſtead of a fit of mirth, to give them a ſermon of dancing. In which ſermon, after he had patched up certain common texts out of the ſcriptures, and then coming to the doctors, firſt to Auguſtine, then to Ambroſe, ſo to Jerome and Gregory, Chryſoſtom and other doctors, had made them every one (after his dialogue manner) by name to anſwer to his call, and to ſing after his tune for the probation of the ſacrament of the altar againſt John Frith, Zuinglius, Oecolampadious, Luther, Tindall, Latimer, and other heretics (as he called them) at laſt to ſhew a perfect harmony of all theſe doctors together, as he had made them before ſing after his tune, ſo now to make them dance alſo after his pipe; firſt he calleth out Chriſt and his apoſtles, then the doctors and ancient ſeniors of the church, as in a round ring, all to dance together, with pipe up Hubberdin. Now dance Chriſt, now dance Peter, Paul, now dance Auguſtine, Ambroſe, Jerome; and thus old Hubberdin, as he was dancing with his doctors luſtily in the pulpit againſt the heretics, how he ſtamped and took on I cannot tell, but craſh quoth the pulpit, down cometh the dancer, and there lay Hubberdin not dancing but ſprawling in the midſt of his audience; where although he brake not his neck, yet he ſo brake his leg the ſame time, and bruiſed his old bones, that he never came in the pulpit more, and died not long after the ſame. Whereupon when the church wardens were called, and charged for the pulpit being no ſtronger, they made anſwer again, excuſing themſelves that they had made their pulpit for preaching and not for dancing, &c. But to ſpend no more paper about this idle matter, now to our purpoſe again.

Amongſt many other impugners and adverſaries, whereof there was no ſmall ſort which did infeſt this good man in ſermons, ſome alſo there were which attempted the pen againſt him. In the number of whom was one Dr. Sherwood, who, upon the ſame occaſion of preaching of the virgin Mary (or as they thought againſt the virgin), did invade him with his pen, writing againſt him in Latin, whoſe long epiſtle, with Mr. Latimer's anſwer alſo in Latin to the ſame, hereunder followeth, now tranſlated into Engliſh.

The

The Letter of Dr. William Sherwood againſt Mr. Latimer.

William Sherwood, Prieſt, to Mr. Latimer, Rector of Weſt-Kingſton, Grace and Peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

Worthy Sir,

PReſuming you won't take it amiſs to be chriſtianly admoniſhed by a chriſtian, I have ſent theſe lines to reaſon with you about ſome things deliver'd by you in a ſermon, or rather a ſatyre, lately preached at Great-field, not much like a chriſtian; and firſt, concerning the parable of the thief and the ſhepherd, where you truly ſaid that our Saviour reproved the ſcribes and phariſees for the hardneſs of their hearts, but not openly, but ſecretly, and in general he did not ſay to every one of the ſcribes and phariſees, Ye are thieves and robbers; but what did he ſay? why, Verily I ſay unto you, he who enters not by the door into the ſheepfold, but climbeth in ſome other way, the ſame is a thief and a robber: on the contrary, you openly declare all popes, biſhops and prieſts to be thieves and robbers (yourſelf, and a few of the refuſe of the people excepted;) thus you have preached or deceived the people: but perhaps you meant it for an hyperbole, if ſo it was a very cruel and unjuſt one. My brother, we are not ſo raſhly to judge before the time (if we may believe St. Paul) when the Lord ſhall come; who will bring to light the hidden things of darkneſs, and manifeſt the councils of the heart: alſo Chriſt himſelf, whom the Father has appointed Judge both of the living and the dead, in St. Matthew ſeems to forbid the raſh judging of our neighbour, where he ſays, Judge not that ye be not judged, for with what judgment ye judge ye ſhall be judged, and with what meaſure ye mete, it ſhall be meaſured to you again, and ſuch like.

I would have vice expoſed, but I would not have light put for darkneſs, nor darkneſs for light; nor that good ſhould be called evil, and evil good, ſweet bitter, and bitter ſweet. If this ſhould be, then each in his turn would devour one another. But I need urge this no farther, the thing itſelf appears ſo plain; we know your deſigns, and what notice has been taken of them. Alas! alas! Latimer, what madneſs urged you to preach, or lye, ſaying, there are more thieves than ſhepherds, more goats than ſheep? St. Cyprian ſaid otherwiſe, Let God be true, and every man a lyar, the greater number of chriſtians is ſtill beſt, more are thoſe who keep the faith intire than thoſe the devil has ſeduced; you alſo cry out againſt things which the church hath in the higheſt reverence, and which have been brought in by thoſe who have ſuffered for the name of Chriſt. For you ſay any man, who, as Peter, did confeſs Chriſt to be the Son of the living God, has as much power as Peter, and that the church there mentioned ſignifies any congregation: ſo that Peter was no more Chriſt's ſupreme vicar upon earth than any other chriſtian. St. Origen ſays, we are like Peter, if we make the ſame confeſſion as he did, namely, Thou art the Son of the living God, not by fleſh and blood revealed unto us, but by the Father who is in heaven illuminating our minds; ſhall we ſay that theſe words are of as great force as thoſe ſpoke to Peter himſelf? No, no. For after the name of Chriſt all his faithful ſervants are called, as ſays the prophet, that he might ſave his Chriſt's; and again, Touch not my Chriſt's. The words here uſed differ from thoſe which only ſignify anointed. Eraſmus (whom you follow and imitate in many things) in his Annotations on the ſixteenth chapter of St. Matthew, upon theſe words, Thou art Peter, &c. ſays very juſtly, that he was the firſt Roman pontiff and head of the chriſtian faith. But if, like you, we ſhould ſay this of all chriſtians equally with Peter, we ſhould fall into that error of Luther, that all chriſtians are prieſts, and that after ordination they have no more power than before, that only licenſing them to exerciſe it. But this has been condemned by the church a great while ago.

On thoſe words of Chriſt where he ſays, The leaſt of theſe precepts; you ſay he alludes to the wickedneſs of the ſcribes and phariſees, who to raiſe their own traditions, called the divine commandments, The leaſt commandments: but here you differ widely from Origen, a diligent interpreter of ſcripture, who in his homily on the fifth of St. Matthew, ſays, Some precepts may be called leaſt, ſince from the obſervation of them it is ſaid ſome ſhall be leaſt and ſome ſhall be great in the kingdom of heaven.

You find fault becauſe we ſay that Chriſt went up in the mount only with a few diſciples, the multitude, the ſcribes and phariſees not being worthy to hear that divine ſermon, you have ſubjoined (not much like a chriſtian, I think) that a chriſtian man who has any carnal deſire is no more a Chriſtian than a Jew or a Turk, this ſeems to me not like a chriſtian, but Œcolampadian.——

Some things are here wanting, which perhaps may be ſupplied from Mr. Latimer's anſwer.

This was needful to bring back the Germans to the beneficial confeſſion of Peter; what it is you here drive at I do not know; if it is his ſupremacy, truly every catholic is obliged to defend it with all his ſtrength; had not Peter the ſupremacy the words of Chriſt are of no effect (I give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, &c.) if there is no need to defend the ſupremacy of Peter, there is no need to defend the truth, for which every one ought to contend even to death. I cannot think the Germans can be brought to a beneficial confeſſion of Peter without acknowledging his ſupremacy; is Chriſt Son of the living God? the Son of God is truth, but Chriſt is not truth if Peter has no ſupremacy. What a foul fall is here, for no advantage can come from the confeſſion of Chriſt to that man who will not preſerve and defend the apoſtolic chair with all his might. You ſay this is one of the moſt bare-faced lyes, that Chriſt was in the mountain only with a few diſciples; Origen, the moſt accurate interpreter of ſcripture, in his ſermon on the fifth of St. Matthew, ſays plainly as I ſay, Jeſus went down from the mountain, and there followed many multitudes; the diſciples were with him in the mount, for to them it was given to know the ſecrets of his heavenly doctrine, the knowledge of ſalvation, which makes the heart of the moſt bruti ſh to rejoice: they were to ſpread abroad the light of truth, to enlighten the eyes of thoſe blinded with the thick darkneſs of worldly delight, whence it was our Lord ſaid to them, Ye are the ſalt of the earth, ye are the light of the world; but now deſcending from the mount the multitudes followed him, into the mountain none were able to aſcend to hear thoſe ſublime myſteries, but thoſe who had caſt away the burden of all worldly delights. Thus you hear how Origen approves of mine and not of your interpretation.

You have found out certain falſe preachers, who I know not, howſoever they are well known to you, who perſuade the people it is enough for a chriſtian to believe as the church believes, though at the ſame time they know neither what nor how the church believes, ſo the miſerable vulgar are detered from ſeeking after a larger knowledge of God; and there are ſuch preachers we are beholden to, the Lutheran and heretic churches; they cannot poſſibly be in ours, ſince the bridegroom hath promiſed never to deſert his ſpouſe the church. What you have ſaid elſe I paſs over as mere jeſts. It is plain that laſtly you ſay I argue philoſophically of the juſtification of faith, and yet you cannot overthrow my argument, but whether it is arguing philoſophically, to ſay we are not juſtified by faith only, but rather by works done in faith and charity? If this is to argue like a philoſopher, than I am one, and not I only but St. James alſo. Faith is, I confeſs, as St. Auguſtine rightly

ſaith, the root and foundation of a holy life which is the performance of all good by which we are juſtified; let no man think that faith alone is able to juſtify excluſive of all good and pious works, the reſt ſeeing I have forgot, I paſs over; I ſhall only add, if thou doſt well, ſhalt thou not be rewarded? but if thou doſt ill, ſin lieth at thy door. When I have more leiſure I ſhall write more fully of theſe things, till when farewel.

Derham.

Mr. Latimer's Anſwer.

HEalth to you in abundance. I don't know, worthy Sir, that I am ſo fierce as not to bear patiently any chriſtian admonition, or ſo inſenſible, that when ſlandered, admoniſhed, confuted, condemned by calumny and lyes, I ſhould not juſtify myſelf: what if I ſhould anſwer your letter with the ſame liberty you take? But I forbear, leſt inſtead of convincing I provoke your paſſion; rather God give us both wiſely to know him, and to me patience worthy of a chriſtian amidſt ſo many afflictions, and to you a right judgment, that you be not tranſported ſo far by an over-hot zeal. I thought this prayer better than any apology for anſwering you, being withal ſo buſy in writing a ſermon which I muſt preach the day after to-morrow, that I have no more leiſure than there is obligation, to anſwer all your heap of lyes; but that I may ſatisfy you a little, I will ſay a few things to a great many. And firſt the thing is what I have ſaid, and what you ſay I ſaid. And here you are ſo hard put to it, that as the ſaying is you are forced to ſkin a flint, but ſo it is, that through all you ſay there runs a continued ſtrain of rage and malice. Suppoſe, I ſaid, that all popes, biſhops and prieſts entering not by the door into the ſheep-fold, but climbing up ſome other way, were thieves and robbers; the ſtreſs lays on their entering and climbing up, not on their perſons or titles; and I ſay no more than what Chriſt himſelf ſays: hence, you of your own head charge me with ſaying, that all popes, biſhops and prieſts were thieves and robbers. Now (my brother) is this fairly to be collected from what I ſaid? May I not juſtly apply to you that of St. Paul to the Romans, So they ſay we ſaid, but they ſpeak evil of us, and their damnation is juſt: and yet St. Paul's adverſaries could more juſtly draw their concluſions from what he ſaid, than you can from what I ſaid. If the word of God is the ſame as it was at firſt, and the miniſters of that word are as acceptable to him now as they were then, doth the ſame damnation remain for their calumniators? But there is a great difference, you ſay, between; all that enter not by the door are thieves and robbers, and ſaying ſimply, that all were thieves and robbers. But whence comes it, I beſeech you that whilſt I ſay, all that enter not by the door, ſhould ſeem to you ſimply to ſay all in general; unleſs more ſeem to you to aſcend ſome other way, than to enter by the door, though you are too wiſe to own it? And if it is ſo, there is no wonder there ſhould be more thieves than ſhepherds. For whether you will own it or not, it is true that whoever enters not by the door are thieves and robbers, whether they be popes, biſhops or prieſts. You ſay our Saviour reproved the ſcribes and phariſees privately; but the ſcripture ſays, that to their face, and before a great multitude he ſaid unto them, Woe unto you ſcribes and phariſees, hppocrites, &c.

You adviſe me not to judge leſt I be judged, and this ought to teach you how neceſſary it is for lyars to have good memories, leſt your throat be cut with your own ſword, and you fall into the pit you had dug for others, for I think you paſs your judgment upon me when you ſay, I account all thieves and robbers but myſelf and a few of the refuſe of the people; you cry out that I have invaded the power of St. Peter, and of the keys, when I ſaid not one word of the power of the keys, or made mention of St. Peter's ſupremacy: I told them not to build on a ſandy foundation, but on the rock of Chriſt, not to be content with a dead faith leſt they endangered their own ſalvation, but to ſhew their faith by their works, that at the laſt they might attain everlaſting life, You know very well what Luther's ſentiments were of the church, and I can readily ſubſcribe to what Lyra, after many others, ſays on the 16th of St. Matthew, That the church doth not conſiſt of men great either by eccleſiaſtical or civil power, for we have found that many princes and popes have apoſtatized from the faith, but of ſuch who have a true knowledge both of the faith and truth of the chriſtian religion. With him agree St. Jerome and St. Chryſoſtom, who ſay, there are ſome more ready to defend the ſupremacy of St. Peter, a thing of no neceſſity, than to make that bleſſed confeſſion which would be of real uſe, You dare to ſay, that Chriſt when he called ſome of the commandments leaſt, did not allude to the impiety of the phariſees, and that becauſe you had read Origen had otherwiſe interpreted it; but may not one and the ſame place of ſcripture be differently expounded by different perſons? Becauſe Origen took no notice of this alluſion, doth it therefore follow that no body elſe ſhould; when Chriſt himſelf tells them that they made the commandments of God of no effect by their traditions? Again, except your righteouſneſs exceed the righteouſneſs of the ſcribes and phariſees, ye ſhall in no caſe enter the kingdom of heaven; you ſay Chriſt preached his ſermon on the mount only to a few of his diſciples; this is plainly to contradict the ſcripture. In the 7th of St. Matthew it is ſaid, that having ended theſe ſayings, they were aſtoniſhed at his doctrine, for he taught them as one that had authority. Who was it that were aſtoniſhed? why St. Luke will tell you it was the multitude that heard him, chapter the 7th, when he had ended all his ſaying in the audience of the people. As to that of blaming any perſon for believing as the church believes, 'tis either your ill-will which made you deaf, or elſe you were willing to hear what was never ſpoke. What I ſaid was, that many falſe preachers tell the people to believe as the church believes, when they are ignorant in what manner the church believes. As to what laſtly, you call ſo inhuman, ſee St. Jerome on the 26th of St. Matthew, I ſay a chriſtian, that is once admitted into the church by baptiſm, if he anſwers not his profeſſion, but gives himſelf up to fleſhly deſires, is in reſpect of eternal life which is promiſed to chriſtians, no more a chriſtian than a Jew or a Turk; yea, I ſay his condition ſhall be worſe at the laſt day, if he ſays true, who ſays, 'Twas better never to have known the way of truth, than after they have known, to fall away; 'tis the duty of a preacher to exhort all ſo to live with Chriſt here, that they may reign with him hereafter, otherwiſe (whatever they may think) they are no chriſtians; ſo the interpreters of the ſcripture ſpeak, but this ſeems to you heretical; for a covetous man, a fornicator, or a murderer, with you is a good catholic, and a ſervant of Chriſt, but theſe are alſo ſervants of ſin and of the devil, therefore they can ſerve two maſters, which was what Chriſt did not know. If ſo, a dead faith may be catholic, and devils may be members of the catholic church, as being thoſe, who according to St. James, believe and tremble. You ſay a fornicator believes in Chriſt, he who believes in Chriſt ſhall not periſh, but have everlaſting life; alſo St. Paul writing to the Galations, which had erred from the faith, calls them a church, and to the Corinthians, in one chapter, calls them both carnal perſons and the temple of God, becauſe ſome were good, and ſome were bad, for carnal perſons were not the temple of God, and the church was the multitude of profeſſors, good and bad, the evangelical net gathering of all ſorts. Now, pray, is it a crime to exhort all to do good and not evil? If your diſcourſe is no gentler than your letter, I deſire I may hear none of it; but all bitterneſs, anger, and evil-ſpeaking, with all malice, being taken from you, neither your diſcourſe nor writing would be burdenſome to me: I believe you deſire no ſuch auditors as yourſelf, and unleſs God gives you

you a better diſpoſition, I ſhall never deſire you to be one of mine.

Farewel.

Another Letter of Mr. Latimer to Dr. Sherwood.

MAY the Spirit of truth be with you. I have read your letter through carefully, but it is more worthy of the flames, than of my peruſal, it abounds ſo much with ſlanders. What you have truly ſaid you ſhall ſoon ſee. 'Tis now a great while ago ſince ſeveral perſons who heard the ſermon preached at Marchfield, told me, you being preſent, ſuffered the perſon openly, and with authority, to ſay, that thoſe were unworthy and miſerable wretches who ſaluted the virgin mother of God with the angelic ſalutation, unleſs they could raiſe her up again that ſhe might bear Chriſt. I ſaid, this was neither chriſtianly nor religiouſly done, had you not been there; for we ought not to offend pious chriſtians, who may not believe juſt as we do. Now whether this was ſlandering, or not rather giving pious and religious advice, &c.

The remaining part of the letter is vindicating himſelf from the ſame things as the former, and almoſt in the ſame words, which for brevity's ſake we omit.

A Letter from Mr. Latimer to Sir Edward Baynton, Knight.

RIght worſhipful Sir, I recommend myſelf unto you with hearty thanks for your friendly, charitable, and mindful remembrance of me, ſo poor a wretch. Whereas of late I received your letters by Mr. Bonnam, and perceiving therein who are grieved with me, and what behoveth me to do in caſe I muſt needs come up; for which your goodneſs towards me, whereas I myſelf am not able to recompenſe, I ſhall not ceaſe to pray my Lord God, who is both able, and alſo doth indeed reward all them that favour the favourers of his truth for his ſake: for the truth is a common thing, pertaining to every man, for which every man ſhall anſwer another day. And I deſire favour neither of your maſterſhip, nor of any man elſe, but in the truth and for the truth, I take God to witneſs, which knoweth all.

In very deed Mr. Chancellor did ſhew me, that my lord biſhop of London had ſent letters to him for me: and I made anſwer that he was mine ordinary, and that he might and ſhould reform me as far as I needed reformation as well and as ſoon as my lord of London. And I would be very loth (now this deep winter) being ſo weak and ſo feeble (not only exerciſed with my old diſeaſe in my head and ſide, but alſo with new, both the cholic and ſtone) to take ſuch a journey; and though he might ſo do, yet he needed not, for he was not bound ſo to do. Notwithſtanding I ſaid, if he, to do my lord of London pleaſure, to my great diſpleaſure, would needs command me to go, I would obey his command, yea though it ſhould be never ſo great a grievance and painful to me. With which anſwer he was content, ſaying, he would certify my lord of London thereof, truſting his lordſhip would be content with the ſame.

Mr. Chancellor alſo ſaid, that my lord of London ſeemed greatly diſpleaſed with me, becauſe I contemned his authority at my laſt being in London. Forſooth I preached in Abby-church, not certain then as I remember) whether in his dioceſe or no, intending nothing leſs than to contemn his authority; and this I did at the requeſt of honeſt merchant-men, as they ſeemed to me, whoſe names I do not know, for they were not of my acquaintance before; and I am glad thereof for their ſakes, leſt if I knew them I ſhould be compelled to utter them ſo, and their good deſire to hear godly preaching ſhould turn to their trouble; for they required me very earneſtly, and to ſay the truth, very importunately. Whether they were of that pariſh or no, I was not certain: but they ſhewed not only themſelves, but alſo many others to be very deſirous to hear me, pretending great hunger and thirſt of the word of God and ghoſtly doctrine. And upon conſideration, and to avoid all inconveniences, I put them off, and refuſed them twice or thrice, till at laſt they brought me word, that the parſon and curate were not only content, but alſo deſired me; notwithſtanding that they certified him both of my name plainly, and alſo that I had not the biſhop's ſeal to ſhew for me, but only a licenſe of the univerſity: which curate did receive me, welcomed me, and when I ſhould go into the pulpit, gave me the common benediction; ſo that I had not only been uncharitable, but alſo churliſhly uncharitable, if I ſhould have ſaid nay. Now all this ſuppoſed to be truth (as it is) I marvel greatly how my lord of London can alledge any contempt of him in me.

Firſt, He never did inhibit me in my life; and if he did inhibit his curate to receive me, what pertaineth that to me, who did neither know thereof, nor yet made any ſuit to the curate deceitfully; nor did it appear to me very likely that the curate would ſo little have regarded my lord's inhibition, which he maintaineth ſo vigilantly not knowing my lord's mind before. Therefore I conjectured with myſelf, that either the curate was of ſuch acquaintance with my lord, that he might admit whom he would; or elſe (and rather) that it was a train and a trap laid before me, to the intent that my lord himſelf, or ſome pertaining to him, was appointed to have been there, and to have taken me, if they could, in my ſermon: which conjecture hath occaſioned me ſomewhat to ſuſpect thoſe men which deſired me, though they ſpake never ſo fair and friendly, and alſo rather to go. For I preach nothing, but if it might be ſo, I would my lord himſelf might hear me every ſermon I preach. So certain I am that it is truth which I take in hand to preach. If I had, with power of my friends (the curate gainſaying and withſtanding me) preſumed to have gone into the pulpit, there had been ſomething wherefore to pretend a contempt. I preached in Kent alſo at the earneſt requeſt of a curate; yet I do not hear that his ordinary layeth any contempt to my charge, or yet doth trouble the curate,

I marvel not a little how my lord biſhop of London, having ſo large and populous a dioceſe committed to his charge, can have leiſure for preaching and teaching the word of God, opportunely and preſſingly, in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon, publicly and privately, to his own flock, in perſuading, confuting, exhorting, and admoniſhing with all mildneſs and doctrine, have leiſure (I ſay) either to trouble me, or to trouble himſelf with me, ſo poor a wretch, a ſtranger to him, and nothing pertaining to his cure, but as every man pertaineth to every man's cure, ſo intermixing and intermeddling himſelf with another man's cure, as though he had nothing to do in his own. If I would do as ſome men ſay my lord doth, gather up riches, warily and covetouſly, and yet neither preach for it in mine own cure nor elſewhere, peradventure he would deny me nothing. In very deed I did admoniſh both judges and ordinaries to uſe charitable equity in their judgments towards ſuch as be accuſed, namely, of ſuch accuſers, who be as like to hear and bewray, as others be to ſay amiſs, and to take men's words in the meaning thereof, and not to wreſt them in another ſenſe than they were ſpoken in: for all ſuch accuſers and witneſſes do falſe before God, as St. Jerome ſaith upon the 26th chapter of St. Matthew. Nor yet do I account thoſe judges well adviſed, who wittingly will give ſentence after ſuch witneſſes, much leſs thoſe who procure ſuch witneſſes againſt any man: nor do I think judges now-a-days ſo deeply confirmed in grace, or ſo impeccable, but that it may become preachers to admoniſh them

them to do well, as well as other kinds of men both great and ſmall. And this I did, occaſioned of the epiſtle which I declared, Rom. 6. wherein is this ſentence, Ye are not under the law, but under grace. Ye chriſtian men that believe in Chriſt, are not under the law. What a ſaying is this (quoth I) if it be not rightly underſtood, that is, as St. Paul did underſtand it? for the words ſound as though he would go about to occaſion chriſtian men to break law, ſeeing they be not under the law: and what if the pſeudo-apoſtles, adverſaries to St. Paul, would have ſo taken them, and accuſed St. Paul of the ſame to my lord of London? if my ſaid lord would have heard St. Paul declare his own mind of his own words, then he ſhould have eſcaped, and the falſe apoſtles put to rebuke; if he would have rigorouſly followed whatſoever was alledged and proved, and have given ſentence after a relation of the accuſers, then good St. Paul muſt have borne a faggot at Paul's Croſs, my lord of London being his judge. O, it had been a godly ſight to have ſeen St. Paul with a faggot on his back, even at Paul's Croſs, my lord of London biſhop of the ſame, ſitting under the croſs. Nay, verily I dare ſay, my lord ſhould ſooner have burned him, for St. Paul did not mean that chriſtian men might break law, and do whatſoever they would, becauſe they were not under the law: but he did mean, that chriſtian men might keep the law, and fulfil the law, if they would, becauſe they were not under the law, but under Chriſt, by whom they were divided from the tyranny of the law, and above the law, that is to ſay, able to fulfil the law, to the pleaſure of him that made the law, which they could never do of their own ſtrength, and without Chriſt: ſo that to be under the law, after St. Paul's meaning, is to be weak to ſatisfy the law; and what could St. Paul do with all, though his adverſaries would not ſo take it? But peradventure my lord would ſay, that men will not take the preacher's words otherwiſe than they mean therein. Bona verba; as though St. Paul's words were not otherwiſe taken, as it appeareth in the third chapter to the Romans, where he ſaith, Our unrighteouſneſs commendeth and maketh more excellent the righteouſneſs of God, which ſoundeth to many as though they ſhould be evil, that good ſhould come of it, and by unrighteouſneſs to make the righteouſneſs of God more excellent. So St. Paul was reported to mean; yet he did mean nothing ſo; but ſhewed the ineſtimable wiſdom of God, who can uſe our naughtineſs to the manifeſtation of his unſpeakable goodneſs; not that we ſhould do naughtily to that end and purpoſe. Now my lord will not think (I dare ſay) that St. Paul was to blame that he ſpake no more circumſpectly, more warily, or more plainly, to avoid evil offence of the people; but rather he will blame the people, for not taking better heed, and not giving more attendance to St. Paul's ſpeaking, for the better underſtanding thereof: yea, he will rather pity the people, who have been ſo long nuzled in the doctrine of the phariſees, and wallowed ſo long in the darkneſs of man's traditions, ſuperſtitiions, and trade of living, that they were unapt to receive the bright lightneſs of the truth, and wholeſome doctrine of God, uttered by St. Paul. Nor do I think my lord will require more circumſpection, or more convenience to avoid offence of errors in me, than was in St. Paul, when he did not eſcape malevolous corrections, and ſlanderous reports of them that were of perverſe judgments, who reported him to ſay whatſoever he appeared to them to ſay, or whatſoever ſeemed to them to follow of his ſaying: but what followeth? So thay report us to ſay, ſaith St. Paul, ſo they ſpeak evll of us; but ſuch whoſe damnation is juſt, ſaith he; and I think the damnation of all ſuch that report evil of preachers now-a-days, likewiſe juſt, for it is untruth now and then. Yea Chriſt himſelf was miſ-reported, and falſly accuſed, both as touching his words, and alſo as concerning the meaning of his words. Firſt, he ſaid, Deſtruite, that is to ſay, Deſtroy you; they made it Poſſum Deſtruere, that is to ſay, I can deſtroy: He ſaid, Templum hoc, This Temple; they added, Manu factum, that is to ſay, Made with hand, to bring it to a contrary ſenſe. So they both inverted his words, and alſo added unto his words to alter his ſentence: for he did mean of the temple of his body, and they wreſted it to Solomon's temple. Now I report me, whether it be a juſt fame raiſed up and diſperſed after this manner. Nay verily, for there be three manner of perſons which can make no credible information: firſt, adverſaries, enemies; ſecondly, ignorant and without judgment; thirdly, Suſurrones, that is to ſay, whiſperers, and blowers in men's ears, who will ſpue out in hudder-mudder, more than they dare avow openly. The firſt will not, the ſecond cannot, the third dare not: therefore the relation of ſuch is not credible, and therefore they can make no fame lawful, nor occaſion any impartial judge to make proceſs againſt any man; and it maketh no little matter what they be themſelves that report of any man, whether well or evil: for it is a great commendation to be evil ſpoken of, by them that be naught themſelves, and to be commended by them, is many times no ſmall reproach. God ſend us once all grace to wiſh well one to another, and to ſpeak well one of another.

Methinks it were more comely for my lord (if it were comely for me to ſay ſo), to be a preacher himſelf, having ſo great a cure as he hath, than to be a diſquieter and a troubler of preachers, and to preach nothing at all himſelf. If it would pleaſe his lordſhip to take ſo great a labour and pain at any time, as to come to preach in my little biſhopric at Weſt Kingſton, whether I were preſent or abſent myſelf, I would thank his lordſhip heartily, and think myſelf greatly bounden to him, that he of his charitable goodneſs, would go ſo far to help to diſcharge me in my cure, or elſe I were more unnatural than a beaſt unreaſonable; not yet would I diſpute, contend or demand, by what authority, or where he had authority ſo to do, as long as his preaching were fruitful, and to the edification of my pariſhioners. As for my lord, he may do as it pleaſeth his lordſhip. I pray God he do always as well as I could wiſh him ever to do. But I am ſure St. Paul ſaith in the firſt chapter to the Philippians, that in his time ſome preached Chriſt for envy of him, thinking thereby ſo to grieve him withal, and as it were to obſcure him, and to bring his authority into contempt; ſome of good will and love, thinking thereby to comfort him: notwithſtanding (ſaith he) by all manner of ways, and after all faſhions, whether it be of occaſion or of truth, as ye would ſay for truth ſake, ſo that Chriſt be preached and ſhewed, I joy and will joy. So much he regarded more the glory of Chriſt, and promotion of Chriſt's doctrine, to the edification of chriſtian ſouls, than the maintenance of his own authority, reputation, and dignity, conſidering right well (as he ſaid), that what authority ſoever he had, it was to edification, and not to deſtruction. Now I think it were no reproach to my lord, but very commendable, rather to joy with St. Paul, and be glad that Chriſt be preached, in whatever manner, yea, though it were for envy, that is to ſay, in diſdain, deſpite and contempt of his lordſhip (which thing no man well adviſed will attempt), than when the preaching cannot be proved juſtly, to demand of the preacher auſterely, as the phariſees did of Chriſt, By what authority do you theſe things, and who gave you this authority? As my authority is good enough, and as good as any my lord can give me, yet I would be glad to have his alſo, if it would pleaſe his lordſhip to be ſo good unto me. For the univerſity of Cambridge hath authority apoſtolic to admit twelve yearly, of which I am one: and the king's highneſs, God ſave his grace, hath decreed, that all admitted of univerſities ſhould preach throughout all his realm, as long as they preached well, without interruption; my lord

of

of Canterbury, my lord of Durham, with many ſuch others, ſtood by, and heard the decree, and alſo gave their conſent to the ſame. Now to contemn my lord of London's authority, were no little fault in me; ſo no leſs fault might appear in my lord of London, to contemn the king's authority and decree, yea ſo godly, ſo fruitful, ſo commendable a decree, pertaining both to the edification of chriſtian ſouls, and alſo to the regard and defence of the popiſh grace and authority apoſtolic. To have a book of the king not inhibited, is to obey the king, and to inhibit a preacher of the king's admitted, is it not to diſobey the king? Is it not one king that doth inhibit and admit, and hath he not as great authority to admit as to inhibit? He that reſiſteth the power, whether admitting or inhibiting, doth he not reſiſt the ordinance of God? We low ſubjects are bound to obey powers, and their ordinances: and are not the higheſt ſubjects alſo, who ought to give us enſample of ſuch obedience? As for my preaching itſelf, I truſt in God, my lord of London cannot juſtly blame it, nor reprove it, if it be taken with the circumſtance thereof, and as I ſpake it, or elſe it is not my preaching, but his that falſly reporteth it, as the poet Martial ſaid to one that depraved his book:

To me ('tis true) you ſay thoſe lines belong,
But they're your own, whilſt you repeat them wrong.

But now I hear ſay that my lord of London is informed, and upon the ſaid information hath informed the king, that I go about to defend Bilney, and his cauſe, againſt his ordinaries, and his judges, which I aſſure you is not ſo: for I had nothing to do with Bilney, nor yet with his judges, except his judges did him wrong; for I did nothing elſe but admoniſh all judges indifferently to do right; nor am I altogether ſo fooliſh as to defend the thing which I knew not. It might have become a preacher to ſay as I ſaid, though Bilney had never been born. I have known Bilney a great while, I think much better than ever did my lord of London: for I have been his ghoſtly father many times; and to tell you the truth, what I have thought always in him, I have known hitherto few ſuch, ſo prompt and ready to do every man good according to his power, both friend and foe, and wittingly offended no man; in ſhort, he was a very good and pious ſoul, in nothing fit for this wretched world, for the blindneſs of which he would lament and bewail as much, as any man that ever I knew: as for his ſingular learning, as well in holy ſcripture, as in all other good letters, I will not ſpeak of it. Notwithſtanding, if either now of late, or at any time, he attempted any thing contrary to the obedience which a chriſtian man doth owe either to his prince, or to his biſhop, I neither do nor will allow and approve that, neither in him, or any other man: we be all men, and liable to fall; wherefore he that ſtandeth, let him bewary he fall not. How he ordered or miſordered himſelf in judgment, I cannot tell, nor will I meddle withal; God knoweth, whoſe judgments I will not judge. But I cannot but wonder, if a man living ſo mercifully, ſo charitably, ſo patiently, ſo continently, ſo ſtudiouſly and virtuouſly, and killing his old Adam, that is to ſay, mortifying his evil affections, and blind motions of his heart ſo diligently, ſhould die an evil death, there is no more, but let him that ſtandeth beware that he fall not: for if ſuch as he ſhall die evil, what ſhall become of me, ſuch a wretch as I am? But let this go, as little to the purpoſe, and come to the point we muſt reſt upon. Either my lord of London will judge my outward man only, as it is ſaid, Man ſeeth thoſe things that are without; or elſe he will be my God, and judge mine inward man, as it is ſaid, But God ſeeth the heart. If he will have to do only with mine outward man, and meddle with mine outward converſation, how that I have ordered myſelf toward my chriſtian brethren, the king's liege people, I truſt I ſhall pleaſe and content both my Lord God, and alſo my lord of London: for I have preached and teached but according to holy ſcripture, holy fathers, and ancient interpreters of the ſame, with which I think my lord of London will be pacified: for I have done nothing elſe in my preaching, but with all diligence moved my auditors to faith and charity, to do their duty, and that which is neceſſary to be done. As for things of private devotion, mean things, and voluntary things, I have reproved the abuſe, the ſuperſtition of them, without condemnation of the things themſelves, as it becometh preachers to do: which thing, if my lord of London will do himſelf (as I wiſh to God he would), he ſhould be reported (no doubt) to condemn the uſe of ſuch things, of covetous men which have damage, and find leſs in their boxes by condemnation of the abuſe, which abuſe they ſaid rather ſhould continue ſtill, than their profit ſhould not continue (ſo thorny be their hearts). If my lord will needs coaſt and invade my inward man, will I, nill I, and break violently into my heart, I fear I ſhall diſpleaſe my lord of London (which I would not willingly do), or elſe my Lord God, which I ſhall be more loth to do: not for any infidelity, but for ignorance, for I believe as a chriſtian man ought to believe: but peradventure my lord knoweth, and will know many things certainly, which (perchance) I am ignorant in, with which ignorance, though my lord of London may if he will be diſcontent, yet I truſt my Lord God will pardon it, as long as I hurt no man withal, and ſay to him with diligent ſtudy, and daily prayer, My heart is ready, O God, my heart is ready; ſo ſtudying, and preaching, and tarrying the pleaſure and leiſure of God: and in the mean ſeaſon, Acts 8. as Apollos did, when he knew nothing of Chriſt, but the baptiſm of John, teach and preach mine, even chriſtian that, and no farther than I know to be true. There be three creeds, one in my maſs, another in my mattins, the third common to them that neither ſay maſs, nor mattins, nor yet know what they ſay when they ſay the creed: and I believe all three with all that God hath left in holy writ, for me and all others to believe; yet I am ignorant in things which I truſt hereafter to know, as I do not know things in which I have been ignorant heretofore: ever learn, and ever to be learned, to profit with learning, with ignorance not to offend. I have thought in times paſt, that the pope, Chriſt's vicar, hath been lord of all the world as Chriſt is, ſo that if he ſhould have deprived the king of his crown, or you of the lordſhip of Bromeham, it had been enough; for he could do no wrong. Now I might be hired to think otherwiſe; notwithſtanding I have both ſeen and heard ſcripture drawn to that purpoſe. I have thought in times paſt, that the pope's diſpenſations of the pluralities of benefices, and abſence from the ſame, had diſcharged conſciences before God: foraſmuch as I have heard, Lo! I am with you, and he who heareth you, bended to corroborate the ſame. Now I might be intreated to think otherwiſe, &c.

I have thought in times paſt, that the pope could have ſpoiled purgatory at his pleaſure with a word of his mouth; now learning might perſuade me otherwiſe, or elſe I would marvel why he would ſuffer ſo much money to be beſtowed that way, which is ſo needful to be beſtowed otherwiſe, and to deprive us of ſo many patrons in heaven as he might deliver out of purgatory, &c. I have thought in times paſt, that if I had been a friar, and in a cowl, I could not have been damned, nor afraid of death, and by occaſion of the ſame I have been minded many times to have been a friar, namely, when I was ſore, ſick, and diſeaſed: now I abhor my ſuperſtitious fooliſhneſs, &c. I have thought in times paſt, that divers images of ſaints could have helped me, and done me much good, and delivered me of my diſeaſes: now I know that one can help as much as another. And it pitieth my heart that my lord, and ſuch as my lord is, can ſuffer the people to be ſo craftily deceived. It were too long to tell you what blindneſs I have been in, and how

how long it was ere I could forſake ſuch folly, it was ſo incorporated in me: but by continual prayer, continual ſtudy of ſcripture, and oft communing with men of more right judgment, God hath delivered me, &c. Yea, men think my lord himſelf hath thought in times paſt, that by God's law a man might marry his brother's wife, which now both dare, think, and ſay contrary: and yet this his boldneſs might have chanced, in pope Julius's days, to ſtand him either in a fire, or elſe in a faggot. Which thing deeply conſidered and pondered by my lord, might ſomething ſtir him to charitable equity, and to be ſomething remiſs toward men, which labour to do good as their power ſerveth with knowledge, and do hurt to no man with their ignorance: for there is no greater diſtance than between God's law, and not God's law.

And finally as ye ſay, the matter is weighty, and ought ſubſtantially to be looked upon, even as weighty as my life is worth; but how to look ſubſtantially upon it otherwiſe I know not, than to pray my Lord God day and night, that as he hath emboldened me to preach his truth, ſo he will ſtrengthen me to ſuffer for it, to the edification of them which have taken by the working of him fruit thereby; and even ſo I deſire you, and all others, that favour me for his ſake, likewiſe to pray: for it is not I (without his mighty helping hand), that can abide that brunt; but I have truſt that God will help me in time of need, which if I had not, the ocean ſea, I think, ſhould have divided my lord of London and me by this day. For it is a rare thing for a preacher, to have favour at his hand who is no preacher himſelf, and yet ought to be. I pray God, that he, and I, may both diſcharge ourſelves, he in his great cure, and I in my little one, to God's pleaſure, and ſafety of our ſouls, Amen. I pray you pardon me, that I write no more diſtinctly, nor more truly, for my head is out of frame, that it would be too painful for me to write it again; and if I be not prevented, I intend to make merry with my pariſhioners this Chriſtmas, for all the ſorrow, leſt perchance I never return to them again: and I have heard ſay, that a doe is as good in winter, as a buck in ſummer.

A Letter of Sir Edward Baynton, Knight, anſwering to Mr. Latimer.

MAſter Latimer, after hearty recommendations; I have communicated the effect of your letters to divers of my friends, ſuch as for chriſtian charity (as they ſay), rather deſire in you a reformation, either in your opinion (if it ſwerve from the truth), or at leaſt in your manner and behaviour, inaſmuch as it giveth occaſion of ſlander and trouble, to the hindrance of your good purpoſes, than any other inconvenience to your perſon or good name. And foraſmuch as your ſaid letter miſliketh them in ſome part, and that I have ſuch confidence in your chriſtian breaſt, as in my judgment ye will conformably and gladly both hear, that may be reformed in you, and alſo (as it is worthy), ſo acknowledge and confeſs the ſame: I have therefore deſired them, to take the pains to note their minds in this letter which I ſend to you, as the ſum of their ſayings, and ſent from me, your aſſured friend and favourer, in that that is the very truth of God's word: wherein nevertheleſs, as I truſt, yourſelf will temper your own judgment, and in a ſoberneſs affirm no truth of yourſelf, which ſhould divide the unity of the congregation in Chriſt; and the received truth agreed upon by holy fathers of the church, conſonant to the ſcripture of God, even ſo, whatſoever ye will do therein (as I think, ye will not do otherwiſe than ye ſhould do), I being unlearned, and not of the knowledge to give ſentence in this altercation and contention, muſt rather of good congruence ſhew myſelf in that you diſagree with them, readier to follow their doctrine in truth, than yours, unleſs it may pleaſe Almighty God, to inſpire and confirm the hearts of ſuch people to teſtify the ſame in ſome honeſt number, as ought to induce me to give credence unto them.

Only God knoweth the certain truth, which is communicated to us, as our capacity may comprehend it by faith, but that is through a glaſs darkly. And there have been thoſe who have had a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge. Among whom I repute not you, but to this purpoſe I write it, that to call this or that truth, it requireth a deep and profound knowledge, conſidering that to me unlearned, that I take for truth may be otherwiſe, not having a ſenſe exerciſed enough, as St. Paul ſaith, to diſcern good and evil: and it is ſhewed me, that an opinion or manner of teaching, which cauſeth diſſention in a chriſtian congregation, is not of God, by the doctrine of St. John in his epiſtle, where he ſaith, All who confeſs that Chriſt is come in the fleſh, &c. are of God. And like as the word of God hath always cauſed diſſention among men unchriſtened, whereupon hath enſued and followed martyrdom to the preacher, ſo in Chriſt's congregation, among them that profeſs Chriſt's name, in one Lord, one baptiſm, and one faith, they that preach and ſtir rather contention than charity, though they can defend their ſaying, yet their teaching is not to be taken as of God, in that it breaketh the chain of chriſtian charity, and maketh diviſion in the people, congregate and called by God into an unity of faith and baptiſm. But for this point I would pray to God, that not only in the truth may be agreement, but alſo ſuch ſoberneſs and uniform behaviour uſed in teaching and preaching, as men may wholly expreſs (as they may) the charity of God, tending only to the union and love of us all, to the profit and ſalvation of our ſouls.

Mr. Latimer's Anſwer to Sir Edward Baynton's Letter.

RIGHT worſhipful Sir, and my ſingular good maſter, &c. Whereas you have communicated my laſt letters to ſome of your friends, which rather deſire this or that in me, &c. what I think therein I will not now ſay, not for that there could be any peril or danger in the ſaid letters (well taken) as far as I can judge, but for that they were raſhly and unadviſedly ſcribbled, as ye might well know both by my excuſe, and both by themſelves alſo, though no excuſe had been made. And beſides that, ye know right well, that where the bee gathereth honey, even there the ſpinner gathered venom, not for any diverſity of the flower, but for different natures in them that ſuck the flower: as in times paſt, and in the beginning, the very truth, and one thing in itſelf, was to ſome an offence, to ſome fooliſhneſs, to others otherwiſe diſpoſed, the wiſdom of God. Such difference there was in the hearers thereof.

But this notwithſtanding, there is no more but either my writing is good or bad. If it be good, the communicating thereof to your friends cannot be hurtful to me; if it be otherwiſe, why ſhould you not communicate it to them, who both could and would inſtruct you in the truth, and reform my error? Let this paſs, I will not contend: had I knew, ever cometh out of ſeaſon. Truly I were not well adviſed if I would not either be glad of your inſtruction, or yet refuſe mine own reformation; but yet it is good for a man to look ere he leap, and God forbid that ye ſhould be addict and ſworn to me, ſo wretched a fool, that you ſhould not rather follow the doctrine of your friends in truth, ſo great learned men as they appear to be, than the opinions of me, having never ſo chriſtian a breaſt.

Wherefore do as you will: for as I would not if I could, ſo I cannot if I would, be noiſome unto you; but yet I ſay, I would my letters had been written, if for no other cauſe, at leaſtway inaſmuch as they cauſe me to more writing, an occupation nothing meet for my mad head.

head. And as concerning points which in my foreſaid letters your friends miſlike, I have little leiſure now to make an anſwer thereto, for the great buſineſs I have in my little cure: I know not what other men have in their great cures, ſeeing that I am alone without any prieſt to ſerve my cure, without any ſcholar to read unto me, without any book neceſſary to be looked upon, without learned men to come and counſel withal. All which things others have at hand abundantly, but ſomething muſt be done, howſoever it be. I pray you to take it in good worth as long as I temper my own judgment, affirming nothing with prejudice of better. Firſt, ye miſlike that I ſay I am ſure that I preach the truth, ſaying, in reproof of the ſame, that God knoweth certain truth. Indeed God alone knoweth all certain truth, and God alone knoweth it as of himſelf, and none knoweth certain truth but God, and thoſe who be taught of God, as ſaith St. Paul, for God hath made it plain to them: and Chriſt himſelf, They ſhall all be taught of God: and your friends deny not but that certain truth is communicated to us, as our capacity may comprehend it by faith, which if it be truth, as it is, then there ought no more to be required of any man, but according to his capacity; now certain it is, that every man hath not like capacity, &c.

But as to my preſumption and arrogancy; either I am certain or uncertain that it is truth that I preach. If it be truth, why may not I ſay ſo, to encourage my hearers to receive the ſame more ardently, and enſue it more ſtudiouſly? If it be uncertain, why dare I be ſo bold to preach it? And if your friends, in whom you truſt ſo greatly, be preachers themſelves, after their ſermon, I pray you aſk them, whether they be certain and ſure that they have taught you the truth or no, and ſend me word what they ſay, that I may learn to ſpeak after them? If they ſay they be ſure, ye know what followeth? if they ſay they be unſure, when ſhall you be ſure, that have ſo doubtful and unſure teachers? And you yourſelf, whether are you certain or uncertain that Chriſt is your Saviour, and ſo forth, of other articles that ye be bound to believe? or whether be ye ſure or unſure, that civil ordinances be the good works of God, and that you do God ſervice in doing of them, if ye do them for a good intent? If ye be uncertain, take heed he be your ſure friend that heareth you ſay ſo, and then with what conſcience do ye doubt, ſeeing whatſoever is not of faith is ſin? But contrary ſay you, God alone knoweth certain truth, and ye have it but through a glaſs darkly; and there have been who have a zeal of God; but not according to knowledge: and to call this or that truth, it requireth a deep knowledge, conſidering, that to you unlearned, that you take for truth may be otherwiſe, not having a ſenſe exerciſed to diſcern good and evil, as ye reaſon againſt me, and ſo you do beſt to know ſurely nothing for truth at all, but to wander meekly here and there, with every wind of doctrine, &c. Our knowledge here, you ſay, is but through a glaſs darkly: what then? Ergo, it is not certain and ſure.

I deny your argument by your leave; yea, if it be by faith, as ye ſay, it is much ſure, becauſe the certainty of faith is the ſureſt certainty, as Duns and other ſchool-doctors ſay: That there is a great diſagreement between certain knowledge and clear knowledge; for that may be of things abſent that appear not, this requireth the preſence of the object, I mean of the thing known; ſo that I certainly and ſurely know the thing which I perfectly believe, though I do not clearly and evidently know it. I know your ſchool-ſubtilties as well as you, which diſpute as though enigmatical knowledge, that is to ſay, dark and obſcure knowledge, might not be certain and ſure knowledge, becauſe it is not clear, manifeſt, and evident knowledge; and yet there have been (ſay they) which they had a zeal, but not after knowledge. True it is, there have been ſuch, and yet be too many to the great hindrance of Chriſt's glory, which nothing doth more obſcure, than an hot zeal accompanied with great authority without right judgment. There have been alſo, which have had knowledge without any zeal of God, who holding the verity of God in unrighteouſneſs, ſhall be beaten with many ſtripes, while they, knowing the will of God, do nothing thereafter. I mean not among Turks and Saracens that be unchriſtened, but of them that be chriſtened. And there have been alſo, that have loſt the ſpiritual knowledge of God's word which they had before, becauſe they have not followed after it, nor promoted the ſame, but rather with their mother wits have impugned the wiſdom of the the Father, and hindered the knowledge thereof, which therefore hath been taken away from them; that Chriſt may be juſtified in his ſayings, and overcome when he is judged, threatening, Matt. 13. To him that hath not, that alſo which he hath, that is, that which he ſeemeth to have, ſhall be taken from him: when as to abuſe that which a man hath, or not to uſe it well, is as not to have it. And alſo ſeeing it is true, that God's wiſdom will not dwell in a body ſubject to ſin, albeit he abound in carnal wiſdom too much: yet the ſame carnal and philoſophical underſtanding of God's ſcriptures, is not the wiſdom of God which is hid from the wiſe, and is revealed to little ones. And if to call this or that truth, requireth a deep and profound knowledge, then either every man hath a deep and profound knowledge, or elſe no man can call this or that truth: and it behoveth every preacher to have ſo deep and profound knowledge, that he may call this or that truth, which this or that he taketh in hand to preach for the truth; and yet he may be ignorant and uncertain in many things, both this and that, As Apollos was: but which things, whether this or that, he will not attempt to preach for the truth. And as for myſelf, I truſt in God I may have my ſenſes exerciſed to diſcern good and evil in thoſe things, which, without deep and profound knowledge in many things, I preach not; yea, there be many things in ſcripture in which I cannot certainly diſcern good and evil, I mean true and falſe, not with all the excerciſe that I have in ſcripture, nor yet with the help of all the interpreters that I have, to content myſelf and others in all ſcruples that may ariſe: but in ſuch I am wont to wade no further into the ſtream, than that I may either go over, or elſe return back again, ever having reſpect, not to the oſtentation of my little wit, but to the edification of them that hear me, as far forth as I can, neither paſſing mine own not yet their capacity.

And ſuch manner of arguments might well ſerve the devil againſt cowards, to occaſion them to wander and waver in the faith, and to be uncertain in things in which they ought to be certain: or elſe it may appear to make and ſerve againſt ſuch preachers which will define great ſubtilties and high matters in the pulpit, which no man can be certain and ſure of by God's word to be truth, unleſs a man had a ſuperlative ſenſe to diſcern good and evil; as whether, if Adam had not ſinned, we ſhould have had ſtock-fiſh out of Iſland? how many larks for a penny if every ſtar in the element were a flickering hobby? how many years a man ſhall lie in purgatory for one ſin, if he buy not plenty of the oil that runneth over our lamps to ſlake the ſin withal, and ſo forget hell which cannot be ſlaked, to provide for purgatory?

Such argumentation I ſay) might appear to make well againſt ſuch preachers, not againſt me, which ſimply and plainly utter true faith and the fruits of the ſame, which be the good works of God, which he hath prepared for us to walk in, every man to do the thing that pertaineth to his office and duty, in his degree and calling, as the word appointeth; which thing a man may do with ſoberneſs, having a ſenſe but indifferently exerciſed to diſcern good and evil. For it is but fooliſh humility, willingly to continue always an infant in Chriſt and in infirmity. In reproof of which it was ſaid, Ye

have need of milk and not of ſtrong meat. For St. Paul ſaith not, Be ye humble, that ye be not deceived. For though he would not that we ſhould think arrogantly of ourſelves, and above that that it becometh us to think of ourſelves, but ſo to think of ourſelves that we may be ſober and modeſt; yet he biddeth us ſo to think of ourſelves, As God hath diſtributed to every one the meaſure of faith. For he that may not with meekneſs think in himſelf what God hath done for him, and of himſelf as God hath done for him, how ſhall he, or when he ſhall give due thanks to God for his gifts? And if our friends will not allow the ſame, I pray you enquire of them whether they may with ſobriety and modeſty, be ſure they preach to you the truth, and whether we may, with ſobriety and modeſty, follow St. Paul's advice, where he ſaith unto us all, Be not children in underſtanding, but in maliciouſneſs be ye infants. God give us all grace to keep the mean, and to think of ourſelves neither too high nor too low, but ſo that we may reſtore unto him, who hath ſent abroad his gifts again, with good uſe of the ſame, ſo that we do our part with the ſame, to the glory of God, Amen.

For my life, I truſt in God that I neither (by God's grace) ſhall, neither in ſoberneſs, nor yet in drunkenneſs, affirm any truth of myſelf, therewith intending to divide that unity of the congregation of Chriſt, and the received truth agreed upon by the holy fathers of the church, conſonant to the ſcripture of God, though it be ſhewed you never ſo often, that an opinion or manner of teaching, which cauſeth diſſention in a chriſtian congregation is, not of God, by the doctrine of St. John in his epiſtle, where he ſaith, Every one that confeſſeth Chriſt in the fleſh, is of God. Firſt, Not of every thing whereupon followeth diſſention, cauſeth diſſention, as I would that they ſhewed you, that would alſo ſhew you, whether this opinion, that a man may not marry his brother's wife, be of God or of men? if it be of men, then as Gamaliel ſaid, diſſolve it; if it be of God, as I think it is, and perchance your friends alſo, who can diſſolve it, but ſhall ſeem to repugn againſt God? And yet there be many, not heathens, but in Chriſtendom, that diſſent from the ſame, which could bear full evil to hear ſaid unto them, You are of the devil's ſide. So that ſuch an opinion might ſeem to ſome to make a diſſention in a chriſtian congregation, ſaving that they may ſay, perchance with more liberty than others, that an occaſion is ſometimes taken and not given, which with their favour I might abuſe for my defence, ſaving that it is not granted unto all in theſe worſt of times.

The Galatians having for preachers and teachers the falſe apoſtles, by whoſe teaching they were degenerate from the ſweet liberty of the goſpel into the ſour bonds of ceremonies, thought themſelves, peradventure a chriſtian congregation, when St. Paul did write his epiſtle unto them, and were in a quiet trade under the dominion of maſterly curates, ſo that the falſe apoſtles might have objected to St. Paul, that his apoſtleſhip was not of God, foraſmuch as there was diſſention in a chriſtian congregation by occaſion thereof, while ſome would renew their opinions by occaſion of the epiſtle, ſome would judge, as they were wont to do, and follow their great lords and maſters, the falſe apoſtles, which were not heathen and unchriſtened, but chriſtened, and high prelates of the profeſſors of Chriſt. For your friends I know right well what Eraſmus hath ſaid in an epiſtle ſet before the paraphraſe to the Corinthians, which Eraſmus hath cauſed no ſmall diſſention with his pen in a chriſtian congregation, inaſmuch as many have diſſented from him, hot only in cloiſters (men more than chriſtened men) of high perfection, but alſo at Paul's Croſs, and St. Mary Spittle, beſides many that with no ſmall zeal have written againſt him, but not without anſwer.

And I would fain learn of your friends, whether that St. Jerome's writing were of God, which cauſed diſſention in a chriſtian congregation, as it appeareth by his own words in the prologue before the canonical epiſtles, which be theſe: And whilſt that you, Euſtochium, virgin of Chriſt, enquire ſo earneſtly of me the truth of the ſcripture, you ſeem in ſome meaſure to put off my old age corroded with the teeth and bites of the envious, who ſtyle me a falſifier and corrupter of the ſcriptures; but I am not affrightened at their envy in ſuch a work, nor will deny the truth of the ſcriptures to thoſe that require it. I pray you what were they that called St. Jerome a falſifier and corrupter of ſcripture, and for envy would have bitten him with their teeth; unchriſtian or chriſtian? What had the unchriſtian to do with chriſtian doctrine? They were worſhipful fathers of a chriſtian congregation, men of much hotter ſtomachs than right judgments, of a greater authority than good charity. But St. Jerome would not ceaſe to do good for the evil ſpeaking of them that were naught, giving in that an enſample to us of the ſame; and if this diſſention were in St. Jerome's time, what may be in our time? From ill to worſe.

And I pray you what mean your friends by a chriſtian congregation? All thoſe (think ye) that have been baptized? But many of thoſe be in a worſe condition, and ſhall have greater damnation than many unbaptized. For it is not enough to a chriſtian congregation that is of God, to have been baptized: but it is to be conſidered what we promiſe when we be baptized, to renounce Satan, his works, his pomps. Which thing if we buſy not ourſelves to do, let us not crack that we profeſs Chriſt's name in a chriſtian congregation in one baptiſm.

And where they add, in one Lord: I read in Matt. 7. Not every one that ſaith Lord, Lord, &c. And in Luke, the Lord himſelf complaineth and rebuketh ſuch profeſſors and confeſſors, ſaying to them, Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not that I bid you? But I would your friends would take the pains to read over St. Chryſoſtom upon Matt. Hom. 49. cap. 24. to learn to know a chriſtian congregation, if it will pleaſe them to learn of him. And where they add, in one faith, St. James ſaith boldly, Shew me thy faith by thy works. And St. Jerome, If we believe, we ſhew the truth in working. And the ſcripture ſaith, He that believeth God attendeth to his commandments: And the devils do believe to their little comfort. I pray God to ſave you and your friends from that believing and congregation, and from that faithful company.

Therefore all this toucheth not them that be unbaptized, but them that be baptized, and anſwer not to their baptiſm. For St. Jerome ſheweth how true preachers ſhould order themſelves, when evil prieſts and falſe preachers, and the people that be by them deceived, ſhould be angry with them for preaching the truth, exhorting them to ſuffer death for the ſame, of the evil prieſts and falſe preachers, and the people deceived of them, which evil prieſts and falſe preachers, with the people deceived, be baptized as well as others. And I fear that St. Jerome might appear to ſome chriſtian congregation, as they will be called, to write ſeditiouſly, to divide the unity of a great honeſt number confeſſing Chriſt, in one baptiſm, one Lord, one faith, ſaying, The people which before were brought aſleep by their maſters, muſt go up to the mountains, not ſuch mountains which ſmoke when they are touched, but to the mountains of the Old and New Teſtament, the prophets, apoſtles, and evangeliſts. And when thou art occupied with reading in theſe mountains, if then thou found no inſtructions (for the harveſt is great, and the workman few) yet ſhall the diligent ſtudy of the people be fleeing to the mountains, and the ſlothfulneſs of the maſters ſhall be rebuked.

I do marvel why our chriſtian congregations be ſo greatly grieved that lay-people would read ſcripture, ſeeing that St. Jerome alloweth and approveth of the ſame, which compareth not here the unchriſtianed to the chriſtianed. but the lay-people chriſtianed to their

curates chriſtianed, ſunder which they have been rocked and locked aſleep in a ſubtle trade a great while full ſoundly, though now of late they have been awaked, but to their pain, at leaſt wiſe to the pain of thoſe that awakened them with the word of God; and it is properly ſaid of St. Jerome to call them maſters and not ſervants, meaning that ſervants teach not their own doctrine, but the doctrine of their maſter Chriſt, to his glory. Maſters teach not Chriſt's doctrine, but their own, to their own glory; which maſterly curates cannot be quiet 'till they have brought the people aſleep again: but Chriſt the very true maſter ſaith, Watch and pray, leſt ye enter into temptation. My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither my ways your ways, ſaith the Lord: and there have been thoſe who have gone about counſels, which they could not eſtabliſh. I pray God give our people grace ſo to awake, that their works may be approved, and our maſters ſo to ſleep, that their idleneſs do not rebuke them. For who is ſo blind as not to ſee how far our chriſtian congregation doth gainſay St. Jerome, and ſpeaketh after another manner? God amend what is amiſs? for, I underſtand we be ſomething wide.

But now your friends have learned of St. John, That every one that confeſſeth Jeſus Chriſt in the fleſh, is of God: and I have learned of St. Paul, that there have been, not among the heathen, but among the chriſtians, which confeſs Chriſt with their mouth, and deny him with their acts: ſo that St. Paul ſhould appear to expound St. John, ſaying, that I will not affirm any thing as of myſelf, but leave it to your friends to ſhew you, whether they who in deeds deny Chriſt, are by the bare confeſſion of the mouth of God: for your friends know well enough by the ſame St. John, He who is of God ſinneth not: and there both have been, and be now too many, who with mouth only confeſs Chriſt to be come in the fleſh; but will not effectually hear the word of God by conſenting to the ſame, notwithſtanding that St. John ſaith, He who is of God heareth God's word: ye hear not becauſe ye are not of God: and many ſhall hear, I never knew you, which ſhall not only be chriſtened, but alſo ſhall prophecy, and do puiſſant things in the name of Chriſt: and St. Paul ſaid, there would come ravening wolves who will not ſpare the flock, meaning it of them who ſhould with their lips confeſs Chriſt in the fleſh, and uſurp by ſucceſſion the office, which Chriſt calleth falſe prophets, and biddeth us beware of them, ſaying, They ſhall come in ſheep's cloathing, and yet they may wear both ſattin, ſilk, and velvet, called afterwards naughty ſervants, not feeding, but ſmiting their fellow-ſervants, eating and drinking with the drunken, who ſhall have their portion with hypocrites. They are called ſervants, I ſuppoſe, becauſe they confeſs Chriſt in the fleſh: and naughty they are called becauſe they deny him in their deeds, not giving meat in due ſeaſon, and exerciſing maſterſhip over the flock. And yet your friends reaſon as though there could none bark and bite at true preachers, but they that be unchriſtened, notwithſtanding that St. Auguſtine, upon the ſame epiſtle of St. John, calleth ſuch confeſſors of Chriſt, Antichriſts, who confeſs him in words and in deeds deny him; a ſtrange name for a chriſtian congregation: And though St. Auguſtine could defend his ſaying, yet his ſaying might appear not to be of God, to ſome men's judgment, in that it breaketh the chain of Chriſt's charity, ſo to cauſe men to hate Antichriſts, according to the doctrine of St. Paul, Hate that is evil; and ſo make diviſion, not between chriſtened and unchriſtened, but between chriſtians and antichriſtians, when neither tongue nor pen can divide the antichriſtian from their blind folly. And I wiſh you would cauſe your friends to read over St. Auguſtine upon the epiſtle of St. John, and tell you the meaning thereof, if they think it expedient for you to know it, as I remember it is Tractatu 3. but I am not ſure nor certain of that, becauſe I did not ſee it ſince I was at Cambridge; and here I have not St. Auguſtine's works to look for it, but well I know that there he teacheth us to know the chriſtians from the antichriſtians, which both he chriſtened, and both confeſs Jeſus to be Chriſt, if they be aſked the queſtion: and yet the one part denieth it in very deed. But to know the difference, we muſt not ſtand upon our talk, but attend to our doings and converſation of life, whether we not only do not put our endeavour thereto, but alſo perſuade ourſelves as though it were not neceſſary for us to accompliſh ſuch things, &c. but that it is enough to bear rule and authority over them, and to beſtow ourſelves wholly upon ſecular matters, pleaſures, and pomp of this world. And yet he will appear, at the leaſt to be of God alone, but they far otherwiſe confeſs Chriſt, who are approved of God by their confeſſion.

And yet as long as they miniſter the word of God, or his ſacraments, or any thing that God hath ordained to the ſalvation of mankind, wherewith God hath promiſed to be preſent, to work with the miniſtration of the ſame to the end of the world, they be to be heard, to be obeyed, to be honoured for God's ordinance ſake, which is effectual and fruitful, whatſoever the miniſter be, though he be a devil, and neither church nor member of the ſame, as Origen ſaith, and Chryſoſtom; ſo that it is not all one to honour them and truſt in them, St. Jerome ſaith: but there is required a judgment to diſcern when they miniſter God's word and ordinance of the ſame, and their own, leſt peradventure we take chalk for cheeſe, which will edge our teeth, and hinder digeſtion. For as it is commonly ſaid, The blind eateth many a fly, as they did which were perſuaded by the high-prieſts to aſk Barabbas and to crucify Jeſus: and ye know that to follow the blind guides, is to come into the pit with the ſame. And will you know, ſaith Auguſtine, how pertly they reſiſt Chriſt, which men begin to blame them for their miſ-living, and intolerable ſecularity and negligence? They dare not for ſhame blaſpheme Chriſt himſelf, but they will blaſpheme the miniſters and preachers by whom they be blamed.

Therefore whereas ye will pray for agreement both in the truth, and in uttering of the truth, when ſhall that be as long as we will not hear the truth, but diſquiet with crafty conveyance the preachers of the truth, becauſe they reprove our wickedneſs with the truth? And, to ſay the truth, better it were to have a deformity in preaching, ſo that ſome would preach the truth of God, and that which is to be preached without cauponation and adulteration of the word, (as Lyranus ſaith in his time few did, what they do now-a-days I refer to them that can judge) than to have ſuch an uniformity, that the ſilly people ſhould be thereby occaſioned to continue ſtill in their lamentable ignorance, corrupt judgment, ſuperſtition and idolatry, and eſteem things as they do all, prepoſterouſly, doing that they need not to do, and leaving undone that they ought to do, for lack of knowing what is to be done, and ſo ſhew their love to God, not as God commandeth (who ſaith, If ye love me, keep my commandments. And again, He that knoweth my precepts, and doth them, he loveth me) but as they command, Which ſeek their own things, not Chriſt's: as though no tythe mint were more than judgment, faith and mercy.

And what is to live in ſtate of curates, but that he taught which ſaid, Peter, loveſt thou me? feed, feed, feed; which is now ſet aſide, as though to love, were to do nothing elſe but to wear rings, mitres and rochets, &c. And when they err in right living, how can the people but err in loving, and all of the new faſhion, to his diſhonour that ſuffered his paſſion, and taught the true kind of loving, which is now turned to piping, playing, and curious ſinging, which will not be reformed (I believe) unleſs by the ſtrong hand of God. And I have both St. Auguſtine and St. Thomas, with divers others, that [law] is taken not only for ceremonies, but alſo for morals, where it is ſaid, Ye are not under the law, though your friends reprove the ſame. But

they can make no diviſion in a chriſtian congregation. And whereas both they and you would have a ſoberneſs in our preaching, I pray God ſend it unto us, whatſoever ye mean by it; for I ſee well whoſoever will be happy, and buſy with, Woe to you, he ſhall ſhortly after come before you.

And where your friends think that I made a lye, when I ſaid, that I have thought in times paſt that the pope had been lord of the world, though your friends be much better learned than I, yet I am ſure that they know not what either I think or have thought better than I, according to that, No man knoweth the things of a man, &c. as though better men than I have not thought ſo, as Bonifacius Octavus (as I remember) the great learned man John of the Burnt Tower, Preſbyter Cardinalis in his book where he proveth the pope to be above the council general and ſpecial; and where he ſaith that the pope is king of kings, and lord of lords, and that he is the true lord of the whole world by good right, albeit in fact he be not ſo; and that Conſtantine did but reſtore his own unto him when he gave unto him Rome; ſo that as St. John ſaith Chriſt did, He came unto his own, and his own received him not; and yet I hear not that any of our chriſtian congregations have reclaimed againſt him, until now of late diſſention began. Who be your friends I cannot tell; but I wiſh you would deſire them to be my good maſters, and if they will do me no good, at leaſt do me no harm; and though they can do you more good than I, yet I am ſure I would be as loth to hurt you as they, either with mine opinions, manner of preaching, or writing.

And as for the pope's high dominion over all, there is one Raphael Maruphus in London, an Italian, and in times paſt a merchant of diſpenſations, which I ſuppoſe, would die in the quarrel, God's true knight and true martyr. As touching purgatory, and worſhipping of ſaints, I ſhewed to you my mind before my ordinary: and yet I marvelled ſomething, that after private communication had with him, ye would (as it were) adjure me to open my mind before him, not giving me warning before, ſaving I cannot interpret your evil doings towards me; and yet neither mine ordinary nor you diſallowed the thing that I ſaid, and I looked not to eſcape better than Dr. Crome: but when I have opened my mind never ſo much, yet I ſhall be reported to deny my preaching, by them that I have belyed my preaching, as he was: I ſhall have need of great patience to bear the falſe report of the malignant church.

Sir, I have had more buſineſs in my little cure, ſince I ſpake with you, what with ſick folks, and what with matrimonies, than I have had ſince I came to it, or than I would have thought a man ſhould have in a great cure. I wonder how men can go quietly to bed, who have great and many cures, and yet peradventure are in none of them all. But I pray you to tell none of your friends that I ſpake ſo fooliſhly, leſt I make a diſſention in a chriſtian congregation, and divide a ſweet and peaceable union, or as many as may reſt with this in ſuch an age. Sir, I had juſt made an end of this ſcribling, and was beginning to tranſcribe it more correctly, but there came a man of my lord of Farley's, with a citation to appear before my lord of London in haſte, to be puniſhed for ſuch exceſſes as I committed at my laſt being there, ſo that I could not perform my purpoſe; I doubt whether ye can read it as it is. If ye can, well be it; if not, I pray you ſend it me again, and that you ſo do, whether you can read it or not. Jeſus' mercy, what a world is this, that I ſhould be put to ſo great labour and pains, beſides great charges, above my power, for preaching of a poor ſimple ſermon! But I think our Saviour Chriſt ſaid true, I muſt needs ſuffer and ſo enter; ſo dangerous a thing it is to live virtuouſly with Chriſt, yea, in a chriſtian congregation. God make us all chriſtians, after the right faſhion, Amen.

A public and authentic Inſtrument of the Biſhops, for aboliſhing, and inhibiting of the Scripture, and divers other Books to be read in Engliſh, in the Time of King Henry the Eighth, 1531.

IN the name of God, Amen. Be it known to all and ſingular true and faithful people, to whom theſe preſent letters teſtimonial, or this preſent public and authentic inſtrument ſhall come, or ſhall ſee, read, hear, or underſtand the ſame, and whom this underwritten ſhall or may teach, or appertain in any manner of wiſe in time to come, William, by the ſufferance of Almighty God, archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of all the realm of England, ſendeth greeting in our Lord God everlaſting. We ſignify unto you all, and you well know by theſe preſents, that where the king our ſovereign lord, hearing of many books in the Engliſh tongue, containing many deteſtable errors, and damnable opinions, printed in parts beyond the ſeas, to be brought into divers towns, and ſundry parts of this his realm of England, and ſown abroad in the ſame, to the great decay of our faith catholic, and perilous corruption of his people, unleſs ſpeedy remedy were briefly provided, his highneſs willing evermore to employ all his ſtudy and mind in the high degree which Almighty God hath called him unto, to the wealth of his ſubjects, that they might not only live in tranquillity and peace, but alſo to be kept pure and clean from all contagion and wrong opinions in Chriſt's religion; conſidering alſo that he being defender of the faith, would be very loth to ſuffer ſuch evil ſeed ſown amongſt his people, and ſo take root that it might overgrow the corn of the catholic doctrine, before ſprung in the ſouls of his ſubjects: for the repelling of ſuch books, calling unto him of his great goodneſs, and gracious diſpoſition, not only certain of the chief prelates and clerks of his realm, but alſo of each univerſity a certain number of the learned men of them, propoſed ſuch of the books, as his chief grace had ready, therefore unto them to be read; requiring them to hear in that behalf their advice and judgment of them: who both by great diligence and mature deliberation, peruſing over the ſaid books, found in them many errors and hereſies, both deteſtable and damnable, being of ſuch a ſort, that they were ſoon like to corrupt a great part of his people (if they might be ſuffered to remain in their hands any time) gathering alſo out of them many great errors, and peſtilent hereſies, and noting them in writing, to the intent to ſhew for what cauſe they reputed the ſaid books damnable, of which hereafter out of each book gathered, many do enſue. Albeit many more there be in the ſaid books, which books totally do ſwarm full of hereſies, and deteſtable opinions.

Hereſies and Errors contained in the Book called, The Parable of the wicked Mammon.

SAINTS in heaven cannot help us thither.

To build a church in honour of our lady, or any other ſaint, is in vain, they cannot help thee, they be not thy friends.

To bid the poor man pray for me, is only to remember him to do his duty, not that I have any truſt in his prayer.

Churches are for preaching only, and not as they be uſed now.

To worſhip God otherwiſe, than to believe that he is juſt and true in his promiſes, is to make God an idol.

Hereſies

Hereſies and Errors contained in the Book called, The Obedience of a Chriſtian Man.

THAT we are able to make ſatisfaction to our neighbour, but not to God.

That children neither ought nor can contract matrimony without the conſent of their parents.

Paul was of higher authority than Peter.

Saints be ſaved, not by their merits, but only by the merits of Chriſt.

Errors, Blaſphemies and Hereſies, noted in the Book of the Revelation of Antichriſt, and the Epiſtle going before.

TO bind a man perpetually to any vow of religion, is without doubt an error.

To feign the conſtitutions of religion are good becauſe holy men did ordain them, as Auguſtine, Benedict, Francis, Dominick, and ſuch others, that is to leave the faith: and to follow ſuch examples of fathers in ſome things, that is, in theſe things, is erring.

If they would make all the obſervations of the ceremonies, as Lent, faſting, holy-days, confeſſion, matrimony, maſs, matins, reliques, &c. free and indifferent, he ſhould not be Antichriſt, but now becauſe he commandeth it in the name of Chriſt, he doth utterly corrupt the church, ſuppreſs the faith, and advance ſin.

The Errors and Hereſies contained in the Book called, The Sum of the Scripture.

WE deſerve nothing of God.

We deſerve not everlaſting life by our good works: for God hath promiſed it unto us before that we began to do good.

We muſt love death, and more deſire to die than to fear death.

Thou ſhalt not count at night how much money thou haſt gained.

Thou ſhalt not vex or grieve, by juſtice or otherwiſe, the poor that oweth unto thee; for thou mayſt not do it without ſin.

He that is rich and liveth of his rents, may not uſe to over-ſpend his goods as he will, but thy goods belong as well unto the poor as to thee.

God hath not given riches to rich men for to boaſt and brag therewith; nor to make great chear, neither to make themſelves lords, but to the intent that they ſhould be ſervants unto all the world.

Out of the Book of Beggars.

THERE be many men of great literature and judgment, that for the love they have unto the church, and unto the commonwealth, have not feared to put themſelves into the greateſt infamy that may be in the objection of all the world, yea in the peril of death, to declare their opinion in this matter, which is that there is no purgatory; but it is a thing invented by the covetouſneſs of the ſpirituality, only to tranſlate all kingdoms from other princes unto them; and that there is not one word ſpoken of it in all holy ſcripture. God took Enoch away, that is to ſay, he departed out of this world like other men, the firſt is wrong tranſlated, for the ſcripture ſays, he was tranſlated, not taken away; and the laſt is falſe, for in Heb. 11. it is ſaid, By faith Enoch was tranſlated that he ſhould not ſee death, and was not found, becauſe God had tranſlated him; and in Eccleſ. Enoch pleaſed God and was tranſlated into paradiſe, that he might declare the wiſdom of his people.

Out of the Priimmer.

HE putteth in the book of ſeven pſalms, but he leaveth out the whole Litany, by which it appeareth his erroneous opinions againſt praying to ſaints.

He hath left out all the hymns and anthems of our lady, by which appeareth his erroneous opinions againſt praying to our lady.

The ungodly and erroneous Sayings contained in an Engliſh Work, inſcribed, An Expoſition upon the ſeventh Chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians.

WHoſoever in himſelf doth not feel this godly thing, this gift of chaſtity, but doth feel incontinency, to him, I ſay, a commandment is given that he may be married.

Hereof doth follow, that no perſon can make a vow, or promiſe to live chaſte or ſingle, and that none is bound to keep any ſuch vows, but rather to break them: and he that ſhall obſerve them, it is damnable, and by the law of God already condemned.

The touching of women, ſome perſons have compaſſed much ſtraightly, ſo that they dare not touch a woman's hand or ſkin, moreover they imagined many, both ſtatutes and ceremonies, to keep them from company of women, as they thought that built abbeys, but how fortunately that hath come to paſs, what place thereby hath been given to Satan, it were horrible to be ſpoken of.

He that is compelled outwardly to abſtain from women, and is inwardly full of luſt, is a diſſembler, and it is double letchery.

Mark what ſoul-ſlayers they be that provoke fooliſh youth to a vow of chaſtity, compelling them to nouriſh inwardly hidden malice.

All other evils may be ſuffered with a mean conſcience.

This cannot ſo be endured, this can be helped by no medicine but by marriage.

It is good for a man not to touch a woman; this word Good is not underſtood of merit and deſerving before God, as though an unmarried man were better before him, than the married, like as St. Jerome hath expounded this text; for it concerneth only faith, and no deed or work, but it is ſpoken of temporal quietneſs of this life, ſo that the virgin hath much more joy and tranquillity.

Chaſtity is a good thing, if luſt and incontinency make it not ſo common a thing as we have hitherto uſed to do, and yet do, but all amiſs; but the apoſtle will, that all men univerſally be conjugal: but all the biſhops ſince his time have deſtroyed the godly ordinance, when they babble and rail in pulpits, changing this word Every into Certain.

Men ought to ſtint of their ſtatutes-making, for a better ſtatute can none be than this, that men without any reſpect of time uſe their wife, not to exempt certain days as they have which we call Vigils, and women conceived.

Faſting is a meaſurable uſage of meats and drinks; prayer is a crying, ſigh, deſire and mourning.

No man ought to enforce and compel men to faſting and prayer, as they hitherto by laws have done.

Before God, all things are alike and equal.

Abominably they do ſin who make nuns ſwell in pride, when they babble, that their religion is more precious than matrimony, and then feign that they ſhall have a crown or garland of gold, ſo maketh them arrogant, wicked, unfaithful; chaſtity is the gift of God, and therefore can no man either promiſe, nor vow, nor keep it.

The

The ſects of all them that are called religious, and of all manner of ſhavelings, are falſly called the ſpiritual orders: for matrimony like as in very deed, ſo it ought to be called the ſpiritual ſtate before other orders worldly and ſecular; matrimony is of all other the higheſt religion, and moſt ſpiritual eſtate.

By teſtimony of ſcriptures, all the apoſtles and all the biſhop's ſucceſſors were married.

Saint Paul ſaith, That he ought to be choſen to be a biſhop that is the huſband of one wife.

Seeing ye chuſe not married men to be biſhops, either Chriſt muſt be a fool and unrighteous who did ſo chuſe, or you Antichriſts and deceivers.

You put away univerſally marriage from prieſts, contrary unto God, to nature, to reaſon, to right, only of preſumption, without any manner of cauſe.

There is no ſin nor miſchief in all the world ſo great, that can hinder a man from prieſthood, but godly matrimony.

What other thing is it to ſay, that a prieſt ſhould not marry, than to ſay, that a man ſhould not be a man?

This I dare be bold to ſay, that where is one chaſte, there ought more than an hundred thouſand to live married.

To keep a young man in a cloiſter to live chaſte, is as much as to offer a child to Moloch there to be burnt.

All which great errors and peſtilent hereſies being contagious and damnable, with all the books containing the ſame, with the tranſlation alſo of ſcripture corrupted by William Tindal, as well in the Old Teſtament as in the New, and all other books in Engliſh containing ſuch errors the king's highneſs preſent in perſon, by one whole advice and aſſent of the prelates and clerks, as well of the univerſities, as of all other aſſembled togethtr, determined utterly to be repelled, rejected, and put away out of the hands of his people, and not to be ſuffered to go abroad among his ſubjects: And his highneſs willeth further that his pleaſure and determination ſhould be notified by preachers abroad unto the people, as well for putting away of all ſuch books, as reading, retaining, or having hereafter of any other like, delivering unto certain preachers, the form of a writing to be publiſhed in effect unto the people in their ſermons, whereof the form here followeth, willing them in all his realm to publiſh the ſame.

Here followeth the Bill in Engliſh, to be publiſhed by the Preacher.

IT is the office and duty of every preacher and teacher of the word of God, not only to ſhew and declare unto his audience that which might be profitable and wholſome for the wealth of their ſouls, to be followed and taken, but alſo to note and ſignify unto them ſuch things as be dangerous and contagious, to the intent they might be avoided and eſchewed, and alſo as near as they can judge who be teachers and authors of the ſame; this example we have of our Saviour Chriſt, where he ſaith, Beware of falſe prophets, &c. St. Paul likewiſe many times giveth warning to ſuch as he wrote unto, that they ſhould beware of the falſe prophets, that in his abſence went about to corrupt the doctrine that he had taught them being preſent. Wherefore conſidering that it hath pleaſed the king's highneſs, like a noble and a virtuous prince, tendering not only the preſent bodily wealth and tranquillity of all his ſubjects, for his, and their worldly benefit and advantage, but moſt chiefly regarding the wealth of their ſouls and their due order towards God, thereby to deſerve and attain immortal glory, to aſſemble and call together the chief perſonages of his prelates, and a great number of learned men of both univerſities, charging and commanding them for the diſcharge and exoneration of his conſcience, to find, read, examine and diſcuſs the contents of ſuch books as be now ſpread abroad within this his grace's realm in the Engliſh tongue concerning the points and articles of our faith, and after their learning and conſcience to make relation unto his highneſs, whether the ſame books be expedient and profitable for his people, to the direction and ordering of their conſcience and ſoul, or elſe contagious and peſtiferous for the ſame: and whether the opinions contained in them, were agreeable to God's word and doctrine or no, foraſmuch as the ſaid congregation and aſſembly had free liberty and licenſe granted unto every man to ſay as his conſcience and learning ſerved him without any reproof or blame to be imputed or arrected for any thing to be ſpoken there, whoſe perſon ſoever it touched, or any neceſſity to agree to the greater part, but only to ſay that his own learning and conſcience could maintain and juſtify; after mature deliberation and conſultation had, it was thereby a whole conſent, no man repugning or gain-ſaying, determined and agreed that the books now being abroad in the Engliſh tongue contain falſe traditions and corrupt doctrine, far different from the true ſenſe of the goſpel and catholic underſtanding of ſcripture, only perſuading pernicious hereſies to the deſtruction of the ſouls of good chriſtian men, and that the certainty hereof, I can report unto you of mine own knowledge, being one of the aſſembly, and hearing and ſeeing the ſaid opinions read, declared and examined, and by the true ſenſe and meaning of God's learning reproved and rejected: I think therefore my duty is, taking upon me the office of a preacher, following the example of our maſter Chriſt and St. Paul, as is aforeſaid, to warn and admoniſh you by the words of Chriſt, as I ſpake before, Beware of falſe prophets, &c. and take heed of yourſelf that ye be not infected by the contagion and infection of ſuch pſeudo-apoſtles as have in our Engliſh tongue, ſet forth books to ſeduce you from the true knowledge of God's laws, and bring you by their falſe interpretations of ſcripture into deteſtable and abominable hereſies to the deſtruction of our ſouls: wherefore you that have the books called, The Obedience of a Chriſtian Man; The Sum of Scripture; The Revelation of Antichriſt; The Supplication of Beggars; The Mammon of Unrighteouſneſs; The Matrimony of Tindal; The New Teſtament in Engliſh, or the tranſlation which is now printed, and ſuch other books in Engliſh, the authors whereof either dare not, or do not put to their names, be pernicious books; deteſt them, abhor them, keep them not in your hands, deliver them to the ſuperiors ſuch as call for them: and if by reading them heretofore, any thing remaineth in your breaſts of that teaching, either forget it, or by information of the truth expel it and purge it, to the intent that ye being ſo purified and cleanſed of that contagious doctrine and peſtiferous traditions, may be fit and apt to receive and retain the true doctrine and underſtanding of Chriſt's laws, to the comfort and edification of your ſouls; thus I move and exhort you in God to do, this is your duty to do.

The prelates of the church having the cure and charge of your ſouls ought to compel you, and your prince to puniſh and correct your not doing of the ſame, unto whom as St. Paul ſaith, the ſword is given by God's ordinance for that purpoſe; ye ſhall alſo farther underſtand, that the king's highneſs, foraſmuch as it was reported unto him that there is engendered an opinion in divers of his ſubject, that it is his grace's duty to cauſe the ſcripture of God to be tranſlated into the Engliſh tongue to be communicated unto the people, and that the prelates, and alſo his highneſs do wrong in hindering of the ſame, his highneſs willed therefore every man there preſent in the ſaid aſſembly, freely and frankly to ſhew and open unto him what might be proved, and conferred by ſcripture, and holy doctors in that behalf, to the intent that his highneſs (as he there openly proteſted) might conform himſelf thereunto, minding to do his duty towards his people, as he would they ſhould do their duties towards him: in which matter, after the ſcriptures declared, holy doctors

and authors alledged and read, and all things ſaid, which might be on both ſides, and for both parts ſpoken, deduced, and brought forth, finally it appeared, that the having of the whole ſcripture in Engliſh, is not neceſſary to chriſtian men, but that without having any ſuch ſcripture, endeavouring themſelves to do well, and to apply their minds to take and follow ſuch leſſons as the preacher teacheth them, and ſo learned by his mouth, may as well edify ſpiritually in their ſouls, as if they had the ſame ſcriptures in Engliſh. And like as the having the ſcriptures in the vulgar tongue, and in the common people's hands, hath been by both holy fathers of the church heretofore in ſome times thought meet and convenient, ſo at another time it has been thought to holy fathers not expedient to be communicated amongſt them, wherein foraſmuch as the king's highneſs, by the advice and deliberation of his council, and the agreement of the great learned men, thinketh in his conſcience, that the divulging of the ſcripture at this time in the Engliſh tongue, to be committed to the people, conſidering ſuch peſtilent books, and ſo evil opinions, as be now ſpread amongſt them, ſhould rather be to their further confuſion and deſtruction, than the edification of their ſouls, and that as holy doctors teſtify, upon ſuch-like conſiderations, the ſemblable hath been done in times paſt, it was thought there in that aſſembly to all and ſingular in that congregation, that the king's highneſs, and the prelates in ſo doing and not ſuffering the ſcripture to be divulged and communicated in the Engliſh tongue unto the people, at this time doth well. And alſo I think and judge the ſame, exhorting and moving you, that in conſideration his highneſs did there openly ſay and proteſt that he would cauſe the New Teſtament to be, by learned men, faithfully and purely tranſlated into the Engliſh tongue, to the intent he might have it in his hands to be given to his people, as he might ſee their manners and behaviour meet, apt, and convenient to receive the ſame, that ye will ſo deteſt theſe pernicious books, ſo abhor theſe hereſies and new opinions, ſo decline from arrogancy of knowledge and underſtanding of ſcripture after your fantaſies, and ſhew yourſelf in cunning and reaſoning ſo ſober, quiet, meek, and temperate, as all fear of miſuſing the gift of ſcripture taken away, ye may appear ſuch in your prince's eyes, and eyes of your prelates, as they ſhall have no juſt cauſe to fear any ſuch danger; perſuading unto yourſelf in the mean time without grudging or murmuring the very truth, which is this, that we cannot require or demand ſcripture to be divulged in the Engliſh tongue, otherwiſe than upon the diſcretion of our ſuperiors, ſo as whenſoever they think in their conſcience it may do you good, they may and do well to give it unto you: and whenſoever it ſhall be ſeen otherwiſe unto them, they do amiſs in ſuffering you to have it. Of and upon which decree, order and determination above recited, his gracious highneſs being in perſon in the chapel, called the old chapel, which ſometime was called St. Edward's chamber, ſat on the eaſt ſide of the parliament chamber, within his grace's palace at Weſtminſter, upon the 24th day of May, in the year of our Lord God 1530, and in the two and twentieth year of his reign, called before his grace the three notaries hereunder written, and then and there, in the preſence of all the perſonages there aſſembled and gathered together, willed and required the ſaid three notaries to make public and authentic inſtruments, and us to ſet thereunto our ſeal accordingly in and for witneſs, and perpetual memory and monument of this his grace's deſire, order and determination, and of all and ſingular the premiſes, and all the perſonages then and there being preſent, to teſtify the ſame, and bear record and teſtimony thereupon. In witneſs of all and ſingular the premiſes, We, William, archbiſhop, primate and legate aforeſaid, have commanded and obtained theſe preſent letters teſtimonial, or preſent public or authentic inſtrument, containing therein the order, decree, and determination aboveſaid, to be made and to be ſubſcribed, and conſigned by the hands of the notaries hereafter named, and to be ſealed with our own ſeal. All which premiſes have been done in manner and form above ſpecified, then and there being preſent the noble perſonage of Thomas Moor, knight, great chancellor of England; our reverend brother in Chriſt, Cutbert, by the permiſſion of God, biſhop of Durham; and worſhipful perſonages, Mr. Stephen Gardiner, ſecretary; Mr. Richard Samſon, dean of the chapel, doctor of law; Mr. Richard Wolman, maſter of the requeſt; Mr. John Bell, counſellor; doctors of holy decrees; Mr. Nicholas Wilſon, the king's confeſſor; Mr. Richard Duck, archdeacon of Wiltſhire, doctors of divinity; Mr. John Oliver, Mr. Edmund Steward, doctors of the law, chaplains to our ſovereign lord the king's grace; Mr. Richard Mawdly, Mr. William Mortimer, Mr. Edward Crome, Mr. Edward Wiggen, doctors alſo of divinity; Mr. Robert Carter, Mr. Edward Leighton; Mr. Hugh Latimer, Mr. William Latimer, and Roger Tilſon, maſters of art in both the univerſities aboveſaid, with many more learned men of the ſaid univerſities, in a great number aſſembled then and there together witneſs to the premiſes required and exhibited. Theſe being premiſed, now let us ſee the anſwer of Mr. Latimer again to this aforeſaid propoſal or inſtrument of the biſhops, in a letter which the ſaid Latimer wrote to king Henry the ſame time in that behalf.

Here followeth a letter of Mr. Latimer written to king Henry the eighth upon this occaſion. Ye heard before of two proclamations ſet out by the biſhops in the name of king Henry, one in the year 1531, and the other in the year 1546; in which proclamations, being authorized by the king's name, were inhibited all Engliſh books, either containing or tending to any matter of the ſcripture. Where alſo we have expreſſed a catalogue of ſome of the errors of the ſaid biſhops falſly picked out, and maliciouſly imputed to godly writers. Now Mr. Latimer growing in ſome favour with the king, and ſeeing the great decay of Chriſt's religion by reaſon of theſe proclamations, and touched therefore with the zeal of conſcience, directeth unto king Henry this letter here enſuing, thereby intending by all means poſſible to perſuade the king's mind to ſet open again the freedom of God's holy word amongſt his ſubjects. The copy of which letter here followeth.

Mr. Latimer's Letter to King Henry the Eighth, for the reſtoring again of the free Liberty of reading the holy Scriptures.

To the moſt Mighty Prince, King of England, Henry the Eighth, Grace, Mercy and Peace from God the Father, by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

THE holy doctor St. Auguſtine, in an epiſtle which he wrote to Caſalanus, ſaith, That he which for fear of any power hideth the truth, provoketh the wrath of God to come upon him, for he feareth men more than God. And according to the ſame, the holy man St. John Chryſoſtom ſaith, that he is not only a traitor to the truth, which openly for truth teacheth a lye; but he alſo which doth not freely pronounce and ſhew the truth that he knoweth. Theſe ſentences (moſt redoubted king) when I read now of late, and marked them earneſtly in the inward parts of mine heart, they made me ſore afraid, troubled and vexed me grievouſly in my conſcience, and at laſt drave me to this ſtrait, that either I muſt ſhew forth ſuch things as I have read and learned in ſcripture, or elſe be of that ſort that provoke the wrath of God upon them, and be traitors unto the truth: which thing, rather than it ſhould happen, I had rather ſuffer extreme puniſhment.

For what other thing is it to be a traitor unto the truth, than to be a traitor and a Judas unto Chriſt, which is the very truth, and the cauſe of all truth? Who ſaith, that whoſoever denieth him here before men, he will deny him before his Father in heaven. Which denying ought more to be feared and dreaded, than the loſs of all temporal goods, honour, promotion, fame, priſon, ſlander, hurts, baniſhments, and all manner of torments and cruelties, yea, and death itſelf, be it never ſo ſhameful and painful. But alas, how little do men regard thoſe ſharp ſayings of theſe two holy men? And how little do they fear the terrible judgment of Almighty God? And eſpecially they which boaſt themſelves to be guides and captains unto others, and challenging unto themſelves the knowledge of holy ſcripture, yet will neither ſhew the truth themſelves (as they be bound) neither ſuffer them that would. So that unto them it may be ſaid, that which our Saviour Chriſt ſaid to the phariſees, Matt. 23. Woe be unto you, ſcribes and phariſees, who ſhut up the kingdom of heaven before men, and neither will you enter in yourſelves, neither ſuffer them that would enter in. And they will, as much as in them lieth, debar, not only the word of God, which David calleth, a light to direct and ſhew every man how to order his affections and luſts, according to the commandments of God, but alſo by their ſubtle wilineſs they inſtruct, move, and provoke in a manner, all kings in Chriſtendom, to aid, ſuccour, and help them in this their miſchief; and eſpecially in this your realm they have ſo blinded your liege people and ſubjects with their laws, cuſtoms, ceremonies and Banbury gloſſes, and puniſhed them with curſings, excommunications, and other corruptions (corrections I would ſay) and now at the laſt when they ſee they cannot prevail againſt the open truth (which the more it is perſecuted, the more it increaſeth by their tyranny) they have made it treaſon to your noble grace to have the ſcripture in Engliſh.

Here I beſeech your grace to pardon me a while, and patiently to hear me a word or two; yea, though it be ſo that, as concerning your high majeſty and regal power, whereunto Almighty God hath called your grace, there is a great difference between you and me, as between God and man: for you be here to me and all your ſubjects, in God's ſtead, to defend, aid and ſuccour us in our right, and ſo I ſhall tremble and quake to ſpeak to your grace. But again, as concerning that you be a mortal man, in danger of ſin, having in you the corrupt nature of Adam, in which we be all both conceived and born: ſo have you no leſs need of the merits of Chriſt's paſſion for your ſalvation, than I and other of your ſubjects have, which be all members of the myſtical body of Chriſt. And though you be an higher member, yet you muſt not diſdain the leſſer. For as St. Paul ſaith, Thoſe members that be taken to be moſt vile, and had in leaſt reputation, be as neceſſary as the other, for the preſervation and keeping of the body. This, moſt gracious king, when I conſidered, and alſo your favourable and gentle nature, I was bold to write this rude, homely, and ſimple letter to your grace, truſting that you will accept my true and faithful mind, even at it is.

Firſt, I will exhort your grace to mark the life and proceſs of our Saviour Chriſt, and his apoſtles, in preaching and ſetting forth of the goſpel, and to note alſo the words of our maſter Chriſt, which he had to his diſciples when he ſent them forth to preach his goſpel, and to theſe have ever in your mind the golden rule of our Saviour Chriſt; The tree is known by the fruit. For by the diligent marking of theſe, your grace ſhall clearly know and perceive who be the true followers of Chriſt, and teachers of his goſpel, and who be not. And concerning the firſt, all ſcripture ſheweth plainly that our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's life was very poor.

Begin at his birth, and I beſeech you, who ever heard of a poorer, and ſo poor as he was? It were too long to write how poor Joſeph and the bleſſed virgin Mary took their journey from Nazareth toward Bethlehem, in the cold and froſty winter, having no body to wait upon them, but he both maſter and man, and ſhe both miſtreſs and maid. How vilely, thinks your grace, where they intreated in the inns and lodgings by the way? and in how vile and abject place was this poor maid, the mother of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, brought to-bed, without company, light, or any other thing neceſſary for a woman in that condition? Was not here a poor beginning, as concerning this world? Yes truly. And according to this beginning, was the proceſs and end of his life in this world, and yet he might by his godly power have had all the goods and treaſures of this world at his pleaſure, when and where he would.

But this he did to ſhew us, that his followers and vicars ſhould not regard and ſet by the riches and treaſures of this world, but after the ſaying of David we ought to take them, which ſaith thus; If riches, promotions, and dignity happen to a man, let him not ſet his affiance, pleaſure, truſt, and heart upon them. So that it is not againſt the poverty of ſpirit, which Chriſt preacheth in the goſpel of St. Matthew, chap. 5. to be rich, to be in dignity and in honour, ſo that their hearts be not fixed and ſet upon them ſo much that they neither care for God nor good men. But they be enemies to this poverty in ſpirit, have they never ſo little, that have greedy and deſirous minds to the goods of this world, only becauſe they would live after their own pleaſures and luſts. And they alſo be privy enemies (and ſo much the worſe) which have profeſſed, as they ſay, wilful poverty, and will not be called worldly men, and they have lord's lands, and king's riches, yea, rather than they would loſe one jot of that which they have, they will ſet debate between king and king, realm and realm, yea, between the king and his ſubjects, and cauſe rebellion againſt the temporal power, to which our Saviour Chriſt himſelf was obedient, and paid tribute, as the goſpel declareth; unto whom the holy apoſtle St. Paul teacheth every chriſtian man to obey. Yea, and beſide all this, they will curſe and ban, as much as in them lieth, even into the deep pit of hell, all that gainſay their appetite, whereby they think their goods, promotions, or dignities ſhould decay.

Your grace may ſee what means and craft the ſpirituality (as they will be called) imagine, to break and withſtand the acts which were made in your grace's laſt parliament againſt their ſuperfluities. Wherefore they that thus do, your grace may know them not to be true followers of Chriſt. And although I named the ſpirituality to be corrupt with this unthrifty ambition; yet I mean not all to be faulty therein, for there be ſome good of them. Neither will I that your grace ſhould take away the goods due to the church, but take away all evil perſons from the goods, and ſet better in their ſtead.

I name nor appoint no perſon nor perſons, but remit your grace to the rule of our Saviour Chriſt, as in Matthew the ſeventh chapter, By their fruits ſhall you know them. As touching the words that our Saviour Chriſt ſpake to his diſciples when he ſent them to preach his goſpel, they be read in Matthew the fifteenth chapter, where he ſheweth, That here they ſhall be hated and deſpiſed of all men worldly, and brought before kings and rulers, and that all evil ſhould be ſaid by them for their preaching ſake; but he exhorteth them to take patiently ſuch perſecution by his own example, ſaying, It becometh not the ſervant to be above the maſter. And ſeeing they call me Beelzebub, what marvel is it if they call you deviliſh perſons and heretics? Read the fourteenth chapter of St. Matthew's goſpel, and there your grace ſhall ſee that he promiſed to the true preachers no worldly promotions or dignity, but perſecution and all kinds of puniſhment, and that they ſhould be betrayed even by their own brethren and children. In John alſo he ſaith, In the world ye ſhall have oppreſſion, and the world ſhall hate you: but in me ye ſhall have peace. And in the tenth chapter of St. Matthew's goſpel ſaith

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our Saviour alſo, Lo I ſend you forth as ſheep among wolves. So that the true preachers go like ſheep harmleſs, and be perſecuted, and yet they revenge not their wrong, but remit all to God; ſo far is it off that they will perſecute any other but with the word of God only, which is their weapon. And ſo this is the moſt evident token that our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt would that his goſpel and the preachers of it ſhould be known by, that it ſhould be deſpiſed among thoſe worldly wiſe men, and that they ſhould repute it but fooliſhneſs and deceivable doctrine, and the true preachers ſhould be perſecuted and hated, and driven from town to town, yea, and at the laſt loſe both goods and life.

And yet they that did this perſecution, ſhould think that they did well, and a great pleaſure to God. And the apoſtles remembering this leſſon of our Saviour Chriſt, were content to ſuffer ſuch perſecutions, as you may read in the Acts of the apoſtles, and the epiſtles. But we never read that they ever perſecuted any man. The holy apoſtle St. Paul ſaith, That every man that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, ſhould ſuffer perſecution. And alſo he ſaith further in the epiſtle to the Philippians, in the firſt chapter, That it is not only given to you to believe in the Lord, but alſo to ſuffer perſecution for his ſake.

Wherefore take this for a ſure concluſion, that there where the word of God is truly preached, there is perſecution, as well of the hearers, as of the teachers: and where is quietneſs and reſt in worldly pleaſure, there is not the truth. For the world loveth all that are of the world, and hateth all things that are contrary to it. And to be ſhort, St. Paul calleth the goſpel, the word of the croſs, the word of puniſhment. And the holy ſcripture doth promiſe nothing to the favourers and followers of it in this world, but trouble, vexation, and perſecution, which theſe worldly men cannot ſuffer, nor away withal.

Therefore pleaſeth it your good grace, to return to this golden rule of our maſter and only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, which is this, By their fruits you ſhall know them. For where you ſee perſecution, there is the goſpel, and there is the truth: and they that do perſecute, be void and without all truth; not caring for the clear light, which (as our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt ſaith in the third chapter of St. John's goſpel) is come into the world, and which ſhall utter and ſhew forth every man's works. And they whoſe works be naught, dare not come to this light, but go about to ſtop it and hinder it, endeavouring to prevent as much as poſſible the reading of the holy ſcripture in our mother tongue, ſaying, that it would cauſe hereſy and inſurrection, and ſo they perſuade, at leaſt they would fain perſuade your grace to keep it back. But here mark their ſhameleſs boldneſs, who be not aſhamed contrary to Chriſt's doctrine, to gather figs of thorns, and grapes of thiſtles, and to call light darkneſs, and darkneſs light, ſweet bitter, and bitter ſweet, good evil, and evil good; and to ſay that that which teacheth all obedience ſhould cauſe diſſention and ſtrife: but ſuch is their belly wiſdom, wherewith they judge and meaſure every thing, to hold and keep ſtill this wicked mammon, the goods of this world, which is their god, and hath ſo blinded the eyes of their hearts, that they cannot ſee the clear light of the ſacred ſcripture, though they babble never ſo much of it.

But as concerning this matter, other men have ſhewed your grace their minds, how neceſſary it is to have the ſcripture in Engliſh. Which thing alſo your grace hath promiſed by your laſt proclamation: which promiſe I pray God that your gracious highneſs may ſhortly perform, even to-day before to-morrow. Now let the wickedneſs of theſe worldly men detain you from your godly purpoſe and promiſe. Remember the ſubtle worldly wiſe counſellors of Hanun the ſon of Naas, king of the Ammonites, whom when David had ſent his ſervants to comfort the young king for the death of his father, by crafty imaginations counſelled Hanun, not only not to receive them gently, but to treat them moſt ſhamefully and cruelly, ſaying, "That they came not to comfort him, but to eſpy and ſearch his land, ſo that afterward they bringing David word how every thing ſtood, David might come and conquer it." And he cauſed the young king to ſhear their heads, and to cut their coats by the points, and ſent them away like fools: whom he ought rather to have made much of, and to have treated them gently, and have given them great thanks and rewards: O wretched counſellors. But ſee what followed of this carnal and worldly wiſdom: truly nothing but deſtruction of all whole realm, and alſo of all them that took their parts.

Therefore good king, ſeeing that the right David, that is to ſay, our Saviour Chriſt hath ſent his ſervants, that is to ſay, his true preachers, and his own word alſo to comfort our weak and ſick ſouls, let not theſe worldly men make your grace believe that they will cauſe inſurrections and hereſies, and ſuch miſchiefs as they imagine of their own mad brains, leſt that he be avenged upon you and your realm, as was David upon the Ammonites, and as he hath ever been avenged upon them which have obſtinately withſtood and gainſayed his word. But peradventure they will lay this againſt me, and ſay that experience doth ſhew, how that ſuch men as call themſelves followers of the goſpel, regard not your grace's commandment, neither ſet by your proclamation, and that was well proved by thoſe perſons which of late were puniſhed in London, for keeping ſuch books as your grace had prohibited by proclamation; and ſo like as they regarded not this, ſo they will not regard or eſteem other your grace's laws, ſtatutes, or ordinances. But this is but a crafty perſuaſion. For your grace knoweth, that there is no man living, eſpecially that loveth worldly promotion, that is ſo fooliſh, to ſet forth, promote or advance his enemies, whereby he ſhould be hindered of his worldly pleaſures and fleſhly deſires: but rather he will ſeek all the ways poſſible that he can, utterly to confound deſtroy, and put him out of the way. And ſo as concerning your laſt proclamation, prohibiting ſuch books, the very true cauſe of it and chief counſellors (as men ſay, and of likelihood it ſhould be) were they, whoſe evil living and cloaked hypocriſy theſe books uttered and diſcloſed. And howbeit that there were three or four, that would have had the ſcripture to go forth in Engliſh, yet it happened there, as it is always ſeen, that the moſt part overcometh the better, and ſo it might be that theſe men did not take this proclamation as yours, but as theirs ſet forth in your name, as they have done many times more, which hath put this your realm in great hindrance and trouble, and brought it in great penury, and more would have done, if God had not mercifully provided to bring your grace to knowledge of the falſhood and privy treaſon, which their head and captain was about; and be you ſure not without adherents, if the matter be duly ſearched. For what marvel is it, that they being ſo nigh of your council, and ſo familiar with your lords, ſhould provoke both your grace and them to prohibit theſe books, which before by their own authority have forbidden the New Teſtament under pain of everlaſting damnation: for ſuch is their manner, to ſend a thouſand men to hell, ere they ſend one to God, and yet the New Teſtament (and ſo I think by the other) was meekly offered to every man that would and could, to amend it, if there were any fault.

Moreover, I will aſk them the cauſes of all inſurrections, which have heretofore been in this realm. And whence is it that there be ſo many extortioners, bribers, murderers, and thieves, which daily do not break only your grace's laws, ordinances, and ſtatutes, but alſo the laws and commandments of Almighty God? I think they will not ſay theſe books, but rather their pardons which cauſeth many a man to ſin in truſt of them. For as for thoſe malefactors which I now rehearſed, you ſhall

not find one amongſt a hundred, but that he will cry out both of theſe books, and alſo of them that have them, yea and will be glad to ſpend the good which he hath wrongfully gotten, upon faggots to burn both the books, and them that have them.

And as touching theſe men that were lately puniſhed for theſe books, there is no man, I hear ſay, that can lay any word or deed againſt them that ſhould ſound to the breaking of any of your grace's laws, this only except, if it be yours, and not rather theirs. And be it ſo that there be ſome that have theſe books, that be evil, unruly and ſelf-willed perſons, not regarding God's laws, nor man's, yet theſe books be not the cauſe thereof, no more than was the bodily preſence of Chriſt and his words the cauſe that Judas fell, but their own froward mind and carnal wit, which ſhould be amended by the virtuous example of living of their curates, and by the true expoſition of the ſcripture. If the lay-people had ſuch curates that would thus do their office, neither theſe books, nor the devil himſelf could hurt them to go out of frame, ſo that the lack of good curates is the deſtruction and cauſe of all miſchief. Neither do I write theſe things becauſe that I will either excuſe theſe men lately puniſhed, or to affirm all to be true written in theſe books, which I have not all read, but to ſhew that there cannot ſuch inconvenience follow of them, and eſpecially of the ſcripture, as they would make men believe ſhould follow.

And though it be ſo that your grace may by other books, and namely by the ſcripture itſelf, know and perceive the hypocrite wolves clad in ſheep's cloathing, yet I think myſelf bound in conſcience to utter unto your grace ſuch things as God puts in my wind to write. And this I do (God ſo judge me) not for hate of any perſon or perſons living, nor for that I think the word of God ſhould go forth without perſecution, if your grace had commanded that every man within your realm ſhould have it in his mother's tongue. For the goſpel muſt needs have perſecution unto the time that it be preached throughout all the world, which is the laſt ſign that Chriſt ſhewed to his diſciples ſhould come before the day of judgment: ſo that if your grace had once commanded that the ſcripture ſhould be put forth, the devil would ſet forth ſome wile or other to perſecute the truth. But my purpoſe is, for the love that I have to God principally, and the glory of his name, which is only known by his word, and for the true allegiance that I owe unto your grace, and not to hide in the ground of my heart the talent given me by God, but to chaffer it forth to others, that it may increaſe to the pleaſure of God, to exhort your grace to avoid and beware of theſe miſchievous flatterers, and their abominable ways and counſels.

And take heed whoſe counſels your grace doth take in this matter: for there be ſome that for fear of loſing of their worldly worſhip and honour, will not leave off their opinion, which raſhly, and that to pleaſe men withal by whom they had great promotion, they took upon them to defend by writing, ſo that now they think that all their felicity which they put in this life ſhould be marred, and their wiſdom not ſo greatly regarded, if that which they have ſo ſlanderouſly oppreſſed ſhould be now put forth and allowed. But alas, let theſe men remember St. Paul, how fervent he was againſt the truth (and that of a good zeal) before he was called; he thought no ſhame to ſuffer puniſhment and great perſecutions for that which before he deſpiſed and called hereſy. And I am ſure that their living is not more perfect that St. Paul's was, as concerning the outward works of the law, before he was converted.

Alſo the king and prophet David was not aſhamed to forſake his good intent in building of the temple, after that the prophet Nathan had ſhewed him that it was the the pleaſure of God that he ſhould build any houſe for him: and notwithſtanding that Nathan had before allowed and praiſed the purpoſe of David, yet he was not aſhamed to revoke and eat his words again when he knew that they were not according to God's will and pleaſure.

Wherefore they be more drowned in worldly wiſdom, that think it againſt their worſhip to acknowledge their ignorance; whom I pray to God that your grace may eſpy, and take heed of their worldly wiſdom, which is fooliſhneſs before God, that you may do what God commandeth, and not what ſeemeth good in your own ſight without the word of God, that your grace may be found acceptable in his ſight, and one of the members of his church, and according to the office that he hath called your grace unto, you may be found a faithful miniſter of his gifts, and not a defender of his faith, for he will not have it defended by man, or man's power, but by his word only, by which he hath evermore defended it, and that by a way far above man's power or reaſon, as all the ſtories of the Bible make mention.

Wherefore, gracious king, remember yourſelf, have pity upon your ſoul, and think that the day is even at hand when you ſhall give account of your office, and of the blood that hath been ſhed with your ſword. In which day that your grace may ſtand ſtedfaſtly, and not be aſhamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and to have, as they ſay, your diſcharge ſealed with the blood of our Saviour Chriſt, which only ſerveth at that day, is my daily prayer to his Father for grace for us continually. To whom be all honour and praiſe for ever, Amen. The Spirit of God preſerve your grace.

December 1, 1530.

In this letter of Mr. Latimer to the king above prefixed, many things we have to conſider: Firſt, his good conſcience to God, his good will to the king, the duty of a right paſtor unto truth, his tender care to the commonwealth, and eſpecially to the church of Chriſt. Further, we have to conſider the abuſe of princes courts, how kings many times be abuſed with flatterers and wicked counſellers about them, and eſpecially we may note the ſubtle practices of prelates, in abuſing the name and authority of kings, to ſet forth their own malignant proceedings. We may ſee moreover, and rather marvel at in the ſaid letter, the great boldneſs and divine ſtoutneſs in this man, who as yet being no biſhop, ſo freely and plainly without any fear of death, adventuring his own life to diſcharge his conſcience, durſt ſo boldly, to ſo mighty a prince, in ſuch a dangerous caſe, againſt the king's law and proclamation ſet out in ſuch a terrible time, take upon him to write, and admoniſh that, which no counſellor durſt ſo much as once mention unto him in defence of Chriſt's goſpel. Whoſe example, if the biſhops and prelates of this realm, for their parts likewiſe, in like caſes would follow (as indeed they ought to do) it is very probable that many things would not be ſo out of the frame as they be.

Finally, this moreover in the ſaid letter is to be noted, how bleſſedly Almighty God wrought with his faithful ſervant's bold adventure, and wholeſome counſel, though it did not prevail through the iniquity of the time, yet God ſo wrought with his ſervant in doing his duty, that no danger, nor yet diſpleaſure roſe to him thereby, but rather thanks and good will of the prince; for not long after the ſame he was advanced by the king to the biſhopric of Worceſter, as is above declared.

Seeing Mr. Latimer was ſo bold and plain with the king (as is before ſpecified) no great marvel if he did uſe the like freedom and plainneſs towards other meaner perſons in admoniſhing them of their miſorder, eſpecially if any ſuch occaſion were given, where truth and equity required his defence againſt injury and oppreſſion. For example whereof we have another letter of his, written to a certain juſtice of the peace in Warwickſhire, who as he is long ſince departed, ſo he ſhall be here unnamed. The letter, although it may ſeem ſomewhat long and tedious, yet I thought here not to overpaſs the ſame for

ſeveral reaſons: Firſt, That the virtue and faithful conſcience of this good paſtor may appear more at large; alſo for that all other biſhops and paſtors by this example may learn with like zeal and reſolution to diſcharge their duty and conſcience in reforming things amiſs, and in powdering, with the ſalt of God's word, the ſores of the people. Which thing if every biſhop for his part within his dioceſe had done in king Edward's days, in redreſſing ſuch corruption of that time with like diligence as this man did, verily I ſuppoſe that the perſecution of queen Mary had not ſo plagued the realm as it did: Item, Another reſpect is, becauſe of the juſtices and all others placed in office, which may take heed hereby, not to abuſe their authority to tread down truth, and bear down poor men with open wrong through extortion or partiality. And finally, that all injurious oppreſſors whatſoever, by the ſaid letter may take ſome fruit of wholeſome admonition.

Mr. Latimer's Letter to a Juſtice of the Peace.

RIGHT worſhipful, health in the Lord. And now Sir, I underſtand, that you be in great admiration at me, and take very grievouſly my manner of writing to you, adding thereunto that you will not bear it at my hand, no, not if I were the beſt biſhop in England, &c.

Ah, Sir, I ſee well I may ſay as the common ſaying is, Well I have fiſhed and caught a frog; brought little to paſs with much ado. You will not bear it with me, you ſay. Why, Sir, what will ye do with me? You will not fight with me, I ſuppoſe. It may ſeem unſeemly for a juſtice of peace to be a breaker of peace: I am glad the doting time of my fooliſh youth is gone and paſt. What will you then do with me, in that you ſay you will not bear it at my hand? What hath my hand offended you? Perchance you will ſummon me before ſome judge, and call me into ſome court. God turn it to good. I refuſe no judgment. Let us accuſe one another, that one of us may amend another, in the name of the Lord. Let juſtice proceed in judgment. And then and there, do beſt, have beſt, for club half-penny. Or peradventure ye will ſet pen to paper, and all to rattle me in a letter, wherein confuting me you will defend yourſelf and your brother againſt me. Now that would I ſee, quoth long Robin, as is commonly ſaid. I cannot chooſe but muſt allow ſuch diligence. For ſo ſhould both your integrities and innocencies beſt appear, if you be able to defend both your own proceedings, and your brother's doings in this matter to be upright. And then will I gladly give place, confeſſing my fault humbly, as one conquered with juſt reaſons. But I think it will not be. But now firſt of all let me know, what it is that ye will not bear at my hand? What have I done with my hand? What hath my hand treſpaſſed you? Forſooth, that can I tell, no man better: for I have charitably admoniſhed you in a ſecret letter, of your ſupper dealing, and ſuch like miſbehaviour. What a ſore matter is this? And will ye not bear ſo much with me? Will ye not take ſuch a ſhew of my good-will towards you, and toward the ſaving of your ſoul at my hand? O Lord God, who would have thought that Mr. N. had been ſo imprudent, that he would not bear a godly admonition for the wealth of his ſoul? I have in uſe to commit ſuch trefpaſs many times in a year with your betters, by two or three degrees, both lords and ladies, and the beſt of the realm, and yet hitherto I have not heard that any of them have ſaid in their diſpleaſure, that they will not bear it at my hand. Are you yet to be taught what is the office, liberty and privilege of a preacher? What is it elſe, but even to rebuke the world of ſin without reſpect of perſons: which thing undoubtedly is the peculiar office of the Holy Ghoſt in the church of God, ſo that it be practiſed by lawful preachers. You could but ill bear (belike) to hear your fault openly reproved in the pulpit, which cannot bear the ſame in a ſecret ſealed up letter, written both friendly, charitably and truly; unleſs perhaps to rebuke ſin ſharply, be now to lack all charity, friendſhip and truth. But Mr. N. if you will give me leave to be plain with you, I fear you are ſo plunged in worldly purchaſings, and ſo drowned in the manifold dregs of this deceivable world, that I believe you have forgotten your catechiſm. Read therefore again the opening of the firſt commandment, and then tell me, whether you have juſt cauſe to complain of me, or I of you, &c.

Alſo, Sir, you ſaid further, that I am wonderfully abuſed by my neighbour, &c. How ſo, good Mr. N? Wherein? Or how will you prove it to be true, and when? So you ſaid, that he had abuſed you, and given you wrong information; but the contrary is found true by good teſtimony of Mr. Chamber, who heard as well as you what my neighbour ſaid, and hath teſtified the ſame, both to you, and againſt you, full like himſelf. Mr. N, to forge and feign (which argueth an ill cauſe) that is one thing; but to prove what a man doth ſay, that is another thing. As though you were privileged to out-face poor men, and bear them in hand what you liſt, as may ſeem to make ſome maintenance for your naughty cauſe. Truſt me, Ma. N. I was but a very little acquainted with my neighbour when this matter began; but now I have found him ſo conformable to honeſty, upright in his dealings, and ſo true in his talk, that I eſteem him better than I do ſome other whom I have perceived and found otherwiſe, For I will flatter no man, nor yet claw his back in his folly, but eſteem all men as I find them, allowing what is good, and diſallowing what is bad; among all men, either friends or enemies, according to St. Paul's precept, not eſteemed of the children of this world; Hate you, ſaith he, that which is evil, and cleave to that which is good. And let us not any time for the favour of men, call good evil, and evil good, as the children of this world are commonly wont to do, as it is every where to be ſeen. And now what manner of man do you make me, maſter N. when you note me to be ſo much abuſed by ſo ignorant a man, ſo ſimple, ſo plain, and ſo far without all wrinkles? Have I lived ſo long in this tottering world, and have I been ſo many ways turmoiled and toſſed up and down, and ſo much as it were ſeaſoned with the powder of ſo many experiences to and fro, to be now ſo far bewitched and alienated from my wits, as though I could not diſcern cheeſe from chalk, truth from falſhood; but that every ſilly ſoul, and baſe-witted man might eaſily abuſe me to what enterprize he liſted at his pleaſure? Well, I ſay not nay, but I may be abuſed. But why do you not tell me how your brother abuſed me, promiſing before me and many more, that he would ſtand to your awardſhip, and now doth deny it? Why do you not tell me, how thoſe two falſe faithleſs wretches abuſe me, promiſing alſo to abide your award, and do it not? Yea, why do you not tell me how you yourſelf have abuſed me, promiſing me to redreſs the injury and wrong that your brother hath done to my neighbour, and have not fulfilled your promiſe? Theſe notable abuſes be nothing with you, but only you muſt needs burden me with my neighbour's abuſing me, which is none at all, as far as ever I could perceive, ſo God help me at my need. For if he had abuſed me as you and others have done, I ſhould be ſoon at a point with him, for any thing further doing for him, &c.

Likewiſe, Sir, you ſaid further, that I ſhall never be able to prove that either your brother, or the two tenants agree to ſtand to your award, &c. No, Sir, Mr. N. you ſay belike as you would have it to be, or as your brother with his adherents have perſuaded you to think it to be, ſo inducing you to do their requeſt to your own ſhame and rebuke, if you perſevere in the ſame, beſides the danger of your ſoul, for conſenting, at leaſt wiſe, to the maintenance by falſhood of your brother's iniquity. For in that you would your awardſhip ſhould take none effect, you

ſhew yourſelf nothing inclinable to the redreſs of your brother's unright dealing with an honeſt poor man, which hath been ready at your requeſt to do you pleaſure with his things, or he had never come into this wrangle, for his own goods with your brother.

Ah maſter N. what manner of man do you ſhew yourſelf to be? Or what manner of conſcience do you ſhew yourſelf to have? For, firſt, as touching your brother, you know right well that Sir Thomas Coking with a letter of his own hand writing, hath witneſſed unto your brother's agreement; which letter he ſent to me unſealed, and I ſhewed the ſame to my neighbour, and others, before I ſealed it, and perchance have a copy of the ſame yet to ſhew. With what conſcience then can you ſay that I ſhall never be able to prove it? Shall not three men upon their oaths make a ſufficient proof, think you? The Lord himſelf ſaying, In the mouth of two or three, &c. Yea, you think it true I dare ſay, in your conſcience, if you have any conſcience, though I were in my grave, and ſo unable to prove any thing. And as for the two tenants, they be as they be, and I truſt to ſee them handled according as they be; for there be three men yet alive, that dare ſwear upon a book, that they both did agree. But what ſhould we look for at ſuch men's hands, when you yourſelf play the part you do? But God is yet alive, who ſeeth all, and judgeth juſtly.

Alſo, Sir, you ſaid yet further, that the juſtices of the peace in the country think you very unnatural, in taking part with me before your brother, &c. Ah, maſter N. what a ſentence is this to come out of your mouth? For partaking is one thing, and miniſtering of juſtice is another thing; and a worthy miniſter of juſtice will be no partaker, but one indifferent between party and party. And did I require you to take my part, I pray you? No, I required you to adminiſter juſtice between your brother and my neighbour, without any partaking with either other. But what manner of juſtices be they, I pray you? who would ſo fain have you to take part naturally with your brother, when you ought and ſhould reform and amend your brother? as you yourſelf know, no man better. What, juſtices! No, jugglers you might more worthily call ſuch as they be, than juſtices? Be they thoſe juſtices which call you unnatural, for that you will not take your brother's part againſt all right and conſcience, whom you had picked out and appointed to have the final hearing and determining of my neighbour's cauſe, after your ſubſtantial and final award-making? Verily, I think no leſs. Forſooth he is much beholding to you, and I alſo for his ſake. Is that the wholeſome counſel that you have to give your poor neighbours in their need? Indeed you ſhew yourſelf a worthy juggler: Oh, I would have, ſaid a juſticer, among other of your juggling and partaking juſtices. O good God! what is in the world? Marry, Sir, my neighbour had ſpun a fair thread, if your partaking juſtices, through your good counſel, had had this matter in ordering and finiſhing. I pray God ſave me and all my friends, with all God's flock, from your natural and ſo partaking juſtices, Amen.

Lord God! who would have thought that there had been ſo many partaking juſtices, that is to ſay, unjuſt juſtices in Warwickſhire, if maſter N. himſelf, one of the ſame order (but altogether out of order) and therefore knoweth it beſt, had not told us the tale? But theſe call you, you ſay, very unnatural, &c. And why not rather, I pray you, too much natural? For we read of a double nature, ſound and corrupt. That was full of juſtice: this, unleſs it be reſtored, abideth always unjuſt, bringing forth the fruits of wickedneſs one after another; ſo that he that will not help his brother, having a juſt cauſe in his need, may be juſtly called unnatural, as not doing according to the inſtinct of nature, either it was at the beginning, or as it was reſtored. But he that will take his brother's part againſt right, as to ratify his brother's wrong deceiving, he is too much natural, as one following the diſpoſition and inclination of corrupt nature againſt the will of God; and ſo to be natural may ſeem to be cater-couſin, or couſin-german with, to be diabolical.

I fear we have too many juſtices that be too much natural, to their own puniſhment both body and ſoul. For worthy juſtices having ever the fear and dread of God before their eyes (of which ſort we have fewer amongſt us than I wiſh we had) will have no reſpect at all in their judgments and proceedings, to vicinity of blood, but altogether to the worth and juſtice of the cauſe, judging that to be juſt which is ſo in the ſight of God, though not of men; of which number I pray God make you one, Amen. He is juſt that doth juſtice. But he that ſinneth (as they all do which do unjuſtly for favour and pleaſure of men) is one of the devil, ſaith he, of which ſort all our partaking and natural juſtices be with all their partiality and naturality. Wherefore it would be right and juſt that as many as be ſuch juſtices, be juſtly deprived of their offices, and further alſo to be puniſhed, according to the quantity or quality of their crime, ſo that by that means they may be cut off, as men born and bred to the hurt and detriment of the commonwealth, which trouble us when they ought to help us, Amen.

Sir, Finally and laſt of all you added theſe words following: Well, quoth you, let Mr. Latimer take heed how he meddleth with my brother, for he is like to find as crabbed and as froward a piece of him, as ever he found in his life, &c. Ah, Sir, and is your brother ſuch an one as you ſpeak of indeed? Merciful God, what a commendation is this for one brother to give another? Is this your glorying, my friend? And were it not poſſible, think you, to make him better? It is written, Vexation giveth him underſtanding. And again, It is good O Lord, that thou haſt humbled me. At leaſt, I may pray to God for him as David did for ſuch like, after this ſort; Bind faſt aſſes with bridle and ſnaffle, that they approach not near unto thee. In the mean ſeaſon, I would I had never known either of you both: for ſo ſhould I have been without this inward ſorrow of my heart, to ſee ſuch untowardlineſs of you both to godlineſs: for I cannot but be heavy-hearted, to ſee ſuch men ſo wickedly minded. Well, let us ponder a little better your words, where you ſay, I ſhall find him as crabbed and as froward a piece as ever I found in my life, &c. Mark well your own words. For by the tenor of the ſame it plainly appeareth, that you confeſs your brother's cauſe wherein he ſo ſtifly ſtandeth to be unjuſt and very naught. For he that ſtandeth ſo ſtiffly in a good quarrel and a juſt cauſe, as many good men have done, is called a faſt man, a conſtant, a truſty man. But he that is ſo obſtinate and untractable in wickedneſs and wrong doing, is commonly called a crabbed and froward piece, as you name your brother to be.

Wherefore knowing ſo well your brother's cauſe to be ſo naughty, why have you not endeavoured yourſelf, as a worthy juſtice, to reform him accordingly, as I required you, and you promiſed me to do, now almoſt twelve months ago. In ſhort Mr. N. if you will not come off ſhortly, and apply yourſelf thereunto more effectually hereafter than you have heretofore, be you well aſſured thereof, I ſhall detect you to all the friends that I have in England both high and low, as well his crabbedneſs and forwardneſs, as your colourable ſupport of the ſame: that I may truſt I ſhall be able thereby either to bring you both to ſome goodneſs, or at leaſt I ſhall ſo warn my friends and all honeſt hearts to beware of your wickedneſs, that they ſhall either take no hurt at all, or at leaſt leſs harm by you thro' my advertiſement; in that knowing you perfectly, they may the better avoid and ſhun your company. You ſhall not hinder me, Mr. N. no though you would give me all the lands and goods you have, as rich as you are noted to be. I will not forſake ſuch a juſt cauſe, neither will I communicate with other men's ſins. For whether it be by deteſtable pride; whether

whether by abominable avarice: or by both linked together, it is no ſmall iniquity to keep any poor man ſo long from his right and duty ſo ſtiff-neckedly and obſtinately, or, whether ye will, crabbedly and frowardly. And what is it then any, manner of ways, to conſent to the ſame? You know, I ſuppoſe, Mr. N. what theft is, that is, to take or detain by any manner of way another man's goods againſt his will that is the owner, as ſome define it. If he be a thief that ſo doth openly, what ſhall he be that approveth him which is the doer, defendeth, maintaineth, and ſupporteth him by any manner of colour? Conſider with yourſelf, good Mr. N. what it is to oppreſs, and to defraud your brother in his buſineſs, and what followeth thereof. It is truly ſaid, the ſin is not forgiven, except the thing be reſtored again that is taken away. No reſtitution, no ſalvation; which is as well to be underſtood of things gotten by fraud, guile and deceit, as of things gotten by open theft and robbery. Wherefore let not your brother, Mr. N. by cavillation continue in the devil's poſſeſſion. I will do the beſt I can, and wreſtle with the devil with all my ſtrength, to deliver you both from him. I will leave no one ſtone unmoved to have both you and your brother ſaved. There is neither archbiſhop nor biſhop, nor yet any learned man neither in univerſities or elſewhere that I am acquainted withal, that ſhall not write unto you, and in their writing, by their learning, confute you. There is no godly man of law in this realm that I am acquainted withal, but they ſhall write unto you, and conſute you by the law. There is neither lord nor lady, nor yet any noble perſonage in this realm, that I am acquainted withal, but they ſhall write unto you, and goldly threaten you with their authority.

I will do all this; yea, and kneel upon both my knees before the king's majeſty, and all his honourable council, with moſt humble petition for your reformation, rather than the devil ſhall poſſeſs you ſtill, to your final damnation. So that I do not deſpair, but verily truſt one way or other, to pluck both you and alſo your crabbed brother, as crabbed as you ſay he is, out of the devil's claws, in ſpite of the devil's heart.

Theſe premiſes well conſidered, look upon it good maſter N. that we have no further ado: God's plague is preſently upon us; therefore let us now diligently look about us, and no wiſe defend, but willingly acknowledge and amend whatſoever hath been amiſs. Theſe were the capital points of your talk, as I was informed, after you had peruſed that my nipping and unpleaſant letter? And I thought good to make you ſome anſwer to them, if perchance I might ſo move you, rather to call yourſelf to ſome better remembrance, and ſo more earneſtly apply yourſelf to accompliſh and perform what you have begun and promiſed to do, namely, the thing itſelf, being of ſuch ſort, as apparently tendeth both to your worſhip, and alſo to God's high pleaſure.

Thus, lo, with a mad head, but yet a good will, after long ſcribbling I know not well what (but I know you can read it, and comprehend it well enough) I bid you moſt heartily well to fare in the Lord, with good health, and long life to God's pleaſure.

From Baxterly, June 15.

During the time that the ſaid Mr. Latimer was priſoner at Oxford, we read not of much that he did write, beſides his conference with Dr. Ridley, and his proteſtation at the time of his diſputation. Otherwiſe, of letters we find very few or none that he wrote to his friends abroad, ſave only theſe few lines, which he ſent to one Mrs. Wilkinſon, of London, a pious woman, and afterwards an exile for the goſpel's ſake. Who ſo long as ſhe remained in England, was a ſingular patroneſs to the good ſaints of God, and learned biſhops, as to biſhop Hooper, to the biſhop of Hereford, to Mr. Coverdale, Mr. Latimer, Dr. Cranmer, with many others. The copy and effect of which his letter to Mrs. Wilkinſon here followeth.

A Letter from Mr. Hugh Latimer to Mrs. Wilkinſon, Widow, in London.

IF the gift of a pot of water ſhall not be in oblivion with God, how can God forget your manifold and bountiful gifts, when he ſhall ſay to you: I was in priſon, and you viſited me? God grant us all to do and ſuffer while we be here as may be to his will and pleaſure, Amen,

Yours, in Bocardo.
Hugh Latimer.

Touching the memorable actions of this worthy man, among many others this is not to be neglected, what a bold enterprize he attempted, in ſending to king Henry a preſent, the manner whereof is this. There was then, and remaineth ſtill an old cuſtom received from the old Romans, that upon New-years day, being the firſt day of January, every biſhop with ſome handſome new-years gift ſhould gratify the king; and ſo they did; ſome with gold, ſome with ſilver, ſome with a purſe full of money, and ſome one thing and ſome another: but Mr. Latimer, being then biſhop of Worceſter, among the reſt, preſented a New Teſtament for his new-years gift, with a napkin having this poſey about it, Fornicators and adulterers God will judge.

And thus haſt thou, gentle reader, the whole life, both of Dr. Ridley and Mr. Latimer, two worthy fathers in the church of Chriſt, with their writings, diſputations, ſufferings, their painful travels, and faithful preachings, ſtudious ſervice in Chriſt's church, their patient impriſonment, and conſtant fortitude in that which they had taught, with all their proceedings from time to time, ſince their firſt ſpringing years to this preſent month of queen Mary, being the month of October, Anno. 1555. In which month they were brought forth together, to their final examination and execution. Wherefore as we have heretofore declared both their lives ſeverally and diſtinctly one from another; ſo now jointly to couple them both together, as they were both together joined in one ſociety of cauſe of martyrdom, we will, by the grace of Chriſt, proſecute the reſt that remaineth concerning their laſt examination, degrading, and conſtant ſuffering, with the order and manner alſo of the commiſſioners; and what were their words, their objections, their orations there uſed; what again were the anſwers of theſe men to the ſame, as in the proceſs here followeth to be ſeen.

The Order and Manner of the Examination of Dr. Ridley and Mr. Latimer in September 1555.

FIRST, after the appearing of Thomas Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury before the pope's delegate, and the queen's commiſſioners in St. Mary's church at Oxford, about the 12th of September, whereof more ſhall be ſaid (by God's grace) when we come to the death of the ſaid archbiſhop; ſhortly after, on the 28th of the ſaid month, another commiſſion was ſent down to Oxford from cardinal Poole, to John White biſhop of Lincoln, Dr. Brooks biſhop of Glouceſter, and Dr. Holyman biſhop of Briſtol. The contents and virtue of which commiſſion was, that the ſaid biſhops of Lincoln, Glouceſter, and Briſtol, or two of them, ſhould have full power and authority to cite, examine and judge Mr. Hugh Latimer and Dr. Ridley, for divers and ſundry erroneous opinions, which the ſaid Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley did hold and maintain in open diſputations had in Oxford, in the months of May, June and July, in the year 1554, as long before in the time of perdition, and ſince. Which opinions, if the named perſons would now recant, giving and yielding themſelves to the determination of the univerſal and catholic church planted by Peter in the bleſſed

ſee

ſee of Rome, that then deputed judges, by the ſaid authority of their commiſſion, ſhould have power to receive the ſaid penitent perſons, and forthwith adminiſter unto them the reconciliation of the holy father the pope; but if the ſaid Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley would ſtoutly and ſtubbornly defend and maintain theſe their erroneous opinions and aſſertions, that then the ſaid lords by their commiſſion ſhould proceed in form of judgment, according to the law of heretics; that is, degrading them from their promotion and dignity of biſhops, prieſts, and all other eccleſiaſtical orders, ſhould pronounce them as heretics, and therefore clean cut them off from the church, and ſo yield them to receive puniſhments due to all ſuch hereſy and ſchiſm.

Wherefore the laſt of September the ſaid two perſons, Nicholas Ridley and Hugh Latimer, were cited to appear before the ſaid lords in the divinity-ſchool at Oxford, at eight of the clock. At which time the lords repaired thither, placing themſelves in the high ſeat made for public lectures and diſputations, according to the uſage of that ſchool, being then fair ſet and trimmed with cloth of tiſſue, and cuſhions of velvet: And after the ſaid lords were placed and ſet, the ſaid Latimer and Ridley were ſent for. And firſt Dr. Ridley appeared, and by and by Mr. Latimer. But becauſe it ſeemed good ſeverally to examine them, Mr. Latimer was kept back until Dr. Ridley was throughly examined. Therefore ſoon after the coming of Dr. Ridley into the ſchool, the commiſſion was publiſhed by an appointed notary, and openly read. But Dr. Ridley ſtanding bareheaded, humbly expecting the cauſe of that his appearance, as ſoon as he had heard the cardinal named, and the pope's holineſs, put on his cap. Wherefore after the commiſſion was publiſhed, the biſhop of Lincoln ſpake as followeth.

Lincoln. Mr. Ridley, although neither I, neither my lords here, in reſpect of our own perſons, do look for cap or knee, yet becauſe we bear and repreſent ſuch perſons as we do, that is, my lord cardinal's grace, legate a latere to the pope's holineſs, as well in that he is of a noble parentage [and there Dr. Ridley moved his cap with lowly obeiſance] deſcending from the royal blood, as in that he is a man worthy to be reverenced with all humility, for his great knowledge and learning, noble virtues and godly life, and eſpecially in that he is here in England deputy to the pope's holineſs, it ſhould have becomed you at this name to have uncovered your head. Wherefore except you will of your ownſelf take the pains to put your hand to your head, and at the nomination, as well of the ſaid cardinal, as of the pope's holineſs, uncover the ſame, leſt that this your contumacy, exhibited now before us, ſhould be prejudicial to the ſaid moſt reverend perſons, (which thing we may in no caſe ſuffer) you ſhall cauſe us to take the pains to oblige ſome man to pluck off your cap from you. To whom Dr. Ridley [deſiring licence] anſwered:

Ridley. As touching what you ſaid, my lord, that you of your own perſons deſire no cap or knee, but only require the ſame in conſideration that you repreſent the cardinal's grace's perſon, I do you to wit, and thereupon make my proteſtation, that I did put on my cap at the naming of the cardinal's grace, neither for any contumacy that I bear towards your own perſons, neither for any derogation of honour toward the lord cardinal's grace. For I know him to be a man worthy of all humility, reverence, and honour, in that he came of the moſt regal blood, and in that he is a man indued with manifold graces of learning and virtue, and as touching theſe virtues and points, I with all humility [therewith he put off his cap, and bowed his knee] and obeiſance that I may, will reverence and honour his grace; but in that he is legate to the biſhop of Rome [and therewith put on his cap] whoſe uſurped ſupremacy and abuſed authority I utterly refuſe and renounce, I may in no wiſe give any obeiſance or honour unto him, leſt that my ſo doing might be prejudicial to mine oath, and derogation to the verity of God's word: and therefore that I might not only by confeſſion profeſs the verity in not reverencing the renounced authority, contrary to God's word, but alſo in geſture, in beheavour, and all my doings expreſs the ſame, I have put on my cap, and for this conſideration only; and not for any contumacy to your lordſhips, neither contempt of this worſhipful audience, neither derogation of any honour due to the cardinal's grace, both for his noble parentage, and alſo his excellent qualities, I have kept on my cap.

Lincoln. Mr. Ridley, you excuſe yourſelf of that which we preſſed you not, in that you proteſt you keep on your cap, neither for the contumacy towards us (who look for no ſuch homage from you) neither for any contempt to this audience; which although juſtly they may, yet (as I ſuppoſe) in this caſe do not require any ſuch obeiſance of you; neither in derogation of any honour due to my lord cardinal's grace, for his regal deſcent [at which word Dr. Ridley moved his cap] and excellent qualities; for although in all the premiſes honour be due, yet in theſe reſpects we require none of you, but only in that my lord cardinal's grace is here in England, deputy of the pope's holineſs [at which word the lords and others put off their caps, and Dr. Ridley put on his] and therefore we ſay unto you the ſecond time, that except you take the pains yourſelf, to put your hand to your head, and put off your cap, you ſhall put us to the pains to cauſe ſome man to take it from you, except you alledge ſome infirmity and ſickneſs, or other more reaſonable cauſe, upon the conſideration whereof we may do as we think good.

Ridley. The premiſes I ſaid only for this end, that it might as well appear to your lordſhips, as to this worſhipful audience, why and for what conſideration I uſed ſuch kind of behaviour, in not humbling myſelf to your lordſhips with cap and knee: and as for my ſickneſs, I thank my Lord God, that I am as well at eaſe as I have been this long time; and therefore I do not pretend that which is not, but only this, that it might appear by this my behaviour that I acknowledge in no point that uſurped ſupremacy of Rome, and therefore contemn and utterly deſpiſe all authority coming from him. In taking off my cap, do as it ſhall pleaſe your lordſhip, and I ſhall be content.

Then the biſhop of Lincoln, after the third admonition, commanded one of the beadles (that is an officer of the univerſity) to pluck his cap from his head; Dr. Ridley, bowing his head to the officer, gently permitted him to take it away.

After this the biſhop of Lincoln in a long oration exhorted Dr. Ridley to recant, and ſubmit himſelf to the univerſal faith of Chriſt, in this manner.

Lincoln. Mr. Ridley, I am ſure you have ſufficiently pondered with yourſelf the effect of this our commiſſion with good advice, conſidering both points thereof, how that authority is given to us, if you ſhall receive the true doctrine of the church, which firſt was founded by Peter at Rome immediately after the death of Chriſt, and from him by lineal ſucceſſion hath been brought to this our time, if you will be content to renounce your former errors, recant your heretical and ſeditious opinions, content to yield yourſelf to the undoubted faith and truth of the goſpel, received and always taught by the catholic and apoſtolic church, which the king and queen, all the nobles of this realm, and commons of the ſame, all chriſtian people have and do confeſs, you only ſtanding alone by yourſelf: You underſtand and perceive, I am ſure, that authority is given us to receive you, to reconcile you, and upon due penance to join and aſſociate you again into the number of the catholics and Chriſt's church, from which you have ſo long ſtrayed, without which no man can be ſaved, which thing I and my lords here,

here, yea and all, as well nobles and commons of this realm, moſt heartily deſire, and I for my part [here he put off his cap] moſt earneſtly exhort you to do.

Remember, Mr. Ridley, it is no ſtrange country whither I exhort you to return. You were once one of us, you have taken degrees in the ſchool. You were made a prieſt, and became a preacher, ſetting forth the ſame doctrine which we do now. You were made biſhop according to our laws: and to be ſhort, it is not ſo long ago ſince you ſeparated yourſelf from us, and in the time of hereſy became a ſetter-forth of that deviliſh and ſeditious doctrine which in theſe latter days was preached amongſt us. For at what time the new doctrine of only faith began to ſpring, the council willing to win my lord chancellor, ſent you to him (I then being in my lord's houſe unknown as I ſuppoſe to you) and after you had talked with my lord ſecretly, and were departed, immediately my lord declared certain points of your talk, and means of your perſuaſion, and amongſt others this was one, that you ſhould ſay, Tuſh, my lord, this matter of juſtification is but a trifle, let us not ſtick to condeſcend herein to them; but for God's love, my lord, ſtand ſtoutly in the verity of the ſacrament: for I ſee they will aſſault that alſo. If this be true (as my lord is a man credible enough in ſuch a matter) hereby it is declared of what mind you were then, as touching the truth of the moſt bleſſed ſacrament.

Alſo in a ſermon of yours at Paul's Croſs, you as effectually and as catholicly ſpake of that bleſſed ſacrament, as any man might have done, whereby it appeareth that it is no ſtrange thing, nor unknown place whereunto I exhort you. I wiſh you to return thither from whence you came: that is, with us to acknowledge the church of God, wherein no man may err, to acknowledge the ſupremacy of our moſt reverend father in God, the pope's holineſs, which (as I ſaid) lineally taketh his deſcent from Peter, upon whom Chriſt promiſeth before his death, to build his church; which ſupremacy or prerogative, the moſt ancient fathers in all ages, in all times did acknowledge: [and here he brought a place or two out of the doctors, but eſpecially ſtaid upon a place of St. Auguſtine, who writeth in this manner: All the chriſtian countries beyond the ſea are ſubject to the church of Rome. Here you ſee, Mr. Ridley, that all Chriſtendom is ſubject to the church of Rome.] What ſhould hinder you therefore to confeſs the ſame, as St. Auguſtine and other fathers?

Then Dr. Ridley deſired his patience to ſuffer him to ſpeak ſomewhat of the premiſes, leſt the multitude of things might confound his memory: and having leave granted him, he ſaid in this manner:

Ridley. My lord, I moſt heartily thank your lordſhip, as well for your gentleneſs, as alſo for your ſobriety in talk, and for your good and favourable zeal in this learned exhortation, in which I have marked eſpecially three points, which you uſed to perſuade me to leave my doctrine and religion, which I perfectly know and am thoroughly perſuaded to be grounded not upon man's imagination and decrees, but upon the infallible truth of Chriſt's goſpel, and not to look back and to return to the Romiſh ſee, contrary to mine oath, contrary to the prerogative and crown of this realm, and eſpecially (which moveth me moſt) contrary to the expreſſed word of God.

The firſt point is this, That the ſee of Rome taking his beginning from Peter, upon whom you ſay Chriſt hath built his church, hath in all ages lineally, from biſhop to biſhop, been brought to this time.

Secondly, That even the holy fathers from time to time have confeſſed the ſame.

Thirdly, That in that I was once of the ſame opinion, and together with you I did acknowledge the ſame.

Firſt, As touching the ſaying of Chriſt, from whence your lordſhip gathereth the foundation of the church upon Peter, truly the place is not to be underſtood as you take it, as the circumſtance of the place will declare. For after that Chriſt had aſked his diſciples whom men judged him to be, and they had anſwered, that ſome had ſaid he was a prophet, ſome Elias, ſome one thing, ſome another, then he ſaid, Whom ſay ye that I am? Then Peter ſaid, I ſay that thou art Chriſt the Son of God. To whom Chriſt anſwered, I ſay, Thou art Peter, and upon this ſtone I will build my church; that is to ſay, Upon this ſtone, not meaning Peter himſelf, as though he would have conſtituted a mortal man, ſo frail and brittle a foundation of his ſtable and infallible church; but upon this rock-ſtone, that is, this confeſſion of thine, that I am the Son of God, I will build my church. For this is the foundation and beginning of all chriſtianity, with word, heart and mind, to confeſs that Chriſt is the Son of God. Whoſoever believeth not this, Chriſt is not in him; and he cannot have the mark of Chriſt printed in his forehead, which confeſſeth not that Chriſt is the Son of God.

Therefore Chriſt ſaid unto Peter, that upon this rock, that is, upon this his confeſſion, that he was Chriſt the Son of God, he would build his church; to declare, that without this faith no man can come to Chriſt; ſo that this belief, that Chriſt is the Son of God, is the foundation of our chriſtianity, and ſupport of our church. Here you ſee upon what foundation Chriſt's church is built, not upon the frailty of man, but upon the ſtable and infallible word of God.

Now as touching the lineal deſcent of the biſhops in the ſee of Rome, true it is, that the patriarchs of Rome in the apoſtles time, and long after, were great maintainers and ſetters forth of Chriſt's glory, in which above all other countries and regions, there eſpecially was preached the true goſpel, the ſacraments were moſt duly adminiſtered; and as before Chriſt's coming it was a city ſo valiant in power, and martial affairs, that all the world was in a manner ſubject to it, and after Chriſt's paſſion divers of the apoſtles there ſuffered perſecution for the goſpel's ſake: ſo after that the emperors, their hearts being illuminated, received the goſpel, and became chriſtians, the goſpel there, as well for the great power and dominion, as for the fame of the place, flouriſhed moſt, whereby the biſhops of that place were had in more reverence and honour, moſt eſteemed in all councils and aſſemblies, not becauſe they acknowledged them to be their head, but becauſe the place was moſt reverenced and ſpoken of, for the great power and ſtrength of the ſame. As now here in England, the biſhop of Lincoln in ſeſſions and ſitings hath the preeminence of the other biſhops, not that he is the head and ruler of them; but for the dignity of the biſhopric [and therewith the people ſmiled.] Wherefore the doctors in their writings have ſpoken moſt reverently of this ſee of Rome, and in their writings prefered it; and this is the prerogative which your lordſhip did rehearſe the ancient doctors to give to the ſee of Rome.

Semblably, I cannot, nor dare not but commend, reverence, and honour the ſee of Rome, as long as it continued in the promotion and ſetting forth of God's glory and in due preaching of the goſpel, as it did many years after Chriſt. But after that the biſhops of that ſee, ſeeking their own pride, and not God's honour, began to ſet themſelves above kings and emperors, challenging to them the title of God's vicars, the dominion and ſupremacy over all the world, I cannot but with St. Gregory, a biſhop of Rome alſo, confeſs that the biſhop of that place is the very true Antichriſt, whereof St. John ſpeaketh by the name of the whore of Babylon; and ſay with the ſaid St. Gregory, He that maketh himſelf a biſhop over all the world, is worſe than Antichriſt.

Now whereas you ſay St. Auguſtine ſhould ſeem not only to give ſuch a prerogative, but alſo ſupremacy to the ſee of Rome, in that he ſaith all the chriſtian world is ſubject to the church of Rome, and therefore ſhould give to that ſee a certain kind of ſubjection: I am ſure that your lordſhip knoweth, that in St. Auſtin's time there

were four patriarchs, of Alexandria, Conſtantinople, Antioch, and Rome, which patriarchs had under them certain countries; as in England the archbiſhop of Canterbury hath under him divers biſhoprics in England and Wales, to whom he may be ſaid to be their patriarch. Alſo your lordſhip knoweth right well, that at what time St. Auſtin wrote that book, he was biſhop in Africa. Further, you are not ignorant, that between Europe and Africa lieth the ſea called the Mediterranean Sea, ſo that all the countries in Europe to him which is in Africa, may be called countries beyond the ſea. Hereof St. Auſtin ſaith, All the chriſtian countries beyond the ſeas and remote regions, are ſubject to the ſee of Rome. If I ſhould ſay all countries beyond the ſea, I do except England, which to me now being in England, is not beyond the ſea. In this ſenſe St. Auſtin ſaith, All the countries beyond the ſea are ſubject to the ſee of Rome; declaring thereby that Rome was one of the ſees of the four patriarchs, and under it Europe, by what ſubjection I pray you? Only for a pre-eminence; as we here in England ſay, that all the biſhoprics in England are ſubject to the archbiſhoprics of Canterbury and York.

For this preeminence alſo the other doctors (as you recited) ſay, that Rome is the mother of churches, as the biſhopric of Lincoln is mother to the biſhopric of Oxford, becauſe the biſhopric of Oxford came from the biſhopric of Lincoln, and they were once both one; and ſo is the archbiſhopric of Canterbury mother to the other biſhoprics which are in her province. In like manner the archbiſhop of York is mother to the North biſhoprics; and yet no man will ſay, that Lincoln, Canterbury, or York, is ſupreme head to other biſhoprics; neither then ought we to confeſs the ſee of Rome to be the ſupreme head, becauſe the doctors in their writings confeſs the ſee of Rome to be mother of churches.

Now where you ſay, I was once of the ſame religion which you are of, the truth is I cannot but confeſs the ſame. Yet ſo was St. Paul a perſecutor of Chriſt. But in that you ſay, that I was one of you not long ago, in that I, doing my meſſage to my lord of Wincheſter, ſhould deſire him to ſtand ſtout in that groſs opinion of the ſupper of the Lord; in very deed I was ſent (as your lordſhip ſaid) from the council to my lord of Wincheſter, to exhort him to receive alſo the true confeſſion of juſtification: and becauſe he was very refractory, I ſaid to him, Why, my lord, what make you ſo great a matter herein? You ſee many anabaptiſts riſe againſt the ſacrament of the altar; I pray you, my lord, be diligent in confounding of them: for at that time my lord of Wincheſter and I had to do with two anabaptiſts in Kent. In this ſenſe I willed my lord to be ſtiff in the defence of the ſacrament againſt the deteſtable errors of anabaptiſts, and not in the confirmation of that groſs and carnal opinion now maintained.

In like ſort as touching the ſermon which I made at Paul's Croſs, you ſhall underſtand that there were at Paul's, and divers other places, fixed railing bills againſt the ſacrament, terming it Jack of the Box, The ſacrament of the Halter, Round Robbin, with ſuch unſeemly terms; for which cauſes, I to rebuke the unreverend behaviour of certain evil-diſpoſed perſons, preaching as reverendly of that matter as I might, declaring what eſtimation and reverence ought to be given to it, what danger enſued the miſhandling thereof, affirming in that ſacrament to be truly and verily the body and blood of Chriſt, effectually by grace and ſpirit: which words the unlearned underſtanding not, ſuppoſed that I had meant of the groſs and carnal being which the Romiſh decrees ſet forth, that a body having life and motion, ſhould be indeed under the ſhapes of bread and wine.

With that the biſhop of Lincoln, interrupting him, ſaid:

Lincoln. Well, Mr. Ridley, thus you wreſt places to your own pleaſure; for whereas St. Auguſtine ſaith, That the whole chriſtian world is ſubject to the ſee of Rome without any limitation, and uſed theſe words, Beyond the ſeas, and remote regions, only to expreſs the latitude of the dominion of the ſee of Rome, willing thereby to declare that all the world, yea countries far diſtant from Rome, yet nevertheleſs are ſubject to that ſee, yet you would wreſt it, and leave it only to Europe. I am ſure you will not deny, but all the countries is more than Europe.

Ridley. Indeed, my lord, if St. Auguſtine had ſaid ſimply, All the countries, and not added, Beyond the ſeas, it had been without limitation; but in that he ſaid, All the countries beyond the ſeas, he himſelf doth limit the univerſal propoſition, declaring how far he meant by All the countries.

The biſhop, not ſtaying for his anſwer, proceeded, ſaying:

Lincoln. Well, if I ſhould ſtay upon this place, I could bring many more places of the fathers for the confirmation thereof; but we have certain inſtructions, according to which we muſt proceed, and came not hither to diſpute the matter with you, but only to take your anſwers to certain articles, and uſed this in the way of diſputation, in which you interrupted me; wherefore I will return thither again.

Ye muſt conſider that the church of Chriſt lieth not hid, but is a city on the mountain, and a candle on the candleſtick. Ponder with yourſelf, that the church of Chriſt is catholic, and univerſally ſpread throughout the world, not contained in the alligation of places, not comprehended in the circuit of England, not contained in the compaſs of Germany and Saxony, as your church is.

Wherefore, Mr. Ridley, for God's love, be ye not ſingular; acknowledge with all the realm the truth, it ſhall not be (as you alledge) prejudicial to the crown; for the king and queen their majeſties have renounced that uſurped power taken of their predeceſſors, and juſtly have renounced it. For I am ſure you know there are two powers, the one declared by the ſword, the other by the keys. The ſword is given to kings and rulers of countries; the keys were delivered by Chriſt to Peter, and of him left to all the ſucceſſors. As touching our goods, poſſeſſions, and lives, we with you acknowledge us ſubjects to the king and queen, who hath the temporal ſword; but as concerning matters of religion, as touching God's quarrel and his word, we acknowledge another head: and as the king and the queen their highneſs do in all worldly affairs juſtly challenge the prerogative and primacy, ſo in ſpiritual and eccleſiaſtical matters they acknowledge themſelves not to be heads and rulers, but members of Chriſt's body. Why therefore ſhould you ſtick at that matter, which their majeſties have forſaken, and yielded.

Wherefore, Mr. Ridley, you ſhall not only not do injury to the crown, and be prejudicial to their majeſties honour, in acknowledging with all Chriſtendom the pope's holineſs to be ſupreme head of Chriſt's church militant here on earth, but do a thing moſt agreeable to them, and moſt deſired of his holineſs. Thus if ye will do, revoking together all your errors, acknowledging, with the reſidue of the realm, the common and public fault, you will do what all men moſt heartily deſire; you will bring quietneſs to your conſcience, and health to your ſoul; then ſhall we with great joy, by the authority committed to us from the cardinal's grace, receive you into the church again, acknowledging you to be no longer a rotten, but a lively member of the ſame; but if you ſhall ſtill obſtinately perſevere in your errors, ſtubbornly maintaining your former hereſies, then we muſt, againſt our will, according to our commiſſion, ſeparate you from us, and cut you off from the church, leſt the rottenneſs of one part, in proceſs of time, putrify and corrupt the whole body, then muſt we confeſs and publiſh you to be none of ours; then muſt we yield you up

to

to the temporal judges, of whom, except it otherwiſe pleaſe the king and queen's highneſs, you muſt receive puniſhment by the laws of this realm, due for heretics.

Wherefore, Mr. Ridley, conſider your ſtate, remember your former degrees, ſpare your body, eſpecially conſider your ſoul, which Chriſt ſo dearly bought with his precious blood; do not you raſhly caſt away that which was precious in God's ſight; enforce not us to do all that we may do, which is only to publiſh you to be none of us, to cut you off from the church: we do not, and cannot condemn you to die (as moſt untruly hath been reported of us) but that is the office of the temporal judges; we only declare you to be none of the church, and then you muſt, according to the tenor of them, and pleaſure of the rulers, abide their determination, ſo that we, after we have given you up to the temporal rulers, have no further to do with you.

But I truſt, Mr. Ridley, we ſhall not have occaſion to do what we may. I truſt you will ſuffer us to reſt in that point of our commiſſion, which we moſt heartily deſire, that is, upon recantation and repentance to receive you, to reconcile you, and again to adjoin you to the unity of the church.

Then Dr. Ridley, with often interruption, at length ſpake.

Ridley. My lord, I acknowledge an unſpotted church of Chriſt, in which no man can err, without which no man can be ſaved, which is ſpread throughout all the world, that is, the congregation of the faithful; neither do I alligate or bind the ſame to any one place, as you ſaid, but confeſs the ſame to be ſpread throughout all the world; and where Chriſt's ſacraments are duly adminiſtered, his goſpel truly preached and followed, there doth Chriſt's church ſhine as a city upon an hill, and as a candle in the candleſtick: but rather it is ſuch as you that would have the church of Chriſt bound to a place, who appoint the ſame to Rome, that there and no where elſe is the foundation of Chriſt's church. But I am fully perſuaded that Chriſt's church is every where founded, in every place where his goſpel is truly received, and effectually followed. And in that the church of God is in doubt, I uſe herein the wiſe counſel of Vincentius Lyrienſis, whom I am ſure you will allow, who giving precepts how the catholic church may be in all ſchiſms and hereſies known, writeth in this manner: When (ſaith he) one part is corrupted with hereſies, then prefer the whole world before that one part; but if the greateſt part be infected, then prefer antiquity.

In like manner now when I perceive the greateſt part of chriſtianity to be infected with the poiſon of the ſee of Rome, I repair to the uſage of the primitive church, which I find clean contrary to the pope's decrees; as in that the prieſt receiveth alone, that it is made unlawful to the laity to receive in both kinds, and ſuch like: wherefore it requireth, that I prefer the antiquity of the primitive church, before the novelty of the Romiſh church.

Lincoln. Mr. Ridley, theſe faults which you charge the ſee of Rome withal, are indeed no faults. For firſt it was never forbid the laity, but that they might, if they demanded, receive under both kinds. You know alſo, that Chriſt after his reſurrection, at what time he went with his apoſtles to Galilee, opened himſelf by breaking of bread. You know that St. Paul, after his long ſailing towards Rome, brake bread, and that the apoſtles came together in breaking of bread, which declareth that it is not unlawful to adminiſter the ſacrament under the form of bread only: and yet the church had juſt occaſion to decree, that the laity ſhould receive in one kind only, thereby to take away an opinion of the unlearned, that Chriſt was not wholly both fleſh and blood under the form of bread. Therefore to take away their opinion, and to eſtabliſh better the people's faith, the Holy Ghoſt in the church thought fit to decree, that the laity ſhould receive only in one kind; and it is no news for the church upon juſt conſideration to alter rites and ceremonies. For you read in the Acts of the apoſtles, that St. Paul writing to certain of the Gentiles, who had received the goſpel, biddeth them to abſtain from things ſtifled, and from blood; ſo that this ſeemeth to be an expreſs commandment; yet who will ſay but that it is lawful to eat bloodings? How is it lawful but by the permiſſion of the church?

Ridley. My lord, ſuch things as St. Paul enjoined to the Gentiles for a ſufferance, by a little and little to win the Jews to Chriſt, were only commandments of time, and reſpected not the ſucceſſors: but Chriſt's commandment, Do this (that is, that which he did in remembrance, which was not to adminiſter in one kind only) was not a commandment for a time, but to perſevere to the world's end.

But the biſhop of Lincoln, not attending to this anſwer, without any ſtay proceeded in this oration.

So that the church ſeemeth to have authority by the Holy Ghoſt, whom Chriſt ſaid he would ſend after his aſcenſion, which ſhould teach the apoſtles all truth, to have power and juriſdiction to alter ſuch points of the ſcripture, ever reſerving the foundation: but we came not, as I ſaid before, in this ſort to reaſon the matter with you, but have certain inſtructions miniſtered unto us, according to the tenor of which we muſt proceed, purpoſing certain articles, unto which we require your anſwer directly, either affirmatively, or negatively, to every of them, either denying them or granting them without farther diſputations or reaſoning; for we have already ſtretched our inſtructions, in that we ſuffered you to debate and reaſon the matter, in ſuch ſort as we have done: which articles you ſhall hear now, and to-morrow at eight of the clock in St. Mary's church we will require and take your anſwers; and then according to the ſame proceed: and if you require a copy of them, you ſhall have it, pen, ink, and paper, alſo ſuch books as you ſhall demand, if they be to be gotten in the univerſity.

The Articles.

IN the name of God, Amen. We, John of Lincoln, James of Glouceſter, and John of Briſtol, biſhops, &c.

1. We do object to thee Nicholas Ridley, and to thee Hugh Latimer, jointly and ſeverally, firſt, that thou Nicholas Ridley in this high univerſity of Oxford, in the year 1554, in the months of April, May, June, July, or in ſome one or more of them, haſt affirmed and openly defended and maintained, and in many other times and places beſides, that the true and natural body of Chriſt, after the conſecration of the prieſt, is not really preſent in the ſacrament of the altar.

2. Item, That in the year and months aforeſaid thou haſt publicly affirmed and defended, that in the ſacrament of the altar remaineth ſtill the ſubſtance of bread and wine.

3. Item, That in the ſaid year and months thou haſt openly affirmed, and obſtinately maintained, that in the maſs is no propitiatory ſacrifice for the quick and the dead.

4. Item, That in the year, place, and months aforeſaid, theſe the foreſaid aſſertions ſolemnly had been condemned, by the ſcholaſtical cenſure of this ſchool, as heretical and contrary to the catholic faith, by the worſhipful Dr. Weſton, prolocutor then of the convocation-houſe, as alſo by other learned men of both the univerſities.

5. Item, That all and ſingular the premiſes be true, notorious, famous, and openly known by public fame, as well to them near hand, and alſo to them in diſtant places far off.

All theſe articles I thought good here to place together, that as often as hereafter rehearſal ſhall be made of any of them, the reader may have recourſe hither, and peruſe the ſame, and not to trouble the ſtory with ſeveral repetitions thereof.

Exami-

Examination upon the ſaid Articles.

AFTER theſe articles were read, the biſhops took counſel together. At laſt the biſhop of Lincoln ſaid, Theſe are the very ſame articles which you in open diſputation here in the univerſity did maintain and defend. What ſay you unto the firſt? I pray you anſwer affirmatively, or negatively.

Ridley. Why, my lord, I ſuppoſed your gentleneſs had been ſuch, that you would have given me ſpace until to-morrow, that upon good advice I might bring a determinate anſwer.

Lincoln. Yea, Mr, Ridley, I mean not that your anſwers now ſhall be prejudicial to your anſwers to-morrow. I will take your anſwers at this time, and yet notwithſtanding it ſhall be lawful to you to add, diminiſh, alter, and charge theſe anſwers to-morrow what you will.

Ridley. Indeed, in like manner at our laſt diſputations I had many things promiſed, and few performed. It was ſaid, that after diſputations I ſhould have a copy thereof, and licenſe to change mine anſwers, as I ſhould think good. It was meet alſo that I ſhould have ſeen what was written by the notaries at the time. So your lordſhip pretended great gentleneſs in giving me a time; but this gentleneſs is the ſame that Chriſt had of the high-prieſt. For you, as your lordſhip ſaith, have no power to condemn me, neither at any time to put a man to death: ſo in like ſort the high-prieſts ſaid, that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death, but committed Chriſt to Pilate, neither would ſuffer him to abſolve Chriſt, although he ſought all the means for it that he might.

Then ſpake Dr. Weſton, one of the audience, What, do you make the king Pilate?

Rid. No, Mr. Doctor, I do but compare your deeds with Caiaphas his deeds and the high-prieſts, which ſhould condemn no man to death, as ye will not, and yet would not ſuffer Pilate to abſolve and deliver Chriſt.

Lincoln. Mr. Ridley, we mind not but that you ſhall enjoy the benefit of anſwering to-morrow, and will take your anſwers now as now, to morrow you ſhall change, take out, add, and alter what you will. In the mean ſeaſon we require you to anſwer directly to every article, either affirmatively or negatively.

Ridley. Seeing you appoint me a time to anſwer to-morrow, and yet will take mine anſwers out of hand: firſt, I require the notaries to take and write my proteſtation, that in no point I acknowledge your authority, or admit you to be my judges, in that point you are authorized from the pope. Therefore whatſoever I ſhall ſay or do, I proteſt I neither ſay it, neither do it willingly, thereby to admit the authority of the pope; and if your lordſhip will give me leave, I will ſhew the cauſes which move me thereunto.

Lincoln. No, Mr. Ridley, we have inſtructions to the contrary. We may not ſuffer you.

Ridley. I will be ſhort; I pray your lordſhips ſuffer me to ſpeak in few words.

Lincoln. No, Mr. Ridley, we may not abuſe the hearers ears.

Ridley. Why, my lord, ſuffer me to ſpeak three words.

Lincoln. Well Mr. Ridley, to-morrow you ſhall ſpeak forty. The time is far paſt; therefore we require your anſwer determinately. What ſay you to the firſt article? and thereupon rehearſed the ſame.

Ridley. My proteſtation always ſaved, that by this mine anſwer, I do not condeſcend to your authority, in that you are legate to the pope, I anſwer thus: In a ſenſe the firſt article is true, and in a ſenſe it is falſe; for if you take really for truly, for ſpiritually by grace and efficacy, then it is true that the natural body and blood of Chriſt is in the ſacrament really and truly; but if you take theſe terms ſo groſly, that you would conclude thereby a natural body having motion, to be contained under the forms of bread and wine, really and truly, then really is not the body and blood of Chriſt in the ſacrament, no more than the Holy Ghoſt is in the element of water in our baptiſm. Becauſe this anſwer was not underſtood, the notaries knew not how to note it; wherefore the biſhop of Lincoln deſired him to anſwer affirmatively or negatively, either to grant the article, or to deny it.

Ridley. My lord, you know that where any equivocation (which is a word having two ſignifications) is, except deſtinction be given, no direct anſwer can be made; for it is one of Ariſtotle's fallacies, containing two queſtions under one, the which cannot be ſatisfied with one anſwer. For both you and I agree herein, that in the ſacrament is the very true and natural body and blood of Chriſt, even that which was born of the virgin Mary, which aſcended into heaven, which ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father, which ſhall come from thence to judge the quick and the dead, only we differ in the way and manner of being; we confeſs all one thing to be in the ſacrament, and diſſent in the manner of being there. I being fully by God's word thereunto perſuaded, confeſs Chriſt's natural body to be in the ſacrament indeed by ſpirit and grace, becauſe that whoſoever worthily receiveth that bread and wine receiveth effectually Chriſt's body, and drinketh his blood, that is, he is made effectually partaker of his paſſion; and you make a groſſer kind of being, incloſing a natural, a lively, and a moving body, under the ſhape or form of bread and wine.

Now, this difference conſidered, to the queſtion thus I anſwer that in the ſacrament of the altar is the natural body and blood of Chriſt really and truly, for ſpiritually by grace and efficacy; for ſo every worthy receiver receiveth the very true body of Chriſt; but if you mean really and indeed, ſo that thereby you would include a lively and a moveable body under the forms of bread and wine, then in that ſenſe is not Chriſt's body in the ſacrament really and indeed.

This anſwer taken and pened of the notaries, the biſhop of Lincoln propoſed the ſecond queſtion or article. To whom he anſwered:

Ridley. Always my proteſtation is reſerved, I anſwer thus: that in the ſacrament is a certain change, in that that bread, which was before common bread, is now made a lively repreſentation of Chriſt's body, and not only a figure, but effectually repreſenteth his body, that even as the mortal body was nouriſhed by that viſible bread, ſo is the internal ſoul fed with the heavenly food of Chriſt's body, which the eyes of faith ſeeth, as the bodily eyes ſeeth only bread. Such a ſacramental mutation I grant to be in the bread and wine, which truly is no ſmall change, but ſuch a change as no mortal man can make, but only that omnipotency of Chriſt's word.

Then the biſhop of Lincoln deſired him to anſwer directly, either affirmatively or negatively, without further declaration of the matter. Then he anſwered:

Ridley. That notwithſtanding the ſacramental mutation of the which he ſpake, and all the doctors confeſſed, the true ſubſtance and nature of bread and wine remaineth: with which the body is in like ſort nouriſhed, as the ſoul is by grace and ſpirit with the body of Chriſt. Even ſo in baptiſm the body is waſhed with the viſible water, and the ſoul is cleanſed from all filth by the inviſible Holy Ghoſt, and yet the water ceaſeth not to be water, but keepeth the nature of water ſtill; in like manner in the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper the bread ceaſeth not to be bread.

Then the notaries pened, that he anſwered affirmatively to the ſecond article. The biſhop of Lincoln declared a difference between the ſacrament of the altar and baptiſm, becauſe that Chriſt did not ſay by the water, This is the Holy Ghoſt, as he did by the bread, This is my body.

Then

Then Dr. Ridley cited St. Auguſtine, which confered both the ſacraments one with the other: but the biſhop of Lincoln notwithſtanding, thereupon recited the third article, and required a direct anſwer. To whom Ridley ſaid:

Ridley. Chriſt as St. Paul writeth, made one perfect ſacrifice for the ſins of the whole world, neither can any man reiterate that ſacrifice of his, and yet is the communion an acceptable ſacrifice to God of praiſe and thankſgiving; but to ſay that thereby ſins are taken away (which wholly and perfectly was done by Chriſt's paſſion, of which the communion is only a memory) that is a great derogation from the merits of Chriſt's paſſion: for the ſacrament was inſtituted, that we receiving it, and thereby recognizing and remembering his paſſion, ſhould be partakers of the merits of the ſame. For otherwiſe doth this ſacrament take upon it the office of Chriſt's paſſion, whereby it might follow, that Chriſt died in vain.

The notaries pened this his anſwer to be affirmative.

Lincoln. Indeed as you alledge out of St. Paul, Chriſt made one perfect oblation for all the whole world, that is, that bloody ſacrifice upon the croſs: yet nevertheleſs he hath left this ſacrifice, but not bloody, in the remembrance of that by which ſins are forgiven; which is no derogation of Chriſt's paſſion.

Then the biſhop of Lincoln recited the fourth article. To which Dr. Ridley anſwered:

Ridley. That in ſome part the fourth was true, and in ſome part falſe; true, in that thoſe his aſſertions were condemned as hereſies, although unjuſtly: falſe, in that it was ſaid, they were condemned Scientia Scholaſtica, in that the diſputations were in ſuch ſort ordered, that it was far from any ſchool act.

This anſwer being pened by the notaries, the biſhop of Lincoln rehearſed the fifth article. To which Dr. Ridley anſwered:

Ridley. That the premiſes were in ſuch ſort true, as in theſe anſwers he had declared. Whether that all men ſpake evil of them, he knew not, in that he came not ſo much abroad to hear what every man reported.

When this anſwer was always taken by the notaries, the biſhop of Lincoln ſaid:

Lincoln. To-morrow at eight of the clock you ſhall appear before us in St. Mary's church, and then becauſe we cannot well agree upon your anſwer to the firſt (for it was long before he was underſtood) if it will pleaſe you to write your anſwer, you ſhall have pen, ink and paper, and books, ſuch as you ſhall require; but if you write any thing more than your anſwers to theſe articles, we will not receive it. So he, charging the mayor with him, declaring alſo to the mayor, that he ſhould ſuffer him to have a pen and ink, diſmiſſed Dr. Ridley, and ſent for Mr. Latimer, who being brought to the divinity-ſchool, there tarried till they called for him.

Mr. Latimer, appeareth before the Commiſſioners.

NOW after Dr. Ridley was committed to the mayor, then the biſhop of Lincoln commanded the bailiffs to bring in the other priſoner, who as ſoon as he was placed, ſaid to the lords.

Latimer. My lords, if I appear again, I pray you not to ſend for me until you be ready. For I am an old man, and it is a great hurt to mine old age to tarry ſo long gazing upon the cold walls. Then ſaid the biſhop of Lincoln:

Lincoln. Mr. Latimer, I am ſorry you are brought ſo ſoon, although it is the bailiff's fault, and not mine; but it ſhall be amended.

Then Mr. Latimer bowed his knee down to the ground, holding his hat in his hand, having a kerchief on his head, and upon it a night-cap or two, and a great cap (ſuch as townſmen uſe, with two broad flaps to button under the chin) wearing an old thread-bare Briſtow frize gown girded to his body with a penny leather girdle, at which hanged, by a long ſtring of leather, his Teſtament and his ſpectacles without a caſe, depending about his neck upon his breaſt. After this the biſhop of Lincoln began on this manner.

Lincoln. Mr. Latimer, you ſhall underſtand, that I and my lords here have a commiſſion from my lord cardinal Pool's grace, legate a lettre to this realm of England, from our moſt reverend father in God, the pope's holineſs, to examine you upon certain opinions and aſſertions of yours, which you as well here openly in diſputations in the year of our Lord 1554, as at ſundry and at divers other times did affirm, maintain, and obſtinately defend. In which commiſſion be ſpecially two points; the one which we muſt deſire you is, that if you ſhall now recant, revoke, and diſannul theſe your errors, and together with all this realm, yea, all the world confeſs the truth, we, upon due repentance on your part, ſhall receive you, reconcile you, acknowledge you no longer a ſtrayed ſheep, but adjoin you again to the unity of Chriſt's church, from which you, in the time of ſchiſm, fell. So that it is no new place to which I exhort you; I deſire you to return thither from whence you went.

Conſider, Mr. Latimer, that without the unity of the church there is no ſalvation, and in the church can be no errors. Therefore what ſhould hinder you to confeſs that which all the realm confeſſeth, to forſake that which the king and queen their majeſties have renounced, and all the realm recanted: it was a common error, and it is now of all confeſſed; it will be no more ſhame to you than it was to us all. Conſider, Mr. Latimer, that within theſe twenty years this realm alſo with all the world confeſſed one church, acknowledged in Chriſt's church an head, and by what means, and for what occaſion it cut off itſelf from the reſt of chriſtianity, and renounced that, which in all times and ages was confeſſed, it is well known, and might be now declared upon what good foundation the ſee of Rome was forſaken, ſave that we muſt ſpare them that are dead, to whom the rehearſal would be opprobrious: it is no uſurped power, as it hath been termed, but founded upon Peter by Chriſt, a ſure foundation, a perfect builder, as by divers places, as well of the ancient fathers, as by the expreſs word of God may be proved.

With that Mr. Latimer, who before leaned his head on his hand, began to remove his cap and kerchief from his ears. The biſhop proceeded, ſaying,

For Chriſt ſpake expreſly to Peter, ſaying, Feed my ſheep, and rule my ſheep, which word doth not only declare a certain ruling of Chriſt's flock, but includeth alſo a certain pre-eminence and government; and therefore is the king called a King from ruling: ſo that in ſaying Rule, Chriſt declared a power which he gave to Peter, which juriſdiction and power Peter by hand delivered to Clement, and ſo in all ages hath it remained in the ſee of Rome. This, if you ſhall confeſs with us, and acknowledge with all the realm your errors and falſe aſſertions, then will you do what we moſt deſire, then ſhall we reſt upon the firſt part of our commiſſion, then ſhall we receive you, acknowledge you one of the church, and according to the authority given unto us, miniſter unto you, upon due repentance, the benefit of abſolution, to which the king and queen their majeſties were not aſhamed to ſubmit themſelves, although they of themſelves were unſpotted, and needed no reconciliation, yet leſt the putrifaction and rottenneſs of all the body might be noiſome, and do damage to the head alſo, they (as I ſaid) moſt humbly ſubmitted themſelves to my lord cardinal's grace, by him, as a legate to the pope's holineſs, to be partakers of the reconciliation. But if you ſhall ſtubbornly perſevere in your blindneſs, if you will not acknowledge your errors, if you, as you now ſtand alone, will be ſingular in your opinions, if by ſchiſm and hereſy

you will divide yourſelf from your church, then muſt we proceed to the ſecond part of the commiſſion, which we would be loth to do, that is, not to condemn you, for that we cannot do (that the temporal ſword of the realm, and not we, will do) but to ſeparate you from us, acknowledge you to be none of us, to renounce you as no member of the church, to declare that you are the ſon of perdition, a loſt child, and as you are a rotten member of the church, ſo to cut you off from the church, and ſo to commit you to the temporal judges, permitting them to proceed againſt you, according to the tenor of their laws.

Therefore, Mr. Latimer, for God's love conſider your eſtate, remember you are a learned man, you have taken degrees in the ſchools, borne the office of a biſhop; remember you are an old man, ſpare your body, accelerate not your death, and eſpecially remember your ſoul's health, and the peace of your conſcience; conſider that if you ſhould die in this ſtate, you ſhall be a ſtinking ſacrifice to God; for it is the cauſe that maketh the martyr, and not the death: conſider that if you die in this ſtate, you die without grace, for without the church can be no ſalvation. Let not vain-glory have the upper hand, humble yourſelf, captivate your underſtanding, ſubdue your reaſon, ſubmit yourſelf to the determination of the church; do not force us to do all that we may do, let us reſt in that part which we moſt heartily deſire, and I, for my part [then the biſhop put off his cap] again with all my heart exhort you.

After the biſhop had ſomewhat pauſed, then Mr. Latimer lift up his head (for before he leaned on his elbow) and aſked whether his lordſhip had done ſpeaking; and the biſhop anſwered, Yea.

Latimer. Then will your lordſhip give me leave to ſpeak a word or two?

Lincoln. Yea, Mr. Latimer, ſo that you uſe a modeſt kind of talk, without railing or taunts.

Latimer. I beſeech your lordſhip, licence me to ſit down.

Lincoln. At your pleaſure, Mr. Latimer, take as much eaſe as you will.

Latimer. Your lordſhip gently exhorted me in many words to come to the unity of the church. I confeſs (my lord) a catholic church ſpread throughout all the world, in which no man may err, without which unity of the church no man can be ſaved; but I know perfectly by God's word, that this church is in all the world, and hath not its foundation in Rome only, as you ſay; and methought your lordſhip brought a place out of the ſcripture to confirm the ſame, that there was a juriſdiction given to Peter, in that Chriſt bade him govern his people. Indeed, my lord, St. Peter did his office well and truly, in that he was bid to govern; but ſince the biſhops of Rome have taken a new kind of government. Indeed they ought to govern, but how my lord? not as they will themſelves: but this government muſt be hedged in and ditched in. They muſt rule, but according to the word of God.

But the biſhops of Rome have turned the rule according to the word of God, into the rule according to their own pleaſures, and as it pleaſeth them beſt: as there is a book ſet forth which hath divers points in it, and amongſt others, this point is one which your lordſhip went about to prove by this word, Rule, and the argument which he bringeth forth for the proof of that matter, is taken out of Deuteronomy, where it is ſaid, If there ariſeth any controverſy among the people, the prieſts of the order of Levi ſhall decide the matter, according to the law of God; ſo it muſt be taken. This book perceiving this authority to be given to the prieſts of the old law, taketh occaſion to prove the ſame to be given to the biſhops and other the clergy of the new law: but in proving this matter, whereas it was ſaid there, as the prieſts of the order of Levi ſhould determine the matter according to God's law, that [according to God's law] is left out, and only is recited, as the prieſts of the order of Levi ſhall decide the matter, ſo it ought to be taken of the people; a large authority, I aſſure you. What gelding of ſcripture is this? What clipping of God's coin? [with which terms the audience ſmiled.] This is much like the ruling which your lordſhip talked of. Nay, nay, my lords, we may not give ſuch authority to the clergy, to rule all things as they will. Let them keep themſelves within their commiſſion. Now, I truſt, my lord, I do not rail yet.

Lincoln. No, Mr. Latimer, your talk is more like taunts than railing: but in that I have not read the book which you blame ſo much, nor know of any ſuch, I can ſay nothing therein.

Latimer. Yes, my lord, the book is open to be read, and is intituled to one which is biſhop of Glouceſter, whom I never knew, neither did at any time ſee him to my knowledge. [With that the people laughed, becauſe the biſhop of Glouceſter ſate there in commiſſion.]

Then the biſhop of Glouceſter ſtood up, and ſaid it was his book.

Latimer. Was it yours, my lord? Indeed I knew not your lordſhip, neither ever did I ſee you before, neither yet ſee you now, through the brightneſs of the ſun ſhining betwixt you and me. Then the audience laughed again; and Mr. Latimer ſpake unto them, ſaying, Why, my maſters, this is no laughing matter. I anſwer upon life and death. Woe unto you that laugh now, for ye ſhall weep.

The biſhop of Lincoln commanded ſilence, and then ſaid: Mr. Latimer, if you had kept yourſelf within your bounds, if you had not uſed ſuch ſcoffs and taunts this had not been done.

After this the biſhop of Glouceſter ſaid, in excuſing of his book: Mr. Latimer, hereby every man ſee what learning you have.

Then Mr. Latimer interrupted him, ſaying: Lo you look for learning at my hands who have gone ſo long to the ſchool of oblivion, making the bare walls my library, keeping me ſo long in priſon without book, or pen and ink; and now you let me looſe to come and anſwer to articles. You deal with me as though two were appointed to fight for life and death, and over-night the one thro' friends and favour, is cheriſhed, and hath good counſel given him how to encounter with his enemy. The other, for envy or lack of friends, all the whole night is ſet in the ſtocks. In the morning when they ſhall meet, the one is in ſtrength and luſty; the other is ſtiff in his limbs, and almoſt dead for feebleneſs. Think you, that to run thro' this man with a ſpear is not a goodly victory?

But the biſhop of Glouceſter interrupting his anſwer, proceeded, ſaying: I went not about to recite any places of ſcripture in that place of my book; for then if I had not recited it faithfully, you might have had juſt occaſion of reprehenſion: but I only in that place formed an argument a majore, in this ſenſe; that if in the old law the prieſts had power to decide matters of controverſy, much more then ought the authority to be given to the clergy in the new law: and I pray you in this point what availeth their rehearſal, According to the law of God?

Latimer. Yes, my lord, very much. For I acknowledge authority to be given to the ſpirituality to decide matters of religion, and as my lord ſaid even now, to rule; but they muſt do it according to the word and law of God, and not after their own will, after their own imaginations and fancies.

The biſhop of Glouceſter would have ſpoke more, ſaving that the biſhop of London ſaid, that they came not to diſpute with Mr. Latimer, but to take his determinate anſwer to their articles, and ſo began to propoſe the ſame articles which were propoſed to Dr. Ridley. But Mr. Latimer interrupted him, ſpeaking to the biſhop of Glouceſter; Well, my lord, I could wiſh more faithful dealing with God's word, and not to leave out a part here, and another there, but to rehearſe the whole faithfully.

But

But the biſhop of Lincoln, not attending to this ſaying of Mr. Latimer, proceeded in rehearſing the articles in form and ſenſe as I declared before in the examination of the articles, propoſed to Dr. Ridley, and required Mr. Latimer's anſwer to the firſt. Then Mr. Latimer making his proteſtation, that notwithſtanding theſe his anſwers, it ſhould not be taken that thereby he ſhould acknowledge any authority of the biſhop of Rome, ſaying, that he was the king and queen's majeſty's ſubject, and not the pope's, neither could ſerve two maſters at one time, except he ſhould now renounce one of them; required the notaries ſo to take his proteſtation, that whatſoever he ſhould ſay or do, it ſhould not be taken as though he did thereby agree to any authority that came from the biſhop of Rome.

The biſhop of Lincoln ſaid, that his proteſtation ſhould be ſo taken; he required him to anſwer briefly, affirmatively, or negatively, to the firſt article, and ſo recited the ſame again: and Mr. Latimer anſwered as followeth:

Latimer. I do not deny, my lord, that in the ſacrament, by ſpirit and grace, is the very body and blood of Chriſt, becauſe that every man, by receiving bodily that bread and wine, ſpiritually receiveth the body and blood of Chriſt, and is made partaker thereby of the merits of Chriſt's paſſion: but I deny that the body and blood of Chriſt is in ſuch a manner in the ſacrament as you would have it.

Lincoln. Then, Mr. Latimer, you anſwer affirmatively.

Latimer. Yea, if you mean of that groſs and carnal being which you do take.

The notaries took his anſwer affirmatively.

Lincoln. What ſay you, Mr. Latimer, to the ſecond article? and recited the ſame.

Latimer. There is, my lord, a change in the bread and wine, and ſuch a change as no power, but the omnipotency of God can make, in that that which before was bread, ſhould now have the dignity to exhibit Chriſt's body, and yet the bread is ſtill bread, and the wine ſtill wine: for the change is not in the nature, but in the dignity, becauſe now that which was common bread hath the dignity to exhibit Chriſt's body: for whereas it was common bread, it is now no more common bread, neither ought it to be ſo taken, but as holy bread ſanctified by God's word.

With that the biſhop of Lincoln ſmiled, ſaying: Lo, Mr. Latimer, ſee what ſtedfaſtneſs is in your doctrine. That which you abhorred and deſpiſed moſt, you now moſt eſtabliſh: for whereas you moſt railed at holy bread, you now make your communion holy bread.

Latimer. Tuſh, a ruſh for your holy bread. I ſay the bread in the communion is an holy bread indeed.

But the biſhop of Lincoln interrupted him, and ſaid: O, you make a difference betwixt holy bread and holy bread [with that the audience laughed]. Well, Mr. Latimer, is not this your anſwer, that the ſubſtance of bread and wine remaineth after the words of conſecration?

Latimer. Yes verily, it muſt needs be ſo. For Chriſt himſelf calleth it bread, St. Paul calleth it bread, the doctors confeſs the ſame, the nature of a ſacrament confirmeth the ſame, and I call it holy bread, not in that I make no difference between your holy bread and this, but for the holy office which it beareth, that is, to be a figure of Chriſt's body, and not only a bare figure, but effectually to repreſent the ſame.

So the notaries pened his anſwer in the affirmative.

Lincoln. What ſay you to the third queſtion? and recited the ſame.

Latimer. No, no, my lord, Chriſt made one perfect ſacrifice for all the whole world, neither can any man offer him again, neither can the prieſt offer up Chriſt again for the ſins of man, which he took away by offering himſelf once for all (as St. Paul ſaith) upon the croſs, neither is there any propitiation for our ſins, ſaving his croſs only.

So the notaries pened his anſwer to this article alſo affirmatively.

Lincoln. What ſay you to the fourth, Mr. Latimer? and then recited it. After the recital whereof, when Mr. Latimer anſwered not, the biſhop aſked him whether he heard him or no?

Latimer. Yes, but I do not underſtand what you mean thereby.

Lincoln. Marry, only this, that theſe your aſſertions were condemned by Dr. Weſton as hereſies: it is not ſo, Mr. Latimer?

Latimer. Yes, I think they were condemned. But how unjuſtly, he that ſhall be judge of all, knoweth.

The notaries alſo took this anſwer affirmatively.

Lincoln. What ſay you, Mr. Latimer, to the fifth article? and recited it.

Latimer. I know not what you mean by theſe terms. I am no lawyer, I wiſh you would propoſe the matter plainly.

Lincoln. In that we proceed according to the law, we muſt uſe their terms alſo. The meaning only is this, that theſe your aſſertions are notorious, avil ſpoken of, and yet common and frequent in the mouths of the people.

Latimer. I cannot tell how much, nor what men talk of them. I come not ſo much among them, in that I have been ſecluded a long time. What men report of them I know not, and care not.

This anſwer taken, the biſhop of Lincoln ſaid, Mr. Latimer, we mean not that theſe your anſwers ſhall be prejudicial to you. To-morrow you ſhall appear before us again, and then it ſhall be lawful for you to alter and change what you will. We give you reſpite till to-morrow, truſting that after you have pondered well all things againſt to-morrow, you will not be aſhamed to confeſs the truth.

Latimer. Now, my lord, I pray you give me licence in three words, to declare the cauſes why I have refuſed the authority of the pope.

Lincoln. Nay, Mr. Latimer, to-morrow you ſhall have licence to ſpeak forty words.

Latimer. Nay, my lords, I beſeech you to do with me now as it ſhall pleaſe your lordſhips: I pray you let not me be troubled to-morrow again.

Lincoln. Yes, Mr. Latimer, you muſt needs appear again to-morrow.

Latimer. Truly, my lord, as for my part, I require no reſpite, for I am at a point; you ſhall give me a reſpite in vain: therefore I pray you let me not trouble you to-morrow.

Lincoln. Yes, for we truſt, God will work with you againſt to-morrow. There is no remedy, you muſt needs appear again to-morrow at eight of the clock in St. Mary's church. And forthwith the biſhop charged the mayor with Mr. Latimer, and diſmiſſed him, and then brake up their ſeſſion for that day, about one of the clock in the afternoon.

The ſecond Seſſion.

THE next day following (which was the firſt of October) ſomewhat after eight of the clock, the ſaid lords repaired to St. Mary's church, and after they were ſet in a high throne well trimed with cloth of tiſſue and ſilk, then appeared Dr. Ridley, who was ſet at a framed table a good ſpace from the biſhop's feet, which table had a ſilk cloth caſt over it, and the place was encompaſſed about with framed ſeats in quadrate form, partly for gentlemen who repaired thither (for this was the ſeſſion-day of goal-delivery) and heads of the univerſity to ſit, and partly to keep off the preſs of the audience: for the whole body, as well of the univerſity as of the town, came hither to ſee the end of theſe two perſons.

ſons. After Dr. Ridley's appearance, and the ſilence of the audience, the biſhop of Lincoln ſpake in manner following:

Lincoln. Mr. Ridley, yeſterday when we challenged you for not uncovering your head, you excuſed yourſelf of that whereof no man accuſed you, in ſaying you did not put on your cap for any obſtinacy towards us, who as touching our own perſons deſired no ſuch obedience of you, but only in reſpect of them whoſe perſons we bear; neither (you ſaid) for any contempt that you bear to this worſhipful audience, which, although juſtly may, yet in this caſe, require no ſuch humility of you; neither for any derogation of honour to my lord cardinal's grace, in that he is deſcended from the royal blood, in that he is a man moſt noble, both for his excellent qualities and ſingular learning: for as touching thoſe points, you ſaid, you would with all humility, honour, reverence, and worſhip his grace, but in that he is legate to the moſt reverend father in God the pope's holineſs [with that the biſhop with all then preſent put off their caps, but Dr. Ridley moved not his;] you ſaid you neither could, nor would by any means be induced to give him honour: but foraſmuch as this is the point, as we told you yeſterday, why were quire honour and reverence of you, we tell you now as we did then, except you take the pains to move your bonnet, we will take care to cauſe your bonnet to be taken from you, unleſs you pretend ſickneſs, as yeſterday you did not.

Ridley. I pretend now none other cauſe, than I did yeſterday, that is, only that hereby it may appear that not only in word and confeſſion, but alſo by all my geſture and behaviour, in no point I agree or admit any authority or power that ſhall come from the pope, and not for any pride of mind (as God is my judge) neither for contempt of your lordſhips, or of this worſhipful audience, neither for derogation of honour due to my lord cardinel's grace, as concerning thoſe points which your lordſhip ſpake of, that is, his noble parentage and ſingular graces in learning. And as for taking my cap away, your lordſhip may do as it ſhall pleaſe you, it ſhall not offend me, but I ſhall be content with your ordinance in that behalf.

Lincoln. Foraſmuch as you do now anſwer as you did yeſterday, we muſt do alſo as we did then; and forthwith one of the beadles very haſtily ſnatched his cap from his head.

After this the biſhop of Lincoln began the examination in the following manner.

Lincoln. Mr. Ridley, yeſterday we took your anſwer to certain articles, which we then propoſed unto you: but becauſe we could not be thoroughly ſatisfied with your anſwer then to the firſt article, neither could the notaries take any determinate anſwer of you, we (you requiring the ſame) granted you licence to bring your anſwer in writing, and thereupon commanded the mayor that you ſhould have pen, paper, and ink, yea, any books alſo that you would require, if they were to be gotten: we licenced you then alſo to alter your former anſwers this day at your pleaſure; therefore we are come now hither, to ſee whether you are in the ſame mind now that you were in yeſterday (which we could not wiſh) or contrary, contented to revoke all your former aſſertions, and in all points conſent to ſubmit yourſelf to the determination of the univerſal church, and I for my part moſt earneſtly exhort you [and therewith he put off his cap] not becauſe my conſcience pricketh me, as you ſaid yeſterday, but becauſe I ſee you a rotten member, and in the way of perdition.

Yeſterday I brought forth among others, St. Auguſtine, to prove that authority hath always been given to the ſee of Rome, and you wreſted the words far contrary to St, Auguſtine's meaning, in that you would have all the world to be applied only to Europe, which is but a third part of all the world, whereas indeed the proceſs of St. Auguſtine's words will not admit of your interpretation. For he ſaith not, All the chriſtian countries beyond the ſeas, &c. but firſt all the chriſtian countries are ſubject to the church of Rome, and afterward addeth, Beyond the Sea, but only to argument the dominion of the ſee of Rome.

But Dr. Ridley ſtill perſevered in his former anſwer, ſaying; I am ſure, my lord, you have ſome ſkill in coſmography, in which you ſhall underſtand that there is a ſea called The Mediterranean ſea, caſt between Europe and Africa, in which he meant Europe beyond the ſea, even as if I ſhould ſay the whole world beyond the ſea, excepting in England in which I ſtand: and here many words were ſpent upon the interpretation of the ſame place of St. Auſtin.

After long diſceptation, the biſhop of Lincoln ſaid, that the meaning of St. Auguſtine might be known by the conſent of the other doctors, and rehearſed divers.

But Dr. Ridley required the rehearſal of the places, and to read the very words of the doctors, ſaying, that perhaps thoſe which the biſhop rehearſed, being propounded in other terms in the doctors, would admit a contrary meaning and interpretation: but in that book, out of which the biſhop rehearſed them, was none of the doctors, but only the ſentences drawn out of the doctors by ſome ſtudious man: he could not recite the very words of the doctors.

Then after the biſhop of Lincoln mentioned Cyril, who (as he ſaid) made againſt Mr. Ridley in the ſacrament, even by Philip Melancthon his own alledging in his common places, and forthwith called for Melancthon, but in vain, becauſe all ſuch books were burned a little before, wherefore he paſſed it over.

Cyril alſo in another place proving to the Jews that Chriſt was come, uſeth this reaſon, Altars are erected in Chriſt's name in Britain, and in far countries: Ergo, Chriſt is come. But we may uſe the contrary, of that reaſon; Altars are plucked down in Britain: Ergo, Chriſt is not come. A good argument a contrariis. I will ſtand to it in the ſchools by and by with any man. Ye ſee what a good argument this your doctrine maketh for the Jews, to prove that Chriſt is not come.

Dr. Ridley ſmiling, anſwered: Your lordſhip is not ignorant that this word Altar in the ſcripture ſignifieth as well the altar whereupon the Jews were wont to make their burnt ſacrifices, as the table of the Lord's ſupper. Cyril meaneth there by this word Altars, not that the Jewiſh altar, but the table of the Lord, and by that ſaying (Altars are erected in Chriſt's name: Ergo, Chriſt is come) he meaneth, that the communion is adminiſtered in his remembrance: Ergo, Chriſt is come: for the ſtrength of his argument is, becauſe the remembrance of a thing cannot be, except itſelf be paſt: then could not all countries celebrate the communion in remembrance of Chriſt's paſſion, except Chriſt had been come and ſuffered. As for the taking down of the altars, it was done upon juſt conſiderations, for that they ſeemed to come too nigh to the Jewiſh uſage. Neither was the ſupper of the Lord at any time better adminiſtered, or more duly received, than in thoſe latter days when all things were brought to the rites and uſage of the primitive church.

Lincoln. A goodly receiving, I promiſe you, to ſet an oyſter-table inſtead of an altar, and to come from puddings at Weſtminſter to receive; and yet when your table was conſtituted, you could never be content, in placing the ſame now Eaſt, now North, now one way, then another, until it pleaſed God of his goodneſs to place it clean out of the church.

Ridley. Your lordſhip's unreverend terms do not elevate the thing. Perhaps ſome men came more devoutly from puddings, than other men do now from other things.

Lincoln. As for that, Mr. Ridley, you ought to be judge of no man: but by this your reaſoning you cauſe us to ſtretch and inlarge our inſtructions. We came not to reaſon, but to take your determinate anſwers to our articles;

articles; and then he read the firſt article in manner above ſpecified.

Now, Mr. Ridley, what ſay you to the firſt article? If you have brought your anſwer in writing, we will receive it: but if you have written any other matter, we will not receive it.

Then Dr. Ridley took a ſheet of paper out of his boſom, and began to read that which he had written, but the biſhop of Lincoln commanded the beadle to take it from him. But he deſired licence to read it, ſaying, that it was nothing but his anſwers, but the biſhop would in no wiſe ſuffer him.

Ridley. Why, my lord, will you require my anſwer, and not ſuffer me to publiſh it? I beſeech you, my lord, let the audience bear witneſs in this matter. Your lordſhips may handle it at your pleaſure: therefore let the audience be witneſs to your doings.

Lincoln. Well, Mr. Ridley, we will firſt ſee what you have written, and then if we ſhall think it good to be read, you ſhall have it publiſhed; but except you will deliver it firſt, we will take none at all of you.

With that Dr. Ridley, ſeeing no remedy, delivered it to an officer, who immediately delivered it to the biſhop of Lincoln, who after he had ſecretly communicated it to the other two biſhops, declared the ſenſe, but would not read it as it was written, ſaying, that it contained words of blaſphemy: therefore he would not fill the ears of the audience therewithal, and ſo abuſe their patience: notwithſtanding Dr. Ridley deſired very inſtantly to have it publiſhed, ſaying, that except a line or two, there was nothing contained but the ancient fathers ſaying for the confirmation of his aſſertions.

After the ſaid biſhops had ſecretly viewed the whole, then the biſhop of Lincoln ſaid: In the firſt part, Mr. Ridley, is nothing contained but your proteſtation, that you would not have theſe your anſwers ſo to be taken, as though you ſeemed thereby to conſent to the authority or juriſdiction of the pope's holineſs.

Ridley. No, my lord, I pray you read it out, that the audience may hear it: but the biſhop of Lincoln would in no wiſe, becauſe (he ſaid) there were contained words of blaſphemy.

Then the biſhop of Lincoln recited the firſt article, and required Dr. Ridley's anſwer to it. Then Dr. Ridley ſaid, that his anſwer was there in writing, and deſired that it might be publiſhed: but the biſhop would not read the whole, but here and there a piece of it. So the notaries took his anſwer, that he refered him to his anſwer in writing exhibited now, and alſo before at the time of diſputation, Dr. Weſton being prolocutor.

In like manner the biſhop of Lincoln recited the ſecond article, and required an anſwer, and Dr. Ridley refered him to his anſwer in writing exhibited now, and alſo before at the time of diſputation: and like anſwers were taken to all the reſt of the articles.

Theſe anſwers in this manner rehearſed, taken and pened by the notaries, the biſhop of Glouceſter began an exhortation to move Dr. Ridley to turn.

Glouceſter. If you would once empty your ſtomach, captivate your ſenſes, ſubdue your reaſon, and together with us conſider what a feeble ground of your religion you have, I do not doubt but you might eaſily be brought to acknowledge one church with us, to confeſs one faith with us, and to believe one religion with us. For what a weak and feeble ſtay in religion is this I pray you? Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the ſingularity of his own wit; ſo that if you overthrow the ſingularity of Ridley's wit, then muſt needs the religion of Cranmer and Latimer fall alſo. You remember well, Mr. Ridley, that the prophet ſpeaketh moſt truly, ſaying, Woe, woe be to them which are ſingular and wiſe in their own conceits.

But you will ſay here, It is true that the prophet ſaith: but how know you that I am wiſe in mine own conceit? Yes, Mr. Ridley, you refuſe the determination of the catholic church; you muſt needs be ſingular and wiſe in your own conceit, for you bring ſcripture for the proof of your aſſertions, and we alſo bring ſcriptures; you underſtand them in one ſenſe, and we in another. How will you know the truth herein? If you ſtand to your own interpretation, then you are ſingular in your own conceit: but if you ſay you will follow the minds of the doctors and ancient fathers, likely you underſtand them in one meaning, and we take them in another; how will you know the truth herein? If you ſtand to your own judgment, then are you ſingular in your own conceit, then can you not avoid the woe which the prophet ſpeaketh of.

Wherefore if you have no ſtay but the catholic church in matters of controverſy, except you will reſt upon the ſingularity and wiſdom of your own brain, if the prophet moſt truly ſaith, Woe, woe be to them that are wiſe in their own conceit: then for God's love, Dr. Ridley, ſtand not ſingular, be not you wiſe in your own conceit, pleaſe not yourſelf overmuch. How were the Arians, the Manichees, Eutychians, with divers other heretics which have been in the church, how I pray you were they ſuppreſſed and convinced? By reaſoning in diſputations? No truly, the Arians had no more places for the confirmation of their hereſy, than the catholics for the defence of the truth. How then were they convinced? Only by the determination of the church. And indeed, except we do conſtitute the church our foundation, ſtay, and judge, we can have no end of controverſies, no end of diſputations. For in that we all bring ſcriptures and doctors for the proof of our aſſertions, who ſhould be judge of this our controverſy? If we ourſelves then be ſingular and wiſe in our own conceits, then cannot we avoid the woe that the prophet ſpeaketh of.

It remaineth therefore that we ſubmit ourſelves to the determination and arbitrement of the church, with whom God promiſed to remain to the world's end, to whom he promiſed to ſend the Holy Ghoſt which ſhould teach it the truth. Wherefore. Mr. Ridley, if you will avoid the woe that the prophet ſpeaketh of, be not you wiſe in your own judgment: If you will not be wiſe and ſingular in your own judgment, captivate your own underſtanding, ſubdue your reaſon, and ſubmit yourſelf to the determination of the church.

This is briefly the ſum of the oration of the biſhop of Glouceſter, by which he endeavoured in many more words, amplifying and enlarging the matter eloquently, with ſundry points of rhetoric, to move affections, to perſuade Dr. Ridley to recant and forſake his religion.

To whom Dr. Ridley anſwered, in few words, That he ſaid moſt truly with the prophet, Woe be to him that is wiſe in his own conceit; but that he acknowledgeth no ſuch ſingularity in him, nor knew any cauſe why he ſhould attribute ſo much to himſelf. And whereas he ſaid Dr. Cranmer leaned to him, that was moſt untrue, in that he was but a young ſcholar in compariſon of Dr. Cranmer; for when he was but a young ſcholar, Mr. Cranmer was then a doctor; ſo that he confeſſed Mr. Cranmer might have been his ſchoolmaſter for many years. It ſeemed that he would have ſpoke more, but the biſhop of Glouceſter interrupted him, ſaying:

Why, Mr. Ridley, it is your own confeſſion, for Mr. Latimer, at the time of his diſputation, confeſſed his learning to lye in Mr. Cranmer's books, and Mr. Cranmer alſo ſaid that it was your doing.

The biſhop of Lincoln likewiſe with many words, and gently holding his cap in his hand, deſired him to turn. But Dr. Ridley made an abſolute anſwer, that he was fully perſuaded the religion which he defended to be grounded upon God's word, and therefore without great offence towards God, great peril and damage of his ſoul, he could not forſake his maſter and Lord God; but deſired the biſhop to perform his grant, in that his lordſhip ſaid, the day before, that he ſhould have licence to ſhew his cauſe, why he could not with a ſafe conſcience

admit the authority of the pope. But the biſhop of Lincoln ſaid, that whereas then he had demanded licence to ſpeak three words, he was contented then that he ſhould ſpeak forty, and that grant he would perform.

Then ſtepped forth Dr. Weſton, who ſat by, and ſaid, Why, my lord, he hath ſpoken four hundred already.

Dr. Ridley confeſſed he had, but they were not of his preſcribed number, neither of that matter. The biſhop of Lincoln bade him take his licence: but he ſhould ſpeak but forty, and he would tell them upon his fingers; and preſently Dr. Ridley began to ſpeak: but before he had ended half a ſentence, the doctors ſitting by, cried out, and ſaid, that his number was out; and with that he was put to ſilence.

After this the biſhop of Lincoln, who ſat in the midſt, began to ſpeak as followeth:

Now I perceive, Mr. Ridley, you will not permit nor ſuffer us to ſtay in that point of our commiſſion which we moſt deſired: for indeed, for my part, I take God to witneſs, I am ſorry for you. Whereupon Dr. Ridley anſwered:

I believe it well, my lord, foraſmuch as one day it will be burdenous to your ſoul.

Lincoln. Nay, not ſo, Mr. Ridley, but becauſe I am ſorry to ſee ſuch ſtubbornneſs in you, that by no means you may be perſuaded to acknowledge your errors, and receive the truth; but ſeeing it is ſo, becauſe you will not ſuffer us to perſiſt in the firſt, we muſt of neceſſity proceed to the other part of our commiſſion. Therefore I pray you hearken to what I ſhall ſay, and forthwith he read the ſentence of condemnation, which was written in a long proceſs: the tenor of which, becauſe it is ſufficiently already expreſſed before, we thought meet in this place to omit, foraſmuch as they are rather words of courſe, than things deviſed upon deliberation. Howbeit indeed the effect was, that foraſmuch as the ſaid Nicholas Ridley did affirm, maintain, and ſtubbornly defend certain opinions, aſſertions and hereſies, contrary to the word of God, and the received faith of the church, as in denying the true and natural body of Chriſt, and his natural blood, to be in the ſacrament of the altar: Secondly, in affirming the ſubſtance of bread and wine to remain after the words of the conſecration. Thirdly, in denying the maſs to be a lively ſacrifice of the church for the quick and the dead, and by no means would be brought from theſe his hereſies: they therefore, the ſaid John of Lincoln, James of Glouceſter, John of Briſtol, did judge and condemn the ſaid Nicholas Ridley as an heretic, and ſo adjudged him preſently both by word and alſo in deed to be degraded from the degree of a biſhop, from prieſthood and all eccleſiaſtical order; declaring moreover the ſaid Nicholas Ridley to be no member of the church, and therefore committed him to the ſecular powers, of them to receive due puniſhment according to the tenor of the temporal laws; and further excommunicating him by the great excommunication.

The laſt Appearance and Examination of Mr. Latimer before the Commiſſioners.

THIS ſentence being publiſhed by the biſhop of Lincoln, Dr. Ridley was committed as a priſoner to the mayor, and immediately Mr. Latimer was ſent for: But in the mean ſeaſon the carpet of cloth, which lay upon the table whereat Dr. Ridley ſtood, was removed, becauſe (as men reported) Mr. Latimer had never the degree of doctor, as Dr. Ridley had. But as ſoon as Mr. Latimer appeared, as he did the day before, perceiving no cloth upon the table, he laid his hat, which was an old felt, under his elbows, and immediately ſpake to the commiſſioners, ſaying:

Latimer. My lords, I beſeech your lordſhips to ſet a better order here at your entrance: for I am an old man, and have a very evil back, ſo that the preſs of the multitude doth me much harm.

Lincoln. I am ſorry, Mr. Latimer, for your hurt. At your departure we will ſee to better order.

With that Mr. Latimer thanked his lordſhip, making a very low courteſy. After this the biſhop of Lincoln began, on this manner.

Mr. Latimer; although yeſterday after we had taken your anſwers to thoſe articles which we propoſed, we might have juſtly proceeded to judgment againſt you, eſpecially in that you required the ſame: yet we, having a good hope of your returning, deſiring not your deſtruction, but rather that you would recant, revoke your errors, and turn to the catholic church, defered farther proceſs till this day; and now, according to the appointment, we have called you here before us, to hear whether you are content to revoke your heretical aſſertions, and ſubmit yourſelf to the determination of the church, as we moſt heartily deſire, and I for my part, as I did yeſterday, moſt earneſtly do exhort you, or to know whether you perſevere ſtill the man that you were, for which we would be ſorry.

It ſeemed that the biſhop would have further proceeded, if Mr. Latimer had not interrupted him by ſaying:

Your lordſhip doth often repeat the catholic church, as though I ſhould deny the ſame. No, my lord, I confeſs there is a catholic church, to the determination of which I will ſtand, but not the church which you call catholic, which ought rather to be termed diabolic. And whereas you join together the Romiſh and catholic church, ſtay there, I pray you. For it is one thing to ſay Romiſh church, another thing to ſay catholic church: I muſt uſe here in this mine anſwer the councel of Cyprian, who when cited before certain biſhops that gave him leave to take deliberation and counſel, to try and examine his opinion, he anſwereth them thus: In ſticking and perſevering in the truth, there muſt no counſel or deliberation be taken. And again, being demanded of them ſitting in judgment, which was moſt like to be of the church of Chriſt, whether he who was perſecuted, or they who did perſecute: Chriſt, ſaid he, hath foreſhewed, that he that doth follow him, muſt take up his croſs. Chriſt gave knowledge that his diſciples ſhould have perſecution and trouble. How think you then, my lords, is it like that the ſee of Rome, which hath been a continual perſecutor, is rather the church, or that ſmall flock which hath continually been perſecuted by it, even to death? Alſo the flock of Chriſt hath been but few in compariſon to the reſidue, and ever in ſubjection: whom he proved, beginning at Noah's time, even to the apoſtles.

Lincoln. Your cauſe and Cyprian's is not one, but clean contrary; for he ſuffered perſecution for the ſake of Chriſt and his goſpel; but you are in trouble for your errors and falſe aſſertions, contrary to the word of God, and the received truth of the church.

Mr. Latimer interrupted him, ſaying, Yes verily, my cauſe is as good as St. Cyprian's: for his was for the word of God, and ſo is mine.

Lincoln. Alſo at the beginning and foundation of the church, it could not be but the apoſtles ſhould ſuffer great perſecution. Further, before Chriſt's coming, continually there were very few which truly ſerved God: but after his coming began the time of grace, then began the church to increaſe, and was continually augmented, until it came unto this perfection, and now hath juſtly that juriſdiction which the unchriſtian princes before, by tyranny, did reſiſt: there is a diverſe conſideration of the ſtate of the church now in the time of grace, and before Chriſt's coming. But Mr. Latimer, although we had inſtructions given us determinately to take your anſwer to ſuch articles as we ſhould propoſe, without any reaſoning or diſputations, yet we, hoping, by talk, ſomewhat to prevail with you, appointed you to appear before us yeſterday in the divinity-ſchool, a place for diſputations. And whereas then notwithſtanding you had licence

cence to ſpeak your mind, and were anſwered to every matter, yet you could not be brought from your errors; we thinking that from that time ye would with good conſideration ponder your ſtate, gave you reſpite from that time yeſterday, when we diſmiſſed you, until this time, and now have called you again here in this place, by your anſwers to learn whether you are the ſame man you were then or no. Therefore we will propoſe unto you the ſame articles which we did then, and require of you a determinate anſwer, without further reaſoning; and he immediately recited the firſt article.

Latimer. Always my proteſtation ſaved, that by theſe mine anſwers it ſhould not be thought that I did condeſcend and agree to your lordſhip's authority, in that you are legaced by the authority of the pope, ſo that thereby I might ſeem to conſent to his juriſdiction: To the firſt article I anſwer now as I did yeſterday, that in the ſacrament, the worthy receiver receiveth the very body of Chriſt, and drinketh his blood by the ſpirit and grace. But after a corporal being, which the Romiſh church preſcribeth, Chriſt's body and blood is not in the ſacrament under the forms of bread and wine.

The notaries took his anſwer affirmatively. For the ſecond article he refered himſelf to his anſwers made before.

After this the biſhop of Lincoln recited the third article, and required a determinate anſwer.

Latimer. Chriſt made one oblation and ſacrifice for the ſins of the whole world, and that a perfect ſacrifice; neither needeth there to be any other, neither can there be any other propitiatory ſacrifice.

The notaries took his anſwer affirmatively.

In like manner did he anſwer to the articles, not varying from his anſwers made the day before.

After his anſwers were pened by the notaries, and the biſhop of Lincoln had exhorted him in like ſort to recant as he did Dr. Ridley, and revoke his errors and falſe aſſertions, and Mr. Latimer had anſwered that he neither would nor could deny his maſter Chriſt, and his verity, the biſhop of Lincoln deſired Mr. Latimer to hearken to him: and then Mr. Latimer hearkening for ſome new matter and other talk, the biſhop of Lincoln read his condemnation, after which the ſaid three biſhops brake up their ſeſſions, and diſmiſſed the audience.

But Mr. Latimer required the biſhop to perform his promiſe, in ſaying the day before that he ſhould have licence briefly to declare the cauſe why he refuſed the pope's authority.

But the biſhop of Lincoln ſaid, that now he could not hear him, neither ought to talk with him.

Then Mr. Latimer aſked him, whether it were not lawful for him to appeal from this his judgment. And the biſhop aſked him again, to whom he would appeal. To the next general council, ſaid Mr. Latimer, which ſhall be truly called in God's name, With that appellation the biſhop was content; but he ſaid it would be a long ſeaſon before ſuch a convocation as he meant would be called.

Then the biſhop committed Mr. Latimer to the mayor, ſaying, Now he is your priſoner, Mr. Mayor. Becauſe the preſs of the people was not diminiſhed, each man looking for a farther proceſs, the biſhop of Lincoln commanded avoidance, and deſired Mr. Latimer to tarry till the preſs was diminiſhed, leſt he ſhould take hurt at his going out, as he did at his entrance. And ſo Dr. Ridley and Mr. Latimer continued in durance till the 16th day of the ſaid month of October.

A Communication between Dr. Brooks Biſhop of Glouceſter, and Dr. Ridley, in the Houſe of Mr. Iriſh, Mayor of Oxford, October 15. 1555. at which Time he was degraded.

ON the 15th day in the morning, Dr. Brooks biſhop of Glouceſter, and the vice-chancellor of Oxford, Dr. Marſhal, with divers others of the chief, and heads of the ſame univerſity, and many others accompanying them, came to the houſe of Mr. Iriſh, then mayor of Oxford, where Dr. Ridley late biſhop of London was cloſe priſoner. And when the biſhop of Glouceſter came into the chamber where the ſaid Dr. Ridley did lie, he told him for what porpoſe their coming was unto him, ſaying, That yet once again the queen's majeſty did offer unto him, by them, her gracious mercy, if that he would receive the ſame, and come home again to the faith which he was baptized in, and revoke his erroneous doctrine that he of late had taught abroad to the deſtruction of many. And further ſaid, That if he would not recant and become one of the catholic church with them, then they muſt needs (againſt their wills) proceed according to the law, which they would be very loth to do, if they might otherwiſe. But, ſaith he, we have been oftentimes with you, and have requeſted that you would recant this your fantaſtical and deviliſh opinion, which hitherto you have not, although you might in ſo doing win many, and do much good. Therefore, good Mr. Ridley, conſider with yourſelf the danger that ſhall enſue both of body and ſoul, if that you ſhall ſo wilfully caſt yourſelf away in refuſing mercy offered unto you at this time.

My lord, ſaid Dr. Ridley, you know my mind fully herein; and as for the doctrine which I have taught, my conſcience aſſureth me that it was found, and according to God's word (to his glory be it ſpoken); which doctrine, the Lord God being my helper, I will maintain ſo long as my tongue ſhall wag, and breath is within my body, and in confirmation thereof ſeal the ſame with my blood.

Brooks. Well, you were beſt, Mr. Ridley, not to do ſo, but to become one of the church with us. For you know this well enough, that whoſoever is out of the catholic church cannot be ſaved: Therefore I ſay once again, that while you have time and mercy offered you, receive it, and confeſs with us the pope's holineſs to be the chief head of the ſame church.

Ridley. I marvel that you will trouble me with any ſuch vain and fooliſh talk. You know my mind concerning the uſurped authority of that Romiſh Antichriſt. As I confeſſed openly in the ſchools, ſo do I now, that both by my behaviour and talk I do no obedience at all unto the biſhop of Rome, nor to his uſurped authority, and that for divers good and godly conſiderations. And here Dr. Ridley would have reaſoned with the ſaid Brooks biſhop of Glouceſter, of the biſhop of Rome's authority, but could not be ſuffered, and yet he ſpake ſo earneſtly againſt the pope therein, that the biſhop told him, if he would not hold his peace, he ſhould be compelled againſt his will. And ſeeing, ſaith he, that you will not receive the queen's mercy now offered unto you, but ſtubbornly refuſe the ſame, we muſt, againſt our wills, proceed according to our commiſſion to degrading, taking from you the dignity of prieſthood. For we take you for no biſhop, and therefore we will the ſooner have done with you: ſo committing you to the ſecular power, you know what doth follow.

Ridley. Do with me as it ſhall pleaſe God to ſuffer you, I am well content to abide the ſame with all my heart.

Brooks. Put off your cap, and put upon you this ſurplice.

Ridley. Not I truly.

Brooks. But you muſt.

Ridley. I will not.

Brooks. You muſt, therefore make no more ado but put this ſurplice upon you.

Ridley. Truly if it come upon me, it ſhall be againſt my will.

Brooks. Will you not do it upon you?

Ridley. No, that I will not.

Brooks. It ſhall be put upon you by one or other.

Ridley. Do therein as it ſhall pleaſe you, I am well content with that, and more than that; the ſervant is not above his maſter. If they dealt ſo cruelly with our Saviour Chriſt, as the ſcripture maketh mention, and he ſuffered the ſame patiently, how much more doth it become us his ſervants? And in ſaying theſe words they put upon the ſaid Dr. Ridley a ſurplice, with all the trinkets appertaining to the maſs. And as they were putting on the ſame, Dr. Ridley did vehemently inveigh againſt the Romiſh biſhop, and all that fooliſh apparel, calling him Antichriſt, and the apparel fooliſh and abominable, yea too fooliſh for a vice in a play, inſomuch that Brooks was exceeding angry with him, and bade him hold his peace, for he did but rail. Dr. Ridley anſwered him again, and ſaid, So long as his tongue and breath would ſuffer him, he would ſpeak againſt their abominable doings, whatſoever happened unto him for ſo doing.

Brooks. Well, you had beſt hold your peace, leſt your mouth be ſtopped. At which words one Edrige, the reader then of the Greek lecture, ſtanding by, ſaid to Dr. Brook; Sir, the law is that he ſhould be gagged, therefore let him be gagged. At which words Dr. Ridley looking earneſtly upon him that ſo ſaid, ſhook his head at him, and made no anſwer; but ſaid with a ſigh, Oh well, well, well.

So they proceeded in their doings, yet nevertheleſs Dr. Ridley was ever ſpeaking things not pleaſant to their ears, although one or other bade him hold his peace, leſt he ſhould be cauſed againſt his will.

But when they came to that place where Dr. Ridley ſhould hold the chalice and the wafer cake (called the ſingleneſs of bread) they bade him hold the ſame in his hands: ſaid Dr. Ridley, They ſhall not come in my hands; for if they do, they ſhall fall to the ground for all me. Then there was one appointed to hold them in his hand, while biſhop Brooks read a certain thing in Latin, touching the degradation of ſpiritual perſons, according to the pope's law.

Then they put a book in his hand, and read another thing in Latin, the effect whereof was, "We do take from thee the office of preaching the goſpel, &c." At which Dr. Ridley gave a great ſigh, looking up towards heaven, ſaying, O Lord God, forgive them this their wickedneſs.

Having put on him the maſs-gear, they began to take it away (beginning with the uppermoſt garment), again reading a thing in Latin, according to the order contained in the pope's law. Now when all was taken from him, ſaving only the ſurplice left on his back, as they were reading and taking it away, Dr. Ridley ſaid unto them, Lord God, what power be you of, that you can take from a man that which he never had? I was never ſinger in all my life, and yet you would take from me that which I never had.

So when all their abominable and ridiculous degredation was ended very ſolemnly, Dr. Ridley ſaid unto Dr. Brooks, Have you done? If you have done, then give me leave to talk with you a little concerning theſe matters. Brooks anſwered and ſaid, Mr. Ridley, we may not talk with you, you be out of the church, and our law is, that we may not talk with any that be out of the church. Then Dr. Ridley ſaid; Seeing that you will not ſuffer me to talk, neither will vouchſafe to hear me, what remedy but patience? I refer my cauſe to my heavenly Father, who will reform things that be amiſs, when it ſhall pleaſe him.

At which words they would have been gone, but Mr. Ridley ſaid, My lord, I would wiſh that your lordſhip would vouchſafe to read over and peruſe a little book of Bertram's writing, concerning the ſacrament. I promiſe you, you ſhall find much good learning therein, if you will read the ſame with an indifferent judgment. To which Dr. Brooks made no anſwer, but was going away. Then ſaid Dr. Ridley, Oh, I perceive you cannot away with this manner of talk. Well, as it is to no purpoſe, I will ſay no more, I will ſpeak of worldly affairs. I pray you therefore, my lord, hear me, and be a means to the queen's majeſty, in behalf of a great many poor men, and eſpecially my poor ſiſter and her huſband who ſtandeth there. They had a poor living granted unto them by me, when I was in the ſee of London, which is taken away from them, by him that occupieth the ſame room, without all law or conſcience.

Here I have a ſupplication to the queen's majeſty in their behalf. You ſhall hear the ſame read, ſo ſhall you perceive the matter the better. Then he read the ſame, and when he came to the place in the ſupplication that touched his ſiſter by name, he wept, ſo that for a little time he could not ſpeak for weeping. But recovering himſelf, he ſaid, This is nature that moveth me, but I have now done: and with that read out the reſt, and delivered the ſame unto his brother, commanding him to put it up to the queen's majeſty, and to ſue not only for himſelf, but alſo for ſuch as had any leaſes or grants by him, and were put from the ſame by Dr. Bonner then biſhop of London. Whereunto Brooks ſaid, Indeed, Mr. Ridley, your requeſt, in this ſupplication, is very lawful and honeſt; therefore I muſt needs in conſcience ſpeak to the queen's majeſty for them.

Ridley. I pray you for God's ſake do ſo.

Brooks. I think your requeſt will be granted, except one thing hinder it, and that is (I fear) becauſe you do not allow the queen's proceedings, but obſtinately withſtand the ſame, that it will hardly be granted.

Ridley. What remedy? I can do no more but ſpeak and write. I truſt I have diſcharged my conſcience therein, and God's will be done.

Brooks. I will do what lieth in me.

A Copy of the Supplication written to the Queen.

Dr. Ridley to the Queen's Majeſty.

MAY it pleaſe your majeſty for Chriſt our Saviour's ſake in a matter of conſcience (and not for myſelf, but for other poor men), to vouchſafe to hear and underſtand this humble ſupplication. It is ſo (honourable princeſs) that in the time while I was in the miniſtry of the ſee of London, divers poor men, tenants thereof, have taken new leaſes of their tenantries and holdings: and ſome have renewed and changed their old, and therefore have payed fines and ſums of money, both to me and to the chapter of Paul's, for the confirmation of the ſame.

Now I ſay, that the biſhop who at preſent occupieth the ſame room, will not allow the aforeſaid leaſes, which muſt redound to many a poor man's utter ruin and decay. Wherefore this is mine humble ſupplication unto your honourable grace, that it may pleaſe the ſame for Chriſt's ſake to be unto the aforeſaid poor men their gracious patroneſs and defender, either that they may enjoy their aforeſaid leaſes and years renewed, as I ſuppoſe when their matter ſhall be heard with conſcience, both juſtice, conſcience, and equity ſhall require, for that their leaſes ſhall be found (I truſt) made without fraud or cunning, either of their part, or of mine, and always alſo the old rents reſerved to the ſee without any kind of damage thereof: or if this will not be granted, then that it may pleaſe your gracious highneſs, to command that the poor men may be reſtored to their former leaſes and years, and to have

have rendered to them again ſuch ſums of money as they paid to me and to the Chapter-houſe for their leaſes and years, ſo now taken from them. Which thing concerning the fines paid to me, may be eaſily done, if it ſhall pleaſe your majeſty to command ſome portion of thoſe goods which I left in my houſe when I fled, in hope of pardon for my treſpaſs towards your grace, which goods (as I have heard) be yet reſerved in the ſame houſe. I ſuppoſe that half the value of my plate that I left in mine offices, and eſpecially in an iron cheſt in my bed-chamber, will go nigh to reſtore all ſuch fines received, the true ſums and parcels whereof are not ſet in their leaſes; and therefore if that way ſhall pleaſe your highneſs, they muſt be known by ſuch ways and means, as your majeſty, by the advice of men of wiſdom and conſcience, ſhall appoint: but yet for Chriſt's ſake I crave and humbly beſeech your majeſty of your gracious pity and mercy, that the former way may take place.

I have alſo a poor ſiſter that came to me out of the north, with three fatherleſs children, for relief, whom I married after to a ſervant of mine own houſe: ſhe is put out of that which I did provide for them. I beſeech your honourable grace, that her caſe may be mercifully conſidered, and that the rather, in contemplation that I never had of him, which ſuffered indurance at my entrance into the ſee of London, not one penny of his moveable goods, for it was almoſt half a year after his depoſition, before I entered into that place: yea, and alſo if any were left, known to be his, he had licence to carry it away, or there for his uſe it did lie ſafe, as his officers do know, I paid for the lead which I found there, when I occupied any of it to the behoof of the church, or of the houſe. And moreover, I had not only no part of his moveable goods, but alſo (as his old receiver, and then mine, called Mr. Stanton, can teſtify) I paid for them towards his ſervants common liveries and wages, after his depoſition, fifty-three or fifty-five pounds, I cannot tell which.

In all theſe matters I beſeech your honourable majeſty to hear the advice of men of conſcience, and eſpecially the archbiſhop of York; which for that he was continually in my houſe a year and more, before mine impriſonment, I ſuppoſe he is not altogether ignorant of ſome part of theſe things, and alſo his grace doth know my ſiſter, for whoſe ſuccour, and ſome relief, now unto your highneſs I make moſt humble ſute.

N. R.

October 16, 1555.

This degradation being paſt, and all things finiſhed, Dr. Brooks called the bailiffs, delivering to them Dr. Ridley, with this charge, to keep him ſafely from any man ſpeaking with him, and that he ſhould be brought to the place of execution when they were commanded. Then Dr. Ridley in praiſing God, burſt out in theſe words and ſaid; God I thank thee, and to thy praiſe be it ſpoken, there is none of you all able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime: for if you could, it ſhould ſurely be laid in my lap, I ſee very well. Whereunto Brooks ſaid, he play'd the part of a proud Phariſee, exalting and praiſing himſelf.

But Dr. Ridley ſaid, No, no, no, as I have ſaid before, to God's glory be it ſpoken. I confeſs myſelf to be a miſerable wretched ſinner, and have great need of God's help and mercy, and do daily call and cry for the ſame: therefore I pray you have no ſuch opinion of me. Then they departed; and in going away, a certain warden of a college, of whoſe name I am not ſure, adviſed Dr. Ridley to repent and forſake that erroneous opinion. Whereunto Dr. Ridley ſaid, Sir, repent you, for you are out of the truth; and I pray God (if it be his bleſſed will) have mercy upon you, and grant you the underſtanding of his words Then the warden being in a paſſion thereat, ſaid, I truſt that I ſhall never be of your erroneons and deviliſh opinion, either yet to be in that place whither you ſhall go. He is, ſaith he, the moſt obſtinate and wilful man that ever I heard talk ſince I was born.

The Behaviour of Dr. Ridley at his Supper, the Night before his Suffering.

THE night before he ſuffered, his beard was waſhed and his legs; and as he ſate at ſupper, the ſame night, at the houſe of Mr. Iriſh (who was his keeper) he bade his hoſteſs, and the reſt at the table, to his marriage: for, ſaith he, to-morrow I muſt be married; and ſo ſhewed himſelf to be as merry as ever he was at any time before. And wiſhing his ſiſter at his marriage, he aſked his brother, ſitting at the table, whether ſhe could find in her heart to be there or no: And he anſwered, Yea, I dare ſay, with all her heart. At which word he ſaid, He was glad to hear of her ſo much therein. At this diſcourſe Mrs. Iriſh wept.

But Dr. Ridley comforted her, and ſaid, O Mrs. Iriſh, you love me not now, I ſee well enough; for in that you weep, it doth appear you will not be at my marriage, neither are content therewith. Indeed you be not ſo much my friend, as I thought you had been. But quiet yourſelf, though my breakfaſt ſhall be ſomewhat ſharp and painful, yet I am ſure my ſupper ſhall be more pleaſant and ſweet.

When they aroſe from the table, his brother offered to watch all night with him. But he ſaid, No, no, that you ſhall not. For I intend (God willing) to go to-bed, and to ſleep as quietly to-night, as ever I did in my life. So his brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheer, and to take his croſs quietly, for the reward was great, &c.

The Behaviour of Dr. Ridley and Mr. Latimer at the Time of their Death, October 16, 1555.

UPON the north ſide of the town, in the ditch over-againſt Baliol-college, the place of execution was appointed: And for fear of any tumult that might ariſe to hinder the burning of them, the lord Williams was commanded by the queen's letters, and the houſholders of the city to be their aſſiſtant, ſufficiently appointed; and when every thing was in a readineſs, the priſoners were brought forth by the mayor and the bailiffs.

Dr. Ridley had a fair black gown furred, and faced with foins, ſuch as he was wont to wear being biſhop, and a tippet of velvet furred likewiſe about his neck, a velvet night-cap upon his head, and a corner-cap upon the ſame, going in a pair of ſlippers to the ſtake, and going between the mayor and an alderman, &c.

After him came Mr. Latimer in a poor Briſtow freez frock much worn, with his buttoned cap, and a kerchief on his head, all ready to the fire, a new long ſhroud hanging over his hoſe down to the feet: which at the firſt ſight ſtirred men's hearts to pity them, beholding on the one ſide the honour they ſometime had, and on the other the calamity whereunto they were fallen.

Dr. Ridley, as he paſſed toward Bocardo, looked up where Dr. Cranmer lay, hoping belike to have ſeen him at the glaſs-window, and to have ſpoke unto him. But Dr. Cranmer was then buſy with friar Soto and his fellows diſputing together, ſo that he could not ſee him through that occaſion. Then Dr. Ridley looking back, eſpied Mr. Latimer coming after. Unto whom he ſaid, Oh, be ye there? Yea, ſaid Mr. Latimer, have after as faſt as I can follow. So he following a pretty way off, at length they both came to the ſtake one after the other, where firſt Dr. Ridley entering the place, marvellouſly and earneſtly holding up both his hands, looked towards heaven: Then ſhortly after ſeeing Mr. Latimer, with a wondrous chearful look he ran to him, embraced and kiſſed him, and as they that ſtood near reported, com-

forted him, ſaying, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either aſſuage the fury of the flame, or elſe ſtrengthen us to abide it."

With that he went to the ſtake, kneeled down by it, and earneſtly prayed, and behind him Mr. Latimer kneeled, as earneſtly calling upon God as he. After they aroſe, the one talked with the other a little while, till they which were appointed to ſee the execution, removed themſelves out of the ſun. What they ſaid I can learn of no man.

Then Dr. Smith began his ſermon to them upon this text of St. Paul, in the 13th chapter of the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians: "If I yield my body to the fire to be burnt, and have not charity, I ſhall gain nothing thereby." Wherein he alledged, that the goodneſs of the cauſe. and not the order of death, maketh the holineſs of the perſon; which he confirmed by the examples of Judas, and of a woman of Oxford that of late hanged herſelf, for that they and ſuch like as he recited, might then be adjudged righteous, which deſperately ſundered their lives from their bodies, as he feared that thoſe men that ſtood before him would do. But he cried ſtill to the people to beware of them, for they were heretics, and died out of the church. And on the other ſide, he declared their diverſities in opinions, as Lutherans, Oecolampadians, Zuinglians, of which ſect they were he ſaid, and that was the worſt: but the old church of Chriſt, and the catholic faith believed far otherwiſe. At which place they lifted up both their hands and eyes to heaven, as it were calling God to witneſs of the truth. Which countenance they made in many other places of his ſermon, where they thought he ſpake amiſs. He ended with a very ſhort exhortation to them to recant and come home again to the church, and ſave their lives and ſouls, which elſe were condemned. His ſermon was ſcarce in all a quarter of an hour.

Dr. Ridley ſaid to Mr. Latimer, Will you begin to anſwer the ſermon, or ſhall I? Mr. Latimer ſaid, Begin you firſt I pray you. I will, ſaid Dr. Ridley.

Then the wicked ſermon being ended, Dr. Ridley and Mr. Latimer kneeled down on their knees to my lord Williams of Tame, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and divers other commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe, who ſate upon a form thereby. Unto whom Dr. Ridley ſaid, I beſeech you my lord, even for Chriſt's ſake, that I may ſpeak but two or three words: and whilſt my lord bent his head to the mayor and vice chancellor, to know (as it appeared) whether he might have leave to ſpeak, the bailiffs and Dr. Marſhal the vice-chancellor, ran haſtily unto him, and with their hands ſtopped his mouth, and ſaid, Mr. Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the ſame, you ſhall not only have liberty ſo to do, but alſo the benefit of a ſubject, that is, have your life. Not otherwiſe, ſaid Dr. Ridley? No, quoth Dr. Marſhal: therefore if you will not ſo do, then there is no remedy but you muſt ſuffer for your deſerts. Well, quoth Dr. Ridley, ſo long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Chriſt, and his known truth: God's will be done in me. And with that he roſe up, and ſaid with a loud voice, Well, then I commit our cauſe to Almighty God, who will indifferently judge all.

To whoſe ſaying, Mr. Latimer added his old poſey, Well, there is nothing hid but it ſhall be opened: and he ſaid, he could anſwer Smith well enough, if he might be ſuffered. Incontinently they were commanded to make themſelves ready, which they with all meekneſs obey'd. Dr. Ridley took his gown and his tippet, and gave it to his brother-in-law Mr. Shipſide, who all his time of impriſonment, although he might not be ſuffered to come to him, lay there at his own charges to provide him neceſſaries, which from time to time he ſent him by the ſerjeant that kept him. Some other of his apparel that was little worth, he gave away, the others the bailiffs took.

He gave away divers other ſmall things to gentleme ſtanding by, and divers of them pitifully weeping; as to Sir Henry Lea he gave a new groat, and to divers of my lord Williams's gentlemen, ſome napkins, ſome nutmegs and races of ginger, his dial, and ſuch other things as he had about him, to every one that ſtood next him. Some plucked the points off his hoſe. Happy was he that might get any rag of him.

Mr. Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly ſuffered his keeper to pull off his hoſe, and his other array, which to look unto was very ſimple: and being ſtripped into his ſhroud, he ſeemed as comely a perſon to them that were there preſent, as one could well ſee: and whereas in his cloaths he appeared a withered and crooked ſilly old man, he now ſtood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might behold.

Then Dr. Ridley, ſtanding as yet in his truſs, ſaid to his brother, It were beſt for me to go in my truſs ſtill. No, quoth his brother, it will put you to more pain: and the truſs will do a poor man good. Whereunto Dr. Ridley ſaid; Be it ſo in the name of God; and ſo unlaced himſelf. Then being in his ſhirt, he ſtood upon the aforeſaid ſtone, and held up his hands and ſaid; Oh heavenly Father, I give unto thee moſt hearty thanks, for that thou haſt called me to be a profeſſor of thee, even unto death; I beſeech thee, Lord God, take mercy on this realm of England, and deliver the ſame from all her enemies.

Then the ſmith took a chain of iron, and brought the ſame about both their middles: and as he was knocking in a ſtaple, Dr. Ridley took the chain in his hand and ſhaked it, for it did gird in his belly; and looking aſide to the ſmith, ſaid, Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the fleſh will have its courſe. Then his brother brought him a bag of gunpowder, and tied it about his neck. Dr. Ridley aſked him what it was; his brother ſaid, gunpowder. Then, ſaid he, I will take it to be ſent of God, therefore I will receive it as ſent from him. And have you any, ſaid he, for my brother? (meaning Mr. Latimer.) Yea, Sir, that I have, quoth his brother. Then give it unto him, ſaid he, betime, leſt ye come too late. So his brother went, and carried ſome gunpowder to Mr. Latimer.

In the mean time Dr. Ridley ſpake unto my lord Williams, and ſaid, My lord, I muſt be a ſuiter unto your lordſhip in the behalf of divers poor men, and eſpecially in the cauſe of my poor ſiſter: I have made a ſupplication to the queen's majeſty in their behalfs. I beſeech your lordſhip, for Chriſt's ſake, to be a mean to her grace for them. My brother here hath the ſupplication, and will reſort to your lordſhip to certify you hereof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conſcience (I praiſe my God) this only excepted. Whilſt I was in the ſee of London, divers poor men took leaſes of me, and agreed with me for the ſame. Now I hear ſay the biſhop that now occupieth the ſame room, will not allow my grants to them made, but contrary to all law and conſcience, hath taken from them their livings, and will not ſuffer them to enjoy the ſame. I beſeech you, my lord, be a means for them: you ſhall do a good deed, and God will reward you.

Then they brought a lighted faggot, and laid at Dr. Ridley's feet. Thereupon Mr. Latimer ſaid, Be of good comfort, Mr. Ridley, and play the man; we ſhall this day light ſuch a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I truſt ſhall never be put out. When Dr. Ridley ſaw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried, with a wonderful loud voice, Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my ſpirit; and after repeated this often, Lord, Lord, receive my ſpirit. Mr. Latimer cried as vehemently on the other ſide, O Father of heaven, receive my ſoul: who received the flame, as it were embracing of it: After he had ſtroaked his face with his hands, and as it were bathed them a little in the fire, he ſoon died (as it appeareth) with very little or no pain. And thus much concerning the

Engraved for Foxes Book of Martyrs.

The Martyrdom of Dr Ridley and Mr Latimer at OXFORD.
Dr Smith Preaching at the time of their Suffering.

Publish'd as the Act directs for H. Trapp, Pater-Noster Row.

BRITISH
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the end of this old and faithful ſervant of God, Mr. Latimer, for whoſe laborious travels, fruitful life, and conſtant death, the whole realm hath cauſe to give thanks to Almighty God.

But Dr. Ridley by the ill making of the fire, the faggots being green, and built too high about the goſs, ſo that the fire being kept down by the green wood, burned fiercely beneath, which put him to ſuch exquiſite pain, that he deſired them for God's ſake to let the fire come unto him; which his brother-in-law heard, but not well underſtood, intending to rid him out of his pain (for which cauſe he gave attendance), as one in ſuch ſorrow, not well adviſed what he did, heaped faggots upon him, ſo that he clean covered him, which made the fire more vehement beneath, that it burned clean all his nether parts, before it touched the upper, and that made him leap up and down under the foggots, and often deſired them to let the fire come to him, ſaying, I cannot burn. Which indeed plainly appeared: for after his legs were conſumed by reaſon of his ſtrugling through the pain (whereof he had no releaſe, but only the comfort he had from God), he ſhewed that ſide towards us clean, ſhirt and all untouched with flame. Yet in all this torment he forgot not to call upon God ſtill, having in his mouth, Lord have mercy upon me, intermingling his cry, Let the fire come unto me, I cannot burn. In which pains he laboured till one of the ſtanders by with his bill pulled off the faggots above, and where he ſaw the fire flame up, he wreſted himſelf to that ſide. And when the fire touched the gunpowder, he was ſeen to ſtir no more, but burned on the other ſide, falling down at Mr. Latimer's feet: which ſome ſaid, happened by reaſon that the chain looſed; others ſaid, that he fell over the chain by reaſon of the poiſe of his body, and the weakneſs of the nether limbs.

Some ſaid that before he was like to fall from the ſtake, he deſired them to hold it with their bills. However it was, ſurely it moved hundreds to tears, in beholding the horrible ſight. For I think there were none, that had not clean baniſhed all humanity and mercy, which would not have lamented to behold the fury of the fire ſo to rage upon their bodies. Signs there were of ſorrow on every ſide. Some took it grievouſly to ſee their deaths, whoſe lives they held full dear. Some pitied their perſons, that thought their ſouls had no need thereof. His brother moved many men, ſeeing his miſerable caſe, ſeeing him (I ſay) compelled to ſuch infelicity, that he thought then to do him beſt ſervice when he haſtened his end. Some cried out of the luck, to ſee his endeavour, who moſt dearly loved him, and ſought his releaſe, turn to his greater vexation, and increaſe of pain. But whoſo conſidered their preferments in time paſt, the places of honour that they ſometime occupied in this commonwealth, the favour they were in with their princes, and the opinion of learning they had, could not chooſe but grieve with tears, to ſee ſo great dignity, honour and eſtimation, ſo neceſſary members ſometime accounted, ſo many godly virtues, the ſtudy of ſo many years, ſuch excellent learning, to be put into the fire, and conſumed in one moment. Well, dead they are, and the reward of this world they have already. What reward remaineth for them in heaven, the day of God's glory, when he cometh with his ſaints, ſhall ſhortly, I truſt, declare.

A Letter written by Dr. Ridley, inſtead of his laſt Farewel, to all his true and faithful Friends in God, with a ſharp Admonition withal to the Papiſts.

AT the name of Jeſus let every knee bow, both of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and let every tongue confeſs that Jeſus Chriſt is the Lord, unto the glory of God the Father, Amen.

As a man intending to take a far journey, and to depart from his familiar friends, commonly and naturally hath a deſire to bid his friends farewel before his departure; ſo likewiſe now I looking daily when I ſhould be called to depart hence from you (O all ye my dearly beloved brethren and ſiſters in our Saviour Chriſt that dwell here in this world), having a like mind towards you all, to bid you all, my dear brethren and ſiſters (I ſay in Chriſt), that dwell upon the earth, after ſuch a manner as I can, farewel.

Farewel my dear brother George Shipſide, whom I have ever found faithful, truſty, and loving in all ſtates and conditions, and now in the time of my croſs over all others to be moſt friendly and ſtedfaſt, and that which pleaſed me beſt over all other things, in God's cauſe ever hearty.

Farewel my dear ſiſter Alice his wife. I am glad to hear of thee, that thou doſt take Chriſt's croſs which is laid now (bleſſed be God) both on thy back and mine, in good part. Thank thou God that hath given thee a godly and loving huſband: ſee that thou honour him and obey him, according to God's law. Honour thy mother-in-law his mother, and love all thoſe that pertain unto him, being ready to do them good as it ſhall lie in thy power. As for thy children, I doubt not of thy huſband, but that he who hath given him an heart to love and fear God, and in God them that pertain unto him, ſhall alſo make him friendly and beneficial unto thy children, even as if they had been begotten of his own body.

Farewel my dearly beloved brother John Ridley of the Waltoun, and you my gentle and loving ſiſter Elizabeth: whom beſides the natural league of amity, your tender love, which you were ſaid ever to bear towards me above the reſt of your brethren, doth bind me to love. My mind was to have acknowledged this your loving affection, and to have acquitted with deeds, and not with words alone. Your daughter Elizabeth I bid farewel, whom I love for the meek and gentle ſpirit that God hath given her, which is a precious thing in the ſight of God.

Farewel my beloved ſiſter of Unthank, with all your children, nephews and nieces; ſince the departing of my brother Hugh, my mind was to have been unto them inſtead of their father, but the Lord God muſt and will be their father, if they would love and fear him, and live according to his law.

Farewel my well-beloved and worſhipful couſins, Mr. Nicholas Ridley of Willimountſwike, and your wife, and I thank you for all your kindneſs both ſhewed unto me, and alſo to all your own kinsfolk and mine. Good couſin, as God hath ſet you in our ſtock and kindred (not for any reſpect of your perſon, but of his abundant grace and goodneſs), to be as it were the bell-weather to order and conduct the reſt, and hath alſo endued you with his manifold gifts of grace both heavenly and worldly above others; ſo I pray you, good couſin, (as my truſt and hope is in you), continue and increaſe in the maintenance of the truth, honeſty, righteouſneſs, and all true godlineſs, and to the uttermoſt of your power, to withſtand falſhood, untruth, unrighteouſneſs, and all ungodlineſs, which is forbidden and condemned by the word and laws of God.

Farewel my young couſin Ralph Whitfield. Oh! your time was very ſhort with me. My mind was to have done you good, and yet you caught in that little time a loſs, but I truſt it ſhall be recompenced as it ſhall pleaſe Almighty God.

Farewel all my whole kindred and countrymen, farewel in Chriſt altogether. The Lord, who is the ſearcher of ſecrets, knoweth, that according to my heart's deſire, my hope was of late that I ſhould have come among

you, and to have brought with me abundance of Chriſt's bleſſed goſpel, according to the duty of that office and miniſtry, whereunto among you I was choſen, named and appointed by the mouth of that late peerleſs prince, king Edward, and ſo denounced openly in his court, by his privy council.

I warn you all my beloved kinsfolk and countrymen, that ye be not amazed or aſtoniſhed at the kind of my departure or diſſolution; for I aſſure you I think it the greateſt honour that ever I was called to in all my life: and therefore I heartily thank my Lord God for it, that it hath pleaſed him to call me of his great mercy unto this high honour, to ſuffer death willingly for his cauſe and for his ſake; unto which honour he hath called the holy prophets, and dearly beloved apoſtles, and his bleſſed choſen martyrs. For know ye that I doubt no more, that the cauſes for which I am put to death are God's cauſes, and the cauſes of the truth, than I doubt that the goſpel which John wrote is the goſpel of Chriſt, or that Paul's epiſtles are the very word of God. And to have a heart willing to abide, and ſtand in God's cauſe, and in Chriſt's quarrel, even unto death, I aſſure thee, (O man) it is an ineſtimable and an honourable gift of God, given only to the true elect, and dearly beloved children of God and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven. For the holy apoſtle, and alſo martyr in Chriſt's cauſe St. Peter, ſaith, If ye ſuffer rebuke in the name of Chriſt, that is, in Chriſt's cauſe, and for his truth's ſake, then are ye happy and bleſſed, for the glory of the Spirit of God reſteth upon you. If for rebuke's ſake ſuffered in Chriſt's name, a man is pronounced, by the mouth of that apoſtle, bleſſed and happy: how much more happy and bleſſed is he that hath the grace to ſuffer death alſo? Wherefore all ye that be my true lovers and friends, rejoice, and rejoice with me again, and render with me hearty thanks to God our heavenly Father, that for his Son's ſake my Saviour and redeemer Chriſt, he hath vouchſafed to call me, being elſe without his gracious goodneſs, in myſelf but a ſinful and vile wretch, to call me, I ſay, unto this high dignity of his true prophets, of his faithful apoſtles, and of his holy elect and choſen martyrs, that is, to die, and to ſpend this temporal life in the defence and maintenance of his eternal and everlaſting truth,

Ye know, that be my countrymen dwelling upon the borders, where (alas) the true man ſuffereth oftentimes much wrong at the thief's hand, if it chance a man to be ſlain of a thief (as it often doth there) which went out with his neighbour to help him to reſerve his goods again, that the more cruelly he be ſlain, and the more ſtedfaſtly he ſtuck by his neighbour in the fight againſt the faith of the thief, the more favour and friendſhip ſhall all his poſterity have for the ſlain man's ſake, of all them that be true, as long as the memory of this fact and his poſterity doth endure: even ſo that ye be my kinsfolk and countrymen, know ye (howſoever the blind, ignorant, wicked world hereafter ſhall rail upon my death, which thing they cannot do worſe than their fathers did, of the death of Chriſt our Saviour, of his holy prophets, apoſtles, and martyrs:) know ye, I ſay, that both before God, and all them that be godly, and that truly know and follow the laws of God, ye have, and ſhall have by God's grace, ever cauſe to rejoice, and to thank God highly, and to think good of it, and in God rejoice of me your fleſh and blood, whom God of his goodneſs hath vouchſafed to aſſociate unto the bleſſed company of his holy martyrs in heaven: and I doubt not in the infinite goodneſs of my Lord God, nor in the faithful fellowſhip of his elect and choſen people, but at both their hands in my cauſe, ye ſhall rather find the more favour and grace: for the Lord ſaith, that he will be both to them and theirs that love him, the more loving again in a thouſand generations: the Lord is ſo full of mercy to them, I ſay, and theirs who do love him indeed. And Chriſt ſaith again, that no man can ſhew more love than to give his life for his friend.

Now alſo know ye, all my true lovers in God, my kinsfolk and countrymen, that the cauſe for which I am put to death, is even after the ſame ſort and condition, but touching more near God's cauſe, and in more weighty matters, but in the general kind all one: For both is God's cauſe, both is in the maintenance of right, and both for the common-wealth, and both for the weal alſo of the chriſtian brother, although yet there is in theſe two no ſmall difference, both concerning the enemies, the goods ſtolen, and the manner of the fight. For know ye all, that like as there when the poor man is robbed by the thief of his goods truly gotten (whereupon he and his houſhold ſhould live) he is greatly wronged, and the thief, in ſtealing and robbing with violence the poor man's goods, doth offend God, doth tranſgreſs his law, and is injurious both to the poor man, and to the common-wealth: ſo I ſay, know ye that even here in the cauſe of my death, it is with the church of England, I mean the congregation of the true choſen children of God in this realm of England, which I acknowledge not only to be my neighbours, but rather the congregation of my ſpiritual brethren and ſiſters in Chriſt, yea, members of one body, wherein by God's grace I am and have been grafted in Chriſt. This church of England hath of late of the infinite goodneſs and abundant grace of Almighty God, great ſubſtance, great riches of heavenly treaſure, great plenty of God's true ſincere word, the true and wholeſome adminiſtration of Chriſt's holy ſacraments, the whole profeſſion of Chriſt's religion truly and plainly ſet forth in baptiſm, the plain declaration and underſtanding of the ſame, taught in the holy catechiſm, to have been learned of all true chriſtians.

The church had alſo a true and ſincere form and manner of the Lord's ſupper, wherein according to Jeſus Chriſt's own ordinance and holy inſtitution, Chriſt's commandments were executed and done. For upon the bread and wine ſet upon the Lord's table, thanks were given, the commemoration of the Lord's death was had; the bread, in the remembrance of Chriſt's body torn upon the croſs, was broken, and the cup in the remembrance of Chriſt's blood ſhed, was diſtributed, and both communicated unto all that were preſent and would receive them, and alſo they were exhorted of the miniſter ſo to do.

All was done openly in the vulgar tongue, ſo that every thing might be moſt eaſily heard, and plainly underſtood by all the people, to God's high glory, and the edification of the whole church. This church had of late the whole divine ſervices, all common and public prayers ordained to be ſaid and heard in the common congregation, not only framed and faſhioned to the true vein of holy ſcripture, but alſo ſet forth according to the commandment of the Lord's, and St. Paul's doctrine, for the people's edification, in their vulgar tongue.

It had alſo holy and wholeſome homilies in commendation of the principal virtues, which are commended in ſcripture: and likewiſe other homilies againſt the moſt pernicious and capital vices that uſe (alas) to reign in this realm of England. This church had, in matters of controverſy, articles ſo pened and framed after the holy ſcriptures, and grounded upon the true underſtanding of God's word, that in ſhort time, if they had been univerſally received, they ſhould have been able to have ſet in Chriſt's true religion, and to have expelled many falſe errors and hereſies, wherewith this church, alas, was almoſt overgone.

But alas, of late into this ſpiritual poſſeſſion of the heavenly treaſure of theſe godly riches, are entered in thieves, that have robbed and ſpoiled all this treaſure away. I may well complain on theſe things, and cry out upon them with the prophet, ſaying, "O Lord God, the Gentiles, heathen nations, are come into thy heritage: they have defiled thy holy temple, and made Jeruſalem an heap of ſtones, that is, they have broken and beaten down to the ground thy holy city." This heatheniſh generation, the e

theſe thieves be of Samaria, theſe Sabæi and Chaldæi, theſe robbers, have ruſhed out of their dens, and have robbed the church of England of all the aforeſaid holy treaſure of God; they have carried it away and overthrown it, and inſtead of God's holy word, the true and right adminiſtration of Chriſt's holy ſacraments, as of baptiſm and others, they mixt their miniſtry with man's fooliſh fantaſies, and many wicked and ungodly traditions withal.

Inſtead of the Lord's holy table, they give the people, with much ſolemn diſguiſing, a thing which they call their maſs, but in deed and in truth, it is a very maſking and mockery of the true ſupper of the Lord; or rather I may call it a crafty juggling, whereby theſe falſe thieves and jugglers have bewitched the minds of the ſimple people, that they have brought them from the true worſhip of God unto pernicious idolatry, and make them to believe that to be Chriſt our Lord and Saviour, which indeed is neither God nor man, nor hath any life in itſelf, but in ſubſtances is the creature of bread and wine, and in uſe of the Lord's table is the ſacrament of Chriſt's body and blood: and for this holy uſe, for which the Lord hath ordained them in his table, to repreſent unto us his bleſſed body torn upon the croſs for us, and his blood there ſhed, it pleaſeth him to call them his body and blood: which, underſtanding Chriſt, declareth to be his true meaning, when he ſaith, Do this in remembrance of me. And again, St. Paul likewiſe doth ſet out the ſame more plainly, ſpeaking of the ſame ſacrament, after the words of conſecration, ſaying, As often as ye ſhall eat of this bread and drink of this cup, ye ſhall ſet forth (he meaneth with the ſame) the Lord's death until his coming again. And here again theſe thieves have alſo robbed the people of the Lord's cup, contrary to the plain words of Chriſt written in his goſpel.

Now for the common public prayers which were in the vulgar tongue, theſe thieves have brought in again a ſtrange tongue, whereof the people underſtand not one word. Wherein what do they elſe, but rob the people of their divine ſervice, wherein they ought to pray together with the miniſter? And to pray in a ſtrange tongue, what is it but (as St. Paul calleth it) barbarouſneſs, childiſhneſs, unprofitable folly, yea, and plain madneſs.

For the godly articles of unity in religion, and for the wholeſome homilies, what do theſe thieves place in the ſtead of them, but the pope's laws and decrees, lying legends, feigned fables, and miracles to delude and abuſe the ſimplicity of the rude people? Thus this robbery and theft is not only committed, nay, ſacrilege, and wicked ſpoil of heavenly things, but alſo in the ſtead of the ſame, is brought in and placed the abominable deſolation of the tyrant Antiochus, of proud Senacherib, of the ſhameleſs faced king, and of the Babylonical beaſt. Unto this robbery, this theft and ſacrilege, for that I cannot conſent, nor (God willing) ever ſhall ſo long as the breath is in my body, becauſe it is blaſphemy againſt God, high treaſon againſt Chriſt our heavenly King, Lord, Maſter, and our only Saviour and Redeemer, it is plainly contrary to God's word, and to Chriſt's goſpel, it is the ſubverſion of all true godlineſs, and againſt the ſalvation of mine own ſoul, and of all my brethren and ſiſters, whom Chriſt my Saviour hath ſo dearly bought, with no leſs price than with the effuſion and ſhedding forth of his moſt precious blood: therefore all ye my true lovers in God, kinsfolk and countrymen, for this cauſe, I ſay, know ye that I am put to death, which by God's grace I ſhall willingly take, with hearty thanks to God, therefore, in certain hope, without any doubting, to receive at God's hand again, of his free mercy and grace, everlaſting life.

Although the cauſe of the true man ſlain of the thief, helping his neighbour to recover his goods again, and the cauſe for which I am to be put to death, in a generality is both one (as I ſaid before;) yet know ye that there is no ſmall difference. Theſe thieves againſt whom I do ſtand, are much worſe than the robbers and thieves of the borders. The goods which they ſteal are much more precious, and their kinds of fight are far divers. Theſe thieves are worſe (I ſay) for they are more cruel, more wicked, more falſe, more deceitful and crafty: for thoſe will but kill the body, but theſe will not ſtick to kill both body and ſoul. Thoſe, for the general theft and robbery, be called, and are indeed, thieves and robbers; but theſe, for their ſpiritual kind of robbery, are called Sacrilegi, as you would ſay, Church-robbers. They are more wicked: for thoſe go about to ſpoil men of worldly things, worldly riches, gold and ſilver, and worldly ſubſtance; theſe go about, in the ways of the devil their ghoſtly father, to ſteal from the univerſal church, and particularly from every man, all heavenly treaſure, true faith, true charity, and hope of ſalvation in the blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, yea, to ſpoil us of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, of his goſpel, of his heavenly Spirit, and of the heavenly heritage of the kingdom of heaven, ſo dearly purchaſed unto us, with the death of her maſter and Saviour Chriſt. Theſe be the goods and godly ſubſtance whereupon the chriſtian before God muſt live, and without which he cannot live: theſe goods, I ſay, theſe thieves, theſe church-robbers go about to ſpoil us of. Which goods, as to the man of God, they excel and far paſs all worldly treaſure; ſo to withſtand even unto death ſuch thieves as go about to ſpoil both us and the whole church of ſuch goods, is moſt high and honourable ſervice done to God.

Theſe church-robbers be alſo much more falſe, crafty, and deceitful than the thieves upon the borders; for theſe have not the craft ſo to commend their theft, that they dare avouch it, and therefore as acknowledging themſelves to be evil, they ſteal commonly in the night, they dare not appear at judgments and ſeſſions, where juſtice is executed, and when they are taken and brought thither, they never hang any man, but they be oftentimes hanged for their faults. But theſe church-robbers can ſo cloak and colour their ſpiritual robbery, that they can make people to believe falſhood to be truth, and truth falſhood; good to be evil, and evil good; light to be darkneſs, and darkneſs light; ſuperſtition to be true religion, and idolatry to be the true worſhip of God, and that which is in ſubſtance the creature of bread and wine, to be none other ſubſtance but only the ſubſtance of Chriſt the living Lord, both God and man. And with this their falſhood and craft, they can ſo juggle and bewitch the underſtanding of the ſimple, and they dare avouch it openly in court and in town, and fear neither hanging nor heading, as the poor thieves of the borders do; but ſtout and ſtrong like Nembroth, dare condemn to be burned in flaming fire, quick and alive, whoſoever will go about to bewray their falſhood.

The kind of fight againſt theſe church-robbers is alſo of another ſort and kind, than that is which is againſt the thieves of the borders. For there the true men go forth againſt them with ſpear and launce, with bow and bill, and all ſuch kinds of bodily weapons as the true men have: but here, as the enemies be of another nature, ſo the watchmen of Chriſt's flock, the warriors that fight in the Lord's war, muſt be armed, and fight with another kind of weapons and armour. For here the enemies of God, the ſoldiers of Antichriſt, although the battle is ſet forth againſt the church by mortal men, being fleſh and blood, and nevertheleſs members of their father the devil, yet for that their grand maſter is the power of darkneſs, their members are ſpiritual wickedneſs, wicked ſpirits, ſpirits of errors, of hereſies, of all deceit and ungodlineſs, ſpirits of idolatry, ſuperſtition and hypocriſy, which are called by St. Paul, principalities and powers, lords of the world, rulers of the darkneſs of this world, and ſpiritual ſubtilties concerning

heavenly things; therefore our weapons muſt be fit and meet to fight againſt ſuch, not carnal nor bodily weapons, as ſpear and launce, but ſpiritual and heavenly: we muſt fight againſt ſuch with the armour of God, not intending to kill their bodies, but their errors, their falſe craft and hereſies, their idolatry, ſuperſtition, and hypocriſy, and to ſave (as much as lieth in us) both their bodies and their ſouls.

And therefore, as St. Paul teacheth us, "We fight not againſt fleſh and blood," that is, we fight not with bodily weapons to kill the man, but with the weapons of God, to put to flight his wicked errors and vice, and to ſave both body and ſoul. Our weapons therefore are faith, hope, charity, righteouſneſs, truth, patience, prayer unto God, and our ſword wherewith we ſmite our enemies, beat and batter and bear down all falſhood, is the word of God. With theſe weapons, under the banner of the croſs of Chriſt, we do fight, ever having our eye upon our grand maſter and captain, Chriſt; and then we reckon ourſelves to triumph and to win the crown of everlaſting bliſs, when induring in this battle without any ſhrinking or yielding to the enemies, after the example of our grand captain Chriſt our maſter, after the example of his holy prophets, apoſtles and martyrs, when (I ſay) we are ſlain in our mortal bodies by our enemies, and are moſt cruelly, and without all mercy, murdered down like a flock of ſheep. And the more cruel, the more painful, the more vile and ſpiteful the kind of death is whereunto we be put, the more glorious in God, the more bleſſed and happy we reckon (without all doubt) our martyrdom to be.

And thus much, dear lovers and friends in God, my countrymen and kinsfolk, I have ſpoke for your comfort, leſt at my death ye might be abaſhed, or think any evil: whereas ye have rather cauſe to rejoice (if ye love me indeed) that it hath pleaſed God to call me to a greater honour and dignity, than ever I did enjoy before, either in Rocheſter, or in the ſee of London, or ever ſhould have had in the ſee of Durham, whereunto I was laſt of all elected and named: yea, I count it greater honour before God indeed to die in his cauſe (whereof I nothing doubt) than is any earthly or temporal promotion or honour that can be given to a man in this world. And who is he that knoweth the cauſe to be God's, to be Chriſt's quarrel, and of his goſpel, to be the commonweal of all the elect and choſen children of God, of all the inheritors of the kingdom of heaven; who is he (I ſay) that knoweth this aſſuredly by God's word, and the teſtimony of his own conſcience (as I, through the infinite goodneſs of God, not of myſelf, but by his grace, acknowledge myſelf to do) who is he, I ſay, that knoweth this, and both loveth and feareth God in deed and in truth, loveth and believeth his maſter Chriſt, and his bleſſed goſpel; loveth his brotherhood, the choſen children of God, and alſo luſteth and longeth for everlaſting life: who is he, I ſay again, that would not or cannot find in his heart in this cauſe to be content to die? The Lord forbid that any ſuch ſhould be that ſhould forſake this grace of God. I truſt in my Lord God, the God of mercies, and Father of all comfort, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, that he which hath put this mind, will, and affection, by his Holy Spirit, in my heart, to ſtand againſt the face of the enemy in his cauſe, and to chuſe rather the loſs of all my worldly ſubſtance, yea, and of my life too, than to deny his known truth; that he will comfort me, aid me, and ſtrengthen me evermore even unto the end, and to the yielding up of my ſpirit and ſoul into his holy hands, whereof I moſt heartily beſeech his moſt holy ſacred Majeſty of his infinite goodneſs and mercy, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

Now that I have taken leave of my countrymen and kinsfolk, and the Lord doth lend me life, and giveth me leiſure, I will bid my other good friends in God of other places alſo, farewel. And whom firſt or before other, than the univerſity of Cambridge, where I have dwelt longer, found more faithful and hearty friends, received more benefits (the benefits of my natural parents only excepted) than ever I did even in mine own country wherein I was born.

Farewel therefore (Cambridge) my loving mother and tender nurſe. If I ſhould not acknowledge thy manifold benefits, yea, if I ſhould not, for thy benefits at leaſt, love thee again, truly I were to be accounted too ungrateful and unkind. What benefits hadſt thou ever, that thou uſeſt to give and beſtow upon thy beſt beloved children, that thou thoughteſt too good for me? Thou didſt beſtow on me all thy ſchool-degrees, the common offices, the chaplainſhip of the univerſity, the office of the proctorſhip, and of a common reader; and of thy private advantages and emoluments in colleges, what was it that thou madeſt me not partner of? Firſt to be a ſcholar, then to be fellow, and after my departure from thee, thou calledſt me again to a maſterſhip of a right worſhipful college. I thank thee, my loving mother, for all this thy kindneſs, and I pray God that his laws, and the ſincere goſpel of Chriſt may ever be truly taught and faithfully learned in thee.

Farewel Pembroke Hall, of late mine own college, my cure and my charge: what caſe thou art in now God knoweth, I know not well. Thou waſt ever named ſince I knew thee, which is not thirty years ago, to be ſtudious, well learned, and a great promoter of Chriſt's goſpel, and of God's true word; ſo I found thee, and bleſſed be God, ſo I left thee indeed. Woe is me for thee mine own dear college, if ever thou ſuffer thyſelf by any means to be brought from that trade. In thy orchard (the walls, buts and trees, if they could ſpeak, would bear me witneſs) I learned without book almoſt all St. Paul's epiſtles, yea, and I think all the canonical epiſtles, ſave only the Apocalyps. Of which ſtudy, although in time a great part did depart from me, yet the ſweet ſmell thereof I truſt I ſhall carry with me into heaven: for the profit thereof I think I have felt in all my life-time ever after, and I think of late (whether they abide now or no, I cannot tell) there were others that did the like. The Lord grant that this zeal and love toward that part of God's word, which is a key and true commentary to all the holy ſcripture, may ever abide in that college ſo long as the world ſhall endure.

From Cambridge I was called into Kent by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, that moſt reverend father, and of him prefered to be vicar of Herne in Eaſt-Kent. Wherefore farewel Herne, thou worſhipful and wealthy pariſh, the firſt cure whereunto I was called to preach God's word. Thou haſt heard of my mouth oftentimes the word of God preached, not after the popiſh trade, but after Chriſt's goſpel: O that the fruit had anſwered to the ſeed. And yet I muſt acknowledge me to be thy debtor for the doctrine of the Lord's ſupper, which at that time I acknowledge God had not revealed unto me: but I bleſs God in all that godly virtue and zeal of God's word, which the Lord by preaching of his word did kindle manifeſtly both in the heart and in the life and works of that godly woman there, my lady Phines; the Lord grant that his word took like effect there in many others.

Farewel thou cathedral church of Canterbury, the metropolic ſee, whereof once I was a member. To ſpeak things pleaſant unto thee I dare not for danger of conſcience, and diſpleaſure of my Lord God; and to ſay what lieth in my heart were now too much, and I fear were able to do thee now but little good. Nevertheleſs for the friendſhip I have found in ſome there, and for charity ſake, I wiſh thee to be waſhed clean of all worldlineſs and ungodlineſs, that thou mayſt be found of God after thy name Chriſt's-church, in deed and in truth.

Farewel Rocheſter, ſometime my cathedral ſee, in whom (to ſay the truth) I did find much gentleneſs and obedience, and I truſt thou wilt not ſay the contrary, but I did uſe it to God's glory, and unto thine own profit in God.

God. O that thou hadſt and mighteſt have continued and gone forward in the trade of God's law wherein I did leave thee; then thy charge and burden ſhould not have been ſo terrible and dangerous, as I ſuppoſe verily it is like to be (alas) in the latter day.

To Weſtminſter other advertiſement in God I have not now to ſay, than I have ſaid before to the cathedral church of Canterbury, and ſo God give thee of his grace that thou mayſt learn in deed and in truth to pleaſe him after his own laws: and thus fare you well.

O London, London, to whom now may I ſpeak in thee, or whom ſhall I bid farewel? Shall I ſpeak to the prebendaries of Paul's? Alas, all that loved God's word, and were the true ſetters forth thereof, are now (as I hear ſay) ſome burnt and ſlain, ſome exiled and baniſhed, and ſome confined in hard priſon, and appointed daily to be put to moſt cruel death for Chriſt's goſpel's ſake. As for the reſt of them, I know they could never brook me well, nor could I ever delight in them.

Shall I ſpeak to the ſee thereof, wherein of late I was placed almoſt, and not fully the ſpace of three years? But what may I ſay to it, being (as I hear ſay I am) depoſed and expulſed by judgment as unjuſt uſurper of that room. O judgment, judgment. Can this be juſt judgment to condemn the chief miniſter of God's word, the paſtor and biſhop of the dioceſe, and never bring him into judgment, that he might have heard what crimes were laid to his charge, nor ever ſuffer him to have any place or time to anſwer for himſelf? Thinkeſt thou that hereafter when true juſtice ſhall have place, this judgment can ever be allowed either of God or man? Well, as for the cauſe or whole matter of my depoſition, and the ſpoil of my goods which thou poſſeſſeſt yet, I refer it unto God who is a juſt judge; and I beſeech God, if it be his pleaſure, that that which is but my perſonal wrong, be not laid to thy charge in the latter day, this only I can pray for.

O thou now wicked and bloody ſee, why doſt thou ſet up again many altars of idolatry, which by the word of God were juſtly taken away? Why doſt thou daily delude thy people, maſking in thy maſſes inſtead of the Lord's holy ſupper, which ought to be common as well (ſaith Chryſoſtom, yea the Lord himſelf), to the people as to the prieſt? How dareſt thou deny to the people of Chriſt, contrary to his expreſs commandment in the goſpel, his holy cup? Why bableſt thou to the people the Common Prayer in a ſtrange tongue, wherein St. Paul commandeth in the Lord's name, that no man ſhould ſpeak before the congregation, except it ſhould be by and by declared in their common tongue, that all might be edified? Nay, hearken thou whoriſh bawd of Babylon, thou wicked limb of Antichriſt, thou bloody wolf, why ſlayeſt thou down, and makeſt havock of the prophets of God? Why murdereſt thou ſo cruelly Chriſt's poor ſilly ſheep, which will not hear thy voice, becauſe thou art a ſtranger, and will follow none other but their own paſtor Chriſt his voice? Thinkeſt thou to eſcape, or that the Lord will not require the blood of his ſaints at thy hands? Thy God, which is the work of thy hands, and, whom thou ſayeſt thou haſt power to make, that thy deaf and dumb god, I ſay, will not indeed, nor can (although thou art not aſhamed to call him thy Maker), make thee to eſcape the revenging hand of the high and Almighty God. But be thou aſſured, that the living Lord our Saviour and Redeemer, who ſitteth on the right hand of his Father in glory, he ſeeth all thy wicked ways and cruelty done to his dear members, and he will not forget his holy ones, and his hands (O thou whoriſh drab) ſhalt thou never eſcape. Inſtead of my farewel to thee, now I ſay, Fie upon thee, fie upon thee, filthy drab, and all thy falſe prophets.

Yet thou (O London) I may not leave thee thus. Although thy epiſcopal ſee, now being joined in league with the ſeat of Satan, thus hath now both handled me and the ſaints of God, yet I do not doubt, but in that great city there may be many private mourners, who do daily mourn for that miſchief, who never did nor ſhall conſent to that wickedneſs, but to deteſt and abhor it as the ways of Satan. But theſe privy mourners here I will paſs by, and bid them farewel with their fellows hereafter, when place and occaſion ſhall more conveniently require. Among the worſhipful of the city, and eſpecially which were in office of mayoralty, yea, and in other cities alſo (whom now to name is not neceſſary), in the time of my miniſtry, which was from the latter part of Sir Rowland Hill's year, unto Sir George Barnes's year, and a great part thereof, I do acknowledge that I found no ſmall humanity and gentleneſs as methought: but (to ſay the truth), that I do eſteem above all other for true chriſtian kindneſs, which is ſhewed in God's cauſe, and done for his ſake. Wherefore, O Dobs, Dobs, alderman and knight, thou in thy year didſt win my heart for evermore, for that honourable act, that moſt bleſſed work of God, of the erection and ſetting up of Chriſt's holy hoſpitals, and truly religious houſes, which by thee and through thee were begun. For thou like a man of God, when the matter was moved for the relief of Chriſt's poor ſilly members to be holpen from extreme miſery, hunger, and famine, thy heart, I ſay, was moved with pity, and as Chriſt's high honourable officer in that cauſe, thou calledſt together thy brethern, the aldermen of the city, before whom thou breakedſt the matter for the poor; thou didſt plead their cauſe, yea, and not only in thine own perſon thou didſt ſet forth Chriſt's cauſe, but to further the matter, thou broughteſt me into the council-chamber of the city before the aldermen alone, whom thou hadſt aſſembled there together to hear me ſpeak what I could ſay, as an advocate by office and duty, in the poor men's cauſe. The Lord wrought with thee, and gave thee the conſent of thy brethren; whereby the matter was brought to the common-council, and ſo to the whole body of the city; by whom, with an uniform conſent, it was committed to be drawn, ordered, and deviſed, by a certain number of the moſt witty citizens and politic, endued alſo with godlineſs, and with ready hearts to ſet forward ſuch a noble act, as could be choſe in all the whole city: and they like true and faithful miniſters, both to their city and their maſter Chriſt, ſo ordered, deviſed, and brought forth the matter, that thouſands of ſilly poor members of Chriſt, which elſe for extreme hunger and miſery ſhould have famiſhed and periſhed, ſhall be relieved, holpen, and brought up, and ſhall have cauſe to bleſs the aldermen of that time, the common-council, and the whole body of the city, but eſpecially thee, O Dobs, and thoſe choſen men, by whom this honourable work of God was begun and wrought, and that ſo long throughout all ages, as that godly work ſhall endure; which I pray Almighty God may be ever unto the world's end, Amen.

And thou, O Sir George Barnes, the truth is to be confeſſed to God's glory, and to the good example of others, thou waſt in thy year not only a furtherer and continuer of that which before thee by thy predeceſſor was well begun, but alſo didſt labour ſo to have perfected the work, that it ſhould have been an abſolute thing, and perfect ſpectacle of true charity and godlineſs unto all Chriſtendom. Thine endeavour was to have ſet up an houſe of occupations, both that all kind of poverty, being able to work, ſhould not have lacked, whereupon profitably they might have been occupied to their own relief, and to the profit and commodity of the commonwealth of the city, and alſo to have retired thither the poor babes brought up in the hoſpitals, when they had come to a certain age and ſtrength, and alſo all thoſe which in the hoſpitals aforeſaid had been cured of their diſeaſes. And to have brought this to paſs, thou obtainedſt, not without great diligence and labour, both of thee and of thy brethren, and of that godly king Edward, that chriſtian and peerleſs prince's hand, his

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princly palace of Bridewell, and what other things, to the performance of the ſame, and under what condition, it is not unknown. That this thine endeavour hath not had like ſucceſs, the fault is not in thee, but in the condition and ſtate of the time, which the Lord of his infinite mercy vouchſafe to amend when it ſhall be his gracious will and pleaſure.

Farewel now all ye citizens that be of God, of what ſtate and condition ſoever ye be. Undoubtedly in London ye have heard God's word truly preached. My heart's deſire and daily prayer ſhall be for you, as for whom, for my time, I know to my Lord God I am accountable, that ye never ſwerve, neither for loſs of life nor worldly goods, from God's holy word, and yield unto Antichriſt: whereupon muſt needs follow the extreme diſpleaſure of God, and the loſs both of your bodies and ſouls into perpetual damnation for evermore.

Now that I have gone through the places where I have dwelt any ſpace in the time of my pilgrimage here upon earth, remembering that for the ſpace of king Edward's reign, which was for the time of mine office in the ſees of London and Rocheſter, I was a member of the higher houſe of the Parliament; therefore ſeeing my God hath given me leiſure, and the remembrance thereof, I will bid my lords of the temporalty farewel. They ſhall have no juſt cauſe, by God's grace, to take in ill part what I intend to ſay. As for the ſpiritual prelacy, that now is, I have nothing to ſay to them, except I ſhould repeat again a great part of that I have ſaid before now already to the ſee of London. To you therefore my lords of the temporality will I ſpeak, and this would I have you firſt to underſtand, that when I wrote this I looked daily when I ſhould be called to the change of this life, and thought that this my writing ſhould not come to your knowledge before the time of the diſſolution of my body and ſoul ſhould be expired: and therefore know ye, that I had before mine eyes only the fear of God, and chriſtian charity toward you, which moved me to write; for of you hereafter I look not in this world, either for pleaſure or diſpleaſure. If my talk ſhall do you never ſo much pleaſure or profit, you cannot promote me, nor if I diſpleaſe you, can ye hurt me or harm me, for I ſhall be out of your reach. Now therefore if you fear God, and can be content to hear the talk of him that ſeeketh nothing at your hands, but to ſerve God, and to do you good, hearken what I ſay. I ſay unto you as St. Paul ſaid to the Galatians, I wonder my lord's what hath bewitched you that you ſo ſuddenly are fallen from Chriſt to Antichriſt, from Chriſt's goſpel to men's traditions, from the Lord that bought you unto the biſhop of Rome. I warn you of your peril; be not deceived, except you will be found willingly conſenters unto your own death. For if you think thus, We are laymen, this is a matter of religion, we follow as we are taught and led; if our teachers and governors teach us and lead us amiſs, the fault is in them, they ſhall bear the blame: My lords, this is true (I grant you) that both the falſe teachers and the corrupt governor, ſhall be puniſhed for the death of their ſubject, whom they have falſly taught and corruptly led, yea, and his blood ſhall be required at their hands: but yet nevertheleſs ſhall the ſubject die the death himſelf alſo; that is, he ſhall alſo be damned for his own ſin; for if the blind lead the blind, Chriſt ſaith, not the leader only, but he ſaith, both ſhall fall into the ditch. Shall the ſynagogue and the ſenate of the Jews (think ye) which forſook Chriſt, and conſented to his death, therefore be excuſed, becauſe Annas and Caiaphas, with the ſcribes and phariſees, and their clergy, did teach them amiſs? Yea, and alſo Pilate the governor, and the emperor's lieutenant, by his tyranny did without cauſe put him to death: forſooth no, my lords, no. For notwithſtanding that corrupt doctrine, or Pilate's waſhing of his hands, neither ſhall excuſe that ſynagogue, or Pilate; but at the Lord's hand, for the effuſion of that innocent blood, all ſhall drink of the deadly whip. Ye are witty, and underſtand what I mean, therefore I will paſs over this, and return to tell you how ye are fallen from Chriſt to his adverſary the biſhop of Rome.

And leſt, my lords, ye may peradventure think, thus barely to call the biſhop of Rome Chriſt's adverſary, or (to ſpeak in plain terms) to call him Antichriſt, that it is done in mine anguiſh, and that I do but rage, and as a deſperate man do not care what I ſay, or upon whom I rail; therefore that your lordſhips may perceive my mind, and thereby underſtand that I ſpeak the words of truth and ſobriety (as St. Paul ſaid unto Feſtus) be it known unto your lordſhips all, that as concerning the biſhop of Rome, I neither hate the perſon nor the place. For I aſſure your lordſhips (the living Lord beareth me witneſs, before whom I ſpeak) I do think many a good holy man, many martyrs and ſaints of God have ſat and taught in that place Chriſt's goſpel truly, which therefore juſtly may be called Apoſtolici, that is, true diſciples of the apoſtles, and alſo that church and congregation of chriſtians to be a right apoſtolic church, yea, and that certain hundred years after the ſame was firſt erected and built upon Chriſt, by the true apoſtolical doctrine taught by the mouths of the apoſtles themſelves. If ye will know how long that was, and how many hundred years, to be curious in pointing the preciſe number of the years I will not be too bold, but thus I ſay, So long and ſo many hundred years as that ſee did truly preach and teach that goſpel, that religion, exerciſed that power, and ordered every thing by thoſe laws and rules which that ſee received of the apoſtles, (as Tertullian ſaith) the apoſtles of Chriſt, and Chriſt of God; ſo long, I ſay, that ſee might well have been called Peter and Paul's chair, and the biſhop thereof, Apoſtolicus, or true diſciple and ſucceſſor of the apoſtles, and a miniſter of Chriſt.

But ſince the time that that ſee hath degenerated from the trade of truth and true religion, which it received of the apoſtles at the beginning, and hath preached another goſpel, hath ſet up another religion, hath exerciſed another power, and hath taken upon it to order and rule the church of Chriſt by other ſtrange laws, canons and rules, than ever it received of the apoſtles, or the apoſtles of Chriſt, which things it doth at this day, and hath continued ſo doing (alas) too long a time; ſince the time, I ſay, that the ſtate and condition of that ſee hath thus been changed, in truth it ought, out of duty and of right, to have the names changed both of the ſee and of the ſitter therein. For underſtand, my lords, it was neither for the privilege of the place or perſon thereof, that that ſee and biſhops thereof were called apoſtolic; but for the true trade of Chriſt's religion, which was taught and maintained in that ſee at the firſt, and of thoſe godly men. And therefore as truly and juſtly as that ſee then, for that true trade of religion, and conſanguinity of doctrine with the religion and doctrine of Chriſt's apoſtles, was called apoſtolic; ſo as truly and juſtly for the contrariety of religion, and diverſity of doctrine from Chriſt and his apoſtles, that ſee and biſhop thereof, at this day both ought to be called, and are indeed antichriſtian.

The ſee is the ſee of Satan, and the biſhop of the ſame, that maintaineth the abominations thereof, is Antichriſt himſelf indeed. And for the ſame cauſes this ſee at this day is the ſame which St. John calleth in his Revelation, Babylon, or the whore of Babylon, and ſpiritual Sodoma and Egyptus, the mother of fornications and of the abominations upon the earth. And with this whore doth ſpiritually meddle, and lieth with her, and committeth moſt ſtinking and abominable adultery before God, all thoſe kings and princes, yea, and all nations of the earth which do conſent to her abominations, and uſe or practiſe the ſame; that is (of the innumerable multitude of them to rehearſe ſome for example's ſake), her diſpenſations, her pardons and pilgrimages, her invocation of ſaints, her worſhipping of images, her

her falſe counterfeit religion in her monkery and frierage, and her traditions, whereby God's laws are defiled: as her maſſing and falſe miniſtering of God's word and the ſacraments of Chriſt, clean contrary to Chriſt's word and the apoſtle's doctrine, whereof in particular I have touched ſomething before in my talk had with the ſee of London, and in other treatiſes more at large; wherein (if it ſhall pleaſe God to bring the ſame to light) it ſhall appear, I truſt by God's grace, plainly to the man of God, and to him whoſe rule in judgment of religion is God's word, that that religion, that rule and order, that doctrine and faith which this whore of Babylon, and the beaſt whereupon ſhe doth ſit, maintaineth at this day with all violence of fire and ſword, with ſpoil and baniſhment (according to Daniel's prophecy) and finally with all falſhood, deceit, hypocriſy, and all kind of ungodlineſs, are as clean contrary to God's word, as darkneſs is unto light, or light unto darkneſs, white to black, or black to white, or as Belial to Chriſt, or Chriſt to Antichriſt himſelf.

I know, my lords, and foreſaw when I wrote this, that ſo many of you as ſhould ſee this my writing, not being before endued with the Spirit of grace and the light of God's word, ſo many (I ſay) would at theſe my words lord-like ſtamp and ſpurn, and ſpit thereat. But ſober yourſelves with patience, and be ſtill, and know ye that in my writing of this, my mind was none other, but in God (as the living God doth bear me witneſs) both to do you profit and pleaſure. And otherwiſe, as for your diſpleaſure, by that time this ſhall come to your knowledge, I truſt by God's grace, to be in the hands and protection of the Almighty, my heavenly Father, and the living Lord, which is (as St. John ſaith) the greateſt of all, and then I ſhall not need, I ſuppoſe, to fear what any lord, no nor what king or prince can do unto me.

My lords, if in times paſt ye have been contented to hear me ſometimes in matters of religion before the prince in the pulpit, and in the parliament-houſe, and have not ſeemed to have deſpiſed what I have ſaid (when as elſe if ye had perceived juſt occaſion, ye might then have ſuſpected me in my talk, though it had been reaſonable, either deſire of worldly gain, or fear of diſpleaſure) how hath then your lordſhips more cauſe to hearken to my word, and to hear me patiently, ſeeing now ye cannot juſtly think of me, being in this caſe appointed to die, and looking daily when I ſhall be called to come before the eternal Judge, otherwiſe but that I only ſtudy to ſerve my Lord God, and to ſay that thing which I am perſuaded, aſſuredly by God's word, ſhall and doth pleaſe him, and profit all them to whom God ſhall give grace to hear and believe what I do ſay? And I do ſay even that I have ſaid heretofore, both of the ſee of Rome and of the biſhop thereof, I mean after this their preſent ſtate at this day, wherein if ye will not believe the miniſters of God, and true preachers of his word, verily I denounce unto you, in the word of the Lord, except ye do repent betime, it ſhall turn to your confuſion, and to your ſmart on the latter day. Forget not what I ſay, my lords, for God's ſake forget not, but remember it upon your bed. For I tell you moreover, as I know I muſt be accountable for this my talk, and of my ſpeaking thus, to the eternal Judge (who will judge nothing amiſs) ſo ſhall you be accountable of your duty in hearing, and you ſhall be charged, if ye will not hearken to God's word, for not obeying to the truth. Alas, my lords, how chanceth this, that this matter is now new again to be perſuaded unto you? Who would have thought of late, but your lordſhips had been perſuaded indeed ſufficiently, or that ye could ever have agreed ſo uniformly, with one conſent to the aboliſhment of the uſurpation of the biſhop of Rome? If that matter were then but a matter of policy, wherein the prince muſt be obeyed; how is it now made a matter wherein (as your clergy ſaith now, and ſo ſaith the pope's law indeed) ſtandeth the unity of the catholic church, and a matter of neceſſity of our ſalvation? Hath the time, being ſo ſhort ſince the death of the two laſt kings, Henry the eighth, and Edward his ſon, altered the nature of the matter? If it have not, but was of the ſame nature and danger before God as it is now, and be now (as it is ſaid by the pope's laws, and the inſtructions ſet forth in Engliſh to the curates of the dioceſe of York) indeed a matter of neceſſity to ſalvation: how then chanced it that ye were all (O my lords) ſo light, and ſo little paſſed upon the catholic faith, and the unity thereof, without which no man can be ſaved, as for your princes' pleaſure, who were but mortal men, to forſake the unity of your catholic faith, that is, to forſake Chriſt and his goſpel? And furthermore, if it were both then, and now is ſo neceſſary to ſalvation, how chanced it alſo that ye, all the whole body of the parliament agreeing with you, did not only aboliſh and expel the biſhop of Rome, but alſo did abjure him in your own perſons, and did decree in your acts great oaths to be taken both of the ſpirituality and temporality, whoſoever ſhould enter into any weighty and chargeable office in the commonwealth? But on the other ſide, if the law and decree which maketh the ſupremacy of the ſee and biſhop of Rome over the univerſal church of Chriſt, be a thing of neceſſity required unto ſalvation by an Antichriſtian law (as it is indeed) and ſuch inſtructions as are given to the dioceſe of York, be indeed a ſetting forth of the power of the beaſt of Babylon, by the craft and falſhood of his falſe prophets (as of truth, compared to God's word, and truly judged by the ſame, it ſhall plainly appear that they be) then, my lords, never think other, but the day ſhall come when ye ſhall be charged with this your undoing of that, that once you had well done, and with this your perjury, and breach of your oath, which oath was done in judgment, juſtice and truth, agreeable to God's law. The whore of Babylon may well for a time dally with you, and make you ſo drunken with the wine of her filthy ſtews and whoredom (as with her diſpenſations and promiſes of pardon for puniſhment and crime) that for drunkenneſs and blindneſs ye may think yourſelves ſafe. But be ye aſſured, when the living Lord ſhall try the matter by the fire, and judge it according to his word, when all her abominations ſhall appear what they be, then ye, my lords (I give your lordſhips warning in time) repent, if ye will be happy, and love your own ſouls health; repent, I ſay, or elſe, without all doubt, ye ſhall never eſcape the hands of the living Lord, for the guilt of your perjury, and breach of your oath. As ye have banquetted and lain by the whore in the fornication of her whoriſh diſpenſations, pardons, idolatry, and ſuch like abominations, ſo ſhall ye drink with her (except ye repent betime) of the cup of the Lord's indignation and everlaſting wrath, which is prepared for the beaſt, his falſe prophets, and all their partakers. For he that is partner with them in their whoredom and abominations, muſt alſo be partner with them of their plagues, and in the latter day ſhall be thrown with them into the lake burning with fire and brimſtone, and unquenchable fire. Thus fare ye well, my lords all. I pray God give you underſtanding of his bleſſed will and pleaſure, and make you to believe and embrace the truth, Amen.

Another Farewel to the Priſoners in the Cauſe of Chriſt's Goſpel, and to all them who, for the ſame Cauſe, are exiled and baniſhed out from their own Country, chooſing rather to leave all worldly Commodity, than their Maſter Chriſt.

FAREWEL, my dearly beloved brethren in Chriſt, both ye, my fellow-priſoners, and ye alſo that be exiled and baniſhed out of your countries, becauſe ye will rather forſake all worldly advantages, than the goſpel of Chriſt.

Farewel all ye together in Chriſt; farewel and be merry, for ye know that the trial of your faith bringeth forth patience, and patience ſhall make us perfect, whole and ſound on every ſide, and ſuch, after trial (ye know) ſhall receive the crown of life, according to the promiſe of the Lord made to his dearly beloved; let us therefore be patient unto the coming of the Lord. As the huſbandman abideth patiently the former and the latter rain for the increaſe of his crop, ſo let us be patient, and pluck up our hearts, for the coming of the Lord approacheth apace. Let us, my dear brethren, take example of patience in tribulation of the prophets, who likewiſe ſpake God's word truly in his name. Let Job be to us an example of patience, and the end which the Lord ſuffered, which is full of mercy and pity. We know, my brethren, by God's word, that our faith ismuch more precious than any corruptible gold, and yet that is tried by the fire: even ſo our faith is therefore tried likewiſe in tribulations, that it may be found, when the Lord ſhall appear, laudable, glorious, and honourable. For if we for Chriſt's cauſe do ſuffer, that is grateful before God; for thereunto are we called, that is our ſtate and vocation, wherewith let us be content. Chriſt we know, ſuffered for us afflictions, leaving us an example that we ſhould follow his foot-ſteps; for he committed no ſin, nor was there any guile found in his mouth: when he was railed upon, and all to be reviled, he railed not again: when he was evil intreated, he did not threaten, but committed the puniſhment thereof to him that judgeth aright.

Let us ever have in freſh remembrance thoſe wonderful comfortable ſentences ſpoken by the mouth of our Saviour Chriſt, Bleſſed are they which ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſs ſake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Bleſſed are ye when men revile you, perſecute you, and ſpeak evil againſt you for my ſake: rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven; for ſo did they perſecute the prophets which were before you. Therefore let us alway bear this in our minds, that if any incommodity do happen unto us for righteouſneſs ſake, happy are we whatſoever the world doth think of us. Chriſt our maſter hath told us beforehand, that the brother ſhould put the brother to death, and the father the ſon, and the children ſhould riſe againſt their parents and kill them, and that Chriſt's true apoſtles ſhould be hated of all men for his name's ſake; but he that ſhall abide patiently to the end, ſhall be ſaved.

Let us then endure in all our troubles patiently, after the example of our maſter Chriſt, and be content therewith, for he ſuffered being our maſter and Lord: how doth it not then become us to ſuffer; for the diſciple is not above his maſter, nor the ſervant above his lord? It may ſuffice the diſciple to be as his maſter, and the ſervant to be as his lord. If they have called the Father of the family, the Maſter of the houſhold, Beelzebub, how much more ſhall they call them ſo of his houſhold? Fear them not then (ſaith our Saviour) for all privities ſhall be made plain; there is now nothing ſecret, but it ſhall be ſhewed in light. Of Chriſt's words let us neither be aſhamed nor afraid to ſpeak them: for ſo Chriſt commandeth us, ſaying, That I tell you privily, ſpeak openly abroad, and that I tell you in your ear, preach it upon the houſe-top. And fear not them which kill the body, for the ſoul they cannot kill; but fear him which can caſt both body and ſoul into hell-fire.

Know ye that the heavenly Father hath ever a gracious eye and reſpect toward you, and a fatherly providence for you, ſo that without his knowledge and permiſſion nothing can do you harm. Let us therefore caſt all our care upon him, and he ſhall provide that which ſhall be beſt for us. For if two ſmall ſparrows, which both are ſold for a mite, one of them lighteth not on the ground without your Father, and all the hairs of our head are numbered; fear not them (ſaith our maſter Chriſt) for ye are more worth than many ſmall ſparrows. And let us not ſtick to confeſs our maſter Chriſt for fear of danger, whatſoever it ſhall be, remembering the promiſe that Chriſt maketh, ſaying, Whoſoever ſhall confeſs me before men, him ſhall I confeſs before my Father which is in heaven; but whoſoever ſhall deny me, him ſhall I deny before my father which is in heaven. Chriſt came not here to give us a carnal amity, and a worldly peace, or to knit his unto the world in eaſe and peace, but rather to ſeparate and divide from the world, and to join them unto himſelf: in whoſe cauſe we muſt, if we will be his, forſake father and mother, and ſtick unto him. If we forſake him or ſhrink from him for trouble or death's ſake, which he calleth his croſs, he will none of us, we cannot be his. If for his cauſe we ſhall loſe our temporal lives here, we ſhall find them again, and enjoy them for evermore: but if in his cauſe we will not be contented to leave nor loſe them here, then ſhall we loſe them ſo, that we ſhall never find them again, but in everlaſting death. What though our troubles here are painful for the time, and the ſting of death bitter and unpleaſant? yet we know that they ſhall not laſt, in compariſon of eternity, no not the twinkling of an eye, and that they patiently taken in Chriſt's cauſe, ſhall procure and get us unmeaſurable heaps of heavenly glory, unto which theſe temporal pains of death and troubles compared, are not to be eſteemed, but to be rejoiced upon. Wonder not, ſaith St. Peter, as though it were a ſtrange matter that ye are tried by the fire (he meaneth of tribulation) which thing, ſaith he, is done to prove you; nay, rather in that ye are partners of Chriſt's afflictions, rejoice that in his glorious revelation ye may rejoice with merry hearts. If ye ſuffer rebukes in Chriſt's name, happy are ye, for the glory and Spirit of God reſteth upon you. Of them God is reviled and diſhonoured, but of you he is glorified.

Let no man be aſhamed of that which he ſuffereth as a chriſtian, and in Chriſt's cauſe? for now is the time that judgment and correction muſt begin at the houſe of God: and if it begin firſt at us, what ſhall be the end of thoſe, think ye, which believe not the goſpel? And if the righteous ſhall be hardly ſaved, the wicked and the ſinner, where ſhall he appear? Wherefore they which are afflicted, according to the will of God, let them lay down and commit their ſouls to him by well doing, as to a truſty and faithful maker. This, as I ſaid, may not ſeem ſtrange to us, for we know that all the whole fraternity of Chriſt's congregation in this world is ſerved with the like, and by the ſame is made perfect. For the fervent love that the apoſtles had unto their maſter Chriſt, and for the great advantages and increaſe of all godlineſs which they felt by their faith to inſue of afflictions in Chriſt's cauſe, and thirdly for the heaps of heavenly joys which the ſame do get unto the godly, which ſhall endure in heaven for evermore; for theſe cauſes (I ſay) the apoſtles did joy of their afflictions and rejoiced in that they were had and accounted worthy to ſuffer contumelies and rebukes for Chriſt's name. And St. Paul, as he glorifieth in the grace and favour of God, whereunto he was brought and ſtood in by faith; ſo he rejoiced in his afflictions for the heavenly and ſpiritual profits which he numbered to riſe upon them: yea, he was ſo far in love with that that the carnal man loatheth ſo much, that is, with Chriſt's croſs, that he judged himſelf to know nothing elſe but Chriſt crucified; he will glory, he ſaith, in nothing elſe but in Chriſt's croſs, yea, and he bleſſeth all thoſe, as the only true Iſraelites and elect people of God, with peace and mercy, which walk after that rule and after none other.

O Lord, what a wonderful ſpirit was that that made Paul, in ſetting forth of himſelf againſt the vanity of Satan's falſe apoſtles, and his claim there, that he in Chriſt's cauſe did excel and paſs them all? What wonderful ſpirit was that, I ſay, that made him to reckon up all his troubles, his labours, his beatings, his whipings and ſcourgings, his ſhipwrecks, his dangers and perils by water

ter and by land, his famine, hunger, nakedneſs, and cold, with many more, and the daily care of all the congregations of Chriſt, among whom every man's pain did pierce his heart, and every man's grief was grievous unto him? O Lord, is this Paul's primacy, whereof he thought ſo much good that he did excel others? Is not this Paul's ſaying unto Timothy his own ſcholar? And doth it not pertain to whoſoever will be Chriſt's true ſoldiers? Bear thou, ſaith he, affliction like a good ſoldier of Jeſus Chriſt. This is true: If we die with him (he meaneth Chriſt) we ſhall live with him; if we ſuffer with him, we ſhall reign with him; if we deny him, he ſhall deny us; if we be faithleſs, he remaineth faithful, he cannot deny himſelf. This, Paul would have known to every body; for there is none other way to heaven but Chriſt and his way: and all that will live godly in Chriſt, ſhall (ſaith St. Paul) ſuffer perſecution. By this way went to heaven the patriarchs, the prophets, Chriſt our maſter, his apoſtles, his martyrs, and all the godly ſince the beginning. And as it hath been of old, that he which was born after the fleſh, perſecuted him which was born after the ſpirit, for ſo it was in Iſaac's time: ſo ſaid St. Paul, it was in his time alſo. And whether it be ſo now or no, let the ſpiritual man, the ſelf-ſame man I mean, that is indued with the Spirit of Almighty God, let him be judge. Of the croſs of the patriarchs, as ye may read in their ſtories, if ye read the book of Geneſis, ye ſhall perceive. Of others, St. Paul in few words comprehendeth much matter, ſpeaking in a generality of the wonderful afflictions, death and torments, which the men of God in God's cauſe, and for the truth's ſake willingly and gladly did ſuffer. After much particular rehearſal of many, he ſaith, Others were racked and deſpiſed, and would not be delivered, that they might obtain a better reſurrection. Others again were tried with mockings and ſcourgings, and moreover with bonds and impriſonment; they were ſtoned, hewn aſunder, tempted, fell, and were ſlain upon the edge of the ſword, ſome wandered to and fro in ſheepſkins, in goat-ſkins, forſaken, oppreſſed, afflicted, ſuch godly men as the world was unworthy of, wandering in wilderneſſes, in mountains, in caves, and in dens, and all theſe were commended for their faith. And yet they abide for us the ſervants of God, and for thoſe their brethren which are to be ſlain as they were for the word of God's ſake, that none be ſhut out, but that we may all go together to meet our maſter Chriſt in the air at his coming, and ſo to be in bliſs with him in body and ſoul for evermore.

Therefore ſeeing we have ſo much occaſion to ſuffer and to take afflictions for Chriſt's name ſake patiently, ſo many advantages thereby, ſo weighty cauſes, ſo many good examples, ſo great neceſſity, ſo pure promiſes of eternal life and heavenly joys of him that cannot lye: let us throw away whatſoever might hinder us, all burden of ſin, and all kind of carnality, and patiently and conſtantly let us run for the beſt game in this race that is ſet before us, ever having our eyes upon Jeſus Chriſt the captain and perfecter of our faith, who for the joy that was ſet before him endured the croſs, not minding the ſhame and ignominy thereof, and is ſet now at the right hand of the throne of God. Conſider this, that he ſuffered ſuch ſtrife of ſinners againſt himſelf, that ye ſhould not give over nor faint in your minds. As yet, brethren, we have not withſtood unto death, fighting againſt ſin. Let us never forget, dear brethren, for Chriſt's ſake, that fatherly exhortation of the wiſe man, that ſpeaketh unto us as unto his children, the godly wiſdom of God, ſaying thus, My ſon, deſpiſe not the correction of the Lord, nor fall from him when thou art rebuked of him: for whom the Lord loveth, him doth he correct, and ſcourgeth every child whom he receiveth. What child is he, whom the father doth not chaſten? If ye be free from chaſtiſement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye baſtards, and no children. Seeing then, when as we have had carnal parents which chaſtened us, we reverenced them, ſhall not we much more be ſubject unto our ſpiritual Father, that we might live? And they for a little time have taught us after their own mind, but this Father teacheth us to our advantage, to give unto us his holineſs. All chaſtiſement, for the preſent time, appeareth not pleaſant, but painful; but afterward it rendereth the fruit of righteouſneſs on them which are exerciſed in it. Wherefore let us be of good cheer, good brethren, and let us pluck up our feeble members that were fallen or began to faint, heart, hands, knees, and all the reſt, and let us walk upright and ſtraight, that no limping or halting bring us out of the way. Let us not look upon the things that be preſent, but with the eyes of our faith let us ſtedfaſtly behold the things that be everlaſting in heaven, and ſo chooſe rather in reſpect of that which is to come, with the choſen members of Chriſt, to bear Chriſt's croſs, than for this ſhort life-time to enjoy all the riches, honours, and pleaſures of the broad world. Why ſhould we, chriſtians, fear death? Can death deprive us of Chriſt, which is all our comfort, our joy, and our life? Nay, forſooth: but contrary, death ſhall deliver us from this mortal body, which loadeth and beareth down the ſpirit, that it cannot ſo well perceive heavenly things; in which, ſo long as we dwell, we are abſent from God.

Wherefore, underſtanding our ſtate in that we be chriſtians, that if our mortal body, which is our earthly houſe, were deſtroyed, we have a building, a houſe not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, &c. therefore we are of good cheer, and know that when we are in the body, we are abſent from God; for we walk by faith, and not by ſight. Nevertheleſs we are bold, and had rather be abſent from the body, and preſent with God. Wherefore we ſtrive, whether we be preſent at home, or abſent abroad, that we may always pleaſe him. And who that hath true faith in our Saviour Chriſt, whereby he knoweth ſomewhat truly what Chriſt our Saviour is, that he is the eternal Son of God, Life, Light, the Wiſdom of the Father, all goodneſs, all righteouſneſs, and whatſoever is good that heart can deſire, yea infinite plenty of all theſe, above that that man's heart can either conceive or think (for in him dwelleth the fullneſs of the Godhead corporally) and alſo that he is given us of the Father, and made of God to be our wiſdom, our righteouſneſs, our holineſs, and our redemption: who (I ſay) is he that believeth this indeed, that would not gladly be with his maſter Chriſt? Paul, for this knowledge, coveted to have been looſed from the body, and to have been with Chriſt, for that he counted it much better for himſelf, and had rather to be looſed than to live. Therefore theſe words of Chriſt to the thief on the croſs, that aſked of him mercy, were full of comfort and ſolace: This day ſhalt thou be with me in paradiſe. To die in the defence of Chriſt's goſpel, it is our bounden duty to Chriſt, and alſo to our neighbour. To Chriſt, becauſe he died for us, and roſe again, that he might be Lord over all. And ſeeing he died for us, we alſo, ſaith St. John, ſhould hazard, yea, give our life for our brethren; and this kind of giving and loſing, is getting and winning indeed: for he that giveth or loſeth his life thus, getteth and winneth it for evermore. Bleſſed are they therefore that die in the Lord, and if they die in the Lord's cauſe, they are moſt happy of all. Let us not then fear death, which can do us no harm, otherwiſe than for a moment to make the fleſh to ſmart: but that our faith, which is ſurely faſtened and fixed upon the word of God, telleth us that we ſhall be anon after death in peace, in the hands of God, in joy, in ſolace, and that from death we ſhall go ſtrait unto life. For St. John ſaith, He that liveth, and believeth in me, ſhall never die. And in another place, He ſhall depart from death unto life. And therefore this death of the chriſtian is not to be called death, but rather a gate or entrance unto everlaſting life. Therefore Paul calleth it but a diſſolution and reſolution, and both Peter and Paul, a putting-

putting-off this tabernacle or dwelling-houſe: meaning thereby the mortal body, as wherein the ſoul or ſpirit doth dwell here in this world for a ſmall time. Yea, this my death may be called to the chriſtian, and end of all miſeries. For ſo long as we live here, we muſt paſs thro' many tribulations before we can enter into the kingdom of heaven. And now, after that death hath ſhot his bolt, all the chriſtian men's enemies have done what they can; after that they have no more to do. What could hurt or harm poor Lazarus that lay at the rich man's gate; his former penury and poverty; his miſery, beggary, and horrible ſores and ſickneſs? For ſo ſoon as death had ſtruck him with his dart, ſo ſoon came the angels and carried him ſtrait up into Abraham's boſom. What loſt he by death, who from miſery and pain is conducted by the miniſtry of angels, into a place of joy and felicity?

Farewel, dear brethren, farewel; let us comfort our hearts in all troubles, and in death, with God's word; for heaven and earth ſhall periſh, but the word of the Lord endureth for ever.

Farewel Chriſt's dearly beloved ſpouſe here wandering in this world in a ſtrange land, encompaſſed about with deadly enemies, who ſeek thy deſtruction.

Farewel, farewel, O ye the whole univerſal congregation of the choſen of God here living upon earth, the true church militant of Chriſt, the true myſtical body of Chriſt, the very houſhold and family of God, and the ſacred temple of the Holy Ghoſt, farewel.

Farewel, O thou little flock of the high heavenly paſtors of Chriſt, for to thee it hath pleaſed the heavenly Father to give an everlaſting and eternal kingdom. Farewel.

Farewel thou ſpiritual houſe of God, thou holy and royal prieſthood, thou choſen generation, thou holy nation, thou won ſpouſe. Farewel, farewel.

Another Treatiſe of Biſhop Ridley, wherein is contained, firſt a Lamentation for the Change of Religion, in England: Then a Compariſon between the Doctrine of the Goſpel, and the Romiſh Religion, with wholeſome Inſtructions in the End to all Chriſtians, how to behave themſelves in Time of Trial.

ALAS what miſery is thy church brought unto, O Lord, at this day? Where of late the word of the Lord was truly preached, was read and heard in every town, in every village, yea, and almoſt in every honeſt man's houſe, alas, now it is exiled and baniſhed out of the whole realm. Of late who was not taken for a lover of God's word, for a reader, for a ready hearer, and for a learner of the ſame? And now, alas, who dare bare any open countenance toward it, but ſuch as are content in Chriſt's cauſe, and for his word ſake to ſtand to the danger and loſs of all they have?

Of late there was to be found, of every age, of every degree and kind of people, that gave their diligence to learn (as they could), out of God's word, the articles of the chriſtian faith, the commandments of God, and the Lord's prayer: the babes and young children were taught theſe things by their parents, by their maſters, and weekly by their curates in every church: and the aged folk, which had been brought up in blindneſs, and in ignorance of thoſe things which every chriſtian is bound to know, when otherwiſe they could not, yet they learned the ſame by often hearing their children and ſervants repeat the ſame: but now (alas, and alas, again) the falſe prophets of Antichriſt which are paſt all ſhame, do openly preach in pulpits unto the people of God, that the catechiſm is to be accounted hereſy; whereby their old blindneſs is brought home again: for the aged are afraid of the higher powers, and the youth is abaſhed and aſhamed, even of that which they have learned, tho' it be God's word, and dare no more meddle.

Of late in every congregation throughout all England, prayer and petition was made unto God to be delivered from the tyranny of the biſhop of Rome, and all his deteſtable enormities, from all falſe doctrine and hereſy; and now alas, Satan hath perſuaded England by his falſhood and craft, to revoke her old godly prayer, to recant the ſame, and provoke the fearful wrath and indignation of God upon her own pate.

Of late by ſtrict laws and ordinances, with the conſent of the nobles and commonalty, and full agreement and counſel of the prelates and clergy, the beaſt of Babylon was baniſhed hence, with laws, I ſay, and with oaths, and all means that could be deviſed for ſo godly a purpoſe: but now, alas, all theſe laws are trodden under foot; the nobles, the commonalty, the prelates and clergy are quite changed, and all thoſe oaths, though they were made in judgment, juſtice and truth, and the matter never ſo good, doth no more hold than a bond of ruſhes or of a barley ſtraw, nor public perjury no more terrifieth them, than a ſhadow upon the wall.

Of late it was agreed in England of all hands, according to St. Paul's doctrine, and Chriſt's commandment, that nothing ought to be done in the church, in the public congregation, but in that tongue which the congregation could underſtand, that all might be edified thereby, whether it where common-prayer, adminiſtration of the ſacraments, or any other thing belonging to the miniſtry of God's holy and wholeſome word: but, alas, all is turned upſide down, Paul's doctrine is put apart, Chriſt's commandment is not regarded. For nothing is heard commonly in the church, but a ſtrange tongue, that the people do not underſtand.

Of late all men and women were taught after Chriſt's doctrine, to pray in that tongue which they could underſtand, that they might pray with heart that which they ſhould ſpeak with their tongue: now, alas, the unlearned people are brought into that blindneſs again, to think that they pray, when they ſpeak with their tongue they cannot tell what, nor whereof their hearts are nothing mindful at all, for that it can underſtand never a whit thereof.

Of late the Lord's ſupper was duly adminiſtered, and taught to be made common to all that are true chriſtians, with thankſgiving, and ſetting forth of the Lord's death and paſſion until his returning again, to judge both quick and dead: but now, alas, the Lord's table is quite overthrown, and that which ought to be common to all godly, is made private to a few ungodly, without any kind of thankſgiving, or any ſetting forth of the Lord's death at all, that the people is able to underſtand.

Of late, all that were endued with the light and grace of underſtanding God's holy myſteries, did bleſs God, who had brought them out of that horrible blindneſs and ignorance, whereby in times paſt, being ſeduced by Satan's ſubtilties, they believed that the ſacrament was not the ſacrament, but the thing itſelf whereof it is a ſacrament, that the creature was the Creator, and that the thing which hath neither life nor ſenſe (alas, ſuch was the horrible blindneſs) was the Lord himſelf, which made the eye to ſee, and hath given all ſenſes and underſtanding unto man; but now, alas, England is returned again like a dog to her own vomit and ſpewing, and is in worſe caſe than ever ſhe was: for it had been better never to have known the truth, than to forſake the truth once received and known: and now, not only that light is turned into darkneſs, and God's grace is received in vain, but alſo laws of death are made by high court of parliament, maſterfully to maintain by ſword, fire, and all kind of violence, that heinous idolatry, wherein that adoration is given unto the lifeleſs and dumb creature, which is only due unto the everliving God: yea, they ſay they can, and do make of bread both man and God, by their tranſubſtantiation. O wicked men, and Satan's own brood!

Of late was the Lord's cup at his table diſtributed according to his own commandment, by his expreſs words in the goſpel, as well to the laity as to the clergy, which order

order Chriſt's church obſerved ſo many hundred years after, as all the ancient eccleſiaſtical writers do teſtify, without contradiction of any one of them, that can be ſhewed unto this day; but now, alas, not only the Lord's commandment is broken, his cup is denied to his ſervants, to whom he commandeth it ſhould be diſtributed, but alſo with the ſame is ſet up a new blaſphemous kind of ſacrifice to ſatisfy and pay the price of ſins both of the quick and the dead, to the great and intolerable contumely of Chriſt our Saviour's death and paſſion, which was and is the only ſufficient and everlaſting available ſacrifice ſatisfactory for all the elect of God, from Adam the firſt, to the laſt that ſhall be born in the end of the world.

Of late the commandment of God, "Thou ſhalt not make to thyſelf any graven image, nor any ſimilitude or likeneſs of any thing in heaven above, or in earth beneath, or in the water under the earth, thou ſhalt not bow down to them nor worſhip them:" This commandment of God, I ſay, was graven almoſt every where in churches, was learned by every body, both young and old; whereupon, images that provoked the ſimple and ignorant people unto idolatry, as the wiſe man ſaith, were taken out of the churches, and ſtrictly forbidden that none ſhould any where either bow down to them, or worſhip them: But now, alas, God's holy word is blotted and razed out of churches, and ſtocks and ſtones are ſet up in the place thereof. God commanded his word ſo to be ordered, that it might be had in continual remembrance at all times, and in every place: and on the other ſide, he forbade images and idols ſo to be either made or ſet in any place, where any ſhould bow or worſhip them: but now, alas, that which God commanded is not minded, and that which he forbideth, is powerfully maintained by falſhood and craft, and wickedly upheld.

Of late all miniſters that were admitted to the public office and miniſtry of God's holy word, in their admiſſion made a ſolemn profeſſion before the congregation, that they ſhould teach the people nothing as doctrine neceſſary to eternal ſalvation, but that which is God's own holy word, or may be thereon grounded without any doubt; whereby vaniſhed and melted away of themſelves many vain, yea, wicked traditions of man, as wax before the fire; but now at one brunt they are revived, and are in full hope alſo to return again in as great ſtrength as ever they have been. And how can any man look for any other thing, but when you have received the head, you muſt alſo receive the whole body withal, or elſe how can the head abide? The head, under Satan, of all miſchief is Antichriſt and his brood, the ſame is he which is the Babylonical beaſt. The beaſt is he, whereupon the whore ſitteth. The whore is that city, ſaith John in plain words, which hath empire over the kings of the earth. This whore hath a golden cup of abomination in her hand, whereof ſhe maketh to drink the kings of the earth, and of the wine of this harlot have all nations drunk, yea and kings of the earth have lain by this whore, and merchants of the earth by virtue of her pleaſant merchandize have been made rich.

Now what city is there in all the whole world, that when John wrote, ruled over the kings of the earth; or what city can be read of in any time, that of the city itſelf challenged the empire over the kings of the earth, but only the city of Rome, and that ſince the uſurpation of that ſee hath grown to her full ſtrength? and is it not read that the old and ancient writers underſtand Peter's former epiſtle to be written at Rome, and it to be called of him in the ſame epiſtle in plain terms, Babylon? By the abominations thereof I underſtand all the whole trade of the Romiſh religion, under the name and title of Chriſt, which is contrary to the only rule of true religion, that is, God's word. What word of God hath that deviliſh drab for the maintenance of her manifold abominations, and to ſet to ſale ſuch merchandize, wherewith (alas! the madneſs of man) the wicked harlot hath almoſt bewitched the whole world? Did not Peter, the very true apoſtle of Chriſt (of whom this ſtinking ſtrumpet beareth herſelf ſo high, but falſly and without all juſt cauſe) did not he, I ſay, give all the world warning of her pelf and traſh, of her falſe doctors and apoſtles (for this whore will be called the Lord's apoſtle, whoſoever ſay nay) after this manner in his latter epiſtle? "There was among the people in times paſt falſe prophets, as there ſhall be among you in time to come falſe teachers, which ſhall privily bring in peſtilent ſects, even denying the Lord which hath bought them and redeemed them, procuring to themſelves ſwift damnation, and many ſhall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth ſhall be railed upon, and through covetouſneſs by counterfeit tales or ſermons, they ſhall make merchandize upon you, &c." And doth not John likewiſe in his Revelation, after he hath reckoned up a great rabblement of this whore's myſtical merchandize, at the laſt (as though he would knit up all in plain words, without any miſt at all, ſetting out the whore's merchandize) reckon up amongſt the reſt, and concludeth, ſaying, And the ſouls of men too? Whereupon I pray you elſe roſe this true proverb in Latin, Omnia Romæ venalia, that is, All things for money are ſet to ſale at Rome?

Was not that a worthy commendation of Chriſt's vicar in earth, that was written of our holy father, one of the Alexanders, a biſhop of Rome?

Alexander our holy father the pope of Rome,
Selleth for money both right and doom;
And all kind of holineſs the holy father doth not ſtick
To ſet to ſale, ready money for to get:
And eke Chriſt himſelf he dare be bold,
To chop and change for ſilver and gold.
And why ſhould any think this to be ſore,
For what doth he ſell but that he bought before.

I grant theſe verſes are very mean; but alas, ſuch conditions were more wicked and lewd than any wit could expreſs. If theſe had been but the faults of one or a few in number, they had been leſs pernicious, and might have been taken for perſonal crimes, and not to be imputed unto that ſee: But now (alas) the matter is more than evident to all that have godly underſtanding, that theſe crimes are grounded upon laws, eſtabliſhed by cuſtom, and ſet forth by all kind of wicked doctrine, falſhood and craft; and therefore now are not to be eſteemed for any one man's, or a few men's perſonal crimes, but are now by laws, cuſtom and doctrine incorporated into that wicked ſee, and maketh indeed the body of the beaſt whereupon the abominable whore doth ſit.

But you would know which be thoſe merchandizes which I ſaid this whore ſeſteth forth to ſell, for which all her falſe prophets, with all their juglings and crafty gloſſes cannot bring one jot of God's word. Surely, ſurely, they be not only all theſe abominations which are come into the church of England already (whereof I have ſpoke ſomewhat before) but alſo an innumerable rabblement of abominations and wicked abuſes, which now muſt needs follow; as popiſh pardons, pilgrimages, Romiſh purgatory, Romiſh maſſes, diſpenſations, and immunities from all godly diſcipline, laws and good order, pluralities, unions, with a thouſand more. Now ſhall come in the flattering friars and the falſe pardoners, and play their old pranks and knavery as they were wont to do. Now ſhall you have (but of the ſee of Rome only and that for money) canonizing of ſuch ſaints as have ſtood ſtout in the pope's cauſe, ſhrining of relics, and from any kind of wickedneſs (if you will pay well for it) clear abſolution from puniſhment and crime, for thouſands of pears, yea, and at every biſhop's hand and ſuffragan, ye ſhall have hallowing of churches, chapels, altars, ſuper-altars, chalices, and of all the whole houſhold-ſtuff and adornment which ſhall be uſed in the church

after the Romiſh guiſe, for all theſe things muſt be eſteemed of ſuch high price, that they may not be done but by a conſecrated biſhop only. O Lord, all theſe things are ſuch as thy apoſtles never knew. As for conjuring (they call it hallowing, but it is conjuring indeed) of water and ſalt, of chriſtening of bells, and ſuch like things, what need I to ſpeak? For every prieſt that can but read, hath power (they ſay) not only to do that, but alſo hath ſuch power over Chriſt's body, as to make both God and man once at leaſt every day of a wafer cake.

After the rehearſal of the ſaid abominations, and remembrance of a number of many more, which (the Lord knoweth) grieveth me to think upon, and were too long to deſcribe; when I conſider on the other ſide the eternal word of God that abideth for ever, and the undefiled law of the Lord which turneth the ſoul from all wickedneſs, and giveth wiſdom unto the innocent babes, I mean that milk that is without all guile, as Peter calleth it, that good word of God, that word of truth which muſt be engraven within the heart, and then is able to ſave men's ſouls; that wholeſome ſeed, not mortal but immortal, of the eternal and everlaſting God, whereby the man is born anew, and made the child of God, that ſeed of God, whereby the man of God ſo being born, cannot ſin, as John ſaith, (he meaneth ſo long as that ſeed abideth in him) that holy ſcripture which hath not been deviſed by the wit of man, but taught from heaven by the inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, which is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to inſtruct, and to give order in all righteouſneſs, that the man of God may be whole and ſound, ready to perform every good work: when, I ſay, I conſider this holy and wholeſome true word that teacheth us truly our bounden duty towards our Lord God in every point, what his bleſſed will and pleaſure is, what his infinite great goodneſs and mercy is, what he hath done for us, how he hath given us his own only dearly beloved Son to death for our ſalvation, and by him hath ſent us the revelation of his bleſſed will and pleaſure, what his eternal word willeth us both to believe, and alſo to do; and hath for the ſame purpoſe inſpired the holy apoſtles with the Holy Ghoſt, and ſent them abroad into all the world, and alſo made them and other diſciples of Chriſt inſpired the ſame Spirit, to write and leave behind them the ſame things that they taught (which as they did proceed of the Spirit of truth, ſo by the confeſſion of all them that ever were endued with the Spirit of God, were ſufficient to the obtaining of eternal ſalvation:) and likewiſe when I conſider that all that man doth profeſs in his regeneration, when he is received into the holy catholic church of Chriſt, and is now to be accounted for one of the lively members of Chriſt's own body, all that is grounded upon God's holy word, and ſtandeth in the profeſſion of that faith, and obedience of thoſe commandments which are all contained and compriſed in God's holy word.

And furthermore, when I conſider whom our Saviour Chriſt pronounceth in his goſpel to be bleſſed, and to whom Moſes giveth his benedictions in the law, what ways the law, the prophets, the pſalms, and all holy ſcriptures, both new and old, do declare to be the ways of the Lord, what is good for man to obtain and abide in God's favour, which is that faith which juſtifieth before God, and what is that charity that doth paſs and excel all, which be the properties of heavenly wiſdom, and which is that undefiled religion which is allowed of God, which things Chriſt himſelf calleth the weighty matters of the law, what thing is it which is only available in Chriſt, and what knowledge is that that St. Paul eſteemed ſo much, that he counted himſelf only to know what ſhall be the manner of the extreme judgment of the latter day, who ſhall judge, and by what he ſhall judge, and what ſhall be required at our hands at that fearful day, how all things muſt be tried by the fire, and that only ſhall ſtand for ever which Chriſt's words ſhall allow, which ſhall be the judge of all fleſh, to give ſentence upon all fleſh, and every living ſoul, either of eternal damnation, or of everlaſting ſalvation, from which ſentence there ſhall be no place of appeal, no wit ſhall ſerve to deludge, nor any power to withſtand or revoke. When (I ſay) I conſider all theſe things, and confer to the ſame again and again all thoſe ways wherein ſtandeth the ſubſtance of the Romiſh religion (whereof I ſpake before) it may be evident and eaſy to perceive, that theſe two ways, theſe two religions, the one of Chriſt, the other of the Romiſh ſee, in theſe latter days be as far diſtant the one from the other, as light and darkneſs, good and evil, righteouſneſs and unrighteouſneſs, Chriſt and Belial. He that is hard of belief, let him note and weigh well with himſelf the places of holy ſcriptures whereupon this talk is grounded, and by God's grace he may receive ſome light. And unto the contemner I have nothing now to ſay, but to rehearſe the ſaying of the prophet Iſaiah, which Paul ſpake to the Jews in the end of the Acts of the apoſtles. After he had expounded to them the truth of God's word, and declared to them Chriſt out of the law of Moſes and the prophets, all the day long from morning to night, he ſaid unto them that would not believe: "Well (ſaid he) ſpake the Holy Ghoſt unto our fathers, ſaying, Go unto this people and tell them, ye ſhall hear with your ears, and not underſtand, and ſeeing you ſhall behold, and not ſee the thing: for the heart of this people is waxed groſs and dull, and with their ears they are hard of hearing, and they have ſhut together their eyes, that they ſhould not ſee, nor hear with their ears, nor underſtand with their hearts, that they might return, and I ſhould heal them, ſaith the Lord God.".

Alas, England, alas, that this heavy plague of God ſhould fall upon thee. Alas, my dearly beloved country, what thing is it now that may do thee good? Undoubtedly thy plague is ſo great, that it is utterly uncurable, but by the bottomleſs mercy and infinite power of Almighty God. Alas, my dear country, what haſt thou done that thou haſt provoked the wrath of God, and cauſed him to pour out his vengeance upon thee for thine own deſerts? Canſt thou be content to hear thy faults told thee? Alas, thou haſt heard oft, and wouldſt never amend. England, thy faults of all degrees and ſorts of men, of magiſtrates, of the miniſters, and of the common people, were never more plainly told ſince thou beareſt that name, than thou didſt hear them of late, even before the magiſtrates in king Edward's days, but thou hearedeſt them only, and didſt amend never a whit. For even of thy greateſt magiſtrates ſome (the king's highneſs then, that innocent, that godly-hearted and peerleſs young chriſtian prince excepted), evermore unkindly and ungently, againſt thoſe that went about moſt buſily and moſt wholeſomely to cure their ſore backs, ſpurned privily, and would not ſpare to ſpeak evil of them, even unto the prince himſelf, and yet would they towards the ſame preachers outwardly bear a jolly countenance and a fair face.

I have heard that Cranmer, and another whom I will not name, were both in high diſpleaſure, the one for ſhewing his conſcience ſecretly, but plainly and fully in the duke of Somerſet's cauſe, and both of late, but eſpecially Cranmer, for repugning, as they might, againſt the late ſpoil of the church goods, taken away only by commandment of the higher powers, without any law or order of juſtice, and without any requeſt or conſent of them to which they did belong. As for Latimer, Lever, Bradford and Knox, their tongues were ſo ſharp, they ripped in ſo deep in their galled backs, to have purged them (no doubt) of that filthy matter that was feſtered in their hearts, of inſatiable covetouſneſs, of filthy carnality and voluptuouſneſs, of intolerable ambition and pride, of ungodly loathſomeneſs to hear poor men's cauſes, and to hear God's word, that theſe men of all others theſe magiſtrates then could never abide.

Other

Others there were very godly men, and well learned, that went about by the wholeſome plaiſters of God's word, howbeit after a more ſoft manner of handling the matter, but alas all ſped alike. For all that could be done of all hands, their diſeaſe did not diminiſh, but daily did increaſe, which, no doubt, is no ſmall occaſion in that ſtate of the heavy plague of God that is poured upon England at this day. As for the common ſort of other inferior magiſtrates, as judges of the laws, juſtices of peace, ſerjeants, common lawyers, it may be truly ſaid of them, as of the moſt part of the clergy, of curates, vicars, parſons, prebendaries, doctors of the law, archdeacons, deans, yea, and I may ſay, of biſhops alſo, I fear, for the moſt part, (although I doubt not but God had, and hath ever, whom he in every ſtate knew and kneweth to be his) but for the moſt part, I ſay, they were never perſuaded in their hearts, but from the teeth forward, and for the king's ſake, in the truth of God's word, and yet all theſe did diſſemble, and bear a copy of a countenance, as if they had been ſound within.

And this diſſimulation Satan knew well enough, and therefore deſired, and hath ever gone about, that the high magiſtrates by any manner of means might be deceived in matters of religion; for then he being of counſel with the diſſimulation in the worldly, knew well enough that he ſhould bring to paſs, and rule all even after his own will.

Hypocriſy and diſſimulation St. Jerome doth well call a double wickedneſs; for neither it loveth the truth (which is one great evil) and alſo falſly it pretendeth to deceive the ſimple for another thing. This hypocriſy and diſſimulation with God, in matters of religion, no doubt, hath wholly alſo provoked the anger of God. And as for the common people, although there were many good, where they were well and diligently taught: yet (God knoweth) a great number received God's true word and high benefits with unthankful hearts. For it was great pity, and a lamentable thing to have ſeen in many places the people ſo loathſomely and unreligiouſly to come to the holy communion, and to receive it accordingly, and to the common prayers, and other divine ſervice, which were according to the true vein of God's holy word, and in all points ſo godly and wholeſomely ſet forth, in compariſon of that blind zeal, and undiſcreet devotion which they had aforetime to thoſe things, whereof they underſtood never one whit, nor could be edified by them any thing at all.

And again, as for our alms-deeds, which are taught in God's word, whereby we are certain that God is pleaſed with them, and doth and will require ſuch at our hands, which are a part of true religion, as St. James ſaith, and ſuch as he ſaith himſelf he ſetteth more by than by ſacrifice; as to provide for the fatherleſs, infants and orphans, for the lame, aged, and impotent poor needy folk, and to make public proviſion that the poor that might labour, ſhould have wherewithal to labour upon, and ſo be kept from ſhameful beggary and ſtealing in theſe works: I ſay, how wayward were many, in compariſon (I mean) of that great prodigality whereby in times paſt, they ſpared not to ſpend upon flattering friars, falſe pardoners, painting, gilding of ſtocks and ſtones, to be ſet up and honoured in churches, plainly againſt God's word? And yet becauſe no place is to be defrauded of their juſt commendation, London, I muſt confeſs, for ſuch godly works in Sir Richard Dobs, knight, then lord mayor, his year began marvellous well: the Lord grant the ſame may ſo likewiſe perſevere, continue, yea and increaſe, to the comfort and relief of the needy and helpleſs, that was ſo godly begun, Amen.

All theſe things do adminiſter more matter of mourning and bewailing the miſerable ſtate that now is: for by this it may be perceived, how England hath deſerved this juſt plague of God. And alſo it is greatly to be feared, that theſe good things, whatſoever they were that had their beginning in the time when God's word was ſo freely preached, now with the exile and baniſhment of the ſame will depart again.

But to return again to the conſideration of this miſerable ſtate of Chriſt's church in England, and to leave farther and more exquiſite ſearching of the cauſes thereof unto God's ſecret and unſearchable judgments, let us ſee what is beſt now to be done for Chriſt's little flock. This is one maxim and principle in Chriſt's law; He that denieth Chriſt before men, him ſhall Chriſt deny before his Father and all the angels in heaven. And therefore every one that looketh to have, by Chriſt our Saviour, everlaſting life, let him prepare himſelf ſo, that he deny not his maſter Chriſt, or elſe he is but a caſtaway, and a wretch, howſoever he be counted or taken here in the world.

Now then ſeeing the doctrine of Antichriſt is returned again into this realm, and the higher powers (alas) are ſo deceived and bewitched, that they are perſuaded it to be truth, and Chriſt's true doctrine to be error and hereſy, and the old laws of Antichriſt are allowed to return with the power of their father again: what can be hereafter looked for, by reaſon, to the man of God, and true chriſtian, abiding in this realm, but extreme violence of death, or elſe to deny his maſter? I grant, the hearts of princes are in God's hands, and whitherſoever he will, he can make them bow: and alſo that chriſtian kings, in old time, uſed a more gentle kind of puniſhment, even to them which were heretics indeed; as degradation, and depoſition out of their rooms and offices, exile and baniſhment out of their dominions and countries: and alſo (as it is read) the true biſhops of Chriſt's church were ſometime interceſſors for the heretics unto princes, that they would not kill them, as is read of St. Auguſtine. But as yet Antichriſt's kingdom was not ſo erected at that time, nor is now accuſtomed ſo to order them that will not fall down and worſhip the beaſt and his image (but even as all the world knoweth) after the ſame manner, that both John and Daniel hath propheſied before, that is, by violence of death; and Daniel declareth farther, that the kind of death accuſtomably ſhould be by ſword, fire, and impriſonment.

Therefore if thou, O man of God, doſt purpoſe to abide in this realm, prepare and arm thyſelf to die: for both by Antichriſt's accuſtomable laws, and theſe propheſies, there is no appearance or likelihood of any other thing, except thou will deny their maſter Chriſt, which is the loſs at the laſt both of body and ſoul unto everlaſting death. Therefore my good brother or ſiſter in Chriſt, whatſoever thou be, to thee that canſt and mayſt ſo do, that counſel that I think is the beſt ſafeguard for thee, both for thy body, and moſt ſurety for thy ſoul's health, is that which I ſhall ſhew thee hereafter. But firſt I warn thee to underſtand me to ſpeak to him or her, which be not in captivity, or called already to confeſs Chriſt, but are at liberty abroad.

My counſel, I ſay, therefore is this, to fly from the plague, and get thee hence. I conſider not only the ſubtilties of Satan, and how he is able to deceive by his falſe perſuaſions (if it were poſſible) even the choſen of God, and alſo the great frailty, which is oftentimes more in a man, than he doth know in himſelf, which he in the time of temptation then will utter itſelf: I do not only conſider theſe things, I ſay, but that our maſter Chriſt, whoſe life was and is a perfect rule of the chriſtian man's life, that he himſelf avoided oftentimes the fury and madneſs of the Jews, by departing from the country or place.

Paul likewiſe, when he was ſought in Damaſcus, and the gates of the city were laid in wait for him, he was conveyed by night, being let down in a baſket out at a window over the wall: and Elias the prophet fled the perſecution of wicked Jeſabel: and Chriſt our Saviour ſaith in the goſpel, "When they perſecute you in one city, fly unto another:" and ſo did many good, great, learned and virtuous men of God, who were great and maintainers of Chriſt and his truth, in due time and place.

place. Of ſuch was the great clerk Athanaſius. But this is ſo plain to be lawful by God's word, and examples of holy men, that I need not to ſtand in it.

Having this for my ground, I ſay to thee, O man of God, this ſeemeth to me to be the moſt ſure way for thy ſafeguard, to depart and fly far from the plague, and that ſwiftly alſo: for truly before God, I think, that the abomination that Daniel propheſied of ſo long before, is now ſet up in the holy place. For all the doctrine of Antichriſt, his laws, rites and religion contrary to Chriſt, and ſo to the true ſerving and worſhipping of God I underſtand to be that abomination: therefore now is the time in England for thoſe words of Chriſt, "Then they that be in Judea, let them fly into the mountains. Then (ſaith he) mark this Chriſt's (Then) for truly I am perſuaded, and I truſt by the Spirit of God, that this (Then) is commanded: "Then (ſaith Chriſt) they that be in Jewry, let them fly into the mountains, and he that is on the houſe top, let him not come down to take away any thing out of his houſe, and he that is abroad in the field, let him not return to take his cloaths. Woe to be the great-bellied women, and to them that give ſuck; but pray (ſaith Chriſt) that your flight be not in winter, or on the ſabbath day.

Theſe words of Chriſt are myſtical, and therefore had need of interpretation. I underſtand all thoſe to be in Jewry ſpiritually, which truly confeſs one true living God, and the whole truth of his word, after the doctrine of the goſpel of Chriſt. Such as they whom Chriſt here biddeth, in the time of the reign of Antichriſt's abominations, to fly unto the mountains: which ſignifieth places of ſafeguard, and all ſuch things which are able to defend from the plague. That he biddeth him that is on the houſe top, not to come down, and him that is on the field, not to return to take with him his cloaths; he meaneth that they ſhould ſpeed them to get them away betime, leſt in their tarrying and trifling about working proviſion, they be trapped in the ſnare ere ever they be aware, and caught by the back, and for gain of ſmall worldly things, endanger and caſt themſelves into great perils of more weighty matters. And where he ſaith, Woe be to the great-bellied women, and to them that give ſuck; women great with child, and nigh to their lying down, and to be brought to-bed, and not able to travail: and alſo thoſe women which are brought to-bed, and now give their babes ſuck: by theſe therefore Chriſt ſpiritually underſtandeth all ſuch to be in extreme danger, which this word (Woe) ſignifieth: all ſuch, I ſay, as are ſo hindered by any manner of means, that they no ways be able to fly from the plague. And where Chriſt ſaith, Pray you that your flight be not in the winter, nor on the ſabbath day: in winter, the common courſe of the year teacheth us, that the ways be foul, and therefore it is a hard thing then to take a far journey, for many incommodities and dangers of the ways in that time of the year; and on the ſabbath-day it was not lawful to journey, but a little way. Now Chriſt therefore meaning that we ſhould have need, both to ſpeed our journey quickly, which cannot be done in winter, for the badneſs of the ways, and alſo to go far, which cannot be done on the ſabbath day: he biddeth us therefore pray that our flight be not in the winter, nor on the ſabbath day; that is, to pray that we may fly in time, and alſo far enough from the danger of the plague. Now, the cauſes why we ſhould fly, follow in the ſame place of St. Matthew's goſpel, which I now paſs over; thou mayſt read them there.

And in the eighteenth chapter of the Revelation, the angel is ſaid to have cried mightily with a loud voice, "Fly, my people, out of Babylon, leſt you be infected with her faults, and ſo be made partners of her plagues: for her offences and ſins are grown ſo great, that they ſwell, and are come unto the heavens:" Certainly the time doth approach, and the Lord's day is at hand. Hear, I beſeech you, alſo holy Paul, that bleſſed apoſtle, he plainly forbiddeth us, "To join or couple ourſelves with the unfaithful: for what fellowſhip can there be, ſaith he, of righteouſneſs with unrighteouſneſs, what company hath light with darkneſs, or what agreement hath Chriſt with Belial? Or what part can the faithful have with the unfaithful? Or how doth the temple of God agree with images or idols? For you are the temple of the living God: as God hath ſaid, I will walk and dwell in them, I will be their God, and they ſhall be my people: wherefore depart from amongſt them, and get you from them, ſaith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing: and I will receive you, and be to you in the ſtead of your father, and you ſhall be unto me as my ſons and daughters, ſaith the Almighty God."

This counſel to depart the realm, I do not marvel it doth ſeem to divers (even of them I mean that bear favour to Godward) diverſly. Many (I truſt) that be learned ſhall think the counſel good. Others there be, peradventure, that will think it rather a thing to be more tolerable, and that it may be indeed by God's word lawfully done, rather than to be counſelled to be done, for they will peradventure ſay, we ſhould counſel a man always to do that which is beſt of all, and of moſt perfection: but boldly in Chriſt's cauſe to ſpend a man's life, is beſt of all, and of moſt perfection, and to fly, it may ſeem to ſmell of cowardice. In many things, that which is beſt for one at ſome times, is not beſt for all at all times, and it is not moſt perfection, nor meet for a child to covet to run, before he can go. I will not make here a diſcourſe in this matter, what might here be objected, and what might be anſwered again; I leave that to the witty and eloquent men of the world.

This is my mind, which I would thou ſhouldeſt know, O man of God, as I would wiſh, and I do pray to Almighty God it may be, that every true chriſtian, either brother or ſiſter (after they be called, and brought into the wreſtling-place, to ſtrive in Chriſt's cauſe for the beſt game, that is, to confeſs the truth of the goſpel, and of the chriſtian faith, in hope of everlaſting life) ſhould not ſhrink nor relent one inch, nor give back, whatſoever ſhall befal, but to ſtand to their tackle, and ſtick by it even unto death, as they will Chriſt ſhall ſtick by them at the latter day: ſo likewiſe I dare not wiſh nor counſel any, either brother or ſiſter, of their own ſwinge, to ſtart up into the ſtage, or to caſt themſelves either before, and farther in danger than time and need ſhall require: for undoubtedly, when God ſeeth his time, and his pleaſure is, that his glory ſhall be ſet forth, and his church edified by thy death and confeſſion, means ſhall be found by his fatherly univerſal providence, that thou, without thine own preſumptuous provocation, ſhall be lawfully called, to do thy feat, and to play thy part. The miſerable end that one Quintus came unto, may be a warning, and a fearful example for all men to beware of preſumption, and raſhneſs in ſuch things (as Euſebius writeth in his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory) for evermore.

But a third ſort of men there be, who alſo will be counted favourers of God's word, and are (I fear) in number far more, and worſe to be perſuaded to that which is the godly mean. I mean of ſuch as will peradventure ſay or think, that my former counſel, which was to fly the infection of the Antichriſtian doctrine by departing out of the realm, is more than needeth, and other ways and means may be found, both to abide, and alſo to be clear out of danger of the aforeſaid plague. If that could be found, both to abide, and alſo to be clear out of danger of the aforeſaid plague, truly agreeable to God's word, I would be as glad to hear it, God is my witneſs, as who is the other. Yes, peradventure will ſome ſay, thus it may be: Thou mayſt keep thyſelf, thy faith, and thy religion cloſe to thyſelf, and inwardly and privily worſhip God in ſpirit and truth, and outwardly ſee thou be no open meddler, nor talker, nor tranſgreſſor of common order: ſo mayeſt thou be ſuffered in the commonwealth, and yet uſe thy religion yet,

without offence of thy conſcience. In other countries ſomewhere this peradventure might be uſed, but in England what ſhall be, God knoweth: but it was never yet, ſo far as ever I have known or heard. And alſo how can it be, but either thou muſt tranſgreſs the common order, and the Romiſh laws and cuſtoms, which have been uſed in England, in the times paſt of popery, and now (it is certain) they return again: I ſay, thou muſt either be a breaker of theſe rites, laws, and cuſtoms, and ſo bewray thyſelf, or elſe if thou be indeed a man of God, thou ſhalt offend thy conſcience; for in obſerving of them thou ſhalt be compelled to break God's law, which is the rule of conſcience to the man of God. For how canſt thou reſort every holy-day to the church, and bear a face to worſhip the creature inſtead of the Creator, as thou muſt do, and peradventure confeſs it too with thy mouth, and to ſprinkle thyſelf with the conjured water.

Thou muſt be contributor alſo to the charges of all their popery, as of books of Antichriſt's ſervice, of lights of the rood-loft, of the ſepulchre for ſetting up and painting images (nay indeed of idols), and thou muſt bear a face to worſhip them alſo, or elſe thou muſt be had by the back. Thou muſt ſerve the turn, to give the holy loaves, as they call it, which is nothing elſe but a very mockery of the Lord's holy table. Thou muſt be a contributor to the charges of all the diſguiſed apparel, that the popiſh ſacrificing prieſt, like unto Aaron, muſt play his part in. Yea, when the pardoner goeth about, or the flattering friar to beg for the maintenance of ſuperſtition, except thou do as thy neighbours do, look not long to live at reſt. If any of thy family die, if thou wilt not pay money for ringing, and ſinging, for Requiem, maſſes, Dirges, and commendations, and ſuch like trumpery of the Antichriſtian religion, thinkeſt thou that thou ſhalt be reckoned for a catholic man, or for Cæſar's friend? An hundred things more may be reckoned, and many of more weight, and of more evident ſuperſtition and idolatry, than ſome of theſe which I have now reheatſed, which, God knoweth, be ill enough: but theſe are enough to declare, and to ſet before thine eyes, the thing that I intend, that is, if thou abide and wilt dwell in England, thou muſt either do theſe, and many others more contrary to God's word, which forbiddeth not only the thing which are evil, but alſo ſaith, Abſtain from all things that have any appearance of evil; or elſe if thou wilt not do them, how thou canſt live in England in reſt ſafe from the ſtake, truly I cannot tell.

But peradventure (as a man is ready to find, and invent ſome colour to cloak his conſcience, to do that thing that his heart deſireth), thou wilt ſay, though at any time I ſhall be forced to do any of theſe things, and ſuch-like, yet will I have no confidence in them, but outwardly with my body; I will keep mine heart unto God, and will not do that of mine own mind willingly neither, but to avoid another inconvenience: I truſt therefore God will hold me excuſed, for he ſhall have my heart: what can I do more?

O my friend, beware, for God's ſake, and know that the ſubtilties of Satan are very deep. He that is not able by God's word to perceive them, is heavily laden. Pray therefore with David; Lord let me not have a mind to invent excuſes to cloak my ſin: examine, my dear friend, theſe thy wily ways with the word of God, and if they do agree, thou mayeſt uſe them: if not, know, though they may ſeem never ſo fine and goodly, yet indeed they be of Satan's brood. God's word is certain, that forbideth to worſhip the creature for the Creator, for that is heinous idolatry, and againſt the firſt commandment of God, and it is alſo againſt the ſecond commandment of the firſt table to bow down, or to worſhip unto any images of God, or of any other thing: and God's word requireth not only the belief of the heart, but alſo the confeſſion of the mouth: and to bear part of the charges, to the maintenance of things ungodly, what is that, but in thy ſo doing, a conſent to the thing done? Now conſenters and the doers of God's word accounteth to be guilty both: and it is not lawful, by St. Paul's doctrine, which was inſpired him by the Spirit of God, to do ill, that thereof the thing which is good may come.

Thy heart, thou ſayeſt, God ſhall have, and yet wilt ſuffer thy body to do the thing that God doth abhor. Beware, O man, take heed what thou ſayeſt; man may be deceived, but no man may deceive God, for he is called, and is truly the ſearcher of the heart. Now, to give God thy heart, is to give him thy whole heart, to love him, to dread him, and to truſt in him above all other things. "He that hath my commandments, ſaith Chriſt, and obſerveth and keepeth them, it is he that loveth me:" And to dread God above all others, is rather willingly to incur the danger and peril of all fearful things, than wittingly to do that thing which is contrary to his bleſſed will and commandment; and to truſt in him above all things, is aſſuredly to truſt to his promiſe of his reward, and of his tuition, and of his goodneſs and mercy, and to prefer that above all things in the world, ſeem they never ſo ſtrong, ſo wiſe, or ſo good. Now, canſt thou ſay truly, that God hath thy heart after this manner of ſort (which is to have thy heart indeed), when thy deeds do declare far another thing? Thy body, O man, is God's, and all the parts thereof, even as thy ſoul is: he made them both, and Chriſt with his blood redeemed them both, and is Lord of both, for he hath bought them both dearly; and dareſt thou ſuffer any part of either of them to do ſervice to Satan? Surely in ſo doing thou commiteſt ſacrilege and doſt rob God, thou defileſt the living temple of the living God, if thou ſuffer thy body to do Satan ſervice. "Do you not know, ſaith St. Paul, that your body is a lively temple of God?" And may a man then take and uſe any part thereof but in the ſervice of God? No, ſurely, it is not lawful ſo to do for the man of God, neither with hand, tongue, nor feet, nor any part of the whole body.

Doth not Paul command that to the Romans, which pertaineth to every chriſtian ſoul? "As you have in times paſt, ſaith he, given your members to do ſervice unto uncleanneſs and wickedneſs, from one wickedneſs to another; ſo now give your members to do ſervice unto righteouſneſs, that you may be ſanctified." And I pray thee, good brother, what doſt thou think it is to bear the mark of the beaſt in the forehead, and in the hand that St. John ſpeaketh of? I know we ought warily to ſpeak of God's myſteries, which he ſhewed by the Spirit of propheſying to his ſervant John, yet to read them with reverence, and to pray for the ſame, ſo much as God knoweth is neceſſary for our time to know, I think it neceſſary and good. Wherefore what I ſuppoſe is to bear the beaſt's mark, I will tell thee, and commit the judgment of mine interpretation, as in all other things, to the ſpiritual man. I ſuppoſe he beareth the beaſt of Babylon's mark in his forehead, which is not aſhamed of the beaſt's ways, but will profeſs them openly to ſet forth his maſter the beaſt of Abaddon. And likewiſe he beareth his mark in his head, that will and doth practiſe the works of the beaſt with his power and hand. And likewiſe I will not let to tell thee, what I think to be ſigned in the forehead for the ſervant of God is, whereof John alſo ſpeaketh, reckoning up many thouſands ſo to have been ſigned of every tribe. I ſuppoſe he is ſigned in the forehead for the ſervant of God, whom God hath appointed of his infinite goodneſs, and hath given him grace and ſtrength ſtoutly to confeſs him, and his truth before the world. And to have grace and ſtrength to confeſs Chriſt, and the doctrine of the croſs, and to lament and mourn for the abominations of Antichriſt, I ſuppoſe is to be ſigned with Tau, whereof Ezekiel the prophet doth ſpeak. Thus I ſuppoſe theſe prophecies are ſpiritually to be underſtood: and to look

for other corporal marks, to be ſeen in men's foreheads, or in their hands, is nothing elſe but to look that there ſhould come ſome brute beaſt out of Babylon, or ſome elephant, leopard, lion or camel, or ſome other ſuch monſtrous beaſt with ten horns, that ſhould do all the wonderful things ſpoken in John: and yet of a beaſt ſpeaketh John, but I underſtand him ſo to be called, not for that he ſhall be any ſuch brute beaſt, but for that he is and ſhall be the child of perdition, which for his cruelty and beaſtly manners is well called a beaſt.

The carnal Jews knew there was a promiſe made, that Elias ſhould come before Chriſt the Meſſias, the anointed of God, to prepare his ways: they knew alſo there was a promiſe of Meſſias, that he ſhould come, and be a king, and reign in the houſe of David for evermore: but they underſtood all ſo groſly, and ſo carnally, that they neither knew Elias, nor Meſſias, when they came; for they looked for Elias to come down from heaven in his own perſon, and for Meſſias to come and reign in worldly pomp, power, riches and glory, when as the prophecies of both were ſpiritually to have been underſtood: of Elias, that he ſhould not come in perſon but in ſpirit, that is, one that ſhould be indued with the ſpirit and gifts of grace of Elias, which was indeed John Baptiſt, as Chriſt himſelf did declare to his apoſtles: and of Meſſias reign, all the prophets were to be underſtood of the reign of his ſpiritual kingdom over the houſe of Jacob, and the true Iſraelites for evermore. And ſo by that their groſs and carnal underſtanding, they miſtook both Elias and the true Meſſias, and when they came, knew neither of them both. So likewiſe, I fear, nay it is certain, the world that wanteth the light of the Spirit of God (for the world is not able to receive him, ſaith John), neither doth, nor ſhall know the beaſt, nor his marks, though he rage cruelly, and live never ſo beaſtly, and though his marked men be in number like the ſand of the ſea. The Lord therefore vouchſafe to open the eyes of the blind with the light of grace, that they may ſee and perceive, and underſtand the words of God, after the mind of his Spirit, Amen.

Here remain two objections, which may ſeem weighty, and which may peradventure move many not to follow the former counſel. The former reaſon is, A man will ſay, O Sir, it is no ſmall matter ye ſpeak of, to depart from a man's own native country into a ſtrange realm. Many men have ſo great hindrances, as how is it poſſible that they can, or may do ſo? Some have lands and poſſeſſions, which they cannot carry with them: ſome have father, mother, wife, children and kinsfolk, from whom to depart is as hard a thing (and all one almoſt), as to ſuffer death, and to go to a ſtrange country that thou knoweſt not, neither the manner of the people, nor how thou mayeſt away either with the people, or with the country: or what a hard thing it is to live among a ſtrange people, whoſe language thou doſt not underſtand, &c.

I grant here thou mayſt heap a number of worldly diſadvantages, which are ſurely very likely to enſue the departure out of a man's native country, I mean out of the whole realm into a ſtrange land: but what of all theſe, and a thouſand more of the like ſort? I will ſet unto them one ſaying of our Saviour Chriſt, which unto the faithful child of God, and to the true chriſtian, is able to countervail all theſe, yea, and to weigh them down. Chriſt our Saviour ſaith in Luke, "If any come to me and do not hate his father and mother, [he meaneth, and will not in his cauſe forſake his father and mother] his wife, children, and brethren, yea, and his life too, he cannot be my diſciple: and whoſoever doth not bear my croſs and come after me, he cannot be my diſciple." And in the ſame place he declareth by the two parables, one of a builder, and the other of a king that is a warrior, that every man that will not in Chriſt's cauſe forſake all that ever he hath, he cannot be his diſciple. Look the places who will, the matter is ſo plainly ſet forth, that no gloſſes, nor cloaking of conſcience to the man of God, can ſerve to the contrary. Many places there be for the ſame purpoſe for the embracing of Chriſt's croſs, when Chriſt and his cauſe layeth it upon our back; but this is ſo plain, that I need here to rehearſe no more.

This latter reaſon and objection, whereof I ſpake before, is of more force, and includeth a neceſſity, which after the common ſaying, hath no law, and therefore it is more hard to ſhape for it a good anſwer. This may be objected of ſome: alas, Sir, I grant all theſe things do grieve me, and becauſe I underſtand they do not agree with God's word, which is the rule of my conſcience, I loth either to look on them, or to hear them. But, Sir, alas, I am an impotent man, an aged man, a ſick man, a lame man; or I have ſo many ſmall infants, and a lame wife, who all live by my labour, and by my proviſion: if I leave them they ſhall ſtarve, and I am not able to carry them with me, ſuch is my ſtate. Alas, Sir, what ſhall I do? And theſe cauſes may chance to ſome men of God, whereby either it ſhall be for them utterly impoſſible to depart the country, or elſe in departing they ſhall be inforced to forſake ſuch in extreme neceſſity, of whom both God and nature hath committed unto them the care.

Alas! what counſel is here to be given? O lamentable ſtate! O ſorrowful heart! that neither can depart, and without extreme danger and peril is not able to tarry ſtill. And theſe are they whom our Saviour Chriſt ſaw before ſhould be, and called them, in his prophecy of the latter time, great-belly'd, or travailing women, and women that give, after they be brought to-bed, ſuck to their babes. Of the ſtate of ſuch as are not able to fly the infection of the peſtiferous plague of Antichriſt's abominations, Chriſt lamenting, and not curſing, ſaith, "Woe be to the great-belly'd and travailing women, and women that give ſuck in thoſe days." For theſe, alas, my heart mourneth the more, the leſs I am able to give any comfortable counſel but this; that always, as they look for everlaſting life, they abide ſtill in the confeſſion of his truth, whatſoever ſhall befal, and for the reſt, to put their truſt now wholly in God, who is able to ſave them againſt all appearance; and commonly in extremities, when all worldly comfort faileth, and the danger is at higheſt, then unto his he is wont, after his accuſtomed mercy, to be moſt ready to put his helping hand. God ſuffered Daniel to be caſt into the den of lions, and the three children into the hot burning furnace, and yet he ſaved them all. Paul was plucked out of the mouth of the lion (as he ſaith of himſelf) and in Aſia he was brought into ſuch trouble, that he looked for nothing leſs than preſent death, and yet he that raiſed the dead to life again, brought him out of all his troubles, and taught him and all others that be in trouble for Chriſt's cauſe, not to truſt to themſelves, but in Almighty God.

Of God's gracious aid in extreme perils toward them that put their truſt in him, all ſcripture is full, both of old and new. What dangers were the patriarchs oftentimes brought into, as Abraham, Iſaac and Jacob, but of all others Joſeph, and how mercifully were they delivered again? In what perils was Moſes when he was fain to fly for the ſafeguard of his life? And when was he ſent again to deliver the Iſraelites from their ſervile bondage? Not before they were brought into extreme miſery. And when did the Lord mightily deliver his people from ſword of Pharaoh? Not before they were brought into ſuch ſtraits, that they were ſo encompaſſed on every ſide, the main ſea on the one ſide, and the main hoſt on the other, that they could look for none other, (yea, what did they indeed elſe look for? but either to have been drowned in the ſea, or elſe to have fallen on the edge of Pharaoh's ſword. Thoſe judges which wrought moſt wonderful things in the delivery of the people, were ever given when the people was brought to moſt miſery before, Othniel, Ehud, Samgar, Gideon, Jephtha, Samſon. And ſo was Saul endued with ſtrength and boldneſs

neſs from above, againſt the Ammonites, Philiſtines, and Amalekites, for the defence of the people of God. David likewiſe felt God's help moſt ſenſibly ever in his extremeſt perſecutions. What ſhall I ſpeak of the prophets of God, whom God ſuffered ſo oft to be brought into extreme perils, and ſo mightily delivered them again; as Elias, Jeremiah, Daniel and Jonah, and many others, whom it were too long to rehearſe and ſet out at large? And did the Lord uſe his ſervants otherwiſe in the new law after Chriſt's incarnation? Read the Acts of the apoſtles, and you ſhall ſee, no. Were not the apoſtles caſt into priſon, and brought out by the mighty hand of God? Did not the angel deliver Peter out of the ſtrong priſon, and bring him out by the iron gates of the city, and ſet him free? And when, I pray you? Even the ſame night before Herod appointed to have brought him to judgment to have ſlain him, as he had a little before killed James the brother of John. Paul and Silas, after they had been ſore ſcourged, and were put into the inner priſon, and there were laid faſt in the ſtocks, I pray you, what appearance was there that the magiſtrates ſhould be glad to come the next day themſelves to them, to deſire them to be content, and to depart in peace? Who provided for Paul, that he ſhould be ſafely conducted out of all danger, and brought to Felix the emperor's deputy, when as both the high-prieſt, the phariſees, and rulers of the Jews had conſpired to enquire judgment of death againſt him, he being faſt in priſon, and alſo more than forty men had ſworn each one to another, that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed Paul? A thing wonderful, that no reaſon could have invented, or man could have looked for: God provided Paul his own ſiſter's ſon, a young man that diſappointed that conſpiracy, and all their former conjuration. The manner how the thing came to paſs, thou mayſt read in the twenty-third of the Acts. I will not be tedious unto thee with the rehearſal thereof.

Now to deſcend from the apoſtles to the martyrs that followed next in Chriſt's church, and in them likewiſe to declare how gracious our good God ever hath been to work wonderfully with them who in his cauſe have been in extreme perils, it were matter enough to write a long book. I will here name but one man and one woman, that is, Athanaſius the great clerk and godly man ſtoutly ſtanding in Chriſt's cauſe againſt the Arians, and that holy woman Blandina, ſtanding ſo conſtantly in all extreme pains, in the ſimple confeſſion of Chriſt. If thou wilt have of examples of more, look and thou ſhalt have both theſe, and an hundred more, in Euſebius's eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, and in Tripartita Hiſtoria.

But for all theſe examples, both of holy ſcripture, and of other hiſtories, I fear me the weak man of God, incumbered with frailty and infirmity of the fleſh, will have now and then ſuch thoughts and qualmes (as they call them) to run over his heart, and to think thus: All theſe things which are rehearſed out of the ſcripture I believe to be true, and of the reſt truly I do think well, and can believe them alſo to be true; but all theſe we muſt needs grant were ſpecial miracles of God, which now in our days are ceaſed, we ſee: and to require them at God's hands, were it not to tempt God?

Well-beloved brother, I grant ſuch were great wonderful works of God, and we have not ſeen many of ſuch miracles in our time, either for that our ſight is not clear, or elſe becauſe we have not the like faith of them for whoſe cauſe God wrought ſuch things, or becauſe, after that he had ſet forth the truth of his doctrine by ſuch miracles then ſufficiently, the time of ſo many miracles to be done was expired withal. Which of theſe is the moſt ſpecial cauſe of all other, or whether there be any other, God knoweth; I leave that to God. But know thou this, my well-beloved in God, that God's hand is as ſtrong as ever it was, he may do what his gracious pleaſure is, and he is as good and gracious as ever he was. Man changeth as the garment doth; but God our heavenly Father is even the ſame now that he was, and ſhall be for evermore.

The world without doubt, (this I do believe, and therefore I ſay) draweth towards an end, and in all ages God hath had his own manner, after his ſecret and unſearchable wiſdom, to uſe his elect, ſometimes to deliver them, and keep them ſafe, and ſometimes to ſuffer them to drink of Chriſt's cup, that is, to feel the ſmart, and to feel of the whip. And though the fleſh ſmarteth at the one, and feeleth eaſe in the other, is glad of the one, and ſore vexed in the other; yet the Lord is all one towards them in both, and loveth them no leſs when he ſuffereth them to be beaten, yea, and to be put to bodily death, than when he worketh wonders for their marvellous delivery. Nay, rather he doth more for them, when in anguiſh of the torments he ſtandeth by them, and ſtrengtheneth them in their faith, to ſuffer in the confeſſion of the truth and his faith, the bitter pangs of death, than when he openeth the priſon door and letteth them go looſe; for here he doth but reſpite them to another time, and leaveth them in danger to fall in like peril again; and there he maketh them perfect, to be without danger, pain or peril, after that for evermore. But this his love towards them, however the world doth judge of it, is all one, both when he delivereth, and when he ſuffereth them to be put to death. He loved as well Peter and Paul, when (after they had, according to his bleſſed will, pleaſure and providence, finiſhed their courſes, and done their ſervices appointed them by him here in preaching of his goſpel) the one was beheaded, and the other was hanged or crucified of the cruel tyrant Nero, as the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory ſaith, as when he ſent the angel to bring Peter out of priſon, and for Paul's delivery he made all the doors of the priſon to fly wide open, and the foundation of the ſame, like an earthquake, to tremble and ſhake.

Thinkeſt thou, O thou man of God, that Chriſt our Saviour had leſs affection to the firſt martyr St. Stephen, becauſe he ſuffered his enemies even at the firſt conflict to ſtone him to death; No ſurely; nor James, John's brother, who was one of the three that Paul calleth primates or principals among the apoſtles of Chriſt. He loved him never a whit the worſe than he did the other, although he ſuffered Herod the tyrant's ſword to cut off his head. Nay, doth not Daniel ſay, ſpeaking of the cruelty of Antichriſt's time, And the learned (he meaneth truly learned in God's law) ſhall teach many, and ſhall fall upon the ſword, and in the flame, (that is, ſhall be burned in the flaming fire) and in captivity (that is, ſhall be in priſon, and be ſpoiled and robbed of their goods for a long ſeaſon.) And afterwards in the ſame place of Daniel it followeth; and of the learned there be, which ſhall fall or be overthrown, that they may be known, tried, choſen, and made white; he meaneth, be burniſhed and ſcoured anew, picked and choſen, and made freſh and luſty. If that then was foreſeen to be done to the godly learned, and for ſo gracious cauſes, let every one to whom any ſuch thing, by the will of God, doth chance, be merry in God and rejoice, for it is to God's glory, and to his own everlaſting wealth. Wherefore well is he that ever he was born, for whom thus graciouſly God hath provided, having grace of God, and ſtrength of the Holy Ghoſt to ſtand ſtedfaſtly in the height of the ſtorm. Happy is he that ever he was born, whom God his heavenly Father hath vouchſafed to appoint to glorify him, and to edify his church by the effuſion of his blood.

To die in Chriſt's cauſe is an high honour, to which no man certainly ſhall or can aſpire, but to whom God vouchſafeth that dignity: for no man is allowed to preſume to take unto himſelf any office of honour, but he who is thereunto called of God. Therefore John ſaith well, ſpeaking of them who have obtained the victory by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of his teſtimony, that they loved not their lives, even unto death.

And our Saviour Chriſt ſaith, "He that ſhall loſe his life for my cauſe ſhall find it." And this manner of

ſpeech pertaineth not to one kind of chriſtians (as the worldly doth wickedly dream), but to all that do truly pertain unto Chriſt. For when Chriſt had called unto him the multitude together with his diſciples, he ſaid unto them (mark that he ſaid not this to the diſciples and apoſtles only, but he ſaid it to all). Whoſoever will follow me, let him forſake and deny himſelf, and take up his croſs and follow me: for whoſoever will ſave his life ſhall loſe it (he meaneth, whoſoever will, to ſave his life, forſake or leave him and his truth), and whoſoever ſhall loſe his life for my cauſe and the goſpel's ſake, ſhall ſave it. For what ſhall it profit a man if he ſhall win the whole world, and loſe his own ſoul, his own life? or what ſhall a man give to recompence that loſs of his own life, and of his own ſoul? Whoſoever ſhall be aſhamed of me and my words (that is, to confeſs me and my goſpel), before this ſinful and adulterous generation, of him ſhall the Son of man be aſhamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father, with the holy angels. Know thou, O man of God, that all things are ordained for thy behoof, and to the furtherance of thee, towards thy ſalvation. All things, ſaith Paul, worketh with good to goodneſs, even the enemies of God, and ſuch kind of puniſhments whereby they go about to deſtroy them, ſhall be forced by God's power, might, and fatherly providence, to do them ſervice.

It is not as the wicked thinketh, that poverty, adverſity, ſickneſs, tribulation, yea, painful death of the godly be tokens that God doth not love them; but even clean the contrary, as all the whole courſe of ſcripture doth evidently declare; for then he would never have ſuffered his moſt dearly beloved the patriarchs to have had ſuch troubles, his prophets, his apoſtles, his martyrs, and chief champions and maintainers of his truth and goſpel, ſo cruelly of the wicked to have been murdered and ſlain. Of whom ſome were racked, as the apoſtle ſaith, and would not be delivered, that they might receive a better reſurrection. Some were tried by mockings and ſcourgings, yea, moreover by bonds and impriſonment: they were ſtoned, they were ſawn aſunder, they were tempted, they were ſlain with the ſword, they wandered up and down in ſheep-ſkins and goat-ſkins, being forſaken, afflicted, and tormented, ſuch men as the world was not worthy to have, wandering in wilderneſſes, in mountains, in dens and caves of the earth. All theſe were approved by the teſtimony of faith, and received not the promiſe, becauſe God provided better for us, that without us they ſhould not be conſummated. They tarry for us now undoubtedly, longing for the day: but they are commanded to have patience, yet (ſaith the Lord) a little while, until the number of their fellow-ſervants be fulfilled, and of their brethren which are yet to be ſlain, as they were.

Now (thou O man of God) for our Lord's ſake, let us not for the love of this life, tarry then too long, and be occaſion of delay of that glorious conſummation, in hope and expectation whereof they departed in the Lord, and which alſo the living, indued with God's Spirit, ought ſo earneſtly to deſire and to groan for with all the creatures of God. Let us all, with John the ſervant of God, cry in our hearts unto our Saviour Chriſt, Come, Lord Jeſus, come. For then when Chriſt, who is our life, ſhall be made manifeſt, and appear in glory, then ſhall the children of God appear what they be, even like unto Chriſt: for this our weak body ſhall be transfigured, and made like unto Chriſt's glorious body, and that by the power whereby he is able to ſubdue all things unto himſelf. Then that which is now corruptible, ſhall be made incorruptible: that which now is vile, ſhall be made glorious: that which is now weak, ſhall riſe then mighty and ſtrong: that which is groſs and carnal, ſhall be made fine and ſpiritual: for then we ſhall ſee and have the unſpeakable joy and fruition of the glorious Majeſty of our Lord, even as he is.

Who, or what then ſhall hinder us to jeopard, yea, to ſpend this life which we have here in Chriſt's cauſe? O therefore, thou man of God, thou that art loaden, and ſo hindered like unto a great-bellied woman, that thou canſt not fly the plague, yet if thou luſt after ſuch things as I have ſpoken of, ſtand faſt whatſoever ſhall befal, in thy Maſter's cauſe; and take this thy hindrance to fly, for a calling of God to fight in thy maſter Chriſt his cauſe. Of this be thou certain, they can do nothing unto thee, which thy Father is not aware of, or hath not foreſeen before: they can do no more than it ſhall pleaſe him to ſuffer them to do for the furtherance of his glory, edifying of his church, and thine own ſalvation. Let them then do what they ſhall, ſeeing to thee, O man of God, all things ſhall be forced to ſerve, and to work with thee unto the beſt before God. O be not afraid, and remember the end.

All this which I have ſpoke for the comfort of the lamentable caſe of the man whom Chriſt called great-bellied woman, I mean to be ſpoke likewiſe the captive and priſoner in God's cauſe: for ſuch I count to be as it were already ſummoned and preſſed to fight under the banner of the croſs of Chriſt, and as it were ſoldiers allowed and taken up for the Lord's wars, to do their Lord and Maſter good and honourable ſervice, and to ſtick to him, as men of truſty ſervice in his cauſe, even unto death, and to think their life loſt in his cauſe, is to win it in eternal glory for evermore.

Therefore, now to conclude and make an end of this treatiſe, I ſay unto all that love God our heavenly Father, that love Chriſt Jeſus our Redeemer and Saviour; that love to follow the ways of the Holy Ghoſt which is our comforter and ſanctifier of all; unto all that love Chriſt's ſpouſe and body, the true catholic church of Chriſt, yea, that love life and their own ſoul's health; I ſay unto all theſe, hearken my dear brethren and ſiſters, all you that be of God, all ſorts, ages, dignities, or degrees; hearken to the word of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt ſpoken to his apoſtles, and meant to all his, in St. Matthew's goſpel, Fear not them which kill the body, for they cannot kill the ſoul, but fear him more which may deſtroy and caſt both body and ſoul into hell-fire. Are not two ſmall ſparrows ſold for a mite, and one of them ſhall not fall or light upon the ground without your Father? All the hairs of your head be numbered. Fear them not, you are much more worth than are the little ſparrows. Every one that confeſſeth me before men, him ſhall I likewiſe confeſs before my Father which is in heaven. But whoſoever ſhall deny me before men, I ſhall deny him likewiſe before my Father which is in heaven.

The Lord grant us therefore of his heavenly grace and ſtrength, that here we may ſo confeſs him in this world amongſt this adulterous and ſinful generation, that he may confeſs us again at the latter day before his Father which is in heaven, to our glory and everlaſting comfort, joy, and ſalvation.

To our heavenly Father, to our Saviour and Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt, and to the Holy Ghoſt, be all glory and honour now and for ever. Amen.

The Hiſtory of Stephen Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter.

THE next month after the burning of Dr. Ridley and Mr. Latimer, which was the month of November, Stephen Gardiner, biſhop and chancellor, a man hated of God and all good men, ended his wretched life. This viper's bird crept of the town of Bury, in Suffolk, was brought up, moſt part of his youth, in Cambridge; his wit, capacity, memory, and other endowments of nature were not to be complained of, if he had well uſed, and righly applied the ſame; wherein there was

was no great want of God's part in him, if he had not rather himſelf wanted to the goodneſs of his gifts. Through this promptneſs, activity, and towardneſs of his, he profited not a little in ſuch ſtudies as he gave his head unto, as firſt in the civil law, then in languages, and ſuch other like, eſpecially in thoſe arts and faculties which had any proſpect to dignity and preferment to be hoped for. Beſides other ornaments or helps of nature, memory chiefly ſeemed in him very beneficial, rather than diligence of ſtudy.

To theſe gifts and qualities were joined again his great or greater vices, which not ſo much followed him, as overtook him, not ſo much burdened him, as made him burdenſome to the whole realm. He was of a proud ſtomach, and high-minded, in his own opinion and conceit flattering himſelf too much; in wit, crafty and ſubtil; toward his ſuperiors, flattering and fair ſpoken: to his inferiors, fierce; againſt his equal, ſtout and envious, eſpecially if in judgment and ſentence he any thing withſtood him, as appeared between the good Lord Cromwel and him, in the reign of king Henry the eighth. Who, although he would give no place to men, yet notwithſtanding I wiſh he would have given place to truth, according as he ſeemed not altogether ignorant of that truth. What his knowledge was therein is evident, partly by his book De vera Obedientia, as alſo by his ſermon before king Edward; alſo by his anſwers to the council the ſame time, and moreover by his own words it may be gathered in ſundry places, as more plainly may appear by that which hereafter followeth.

Upon his eſtimation and fame he ſtood too much, more than was meet for a man of his coat and calling, whoſe profeſſion was to be crucified unto the world, which thing made him ſo ſtiff in maintaining that which he once begun to take upon him.

What his learning was in the civil and canon law I have not to ſay: What it was in other liberal arts and ſciences, this I ſuppoſe, that neither his continuance in ſtudy, nor diligence of reading was ſuch (by reaſon of his too much intermedling in princes' matters) as could truly well merit unto him the title of a deep learned man. But what learning or cunning ſoever it was he had, ſo it fared in him, as it doth in butchers, which uſe to blow up their fleſh: even ſo he, with boldneſs and ſtoutneſs, and eſpecially with authority, made thoſe gifts that he had to appear much greater than they really were. Whereunto uſe, peradventure, and experience abroad, made no little helps, rather than any quickneſs of wit, or happineſs of education.

And as touching divinity, he was ſo variable, wavering with time, that no conſtant cenſure can be given what to make of him. If his doings and writings were according to his conſcience, no man can rightly ſay whether he was a right proteſtant or papiſt. If he wrote otherwiſe than he thought, for fear, or to bear with time, then was he a double deep diſſembler before God and man, to ſay and unſay, to write and unwrite, to ſwear and forſwear ſo as he did. For firſt, in the beginning of queen Anne Bullen's time, who was ſo forward or ſo buſy in the matter of the king's divorce as Stephen Gardiner, who was firſt ſent to Rome, and then to the emperor with Edward Fox, as chief agent in the behalf of the lady Anne? By whom alſo he was prefered to the biſhopric of Wincheſter, and Edmund Bonner was prefered to the biſhopric of London. Again, at the aboliſhing of the pope, who ſo ready to ſwear, or ſo vehement to write againſt the pope as he, as not only by his ſermons, but alſo by his book De Obedientia may appear? In which book, leſt any ſhould think him drawn thereunto otherwiſe than by his own conſent, he plainly declareth, how not raſhly nor on a ſudden, but upon a long deliberation and advertiſement in himſelf about the matter, he at length uttered his judgment: and moreover ſo he uttered his judgment in writing againſt the uſurped ſupremacy of the pope, that coming to Lovain afterward, he was there accounted for a perſon excommunicate and ſchiſmatic, inſomuch that he was not permitted in their church to ſay maſs; and moreover, in their public ſermons they openly cried out againſt him. Whereof read hereafter.

And thus long continued he firm and forward, ſo that who but Wincheſter during all the reign of queen Ann? After her deceaſe, that time by little and little carried him away, till at length the emulation of the lord Cromwel's eſtate, and eſpecially (as it ſeemeth), for his ſo much favouring of Bonner (whom Wincheſter at that time in no caſe could abide), made him an utter enemy both againſt him, and alſo his religion: till again in king Edward's days he began a little to rebate from certain points of popery, and ſomewhat to ſmell of the goſpel, as both by his ſermon before king Edward, as alſo by his ſubſcribing to certain articles, may appear; and this was an half turn of Stephen Gardiner from popery again to the goſpel, and (no doubt) he would have farther turned, had not the unlucky decay of the duke of Somerſet clean turned him away from true divinity, to plain popery; wherein he continued a cruel perſecutor to his dying day.

And thus much concerning the trade and profeſſion of Stephen Gardiner's popiſh divinity. In which his popiſh trade, whether he followed more true judgment, or elſe time, or rather the ſpirit of ambition and vain-glory, it is doubtful to ſay, and ſo much the more doubtful, becauſe in his doings and writings a man may ſee him not only contrary to himſelf, but alſo in ſome points contrary to other papiſts. And furthermore, where he agreeth with them, he ſeemeth therein not ſo much to follow his own ſenſe, as the mind and meaning of Pereſeus; out of whoſe book the greateſt part of Wincheſter's divinity ſeemeth to be borrowed.

And therefore as in the true knowledge of God's holy word and ſcripture he appeareth nobody; ſo in his pen and ſtyle of writing no leſs far is he from commendation, than he is from all plainneſs and perſpicuity. In whoſe obſcure and perplexed kind of writing, altho' peradventure ſome ſenſe may be found with ſome ſearching, yet ſhall no reader find any ſweetneſs in his reading.

What moved him to be ſo ſturdy againſt Mr. Cheek, and Mr. Thomas Smith, for the Greek pronunciation, others may think what they pleaſe; I ſpeak but what I think, that ſo he did, for that he ſaw it a thing rather newly begun, than truly impugned. Such was the diſpoſition of the man (as it ſeemeth) that of purpoſe he ever affected to ſeem to be a patron of old cuſtoms, tho' they were never ſo rotten with age. Amongſt other matters, this one thing I cannot but marvel at in my mind, when I ſee how proudly he braggeth, and vainly vaunteth himſelf (as well in his letters to the lord protector, and others of king Edward's council, as alſo in his long matter articulated and exhibited by him unto the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and other the king's commiſſioners), of the high favour he had of the noble king, of famous memory, king Henry the eighth, when indeed nothing was leſs true; neither did the king leſs favour any of his council, than him, affirming very often that he greatly ſuſpected the ſaid biſhop, to be a ſecret maintainer of the biſhop of Rome's uſurped authority, and a ſtout diſturber and hinderer of his proceedings in reformation of religion. And therefore he did ſo much diſlike him, that he did not only mind (if it had pleaſed God to grant his highneſs longer life), to have uſed the extremity of the law againſt him, upon very ſore and juſt matter of old committed by him (and yet not taken away by any pardon) thereupon often commanding the lord Pagot, then his ſecretary, to keep ſafe certain writings which he had againſt him; but alſo commanded that he ſhould be put clean out of his laſt will and teſtament, not ſuffering him either to be one of his executors, or elſe in any caſe of his ſon's council, no; although he were

earneſtly intreated to the contrary by ſundry of the lords, and other of his highneſs's council, ſaying, he was a wilful, troubleſome, and headſtrong man, and not meet to be about his ſon, or to have any thing to do by his will.

Now amongſt other cauſes that moved the king thus to ſuſpect his fidelity towards his godly proceedings to religion, I find this to be one. It pleaſed his majeſty after his aboliſhing of the biſhop of Rome's uſurped authority (amongſt other ambaſſages to foreign princes), to ſend the ſaid biſhop of Wincheſter, and Sir Henry Knevet knight, as joint ambaſſadors to the emperor, being then at a diet or council at Ratiſbon, appointing alſo Sir John Berkley, Sir William Blunt, knights, and Andrew Bainton, eſquire (his highneſs's ſervants), to give their attendance upon the ſaid Sir Henry Knevet, for the more honouring of his embaſſage. It happened alſo at that time, that Sir Henry Knevet entertained into his ſervice (as ſteward of his houſhold) one William Wolfe, who had in the ſame capacity before ſerved Sir Thomas Wyat, knight, the king's former ambaſſador there, and by that means had good acquaintance in thoſe parts, as well in the emperor's court, as elſewhere. This Wolfe, towards the latter end of the diet or council, happened to walk (as often he did) towards the emperor's palace to hear ſome news, where he met with one Ludovico, an Italian merchant, one of his old acquaintance. Who, ſuppoſing the ſaid Wolfe to have attended upon the biſhop of Wincheſter (not knowing of any joint ambaſſador), required Wolfe, for old acquaintance, to do him a pleaſure; whereupon he willingly granted. Whereupon Ludovico ſhewed him, that the pope's legate, or the ambaſſador to the emperor (which was cardinal Contarene) departing the day before towards Rome, and having no leiſure to end his buſineſs himſelf, had put the ſaid Ludovico in truſt for the accompliſhment of them: and amongſt all other things he had eſpecially charged him that he ſhould repair to the ambaſſador of England, and require of him an anſwer to the pope's letters, which the legate did of late ſend unto him, addreſſed to him from Rome, and that upon receipt thereof he ſhould ſend them after with all ſpeed; and therefore if his lord ambaſſador would write by that courier, he prayed Wolfe to tell him that it was time to write, for the courier went away within a day or two.

At this tale, Wolfe being abaſhed, and yet partly gueſſing which ambaſſador he meant, thought it not meet to tell him whoſe ſervant he was, but by other ſoothing talk perceived that he meant the biſhop of Wincheſter. And to the end that Ludovico ſhould ſuſpect nothing, he anſwered him, that he, being not the ambaſſador's ſecretary, could ſay little therein; howbeit he would not fail to put his ſecretary in remembrance of it: which thing Ludovico alſo deſired him to do, for that he had no other acquaintance with the ambaſſador; and ſo for that time they departed. This matter ſeeming to Wolfe of ſome importance, he immediately revealed it to Sir Henry Knevet his maſter: who weighing alſo the greatneſs of the caſe, and what diſadvantage it were upon one man's ſo bare a report to attempt ought, in a place and time, whereby ſuch a perſon was to be touched, charged Wolfe to adviſe himſelf, that no hatred, diſpleaſure, or other paſſion, did not move him to diſcloſe this, but truth only. Wolfe replyed, That he weighed well the weightineſs of the cauſe, meet, as to his own reſpect, to be paſſed over in ſilence, for avoiding of his private diſpleaſure, if duty of allegiance bound him not otherwiſe. But Sir (quoth he) if you think not my hearing thereof, one to one, to be ſufficient, I warrant you to deviſe means, that ſome others of your ſervants ſhall hear the like words from Ludovico's own mouth as well as I. Upon which talk Sir Henry Knevet deviſed which of his ſervants he might uſe to that purpoſe, and at laſt reſted upon Mr. Thomas Chalenor, his ſecretary, becauſe he had the Italian tongue. Not making him privy to any matter, but deſired Wolfe to take him abroad with him, as of his own private motion, for they were very familiar friends. Whereupon the next morning, being Sunday, Wolfe came to Chalenor's chamber, and prayed him familiarly to talk a walk with him abroad to the Piazza, or market-ſtead, which he readily did, not knowing of any ſpecial cauſe why. When they came to the Piazza, over againſt the emperor's palace (near whereunto alſo the pope's legate had lodged) and had there walked a while together, there came thither the ſaid Ludovico, and eſpying Wolfe, ſaluted him very friendly, and entered into talk about the Exchange, and ſundry other matters, Chalenor being ſtill with them. At laſt upon occaſion, they entered into like talk about the former letters that the ambaſſador of England had received from Rome by the pope's legate, of which Ludovico had in charge to receive an anſwer, affirming that the poſt departed the next day, and therefore prayed Wolfe to put the ambaſſador's ſecretary in remembrance of them. Whereunto Wolfe anſwered, That he would willingly do it; but he did not well know which ambaſſador he meant, for that there were two: one the biſhop of Wincheſter, and the other a gentlemen of the king's privy chamber. To whom Ludovico replied, That he meant not the gentleman of the privy chamber, but the biſhop. By which talk, and much the like (as upon the former day), Mr. Chalenor being moved (and not knowing yet of his maſter's and Wolfe's purpoſe), after the departure of Ludovico from them, ſaid unto Wolfe, that Ludovico had had but homely talk with him, not to be paſſed over lightly, and therefore he would tell his maſter of it. To whom Wolfe anſwered, Do as you will, if you think any matter therein. And therefore, at his return home, he told Sir Henry Knevet what ſpeech he had heard at Ludovico's mouth.

Sir Henry Knevet, being thus further aſcertained of the matter, opened the whole to Sir John Berkley, Sir William Blunt, and to Mr. Bainton, who all agreed yet to make a farther trial thereof. And therefore deviſed that Wolfe ſhould procure Ludovick to bring certain velvet and other ſilks, unto Sir Henry Knevet's lodging, as well for himſelf as for the other gentlemen, which that afternoon he did accompliſh, and brought Ludovick unto Sir Henry, where alſo were the other gentlemen. After they had a while viewed the ſilks, and had ſome talk about the prince, Wolfe took occaſion again to aſk Ludovick, if Sir Henry were the ambaſſador of whom he was to demand an anſwer of the letters ſent by the pope's legate? To whom the merchant anſwered, No, it was not his ſeigniority, but it was a biſhop, terming him Reverendiſſimo, whereby they eaſily perceived whom he meant. Sir Henry Knevet thereupon ſomewhat diſſembling the matter, entered into further talk about it, whereby Ludovick opened as much in effect to them as he had done before to Wolfe; but yet at laſt perceiving that as well Sir Henry, as alſo the other gentlemen, beheld him ſomewhat angrily, he brake off his talk. Wherewith Sir Henry Knevet, making as though he had noted nothing, did lovingly diſmiſs him, praying him, that when he had received the biſhop's letters, he would alſo repair to him for a packet to an Engliſh gentleman of his acquaintance at Milan; which he promiſed to do, and ſo departed again. When Sir Henry had thus made ſufficient trial of this matter, he forthwith wrote his letters unto the king's majeſty, ſignifying unto him the whole at large, as he had learned. In the mean while Ludovick the next morning repaired to the biſhop of Wincheſter's lodging, to demand an anſwer of thoſe letters the legate had ſent unto him: but how he uſed himſelf, or whether he uttered the diſcourſe he had with Sir Henry Knevet and with Wolfe, whom he ſuppoſed at the firſt to be the biſhop's man, it is not certainly known. But the biſhop, perceiving that by miſtaking one for another, (and in ſuppoſing Wolfe to

to be the biſhop's ſervant) Ludovick had uttered all his meſſage from the legate unto Wolfe, and that thereby his practices would come to light; in great haſte and rage he cauſed Ludovick to be ſtayed in his own houſe, while in the mean time himſelf went to Gravela, one of the emperor's council, and ſo practiſed with him, that Ludovick was ſecretly committed to priſon, in cuſtody of one of the emperor's marſhals, ſo as he could be no more talked with, all the time of their abode there. And then ſending in great haſte to Sir Henry Knevet to come and ſpeak with him (which he did), he fell into very hot ſpeech with him, ſaying, that he had poiſon in his diſh, and that a knave was ſuborned to be his deſtruction; with many ſuch like words. Sir Henry told him again how he underſtood it; and prayed him that Ludovick might be brought face to face, to be examined in both their preſences. Which the biſhop would in no caſe agree unto, affirming, that he had ſo declared the caſe to Gravela, being indifferent (as he thought) to them both, that he would not meddle with Ludovick, nor ſpeak with him: but that the emperor's council ſhould examine him, and try what he was for him. To whom Sir Henry Knevet again very earneſtly objected, That he marvelled that the biſhop, in matters touching the king's majeſty, their maſter, would uſe the aid or means of Gravela a foreign prince's miniſter, to make him privy of their queſtion. But ſay and do what he could, he could never come to the ſpeech of Ludovick any more ever after. Whereupon there aroſe great and long controverſies between them (both writing letters unto the king about the matter) until at laſt the king's majeſty, perceiving his affairs otherwiſe to ſlack thereby, wrote unto them both, that they ſhould lay all thoſe things under foot, and join together in his ſervice as before; which they did accordingly. But howſoever this matter was afterward ſalved here with the king's majeſty, as either by the death of Sir Henry Knevet (which I think was not long after) or by other friends the biſhop had here at home, I know not: yet Wolfe, who within two months after died of a long cough of the lungs, upon his death-bed did again affirm the premiſes to be moſt true; and therefore, in the preſence of Sir Henry Knevet, and divers of his ſervants, he proteſted, that he had not invented, ſought or procured this at Lodovick's hands, for any malice or diſpleaſure borne to the biſhop, but only for diſcharge of his faith and duty unto the king's majeſty, deſiring that the ſame his proteſtation might be inſerted in the end of his laſt will and teſtament, which was then preſently done, and thereunto he ſet his hand.

Now, whether this was the matter that the king moved ſo often Mr. ſecretary Paget (being after lord keeper) to keep ſafe, as ſore matter againſt the biſhop, I know not; but yet it appears by ſome depoſitions of the nobility and others, in the proceſs had againſt him in king Edward's days, that the king's majeſty, Henry the eighth, had this matter ever in his mind: for in every general pardon that he granted by parliament after this practice, he did ſtill except all treaſons committed beyond the ſeas; meaning thereby, as it was ſuppoſed, that the biſhop ſhould not take any benefit by any general pardon, if at any time his majeſty would call him to account: and therefore all things well weighed, he had ſmall cauſe to vaunt of his great favour he had with king Henry, his maſter. Howbeit it ſeemeth he was brought into this fool's paradiſe by the Lord Paget; who (as he himſelf reporteth in his depoſitions) in his meſſages from the king to the ſaid biſhop, deluded him, telling him much otherwiſe than the king had ſpoke, and concealing always the king's hard ſpeeches againſt him, which thing puffed up this vain-glorious Thraſo not a little.

But whoſoever he was, ſeeing he is now gone, I refer him to his judge, to whom he ſhall ſtand or fall. As concerning his death and manner thereof, I would they which were preſent thereat would teſtify to us what they ſaw. This we have all to think, that his death happened ſo opportunely, that England hath a mighty cauſe to give thanks to the Lord for it: not ſo much for the great hurt he had done in times paſt in perverting his princes, in bringing in the ſix articles, in murdering God's ſaints, in defacing Chriſt's ſincere religion, &c. but alſo and eſpecially for that he had thought to have brought to paſs in murdering alſo the lady Elizabeth. For whatſoever danger it was of death that ſhe was in, it did (no doubt) proceed from the bloody biſhop, who was the cauſe thereof. And if it be certain, which we have heard, that her highneſs being in the Tower, a writ came down from certain of the council for her execution; it is out of controverſy that Wincheſter was the framer of that engine, who (no doubt) in that one day had brought this whole realm into woful ruin, had not the Lord's moſt gracious counſel, through Mr. Bridges, then the lieutenant, coming in haſte to the queen, certified her of the matter, and prevented his bloody devices. For which thanks be to the ſame our Lord and Saviour, in the congregation of all Engliſh churches, Amen.

Of things uncertain I muſt ſpeak uncertainly, for lack of fuller information, or elſe peradventure there are ſome in the realm that can ſay more than I have here expreſſed. For as Bonner, Story, Thornton, Harpsfield, Dunning, with others, were occupied in puting the poor branches of God's ſaints to death, ſo this biſhop for his part bent all his devices, and had ſpent all his powder in aſſailing the root, and in caſting ſuch a platform (as he himſelf, in words, at his death is ſaid to confeſs) to build his popery upon, as he thought ſhould have ſtood for ever. But (as I ſaid before) of things uncertain I can ſpeak but uncertainly. Wherefore as touching the manner and order of his death, how rich he died, what words he ſpake, what little repentance he ſhewed, whether he died with his tongue ſwoln and out of his mouth, as did Thomas Arundel archbiſhop of Canterbury, or whether he ſtunk before he died as cardinal Wolſey did, or whether he died in deſpair as Latomus and others did, &c. All this I refer either to their reports of whom I heard it, or leave it to the knowledge of them which know it better.

Notwithſtanding, here by the way, touching the death of this aforeſaid biſhop, I thought not to overpaſs a certain hear-ſay, which not long ſince came to me by information of a certain worthy and credible gentlewoman, and another gentleman of the ſame name and kindred, which Mrs. Munday, the wife of Mr. Munday, ſome time ſecretary to the old lord Thomas, duke of Norfolk, a preſent witneſs of this that is teſtified, thus openly reported in the houſe of a worſhipful citizen, bearing yet office in this city, in words and effect as followeth. The ſame day as biſhop Ridley and Mr. Latimer ſuffered at Oxford, being about the 19th day of October, there came into the houſe of Stephen Gardiner, the old duke of Norfolk, with the aforeſaid Mr. Munday his ſecretary above-named, reporter hereof. The old aged duke there waiting for his dinner, the biſhop being not yet diſpoſed to dine, defered the time to three or four of the clock in the afternoon. At length about four of the clock cometh his ſervant, poſting in all poſſible ſpeed from Oxford, bringing intelligence to the biſhop what he had heard and ſeen; of whom the ſaid biſhop diligently enquiring the truth of the matter, and hearing by his man that fire moſt certainly was ſet unto them, cometh out rejoicing to the duke, Now, ſaith he, let us go to dinner. Whereupon they being ſet down, meat immediately was brought, and the biſhop began merrily to eat. But what followed? The bloody tyrant had not eaten a few bits, but the ſudden ſtroke of God's terrible hand fell upon him in ſuch ſort, as immediately he was taken from the table, and ſo brought to his bed, where he continued the ſpace of fifteen days in ſuch intolerable anguiſh and torments, that all that mean while, during the fifteen days, he could not avoid by urine, or otherwiſe, any thing that he received: whereby his body being miſerably

ſerably inflamed within, who had inflamed ſo many good martyrs before (was brought to a wretched end. And thereof, no doubt, as moſt like it is, came the thruſting out of his tongue from his mouth ſo ſwoln and black, with the inflammation of his body. A ſpectacle worthy to be noted and beheld of all ſuch bloody burning perſecutors.

But to proceed farther in the ſequel of our ſtory: I could name the man (but I abſtain from names) who being then preſent, and a great doer about the ſaid Winchester, reported to us, concerning the ſaid biſhop, that when Dr. Day, biſhop of Chicheſter, came to him, that he began to comfort him with words of God's promiſe, and with the free juſtification in the blood of Chriſt our Saviour, repeating the ſcriptures to him; Wincheſter bearing that, What my lord (quoth he) will you open that gap now? then farewel all together. To me, and ſuch others in my caſe, you may ſpeak it, but open this window to the people, then farewel all together.

Moreover, what Dr. Bonner then ſaw in him, or what he heard of him, and what words paſſed between them about the time of this extremity, betwixt him and him be it. If Bonner did there behold any thing which might turn to his good example, I exhort him to take it, and to beware in time, as I pray God he may. Here I could bring in the frivolous epitaph that was made on his death, deviſed by a papiſt for a popiſh biſhop, but I omit it, and inſtead thereof I have here inſerted certain things gathered out of his ſermons, words, and writings, wherein may appear what an earneſt and vehement enemy he was to the pope, if he would have been conſtant in himſelf; and how inconſtantly he varied from himſelf; and alſo, how he ſtanding upon a ſingularity of his own wit, varied from other papiſts in certain points. In the gathering whereof although there be ſome pains, and tediouſneſs alſo in reading; yet I thought not to omit the ſame, upon certain conſiderations, namely, for that ſo many yet to this day there be, who ſtick ſo much to Gardiner's wit, learning and religion, taking him for ſuch a ſubſtantial pillar of the pope's church. To the intent therefore, that ſuch as hitherto have been deceived by him, may not longer be abuſed therein, if they will either credit his own works, words, ſermons, writings, diſputations; or elſe will be judged by his own witneſſes of his own party produced, we have here collected ſuch manifeſt probations, which may notoriouſly declare how effectually firſt he withſtood the pope's ſupremacy; and likewiſe afterward may declare the manifeſt contrariety and repugnancy of the ſaid Gardiner, firſt with other writers, and laſtly with himſelf: firſt beginning with his ſermon preached before king Edward. The ſum and effect of which ſermon briefly collected by Mr. Udal, hereunder followeth.

The Sum and Effect of Biſhop Gardiner's Sermon preached before King Edward, Anno 1550.

MOST honourable audience, I purpoſe, by the grace of God, to declare ſome part of the goſpel that is accuſtomably uſed to be read in the church at this day. And becauſe that without the ſpecial grace of God, neither can I ſpeak any thing to your edifying, nor ye receive the ſame accordingly, I ſhall deſire you all that we may jointly pray all together for the aſſiſtance of his grace. In which prayer I commend to Almighty God your moſt excellent majeſty, our ſovereign lord king of England, France and Ireland, and of the church of England and Ireland, next and immediately under God here on earth, the ſupreme head, queen Katherine dowager, my lady Mary's grace, my lady Elizabeth's grace, your majeſty's moſt dear ſiſters, my lord protector's grace, with all others of your moſt honourable council, the ſpirituality and temporality, and I ſhall deſire you to commend unto God, with your prayer, the ſouls departed unto God in Chriſt's faith, and amongſt theſe moſt eſpecially our late ſovereign lord king Henry VIII. your majeſty's moſt noble father. For theſe and for grace neceſſary, I ſhall deſire you to ſay a Pater Noſter, and ſo forth.

The GOSPEL beginneth,

MATTHEW XVI. 13, 14, 15, 16.

When Jeſus was come into the parts of Ceſarea, a city that Philippus builded, he aſked his diſciples, and ſaid, Whom do men ſay that the ſon of man is? They ſaid, Some ſay that thou art John the Baptiſt, ſome that thou art Elias, ſome that thou art Jeremiah, or ſome one of the Prophets. He ſaid to them, But whom do ye ſay that I am? Then anſwered Simon Peter, and ſaid, Thou art Chriſt the Son of the Living God.

I Cannot have time, I think, to ſpeak of the goſpel thoroughly, for other matters that I have here now to ſay, but I ſhall note unto you ſuch things as I may, and firſt of the diverſity of opinions concerning Chriſt, which were among the people variable: but among this, that is, the diſciples of Chriſt's ſchool, there was no variety, they agreed all together in one truth, and among them there was no variety. For when Peter had with all the reſt, and in the name of all the reſt made his anſwer, that Chriſt was the Son of God, they all confeſſed with one conſent, that he had ſpoken the truth. Yet theſe opinions of Chriſt that the people had of him, though they were ſundry, yet were they honourable and not ſlanderous: for to ſay that Chriſt was Elias, and John the Baptiſt, was honourable: for ſome thought him ſo to be, becauſe he did frankly, ſharply, and openly rebuke vice. They that called him Jeremiah, had alſo an honourable opinion of him, and thought him ſo to be, becauſe of his great learning which they perceived in him, and marvelled where he had it. And they that ſaid he was one of the prophets, had an honourable opinion of him, favoured him, and thought well of him.

But there was another ſort of people that ſpake evil of him, and ſlandered him, and railed on him, ſaying that he was a glutton, and a drinker of wine, that he had a devil in him, that he was a deceiver of the people, that he was a carpenter's ſon, as though he were the worſe for his father's craft. But of theſe he aſked no queſtion: for among theſe none agreed with the other. Wherein ye ſhall note that man of his own power and ſtrength can do nothing: no, nothing that good is he can do of his own invention or device, but erreth and faileth; when he is left to his own invention, he erreth in his imagination. So proud is man, and ſo ſtout of his own courage, that he deviſeth nothing well, whenſoever he is left to himſelf without God; and then never do any ſuch agree in any truth, and wander and err in all that they do. As men of law, if they be aſked their opinion in any point touching the law, ye ſhall not have two of them agree in opinion: if there be two or three of them aſked their opinion in any matter, if they ſhould anſwer all one thing, they fear leſt they ſhould be ſuppoſed and thought to have no learning. Therefore be they never ſo many of them, they will not agree in their anſwers, but devile each man a ſundry anſwer in any thing that they are aſked.

The philoſophers that were not of Chriſt's ſchool erred every one in their vain opinions, and no one of them agreeth with the other.

Yea, men of ſimplicity, though they mean well, yet being out of Chriſt's ſchool, they varied and agreed not in their opinions of Chriſt, though they thought well of him. Some ſaid he was John, ſome Elias, ſome Jeremiah

miah, but none made the right anſwer. He that anſwered here, was Simon the ſon of Jonas, and he ſaid, Thou art Chriſt, the Son of the living God.

Where ye ſhall note the properties that were in Peter, He was called Simon, which is obedience, and Jonas is a dove; ſo that in him that is of Chriſt's ſchool, muſt be theſe two properties, obedience and ſimplicity. He muſt be humble and innocent as a dove, that will be of Chriſt's ſchool. Pride is a hindrance of Chriſt's ſchool: for as the wiſe man ſaith, God reſiſteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble and meek. And according to the ſame doth Chriſt in the goſpel ſay, Oh Father, I confeſs unto thee, that is, I laud and magnify thee; for that thou had hidden theſe things from the wiſe, and haſt opened them unto the little ones. Whereupon ſaith St. Auguſtine, that the gifts of learning and knowledge of ſciences are no hindrance to Chriſt's ſchool, but a furtherance thereunto, if they be well applied and uſed as they ought to be: but he that is proud, and feedeth himſelf with his own conceit and opinion of himſelf, and abuſeth the gifts of God, applying his learning and knowledge to the ſatisfying and following of his own fantaſy, is no right diſciple of Chriſt, but falleth into error. When they ſaid and affirmed themſelves to be wiſe, they were made fools.

The philoſophers had every one a ſect of his own, and had many gay ſentences for the commendation of their opinions, and every man thought his own opinion to be beſt: but becauſe they applied all to their own pride and glory, and not to the honour of God, nor humbled themſelves as they ought to have done, but followed their own fantaſy, they erred, and fell out of the way, and were not of Chriſt's ſchool: and all that have gone out of Chriſt's ſchool, pride hath brought them out of it; and ſuch as have not entered, have kept themſelves out of it with pride likewiſe: therefore all ſuch as will be ſcholars of Chriſt's ſchool and diſcipline, muſt be humble and meek; otherwiſe, When they ſaid and affirmed themſelves to be wiſe, they were made fools.

He that cannot learn this leſſon of Peter, and humbly confeſs with Peter, that Chriſt is the Son of the living God, is no ſcholar of Chriſt's ſchool, be he otherwiſe never ſo well learned, never ſo well ſeen in other ſciences. But now concerning the anſwer of Peter, Matthew here in this place ſaith, he anſwered, "Thou art Chriſt the Son of the living God." St. Luke ſaith he anſwered, "Thou art the Chriſt of God." And St. Mark ſaith, he anſwered, "Thou art the Chriſt." But in all that is no variety: for to ſay, Chriſt the Son of the living God; and to ſay, The Chriſt of God; and to ſay, The Chriſt, is in effect all one, and no diverſity in it, for Chriſt alone is the whole, and he that confeſſeth thoroughly Chriſt, is thoroughly a chriſtian man, and doth therein confeſs him to be the Lord and Saviour of the world. But now we muſt conſider what Chriſt is: Chriſt was ſent to be our Meſſias, our Saviour: he was ſent to be our biſhop, and alſo our ſacrifice: he was ſent from the Trinity to be our Mediator between God and us, and to reconcile us to the favour of God the Father: he was the biſhop that offered for our ſins, and the ſacrifice that was offered: and as he is our biſhop, ſo is he our mean to pacify God for us, for that was the office of a biſhop, to ſacrifice for the ſins of the people, and to make interceſſion for the people; and as he was our ſacrifice, ſo was he our reconciliation to God again.

But we muſt confeſs and believe him thoroughly I ſay: for as he was our biſhop then, ſo is it he that ſtill keepeth us in favour with God: and like as his ſacrifice then made was ſufficient as to deliver us from our ſins, and to bring us in favour with God; ſo to continue us in the ſame favour of God, he ordained a perpetual remembrance of himſelf, he ordained himſelf for a memory of himſelf at his laſt ſupper, when he inſtituted the ſacrament of the altar, not for another redemption, as though the world needed a new redemption from ſin, but that we might thoroughly remember his moſt holy paſſion, he inſtituted the ſacrament by his moſt holy word, ſaying, "This is my body," which word is ſufficient to prove the ſacrament, and maketh ſufficiently for the ſubſtance thereof. And this daily ſacrifice he inſtituted to be continued among chriſtian men, not for need of another redemption or ſatisfaction for the ſins of the world, for that was ſufficiently performed by the ſacrifice of his body and blood done upon the croſs; neither that he is our biſhop for need of any further ſacrifice to be made for ſin, but to continue us in the remembrance of his paſſion ſuffered for us, to make us ſtrong in believing the fruit of his paſſion, to make us diligent in thankſgiving for the benefit of his paſſion, to eſtabliſh our faith, and to make it ſtrong in acknowledging the efficacy of his death and paſſion ſuffered for us. And this is the true underſtanding of the maſs, not for another redemption, but that we may be ſtrong in believing the benefits of Chriſt's death and blood-ſhedding for us upon the croſs. And this it is that we muſt believe of Chriſt, and believe it thoroughly: and therefore by your patience, as Peter made his confeſſion, ſo will I make confeſſion, wherein by your majeſty's leave and ſufferance, I will plainly declare what I think of the ſtate of the church of England at this day, how I like it, and what I think of it.

Where I ſaid of the maſs, that it was a ſacrifice ordained to make us the more ſtrong in the faith and remembrance of Chriſt's paſſion, and for commending unto God the ſouls of ſuch as be dead in Chriſt (for theſe two things are the ſpecial cauſes why the maſs was inſtituted) the parliament very well ordained maſs to be kept; and becauſe we ſhould be the more ſtrong in the faith and devotion towards God, it was well done of the parliament, for moving the people more and more to devotion, to ordain that the ſacrament ſhould be received in both kinds: therefore I ſay, that the act of parliament for receiving of the ſacrament of the altar in both kinds, was well made.

I ſay alſo, that the proclamation which was made, That no man ſhould unreverently ſpeak of the ſacrament, or otherwiſe ſpeak of it than ſcripture teacheth them, was well made. For this proclamation ſtoppeth the mouths of all ſuch as will unreverently ſpeak of the ſacrament: for in ſcripture there is nothing to be found that maketh any thing againſt the ſacrament, but all maketh with it. Wherefore, if they were the children of obedience, they would not uſe any unreverend talk againſt the ſacrament, nor blaſpheme the holy ſacrament. For no word of ſcripture maketh any thing againſt it.

But here it may be ſaid unto me, Why, ſir, is this your opinion? It is good you ſpeak plainly in this matter, without any colouring or covert ſpeaking. The act for the diſſolving and ſuppreſſing of the chauntries ſeemeth to make againſt the maſs, how like ye that act? what ſay you of it? or what would you ſay of it, if you were alone? I will ſpeak what I think of it, I will uſe no colourable or covert words, I will not uſe a deviſed ſpeech for a time, and afterward go from it again. If chauntries were abuſed by applying the maſs for the ſatisfaction of ſin, or to bring men to heaven, or to take away ſin, or to make men, of wicked, juſt, I like the act well, and they might well be diſſolved, for the maſs was not inſtituted for any ſuch purpoſe:, yet nevertheleſs for them that were in them (I ſpeak now as in the cauſe of the poor) it were well done that they were provided of livings. The act doth graciouſly provide for them during their lives, and I doubt not but that your majeſty, and the lords of your moſt honourable council, have taken order that they ſhould be well looked unto, but yet how they ſhall be uſed at the hands of other officers, God knoweth; full hardly, I fear. But as for the chauntries themſelves, if there were any ſuch abuſe in them concerning the maſs, it is no matter if they be taken away.

King Henry the eighth, a noble and wiſe prince, not without great pain maintained the maſs, and yet in his doctrine it was confeſſed that maſſes of Scala Cœli were not to be uſed, or allowed, becauſe they did pervert the right uſe and inſtitution of the maſs. For when men add unto the maſs an opinion of ſatisfaction, or of a new redemption, then do they put it to another uſe than it was ordained for. I that allow maſs ſo well, and I that allow praying for the dead (as indeed the dead are of chriſtian charity to be prayed for) yet can agree with the realm in that matter of putting down chauntries.

But yet ye would ſay unto me, There be fewer maſſes by putting away the chauntries. So were there when abbeys were diſſolved: ſo be there, when ye unite many churches in one. But this is no injury nor prejudice to the maſs; it conſiſteth not in the number, nor in the multitude, but in the thing itſelf: ſo that the decay of the maſs, by taking away the chauntries, is anſwered by the abbeys. But yet I would have it conſidered for the perſons that are in them. I ſpeak of the poor men's livings.

I have now declared what I think of the act of parliament made for the receiving of the ſacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Chriſt in both kinds. Ye have my mind and opinion concerning a proclamation that came forth for the ſame act, and I have ſhewed my mind therein even plainly as I think, and I have ever been agreeable to this point, I have often times reaſoned in it, I have ſpoken and alſo written in it, beyond the ſeas, and on this ſide the ſeas; my books be abroad, which I cannot unwrite again. I was ever of this opinion, that it might be received in both kinds, and it was a conſtitution provincial, ſcarce two hundred years agone, made by Peckam, then archbiſhop of Canterbury, that it ſhould be received in both kinds, or at leaſtwiſe in the great churches, for in the ſmaller churches it was not thought to be expedient. Thus have I ever thought of this matter, I have never been of other mind, nor have I changed my conſcience, but have obeyed and followed the order of the realm, and I pray you to obey orders as I have obeyed, that we may be all the children of obedience.

Now I will return to the text. When Simon had anſwered, Thou art Chriſt, the Son of the living God: Then Chriſt ſaid unto him, Bleſſed art thou Simon Barjona, for fleſh and blood have not opened that unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven; and I ſay unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell ſhall not prevail againſt it. Bleſſed art thou (ſaith he) for fleſh and blood hath not opened that unto thee. For otherwiſe in John, Andrew told of Chriſt, and ſaid, I have found the Meſſias, which is Chriſt. But this is not enough. He that ſhall confeſs Chriſt muſt have an inward teaching, and muſt be ſpiritually taught by the Father of heaven, for Andrew's confeſſion was nothing but a carnal confeſſion, and ſuch a one as any other might have made by natural reaſon: but the confeſſion of Peter was above the reaſon of man: for Chriſt was there a very man, and St. Peter's eyes told him that he was a man, and nothing elſe; but he was inwardly taught by the Father of heaven, and had a ſecret knowledge given him from heaven, not by fleſh and blood, that is to ſay, by man's reaſon, but inwardly by the Father of heaven: and ſeeing this was above reaſon, it is a marvellous thing that reaſon ſhould be uſed to impugn faith, which is not within the precinct of carnal men, and ſuch as uſe groſs reaſon.

But Peter had another reaſon inwardly taught him, and becauſe he could learn his leſſon, Chriſt gave him a new name: for Petra is a ſtone, a new name for a chriſtian man; for upon this confeſſion of thy faith, here I will build my church, that is, I will eſtabliſh all thoſe which I intend to gather unto thee, and the devils ſhall not prevail againſt it: for he that with a good heart and ſure faith confeſſeth this, he is ſure from all evil: this world nor Satan can do him no harm.

But now for a further declaration, it is a marvellous thing, that upon theſe words the biſhop of Rome ſhould found his ſupremacy: for whether it be Super Petram, or Petrum, all is one matter, it maketh nothing at all for the purpoſe to make a foundation of any ſuch ſupremacy. For otherwiſe (when Peter ſpake carnally to Chriſt as in the ſame chapter a little following) Satan was his name, where Chriſt ſaid, Get thee behind me, Satan: ſo that the name of Peter is no foundation for the ſupremacy, but as it is ſaid in ſcripture, Ye are built upon the foundation of the apoſtles and prophets, that is, by participation (for godly participation giveth names of things) he might be called the head of the church, as the head of the river is called the head, becauſe he was the firſt that made this confeſſion of Chriſt, which is not an argument for dignity, but for the quality that was in the man. For the firſt man is not evermore the beſt. The head man of a queſt is not always the beſt man in the queſt, but is choſen to be the head man for ſome other quality that is in him. Virtue may allure men, ſo that the inferior perſon in dignity may be the better in place, as the king ſometime chooſeth a mean man to be of his council, of whom he hath a good opinion, yet is the king the king ſtill. And in ſome caſe the king of England might ſend to Rome, and if the biſhop of Rome were a man of ſuch wiſdom, virtue and learning, that he were able in matter of controverſy concerning religion, to ſet an unity in the church of England; the king might well enough ſend to him for his counſel and help, and yet ſhould not in ſo doing, give the biſhop of Rome any ſuperiority over the king. For if a king be ſick, he will have the beſt phyſician: if he have war, he will have the beſt captain; and yet are not theſe the ſuperiors, but the inferiors.

A ſchoolmaſter is a ſubject, a phyſician is a ſubject, a captain is a ſubject, counſellors are ſubjects; yet do theſe order and direct the king. Wherefore leaving the biſhop of Rome, this I ſay to declare what opinion I am of. I do not ſpeak now what I could ſay. I have ſpoken beyond the ſeas, I have written, my books be abroad. But this is not the place here, I ſay that this place maketh nothing for the biſhop of Rome, but for Chriſt only; for other foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jeſus Chriſt.

But now to go forth declaring my mind; in my time had come many alterations. Firſt, a great alteration it was to renounce the biſhop of Rome's authority, and I was one that ſtood in it. A great alteration it was that abbeys were diſſolved. A great alteration it was that images were pulled down: and to all theſe I condeſcended, and yet have I been accounted a maintainer of ſuperſtition, and have been called a maſter of ceremonies and of outward things, and I have been noted to take that religion which conſiſteth in outward things, as though he were a right chriſtian that fulfilled the outward ceremonies, whereof I promiſed to declare my conſcience, and ſo I will, and how I have eſteemed ceremonies, and that I have never been of other opinion than I am concerning ceremonies, and mine opinion I have gathered of Auguſtine and Jerome, ancient fathers and doctors of the church.

Ceremonies ſerve to move men to ſerve God, and as long as they be uſed for that purpoſe, they may be well uſed in the church: but when man maketh himſelf ſervant to them, and not them to ſerve him, then be our ceremonies brought to an abuſe. If by overmuch familiarity of them men abuſe them, they do evil. For we muſt not ſerve creatures but God. We had monkery, nunnery, friery, of a wonderous number, much variety of garments, variety of devices in dwelling, many ſundry orders and faſhions in moving of the body. Theſe things were firſt ordained to admoniſh them of their duty to God, to labour for the neceſſity of the poor, and to ſpare from their

own bellies to the poor; and therefore was their fare ordained and prepared. And becauſe they abuſed theſe things, and ſet them in an higher place than they ought to do, not taking monition thereby the better to ſerve God, but eſteeming perfection to conſiſt in them, they were diſſolved, their houſes and garments were taken away.

But one thing king Henry would not take away, that was the vow of chaſtity. The vow of obedience he converted to himſelf, the vow of chaſtity he willeth ſtill to remain with them.

We had many images whereto pilgrimages were done, and many tombs that men uſed to viſit, by reaſon whereof they fell in a fancy of idolatry and ſuperſtition, above the things that they might have been taken for; and becauſe they had not the uſe that they were ordained for, they were left. When men put the images in a higher place than they ſerved for, then were they taken clean away: as give a child a gay book to learn upon, and then if he gaze upon the gorgeouſneſs of his book, and learn not his leſſon, according to the intent that that book was given for, the book is taken away from him; ſo the images, when men had them in higher place and eſtimation than they were firſt ſet up in the church for, then they might be taken away! And I was never of other mind, nor ever had other opinion of them. Divers things there be in the church which be in the liberty of the ruler to order as he ſeeth cauſe; and he that is ruler may either let them ſtand, or elſe may cauſe them to be taken away.

There be two manner of reformations. We have had of both ſorts. There be things in the church, which if they be abuſed, may not be taken away. As for baptiſm, if it be abuſed, there may not another thing be put in the place of it, but the thing muſt be reformed, and brought into the right uſe again. Alſo preaching, if it be abuſed, may not be taken away, but muſt be reformed, and brought to the right uſe; but there be other things uſed in the church, in which the rulers have liberty either to reform them or to take them away. And becauſe it was an eaſier way to take them away, than to bring them to the right uſe that they were ordained for, they were all clean taken away, and ſo they might be. Yea, ſir, will ye ſay, but ye have maintained and defended them, and have preached againſt ſuch perſons as deſpiſed them. It is truth, I have preached againſt the deſpiſers of them, and have ſaid, that images might be ſuffered and uſed in the church as lay-men's books, yet I never otherwiſe defended them, but to be uſed for ſuch purpoſe as they were firſt ſet up in the church for, but now that men be waxed wanton, they are clean taken away, wherein our religion is no more touched, than when books were taken away for abuſing of them.

There was an order taken for books not to be uſed, wherein ſome might have ſaid, the books are good, and I know how to uſe them, I may therefore uſe them well enough. I will therefore uſe them though they be forbidden: but if thou have any charity, thou oughteſt to be contented rather to have them clean taken away, than to declare thyſelf to have another opinion than thou oughteſt to have.

As touching ceremonies, I eſteem them all as Paul eſteemeth them, things indifferent, where he ſaith, That the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, &c. So of ceremonies. Nevertheleſs we have time, place, and number, as a certain number of Pſalms to be ſaid at times, which may be done without ſuperſtition; but theſe things muſt ſerve us, and not we ſerve them. Yet if an order be ſet in them by ſuch as have power, we muſt follow it, and we muſt obey the rulers that appoint ſuch time, place, and number to be kept. Ye may not ſay, If the time will ſerve me, then I will come an hour after. No, ſir, ye muſt keep this time, and this hour, becauſe it is ſo appointed by the rulers, not for the things, but for the order that is ſet. I have been ever of this opinion.

We had palms and candles taken away, which things may indifferently have either of the two reformations aboveſaid. When they were in place, they ſhould have put men in remembrance of their duty and devotion towards God but becauſe they were abuſed, they were and might be taken away. But the religion of Chriſt is not in theſe exerciſes, and therefore in taking away of them the religion of Chriſt is nothing touched nor hindered. But men muſt in ſuch things be conformable, not for the ceremony, but for obedience ſake. St. Paul ſaith that we ſhould rebuke every brother that walketh inordinately. I have told you mine opinion, and my conſcience telleth me that I have ſpoken plainly, that ye may know what I am, and that ye may not be deceived in me nor be ſlandered in me, nor make any further ſearch to know my heart.

I like well the communion, becauſe it provoketh men more and more to devotion. I like well the proclamation, becauſe it ſtoppeth the mouths of all ſuch as unreverently ſpeak or rail againſt the ſacrament. I like well the reſt of the king's majeſty's proceedings concerning the ſacrament. I have now told you what I like. But ſhall I ſpeak nothing of that I miſlike? ye will then ſay I ſpeak not plainly. I will therefore ſhew you my conſcience plainly.

I miſlike thoſe preachers who preach by the king's licence, and thoſe readers which by the king's permiſſion and ſufferance do read open lectures, do openly and blaſphemouſly talk againſt the maſs, and againſt the ſacrament. And to whom may I liken ſuch readers and preachers? I may liken them unto poſts, for the proverb ſaith, That poſts do bear truth in their letters, and lies in their mouths; and ſo do they; and to ſpeak ſo againſt the ſacrament, it is the moſt marvellous matter that ever I ſaw or heard of. I would wiſh therefore that there were a ſtay and an order in this behalf, and that there might be but one order and rule. And let no man of his own head begin matters, nor go before the king. They call it going before the king, and ſuch make themſelves kings. Well, what miſliketh me elſe?

It miſliketh me, that prieſts, and men that vowed chaſtity, ſhould openly marry, and avow it openly: which is a thing that ſince the beginning of the church hath not been ſeen at any time, that men, that have been admited to any eccleſiaſtical adminiſtration ſhould marry. We read of married prieſts, that is to ſay, of married men choſen to be prieſts and miniſters in the church. And in Epiphanius we read, that ſome ſuch for neceſſity were winked at. But that men being prieſts already ſhould marry, was never yet ſeen in Chriſt's church from the beginning of the apoſtle's time. I have written in it, and ſtudied for it; and the very ſame places that are therein alledged to maintain the marriage of prieſts, being diligently read, ſhall plainly confound them that maintain your prieſts to marry, or at the fartheſt within two lines after.

Thus have I ſhewed my opinion in order, proceeding from the inferiors, and in order proceeding from the higher powers. And thus I have (as I truſt plainly declared myſelf) without any covering or counterfeiting. And I beſeech your moſt excellent majeſty to eſteem and take me as I am, and not to be ſlandered in me; for I have told you the plain truth as it is, and I have opened my conſcience unto you. I have not played the poſt with you, to carry truth in my letters, and lies in my mouth: for I would not for all the world make a lye in this place; but I have diſcloſed the plain truth as it lieth in my mind. And thus I commit your moſt excellent majeſty, and all your moſt honourable counſellors, with the reſt of the devout audience here preſent, unto God. To whom be all honour, praiſe, and glory, world without end.

Thus having compriſed the ſum and chief purpoſe of his ſermon, with other ſuch matters above-mentioned, wherein may appear the double-faced doings of this biſhop

ſhop in matters of religion: now for the more fortification of that which hath been ſaid, if any ſhall deny this aforeſaid ſermon, or any part thereof, to be true, to confirm therefore the ſame, we will adjoin certain brief notes, collected as well out of the teſtimonies and depoſitions of his own friends and ſervants, and others which were ſworn truly to declare their knowledge in this behalf, as alſo out of his own writings and works agreeing with the ſame.

The Pope's Supremacy impugned by Biſhop Gardiner.

FIRST, as touching the confeſſion and judgment of Stephen Gardiner againſt the ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome, read in his book De vera Obedientia.

Item, The ſaid biſhop Gardiner in his ſermons and preachings, as where he expoundeth the place [Thou art Peter] nothing at all to make for the authority of the Romiſh biſhop, marvelled how the pope could uſurp ſo much to take up that place to build upon, when Chriſt had taken it up before to build his church.

Item, The confeſſion of Peter was the confeſſion of all the apoſtles, like as the bleſſing given to Peter pertained as well to all the apoſtles as to Peter.

Item, That the place, Feed my ſheep, was not ſpecial to Peter alone, but general to all the apoſtles. Alſo that the Greek church did never receive the ſaid biſhop of Rome for their univerſal head.

Item, That the church was built upon Chriſt's faith, and not upon Peter.

And though Peter was called the prince of the apoſtles, that was nothing elſe but like as it is in an inqueſt, where the foreman, or headman is not ſo called, becauſe he is beſt or chiefeſt of that company, but becauſe he ſpeaketh firſt.

The ſaid biſhop in his book De vera Obedientia, did not only write againſt the pope's ſupremacy, but alſo did defend the ſame at Lovain. And moreover in his ſermons did alledge and preach the ſame.

Item, For the ſpace of fourteen years together, he preached againſt the pope's ſupremacy in divers ſermons, and eſpecially in one ſermon before king Henry.

Ceremonies, Images, Chauntries, &c. impugned by Biſhop Gardiner.

Item, For ceremonies and images which were abuſed, to be taken away by public authority, he did well allow it, as a child to have his book taken from him when he abuſeth it, or delighteth only in the golded cover.

Item, The diſſolving of monaſtries and religious houſes, he allowed and granted that they were juſtly ſuppreſſed.

Friars he never liked in all his life.

Monks he counted but belly-gods.

The going about of St. Nicholas, St. Katherine, and St. Clement, he affirmeth to be children's toys.

The taking away or tranſpoſing of Chauntry Obits, he referreth to the arbitrement of the politic rulers, granting that if they did diſſolve them, it might well be done.

Item, He wiſheth them to be committed to a better uſe, and that monaſteries were juſtly taken away.

The obſerving of days, hours, number, time and place, if they be orderly and publicly commanded by the rulers, it is but to ſet the church in an outward and public order; but if a man inwardly and privately be addicted to the ſame, thinking his prayer otherwiſe not available, but by obſerving thereof, is an error.

The Communion is ſet out by king Edward he liked well.

The book of Common Service he was content both to keep himſelf, and cauſe it to be kept by others.

For the homilies, he exhorted the people in his preaching, to come to the church to hear them.

In ſum, to all injunctions, ſtatutes, and proclamations ſet forth by the king and ſuperior powers, he yielded and granted.

Now (gentle reader), lay theſe writings, preachings, and doings of this biſhop in the days of king Henry and king Edward, with his doings in queen Mary's time, and thou ſhalt ſee how variable he was, how inconſtant and contrary to himſelf, how perjured and falſe, and far differing from that which he was reported to be in a certain Engliſh book ſet out in queen Mary's time, which ſaith that there were three only in England, whoſe conſcience had been never ſtained in religion: of whom he falſly ſaith, the aforeſaid biſhop of Wincheſter was one.

Although biſhop Gardiner, in granting to theſe points of religion (as ye have heard), and other ſome again denying, could not therefore deſerve the name and fame of a perfect chriſtian, yet notwithſtanding, if he had continued in his judgment ſtill, and been conſtant in himſelf, he might have won more commendation both with God and men. But as ſoon as the time began to alter, he likewiſe, altering with the time, was ſo far changed from that he ſeemed, that neither he agreed with other papiſts, nor yet with himſelf, as Dr. Ridley in certain treatiſes hath well noted of him: wherein as in a glaſs may be ſeen the manifeſt contrariety and repugnance in him, not only from the truth of God's bleſſed word, but alſo how the ſaid biſhop, ſtanding ſo much in ſingularity by himſelf, neither agreeth with other his fellow-writers of his own faction, nor yet fully accordeth with himſelf in certain caſes of the ſacrament, as the aforeſaid Dr. Ridley in examining his words and works, hath well declared.

Here haſt thou (good reader) this ſtout prelate of Wincheſter, with all his proſperities, doings, and qualifications, as in a certain anatomy proportioned out unto thee, whereby thou mayſt boldly judge (and nothing err in thy judgment), what is to be eſteemed of him by his fruits, as who neither was true proteſtant, nor right papiſt: neither conſtant in his error, nor yet ſtedfaſt in the truth: falſe in king Henry's time, a diſſembler in king Edward's time, double perjured, and a murderer in queen Mary's time, mutable and inconſtant in all times.

To deſcribe and paint out the unſtable mutability of this biſhop aforeſaid, no more need be added; yet notwithſtanding, ſeeing the matter is not long, it may not be amiſs to annex a piece of Driander's letter written to one Criſpin, phyſician in Oxford, ſent from Antwerp, concerning the doings and behaviour of this biſhop of Wincheſter, whoſe ſtory we have now in hand. The copy of which Driander's letter, written to the ſaid Criſpin his friend, being in Latin, is thus tranſlated into Engliſh.

BEFORE my departure from the city of Paris, I wrote unto you by our friend the Engliſh-man, &c.

Now you ſhall be contented only with the narration of your biſhop of Wincheſter, who (as appertained to the ambaſſador of ſo noble a prince), came to Lovain with a great bravery, and was there received at one Jeremy's houſe, and moſt honourably entertained, where the faculty of divines for honour's ſake, preſented him wine in the name of the whole univerſity. But our famous doctors, and learned maſters, for they would more deeply ſearch and underſtand the learning and excellency of the prelate, peruſed and ſcanned a certain oration made by him, and now extant, intituled, De vera Obedientia, in which oration he did impugn the ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome, and preferred his lord's and king's authority before the holy apoſtolic ſee (as they term it), which being read and conſidered by them, they did not only repent that they had given him ſuch honour, but alſo recanted

canted that which they had done: and did not ſo much honour him before, but now they were as earneſt and as ſpiteful againſt him. Richard Lothomus, interpreter of terms, with the favourers of that fraternity, and other champions of the fallen church, diſputed with him concerning the pope's ſupremacy. The biſhop ſtoutly defended his ſaid oration. The divines contrary ſtiffly maintained their opinion, and divers times openly with exclamations, called the ſaid biſhop an excommunicate perſon, and a ſchiſmatic, to no little reproach and infamy of the Engliſh nation. The biſhop not long after minding to ſay maſs in St. Peter's church, they did deny unto him, as to an excommunicate perſon, the ornaments and veſtments meet for the ſame; wherewith he being highly offended, ſuddenly haſted his journey from thence. The next day after, the dean made an eloquent oration, wherein he openly diſgraced and defamed him. You have heard now a true ſtory, for our doctor was a beholder of the whole tragedy, &c.

And this now being ſufficient for Gardiner's ſtory, to leave him to his judge, and to let him go, we ſhall return and proceed (by God's leave), as the courſe of thoſe doleful days ſhall lead us, to proſecute the reſidue of Chriſt's martyrs, as now in order followeth.

The Martyrdom of John Webb, gentleman, George Roper, and Gregory Parke, at Canterbury.

JOHN WEBB was brought before the biſhop of Dover, and Nicholas Harpsfield, or ſome other deputed in their room, on the 16th of September, and there had propounded unto him ſuch articles as were commonly adminiſtered by Bonner to thoſe of his juriſdiction: and being willed for that preſent to depart, and to deliberate with himſelf upon the matter, againſt the next time of his appearance, he made anſwer that he would no otherwiſe ſay (by God's grace), than he had already ſaid, which was this; As touching the ſacrament of Chriſt's body, ſaid he, I do believe it to be left unto his church (with thankſgiving), in commemoration of his death and paſſion, until his coming again. So that it is left in remembrance of his body, and not by the words of conſecration to be made his body, really, ſubſtantially, and the ſame body that was born of the virgin Mary: I utterly deny that.

After this (beſides ſundry other times), the third day of October, the ſaid John Webb, George Roper, and Gregory Parke, were all brought together before the ſaid judges: who there and then agreeing, and ſtedfaſtly allowing the former anſwer made before by Mr. Webb, were by the bloody prelates adjudged heretics; and therefore about the end of the ſame month, they were brought out of priſon together to the place of martyrdom; ſaying certain pſalms mournfully as they were going to the ſtake.

And being thus brought (as I ſaid) to the ſtake, and there encompaſſed about with a chain, were burnt all together in one fire at Canterbury, moſt patiently enduring their torments, and accounting themſelves happy and bleſſed of the Lord that they were made worthy to ſuffer for Chriſt's goſpel.

William Wiſeman.

THE 13th of December, William Wiſeman, a clothworker of London, died in Lollard's-Tower, where he was in priſon and bonds for the goſpel of Chriſt. Some thought, that either through famine, or ill handling of ſome murdering papiſt, he was made away. By reaſon whereof the coroner, named John Gibbs, gentleman, with an inqueſt of twelve men, were fain to ſit upon him, who although to the outward appearance were ſaid to find nothing in him elſe but only God's viſitation, yet what other privy cauſes there might be of his death, the Lord knoweth, I have nought to ſay.

After the ſaid William Wiſeman was departed (as is ſaid) in the Tower, the papiſts caſt him out into the fields, commanding that no man ſhould bury him, according as their devout manner is to do with all ſuch as die in like ſort, whom they account as prophane, and worthy of no burial, but to be caſt to dogs and birds. And yet notwithſtand this their mercileſs commandment, ſome good Tobits there were which buried him in the evening, as commonly they did all the reſt thrown out in like manner, whom they were wont privily by night to cover, and many times the archers in the fields ſtanding by, and ſinging pſalms together at their burial.

In the ſame month of December, James Gore alſo died in the priſon at Colcheſter, laid there in bonds for the truth of God's word.

The Hiſtory of Mr. John Philpot, who was examined, condemned, and martyred for the Defence of the Goſpel of Chriſt.

THE troubles of Mr. Philpot have been partly related before, in the beginning of queen Mary's time, in proſecuting the diſputation in the convocation-houſe. He came of a worſhipful family, the ſon of a knight, born in Hampſhire, brought up at New College, in Oxford, where he ſtudied the civil law about ſix or ſeven years, beſides other liberal arts, eſpecially languages, and particularly he wonderfully advanced in the Hebrew tongue. In wit he was pregnant and happy, of a ſingular courage, in ſpirit fervent, in religion zealous, and alſo well practiſed and exerciſed in the ſame (which is no ſmall matter in a true divine), of nature plain and apert, far from all flattery (as doth evidently appear in all his behaviour), farther from all hypocriſy and deceitful diſſimulation. What his learning was, his own examinations penned with his own hand can declare.

From Oxford, deſirous to ſee other countries as occaſion ſerved thereunto, he went over into Italy, and places thereabouts, where he coming upon a time from Venice to Padua, was in danger through a certain Franciſcan friar accompanying him in his journey, who coming to Padua ſought to accuſe him of hereſy. At length returning into England, as the time miniſtered more boldneſs to him in the days of king Edward, he had divers conflicts with biſhop Gardiner in the city of Wincheſter.

After that, having had an advowſon by the ſaid biſhop, he was made there archdeacon of Wincheſter under Dr. Poinet, who then ſucceeded Gardiner in that biſhopric. Thus he continued during the time of king Edward, to the great profit of thoſe parts thereabouts. When that pious king was taken away, and Mary his ſiſter came in place, whoſe ſtudy was wholly bent to alter the ſtate of religion in the woeful realm of England, firſt ſhe cauſed a convocation of the prelates and learned men to be aſſembled for the accompliſhment of her deſire.

In which convocation, Mr. Philpot being preſent according to his room and degree, with a few others ſuſtained the cauſe of the goſpel manfully againſt the contrary part (as has been already recited), for which cauſe, notwithſtanding the liberty of the houſe promiſed before, he was called to account before biſhop Gardiner, the chancellor, then being his ordinary, by whom he was firſt examined, although that examination came not to our hands. From thence again he was removed to biſhop Bonner and other commiſſioners, with whom he had divers conflicts, as may appear by the following examinations.

The firſt Examination of Mr. John Philpot, before the Queen's Commiſſioners, Mr. Cholmley, Mr. Roper, and Dr. Story, and one of the Scribes of the Arches, at Newgate, Seſſions-Hall, October 2, 1555.

BEFORE I was called into an inner parlour where the commiſſioners ſat, Dr. Story came out into the hall where I was, to view me among others that were there; and paſſing by me, he ſaid, Ha, Mr. Philpot! and in returning immediately again, ſtayed againſt me, beholding me, and ſaying, that I was well fed indeed.

Philpot. If I be fat, and in good liking, Mr. Doctor, it is no marvel, ſince I have been ſtalled up in priſon theſe twelve months and a half in a cloſe corner. I am come to know your pleaſure wherefore you have ſent for me.

Story. We hear that thou art a ſuſpected perſon, and of heretical opinions, and therefore have ſent for thee.

Philpot. I have been in priſon thus long, only upon the occaſion of diſputation made in the convocation-houſe, and upon ſuſpicion of ſetting forth the report thereof.

Story. If thou wilt revoke the ſame, and become an honeſt man, thou ſhalt be ſat at liberty, and do right well; er elſe thou ſhalt be committed to the biſhop of London. How ſayſt thou, wilt thou revoke it or no?

Philpot. I have already anſwered in this behalf to mine ordinary.

Story. If thou anſwereſt thus when thou comeſt before us anon, thou ſhalt hear more of our minds; and with that he went into the parlour, and I within a little after was called in.

The Scribe. Sir, what is your name?

Philpot. My name is John Philpot. And ſo he intituled my name.

Story. This man was archdeacon of Wincheſter, of Dr. Poinet's preſentment.

Philpot. I was archdeacon indeed, but none of his preſentment; but by virtue of a former advowſon given by my lord chancellor that now is.

Story. Ye may be ſure that my lord chancellor would not make any ſuch as he is archdeacon.

Roper. Come hither to me Mr. Philpot. We hear ſay that you are out of the catholic church, and have been a diſturber of the ſame; out of which whoſo is, he cannot be the child of ſalvation. Wherefore if you will come into the ſame, you ſhall be received, and find favour.

Philpot. I am come before your worſhipful maſterſhips at your appointment, underſtanding that you are magiſtrates authorized by the queen's majeſty, whom I own, and will do my due obedience to the uttermoſt. Wherefore I deſire to know what cauſe I have offended in, for which I am now called before you. And if I cannot be charged with any particular matter done contrary to the laws of this realm, I deſire your maſterſhips that I may have the benefit of a ſubject, and be delivered out of my long wrongful impriſonment, where I have lain a year and a half, without any calling to anſwer before now, and my living taken from me without all law.

Roper. Though we have no particular matter to charge you withal, yet we may, by our commiſſion and by the law, drive you to anſwer to the ſuſpicion of a ſlander going on you: and beſides this, we have ſtatutes to charge you herein withal.

Philpot. If I have offended any ſtatute, charge me therewithal, and if I have incurred the penalty thereof, puniſh me accordingly. And becauſe you are magiſtrates, and executors of the queen's majeſty's laws, by force whereof you do now ſit, I deſire that if I be found no notorious tranſgreſſor of any of them, I may not be burdened with more than I have done.

Cholmley. If the juſtice do ſuſpect a felon, he may examine him upon ſuſpicion thereof, and commit him to priſon tho' there be no fault done.

Story. I perceive whereabouts this man goeth: he is plain in Cardmaker's caſe, for he made the ſame allegations. But they will not ſerve thee; for thou art an heretic, and holdeſt againſt the bleſſed maſs: how ſayſt thou to that?

Philpot. I am no heretic.

Story. I will prove thee an heretic. Whoſoever hath held againſt the bleſſed maſs, is an heretic: but thou haſt held againſt the ſame, therefore thou art an heretic,

Philpot. That which I ſpake, and which you are able to charge me withal, was in the convocation, where by the queen's majeſty's will and her whole council, liberty was given to every man of the houſe to utter his conſcience, and to ſpeak his mind freely of ſuch queſtions in religion, as there were propounded by the prolocutor; for which now I thought not to be moleſted and impriſoned, as I have been, neither now be compelled by you to anſwer for the ſame.

Story. Thou ſhalt go to Lollards-Tower, and be handled there like an heretic as thou art, and anſwer to the ſame that thou there didſt ſpeak, and be judged by the biſhop of London.

Philpot. I have already been convented of this matter before the lord chancellor mine ordinary, who this long time hath kept me in priſon: therefore if his lordſhip will take my life away, as he hath done my liberty and living, he may: which I think he cannot do of his conſcience, and therefore hath let me lie thus long in priſon: wherefore I am content to abide the end of him herein that is mine ordinary, and do refuſe the auditory of the biſhop of London, becauſe he is an incompetent judge for me, and not mine ordinary.

Story. But, Sir, thou ſpakeſt words in the convocation-houſe, which is in the biſhop of London's dioceſe, and therefore thou ſhalt be carried to the Lollard's Tower, to be judged by him for the words thou ſpakeſt in his dioceſe againſt the bleſſed maſs.

Philpot. Sir, you know it is againſt all equity, that I ſhould be twice vexed for one cauſe, and that by ſuch as by the law have nothing to do with me.

Roper. You cannot deny, but that you ſpake againſt the maſs in the convocation-houſe.

Story. Doſt thou deny that which thou ſpakeſt there, or no?

Philpot. I cannot deny that I have ſpoken there; and if by the law you may put me to death for it, I am here ready to ſuffer whatſoever ſhall be judged unto.

The Scribe. This man is fed of vain-glory.

Cholmley. Play the wiſe gentleman and be conformable, and be not ſtubborn in your opinions, neither caſt yourſelf away. I would be glad to do you good.

Philpot. I deſire you, Sir, with the reſt here, that I be not charged further at your hands, than the law chargeth me, for that I have done, ſince there was no law directly againſt that werewith I am now charged. And you Mr. Doctor (of old acquaintance in Oxford) I truſt willl ſhew me ſome friendſhip, and not extremity.

Story. I tell thee, if thou wouldeſt be a good catholic man, I would be thy friend, and ſpend my gown to do thee good; but I will be no friend to an heretic, as thou art: but I will ſpend both my gown and my coat, but I will burn thee. How ſayſt thou to the ſacrament of the altar?

Phil. Sir, I am not come now to diſpute with your maſterſhip, and the time now ſerveth not thereto, but to anſwer to that I may be lawfully charged withal.

Story. Well, ſince thou wilt not revoke that thou haſt done, thou ſhalt be had into the Lollards-Tower.

Phil. Sir, ſince you will needs ſhew me this extremity, and charge me with my conſcience, I do deſire to

ſee your commiſſion, whether you have this authority ſo to do, and after the view thereof I ſhall (according to my duty), make you further anſwer, if you may by the virtue thereof burthen me with my conſcience.

Roper. Let him ſee the commiſſion: is it here?

Story. Shall we let every vile perſon ſee our commiſſion?

Cholmley. Let him go from whence he came, and on Thurſday he ſhall ſee our commiſſion.

Story. No, let him lie in the mean while in the Lollards-Tower; for I will ſweep the Kings Bench and all other priſons alſo of theſe heretics, they ſhall not have that reſort as they have had, to ſcatter their hereſies.

Philpot. You have power to transfer my body from place to place at your pleaſure: but you have no power over my ſoul. And I mind not whither you commit me, for I cannot be worſe intreated than I am, kept all day in a cloſe chamber; wherefore it is no marvel that my fleſh is puft up, wherewithal Mr. Doctor is offended.

Story. Marſhal, take him home with you again, and ſee that you bring him again on Thurſday, and then we ſhall rid your fingers of him, and afterward of your other heretics.

Philpot. God hath appointed a day ſhortly to come, in which he will judge us with righteouſneſs, howſoever you judge of us now.

Roper. Be content to be ruled by Mr. Doctor, and ſhew yourſelf a catholic man.

Philpot. Sir, if I ſhould ſpeak otherwiſe than my conſcience is, I ſhould but diſſemble with you: and why be you ſo earneſt to have me ſhew myſelf a diſſembler both to God and you, which I cannot do?

Roper. We do not require you to diſſemble with us to be a catholic man.

Phil. If I do ſtand in any thing againſt that, wherein any man is able to burthen me with one jot of the ſcripture, I ſhall be content to be counted no catholic man, or an heretic as you pleaſe.

Story. Have we ſcripture, ſcripture? And with that he roſe up ſaying; Who ſhall be judge, I pray you? This man is like his fellow Woodman, which the other day would have nothing elſe but ſcripture. And this is the beginning of this tragedy.

The ſecond Examination of Mr. Philpot before the Queen's Commiſſioners, Mr. Cholmley, Mr. Roper, Dr. Story, Dr. Cook, and the Scribe, Oct. 24. 1555. at Newgate Seſſions-Hall.

AT my coming, a man of Aldgate of mine acquaintance ſaid unto me, God have mercy on you, for you are already condemned in this world; for Dr. Story ſaid, that my lord chancellor had commanded to do you away. After a little conſultation had between them, Mr. Cholmley called me unto him, ſaying,

Cholmley. Mr. Philpot, ſhew yourſelf a wiſe man, and be not ſtubborn in your own opinion, but be conformable to the queen's proceedings, and live, and you ſhall be well aſſured of great favour and reputation.

Philpot. I ſhall do as it becometh a chriſtian man to do.

Story. This is the rankeſt heretic that hath been in all my lord chancellor's dioceſe, and hath done more hurt than any man elſe there: and therefore his pleaſure is, that he ſhould have the law to proceed againſt him, and I have ſpoken with my lord herein, and he willeth him to be committed to the biſhop of London, and there to recant or elſe burn. He howled and wept in the convocation-houſe, and made ſuch ado as never man did, as all the heretics do when they lack learning to anſwer. He ſhall go after his fellows. How ſayſt thou, wilt thou recant?

Philpot. I know nothing I have done that I ought to recant.

Story. Well; then I pray you let us commit him to Lollards-Tower, there to remain until he be further examined before the biſhop of London; for he is too fine fed in the King's-Bench, and he hath too much favour there; for his keeper ſaid at the door yeſterday, that he was the fineſt fellow, and one of the beſt learned in England: and with this he roſe up and went his way.

Cook. This man hath moſt ſtoutly maintained hereſies ſince the queen's coming in, above any that I have heard of; therefore it is moſt meet he ſhould be adjudged by the biſhop of London, for the hereſies he hath maintained.

Philpot. I have maintained no hereſies.

Cook. No, have you not? Did you not openly ſpeak againſt the ſacrament of the altar in the convocation-houſe? Call you that no hereſy? Wilt thou recant that or not?

Philpot. It was the queen's majeſty's pleaſure that we ſhould reaſon thereof, not by my ſeeking, but by other mens procuring, in the hearing of the council.

Cook. Did the queen give you leave to be an heretic? you may be ſure her grace will not ſo do. Well, we will not diſpute the matter with you; my lord of London ſhall proceed by inquiſition upon thee, and if thou wilt not recant, thou ſhalt be burned.

Philpot. My lord of London is not mine ordinary in this behalf, and I have already anſwered unto mine ordinary in this matter: and therefore (as I have ſaid before) you ſhall do me great wrong to vex me twice for one matter, ſince I have ſuſtained this long impriſonment, beſides the loſs of my living.

Roper. You were a very unmeet man to be an archdeacon.

Philpot. I know I was as meet a man as he that hath it now.

Cook. A meet man, quoth he? He troubled Mr. Roper and the whole country.

Philpot. There was never poor archdeacon ſo handled at your hands as I am, and that without any juſt cauſe ye be able to lay unto me.

Cook. Thou art no archdeacon.

Philpot. I am archeacon ſtill, although another be in poſſeſſion of my living; for I was never deprived by any law.

Cook. No, ſir, that needeth not: for a notorious heretic ſhould have no ordinary proceeding about his deprivation; but the biſhop may, upon knowledge thereof, proceed to deprivation.

Philpot. Mr. Doctor, you know that the common law is otherwiſe: and beſide this, the ſtatutes of this realm be otherwiſe, which give this benefit to every perſon, though he be an heretic, to enjoy his living until he be put to death for the ſame.

Cholmley. No, there thou art deceived.

Philpot. Upon the living I mind not. But the unjuſt dealing grieveth me, that I ſhould be thus troubled for my conſcience, contrary to all law.

Cholmley. Why, will not you agree that the queen's majeſty may cauſe you to be examined of your faith?

Philpot. Aſk you Mr. Dr. Cook, and he will tell you that the temporal magiſtrates have nothing to do with matters of faith, for determination thereof. And St. Ambroſe ſaith, that the things of God are not ſubject to the power and authority of princes.

Cook. No? may not the temporal powers commit you to be examined of your faith to the biſhop.

Philpot. Yea, ſir, I deny not that; but you will not grant that the ſame may examine any of their own authority.

Cook. Let him be had away.

Philphot. Your maſterſhip promiſed me the laſt time I was before you, I ſhould ſee your commiſſion by what

authority

authority you do call me, and whether I by the ſame be bound to anſwer to ſo much as you demand.

Roper. Let him ſee the commiſſion.

The Scribe. Then he exhibited it to Mr. Roper, and was about to open the ſame.

Cook. No, what will ye do? he ſhall not ſee it.

Philpot. Then do you me wrong, to call me and vex me, not ſhewing your authority in this behalf.

Cook. If we do you wrong, complain on us; and in the mean while thou ſhalt lie in the Lollards-Tower.

Philpot. Sir, I am a poor gentleman; therefore I truſt of your gentleneſs, you will not commit me to ſo vile and ſtrait a place, being found no heinous treſpaſſer.

Cook. Thou art no gentleman.

Philpot. Yea, that I am.

Cook. An heretic is no gentleman: for he is a gentleman that hath gentle conditions.

Philpot. The offence cannot take away the ſtate of a gentleman as long as he liveth, although he were a traytor; but I mean not to boaſt of my gentlemanſhip, but will put it under my foot, ſince you do no more eſteem it.

Story. What will you ſuffer this heretic to prate with you all this day!

Cook. He ſaith he is a gentleman.

Story. A gentlemen, ſaid he? he is a vile heretic knave: for an heretic is no gentleman. Let the keeper of the Lollards-Tower come in, and have him away.

Keeper. Here, ſir.

Story. Take this man with you to the Lollards-Tower, or elſe to the biſhop's Coal-houſe.

Philpot. Sir, if I were a dog, you could not appoint me a worſe and more vile place: but I muſt be content with whatſoever injury you do offer me. God give you a more merciful heart: you are very cruel upon one that never hath offended you. I pray you, Mr. Cholmley, ſhew me ſome friendſhip, that I be not carried to ſo vile a place. And he called me aſide, and ſaid;

Cholmley, I neither underſtand their doings nor their law; I cannot tell what they mean. I would I could do you good.

Philpot. I am content to go whither you will have me. There was never man more cruelly handled than I am at your hands, that without juſt cauſe known ſhould thus be intreated.

Story. Shall we ſuffer this heretic thus to reprove us? Have him hence.

Philpot. God forgive you, and give you merciful hearts, and ſhew you more mercy in the time of need; "Do quickly that you have in hand."

Story. Do you not hear how he maketh us like Judas?

Philpot. That is after your own underſtanding.

After this, I, with four others, were brought to the keeper's houſe in Pater-noſter-row, where we ſupped; and, after ſupper, I was called up to a chamber by the archdeacon of London's ſervant, and that in his maſter's name, who offered me a bed for that night. To whom I gave thanks, ſaying, That it would be a grief to me to lie one night well, and the next night worſe: wherefore I will begin (ſaid I) as I am like to continue, to take ſuch part as my fellows do. And with that we were brought through Pater-noſter-row to my lord of London's coal-houſe; unto which is joined a little blind houſe, with a great pair of ſtocks, appointed both for hand and foot: but, thanks be to God, we have not played of thoſe organs yet, although ſome before have tried them, and there we found a miniſter of Eſſex, a married prieſt, a man of godly zeal, with one other poor man. And the miniſter, at my coming, deſired to ſpeak with me, and did greatly lament his own infirmity, for that, through extremity of impriſonment, he was conſtrained by writing to yield to the biſhop of London: whereupon he was once ſet at liberty, and afterward felt ſuch a hell in his conſcience, that he could ſcarce refrain from deſtroying himſelf, and never could be at quiet until he went to the biſhop's regiſter, deſiring to ſee his bill again; which as ſoon as he had received, he tore it in pieces, and after he was as joyful as a man might be. Of which, when my lord of London had underſtanding, he ſent for him, and fell upon him like a lion, and, like a manly biſhop buffeted him well, ſo that he made his face black and blue, and pluckt away a great piece of his beard: but now, thanks be to God, he is as joyful under the croſs as any of us, and very ſorry for his former infirmity. I write this, becauſe I would all men to take heed how they do contrary to their conſcience; which is, to fall into the pains of hell. And here an end.

The Manner of being called firſt before the Biſhop of London, the ſecond Night of mine Impriſonment in his Coal-houſe.

THE biſhop ſent Mr. Johnſon his regiſter to me with a meſs of meat, and good pot of drink, and bread, ſaying, That my lord had no knowledge before of my being here, for which he was ſorry: therefore he had ſent me and my fellows that meat, knowing whether I would receive the ſame.

I thanked God for my lord's charity, that it pleaſed him to remember poor priſoners, deſiring Almighty God to increaſe the ſame in him, and in all others; and therefore I would not refuſe his beneficence: and therewith took the ſame unto my brethren, praiſing God for his providence towards his afflicted flock, that he ſtirred our adverſaries up to help the ſame in their neceſſity.

Johnſon. My lord would know the cauſe of your being ſent hither (for he knoweth nothing thereof) and wondereth that he ſhould be troubled with priſoners that are not of his own dioceſe.

Philpot. I declared unto him the whole cauſe. After which he ſaid, My lord's will was, that I ſhould have any friendſhip I would deſire: and ſo departed.

Within a while after one of my lord's gentlemen came for me; and I was brought into his preſence, where he ſat at table, with three or four of his chaplains waiting upon him, and his regiſter.

Bonner. Mr. Philpot, you are welcome; give me your hand.

With that, becauſe he ſo gently put forth his hand, I, to render courteſy for courteſy, kiſſed my hand, and gave him the ſame.

Bonner. I am right ſorry for your trouble, and I promiſe you before it was within theſe two hours, I knew not of your being here. I pray you tell me what was the cauſe of your ſending hither; for I promiſe you I know nothing thereof as yet, neither would I you ſhould think that I was the cauſe thereof: and I marvel that other men will trouble me with their matters: but I muſt be obedient to my betters, and I fear men ſpeak otherwiſe of me than I deſerve.

Philpot. I ſhewed him the ſum of the matter: that it was for the diſputation in the convocation-houſe, for which I was, againſt all right, moleſted.

Bonner. I marvel that you ſhould be troubled for that if there was none other cauſe but this. But peradventure you have maintained the ſame ſince, and ſome of your friends of late have aſked, whether you do ſtand to the ſame, and you have ſaid, yea; and for this you might be committed to priſon.

Philpot. If it ſhall pleaſe your lordſhip I am burdened no otherwiſe than I have told you, by the commiſſioners who ſent me hither, becauſe I would not recant the ſame.

Bonner. A man may ſpeak in the parliament-houſe, though it be a place of free ſpeech, ſo as he may be impriſoned for it, as in the caſe he ſpeak words of high-treaſon againſt the king or queen; and ſo it might be that

that you ſpake otherwiſe than it became you of the church of Chriſt.

Philpot. I ſpake nothing which was out of the articles which were called in queſtion, and agreed upon to be diſputed by the whole houſe, and by permiſſion of the queen and council.

Bonner. Why, may we diſpute of our faith?

Philpot. That we may.

Bonner. Nay, I think not, by the law.

Philpot. Indeed by the civil law I know it is not lawful, but by God's law we may reaſon thereof. For St. Peter ſaith, "Be ye ready to render an account unto all men of the hope which is in you," that demand of you the ſame.

Bonner. Indeed St. Peter ſaith ſo. Why, then I aſk of you what your judgment is of the ſacrament of the altar?

Philpot. My lord, St. Ambroſe ſaith, that the diſputation of our faith ought to be in the congregation, in the hearing of the people, and that I am not bound to render account thereof to every man privately, unleſs it be to edify. But now I cannot ſhew you my mind, but I muſt run upon the pikes in danger of my life for it. Wherefore as the ſaid doctor ſaid unto Valentinian the emperor, ſo ſay I to your lordſhip; Take away the law, and I ſhall reaſon with you. And yet if I come in open judgment, where I am bound by the law to anſwer, I truſt I ſhall utter my conſcience as freely as any that hath come before you.

Bonner. I perceive you are learned, I would have ſuch as you be about me, But you muſt come and be of the church, for there is but one church.

Philpot. God forbid I ſhould be out of the church, I am ſure I am within the ſame: for I know as I am taught by the ſcripture, that there is but one catholic church, one dove, one ſpouſe, one beloved congregation, out of which there is no ſalvation.

Bonner. How chanceth it then, that you go out of the ſame, and walk not with us?

Philpot. My lord, I am ſure I am within the bounds of the church whereupon ſhe is built, which is the word of God.

Bonner. What age are ye of?

Philpot. I am four and forty.

Bonner. You are not now of the ſame faith your godfathers and godmothers promiſed for you, in which you were baptized.

Philpot. Yes, I thank God I am: for I was baptized into the faith of Chriſt which I now hold.

Bonner. How can that be? there is but one faith.

Philpot. I am aſſured of that by St. Paul, ſaying, "That there is but one God, one faith, and one baptiſm," of which I am.

Bonner. You were twenty years ago of another faith than you be now.

Philpot. Indeed, my lord, to tell you plain, I was then of no faith, a neuter, a wicked liver, neither hot nor cold.

Bonner. Why do you not think that we have now the true faith?

Philpot. I deſire your lordſhip to hold me excuſed for anſwering at this time. I am ſure that God's word thoroughly, with the primitive church and all the ancient fathers, do agree with this faith I am of.

Bonner. Well, I promiſe you I mean you no more hurt than to mine own perſon: I will not therefore burden you with your conſcience as now; I marvel that you are ſo merry in priſon as you be, ſinging and rejoicing, as the prophet ſaith, Rejoicing in your naughtineſs. Methink you do not well herein; you ſhould rather lament and be ſorry.

Philpot. My lord, the mirth that we make is but in ſinging certain pſalms, according as we are commanded by St. Paul, willing us to be merry in the Lord, ſinging together in hymns and pſalms: and I truſt your lordſhip cannot be diſpleaſed with that.

Bonner. We may ſay unto you as Chriſt ſaid in the goſpel, "We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced——

Here my lord ſtumbled, and could not bring forth the text, and required his chaplains to help, and to put him in remembrance of the text better: but they were mum: and I recited out the text unto him, which made nothing to his purpoſe, unleſs he would have us to mourn, becauſe they, if they laugh, ſing ſtill ſorrowful things unto us, threatening faggots and fire.

Philpot. We are, my lord, in a dark, comfortleſs place, and therefore it behoveth us to be merry, leſt, as Solomon ſaith, ſorrowfulneſs eat up our heart. Therefore I truſt your lordſhip will not be angry for our ſinging of pſalms, ſince St. Paul ſaith, "If any man be of an upright mind, let him ſing." And we therefore, to teſtify that we are of an upright mind to God (though we be in miſery) do ſing.

Bonner. I will trouble you no farther as now. If I can do you any good, I ſhall be glad to do it for you. God be with you, good Mr. Philpot, and give you a good night. Have him to the cellar, and let him drink a cup of wine.

Thus I departed, and by my lord's regiſter I was brought to his cellar door, where I drank a good cup of wine. And my lord's chaplain Mr. Couſin followed me, taking acquaintance, ſaying, that I was welcome, and wiſhed that I would not be ſingular.

Philpot. I am well taught the contrary by Solomon, ſaying, Woe be to him that is alone. After that I was carried to my lord's coal-houſe again, where I with my ſix companions do rouſe together in ſtraw as chearfully (we thank God) as others do in their beds of down.

Thus for the third fit.

The fourth Examination of Mr. Philpot in the Archdeacon of London's Houſe, in the Month of October, before the Biſhops of London, Bath, Worceſter, and Glouceſter,

BONNER. Mr. Philpot, it hath pleaſed my lords to take pains here to-day, to dine with my poor archdeacon, and in the dinner-time it chanced us to have communication of you, and you were pitied here by many that knew you at New College in Oxford: and I alſo do pity your caſe, becauſe you ſeem unto me, by the talk I had with you the other night, to be learned: and therefore now I have ſent for you to come before them, that it might not be ſaid hereafter, that I had ſo many learned biſhops at my houſe, and yet would not vouchſafe them to talk with you, at my requeſt (I thank them) they conſent ſo to do. Now therefore utter your mind freely, and you ſhall with all favour be ſatisfied. I am ſorry to ſee you lie in ſo evil a caſe as you do, and would fain you ſhould do better, as you may if you pleaſe.

Bath. My lords here have not ſent for you to fawn upon you, but for charity ſake to exhort you to come into the right catholic way of the church.

Worceſter. Before he beginneth to ſpeak, it is beſt that he call to God for grace, and to pray that it might pleaſe God to open his heart, that he may conceive that truth.

Philpot. With that I fell down upon my knees before them, and made my prayer on this manner:

"Almighty God, which art the giver of all wiſdom and underſtanding, I beſeech thee of thy infinite goodneſs and mercy in Jeſus Chriſt, to give me (moſt vile ſinner in thy ſight) the ſpirit of wiſdom to ſpeak and make anſwer in thy cauſe, that it may be to the contentation of the hearers, before whom I ſtand, and alſo to my better underſtanding if I be deceived in any thing."

Bonner. Nay, my lord of Worceſter, you did not well to exhort him to make any prayer. For this is the thing they have a ſingular pride in, that they can often make their vain prayers, in which they glory much. For in this point they are much like to certain arrant heretics, of whom Pliny maketh mention, that did daily ſing praiſe unto God before dawning of the day.

Philpot. My lord, God make me, and all you here preſent ſuch heretics as thoſe were that ſung thoſe morning hymns: for they were right chriſtians, with whom the tyrants of the world were offended for their well doing.

Bath. Proceed to what he hath to ſay. He hath prayed I cannot tell for what.

Bonner. Say on, Mr. Philpot; my lords will gladly hear you.

Philpot. I have, my lords, been this twelvemonth and a half in priſon, without any juſt cauſe that I know, and my living taken from me without any lawful order, and now I am brought (contrary to right) from my own territory and ordinary, into another man's juriſdiction, I know not why. Wherefore, if your lordſhips can burden me with any evil done, I ſtand here before you to purge me of the ſame. And if no ſuch thing may be juſtly laid to my charge, I deſire to be releaſed of this wrongful trouble.

Bonner. There is none here that goeth about to trouble you, but to do you good, if we can. For I promiſe you, ye were ſent hither to me without my knowledge. Therefore ſpeak your conſcience without any fear.

Philpot. My lord, I have learned to anſwer in matters of religion in the congregation, being thereto lawfully called: but now I am not lawfully called, neither is here a juſt congregation where I ought to anſwer.

Bonner. Indeed this man told me, the laſt time I ſpake with him, that he was a lawyer, and would not utter his conſcience in matters of faith, unleſs it were in the hearing of the people, where he might ſpeak to vain-glory.

Philpot. My lord, I ſaid not I was a lawyer, neither do I arrogate to myſelf that name, although I was once a novice in the ſame, where I learned ſomething for mine own defence, when I am called in judgment to anſwer to any cauſe, and whereby I have been taught not to put myſelf further in danger than I need, and ſo far am I a lawyer, and no further.

Bath. If you will not anſwer to my lord's requeſt, you ſeem to be a wilful man in your opinion.

Philpot. My lord of London is not mine ordinary before whom I am bound to anſwer in this behalf, as Mr. D. Cole (who is a lawyer) can well tell you by the law. And I have not offended my lord of London, wherefore he ſhould call me.

Bonner. Yes, I have to lay to your charge, that you have offended in my dioceſe, by ſpeaking againſt the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar: and therefore I may call you, and proceed againſt you to puniſh you by the law.

Philpot. I have not offended in your dioceſe. For that which I ſpake of the ſacrament was in Paul's church in the convocation-houſe, which (as I underſtand) is a peculiar juriſdiction belonging to the dean of Paul's, and therefore is counted of your lordſhip's dioceſe, but not in your dioceſe.

Bonner. Is not Paul's church in my dioceſe? Well, I think it coſteth me a good deal of money by the year, the leading thereof.

Philpot. That may be, and yet be exempted from your lordſhip's juriſdiction. And albeit I had ſo offended in your dioceſe, yet I ought by the law to be ſent to my ordinary, if I require it, and not be puniſhed by you that are not mine ordinary. And already (as I have told you) I have been convented of mine ordinary for this cauſe, which you go about to enquire of me.

Bonner. How ſay you, Mr. D. Cole, may not I proceed againſt him by the law, for that he hath done in my dioceſe?

Cole. Me thinketh Mr. Philpot needeth not to ſtand ſo much with your lordſhip in that point as he doth, ſince you ſeek not to hinder him, but to further him: therefore I think it beſt that he go to the matter that is laid againſt him of the convocation, and make no longer delay.

Philpot. I would willingly ſhew my mind of the matter, but I am ſure it will be laid againſt me to my prejudice when I come to judgment.

Cole. Why then you may ſpeak by proteſtation.

Philpot. But what ſhall my proteſtation avail in a cauſe of hereſy (as you call it) if I ſpeak otherwiſe than you will have me; ſince that which I ſpake in the convocation-houſe, being a place privileged, cannot now help me?

Bonner. But, Mr. D. Cole, may I not proceed againſt him for that offence he hath done in my dioceſe?

Cole. You may call him before you, my lord, if he be found in your dioceſe.

Philpot. But I have by force been brought out of mine own dioceſe to my lord's, and required to be judged of mine own ordinary: and therefore I know Mr. Doctor will not ſay of his own knowledge, that your lordſhip ought to proceed againſt me. And here Mr. Doctor would ſay nothing.

Worceſter. Do you not think to find before my lord here as good equity in your cauſe, as before your own ordinary?

Philpot. I cannot blame my lord of London's equity, with whom (I thank his lordſhip) I have found more gentleneſs ſince I came, than of mine own ordinary (I ſpeak it for no flattery) this year and half before, who never would call me to anſwer, as his lordſhip hath done now twice. No man is forbid to uſe his own right due unto him; but I ought not to be foreſtalled of my right, and therefore I challenge the ſame for divers other conſiderations.

Bonner. Now you cannot ſay hereafter but that you have been gently communed withal of my lords here, and yet you will be wilful and obſtinate in your error, and in your own opinions, and will not ſhew any cauſe why you will not come into the unity of the church with us.

Philpot. My lords, in that I do not declare my mind according to your expectations, is (as I have ſaid) becauſe I cannot ſpeak without preſent danger of my life. But rather than you ſhould report me by this either obſtinate or ſelf-willed, without any juſt ground whereupon I ſtand; I will open to you ſomewhat of my mind, or rather the whole, deſiring your lordſhips, which ſeem to be pillars of the church of England, to ſatisfy me in the ſame: and I will refer all other cauſes, in which I diſſent from you, unto one or two articles, or rather to one, which includeth them both; in which if I can by the ſcriptures be ſatisfied at your mouths, I ſhall as willingly agree to you as to any other in all points.

Bonner. Theſe heretics come always with their ifs, as this man doth now, ſaying, If he can be ſatisfied by the ſcriptures: ſo that he will always have this exception, I am not ſatisfied, although the matter be never ſo plainly proved againſt him. But will you promiſe to be ſatisfied, if my lords take ſome pains about you?

Philpot. I ſay, my lord, I will be ſatisfied by the ſcriptures in that wherein I ſtand. And I proteſt here before God and his eternal Son Jeſus Chriſt my Saviour, and the Holy Ghoſt and his angels, and you here preſent that be judges of that I ſpeak, that I do not ſtand in any opinion of wilfulneſs or ſingularity, but only upon my conſcience, certainly informed by God's word, from which I dare not go, for fear of damnation: and this is the cauſe of mine earneſtneſs in this behalf.

Bonner. I will trouble my lords no longer, ſeeing that you will not declare your mind.

Philpot. I am about ſo to do, if it pleaſe your lordſhip to hear me ſpeak.

Bath. Give him leave, my lord, to ſpeak that he hath to ſay.

Philpot. My lords, it is not unknown to you that the chief cauſe why you do count me, and ſuch as I am, for heretics, is becauſe we be not at unity with your church. You ſay you are of the true church; and we ſay we are of the true church. You ſay, That whoſoever is out of your church, is damned: and we think verily on the other ſide, that if we depart from the true church, whereon we are grafted in God's word, we ſhould ſtand in the ſtate of damnation. Wherefore if your lordſhip can bring any better authority for your church than we can do for ours, and prove, by the ſcriptures, that the church of Rome now (of which you are) is the true catholic church, as in all your ſermons, writings and arguments, you do uphold, and that all chriſtian perſons ought to be ruled by the ſame, under the pain of damnation, (as you ſay); and that the ſame church (as you pretend) hath authority to interpret the ſcriptures as it ſeemeth her good, and that all men are bound to follow ſuch interpretations only; I ſhall be as conformable to the ſame church as you may deſire me, which otherwiſe I dare not: therefore I require you for God's ſake to ſatisfy me in this.

Cole. If you ſtand upon this point only, you may ſoon be ſatisfied, if you pleaſe.

Philpot. It is the thing that I require, and to this I have ſaid I will ſtand, and refer all other controverſies wherein I ſtand now againſt you, and will put my hand thereto, if you miſtruſt my word.

Bonner. I pray you, Mr. Philpot, what faith were you of twenty years ago? This man will have every year a new faith.

Philpot. My lord, to tell you plain, I think I was of no faith: for I was then a wicked liver, and knew not God then as I ought to do, God forgive me.

Bonner. No faith? that is not ſo. I am ſure you were of ſome faith.

Philpot. My lord, I have declared to you on my conſcience what I then was, and judge of myſelf. And what is that to the purpoſe of the thing I deſire to be ſatisfied of you?

Bonner. Mr. Doctor Cole, I pray you ſpeak your mind to him.

Cole. What will you ſay, if I can prove that it was decreed by an univerſal council, in Athanaſius's time, that all the chriſtian church ſhould follow the determination of the church of Rome? but I do not now remember where.

Philpot. If you, Mr. Doctor, can ſhew me the ſame granted to the ſee of Rome by the authority of the ſcripture, I would gladly hearken thereto. But I think you be not able to ſhew any ſuch thing: for Athanaſius was preſident of the Nicene council, and there was no ſuch thing decreed I am ſure.

Cole. Though it were not then, it might be at another time.

Philpot. I deſire to ſee the proof thereof.

And upon this Mr. Harpsfield, chancellor to the biſhop of London, brought in a book of Ireneus, with certain leaves turned in, and laid it before the biſhops to help them in their perplexity, if it might be: which after the biſhops of Bath and Glouceſter had read together, the biſhop of Glouceſter gave me the book, and ſaid:

Take the book, Mr. Philpot, and look upon that place, and there may you ſee how the church of Rome is to be followed of all men.

Philpot. I took the book and read the place, which after I had read, I ſaid it made nothing againſt me, but againſt the Arians and other heretics, againſt whom Ireneus wrote, proving that they were not to be credited, becauſe they did teach and follow after ſtrange doctrine in Europe, and that the chief church of the ſame was founded by Peter and Paul, and had to this time continued by faithful ſucceſſion of the faithful biſhops in preaching the true goſpel, as they had received of the apoſtles, and nothing like to theſe late ſprung heretics, &c. Whereby he concludeth againſt them, that they were not to be heard, neither to be credited, which thing if you, my lords, be able to prove now of the church of Rome, then had you as good authority againſt me in my cauſe now, as Ireneus had againſt thoſe heretics. But the church of Rome hath ſwerved from the truth and ſimplicity of the goſpel which it maintained in Ireneus's time, and was uncorrupted from that which it is now, wherefore your lordſhip cannot juſtly apply the authority of Ireneus to the church of Rome now, which is ſo manifeſtly corrupted from the primitive church.

Bonner. So will you ſay ſtill it maketh nothing to the purpoſe, whatſoever authority we bring, and will never be ſatisfied.

Philpot. My lord, when I do by juſt reaſon prove, that the authorities which are brought againſt me do not make to the purpoſe, as I have already proved, I truſt you will receive mine anſwer.

Worceſter. It is to be proved moſt manifeſtly by all ancient writers, that the ſee of Rome hath always followed the truth, and never was deceived, until of late certain heretics had defaced the ſame.

Philpot. Let that be proved, and I have done.

Worceſter. Nay, you are of ſuch arrogancy, ſingularity, and vain-glory, that you will not ſee it, be it never ſo well proved.

Philpot. Ha, my lords, is it now time, think you, for me to follow ſingularity or vain-glory, ſince it is now upon danger of my life and death, not only preſently, but alſo before God to come? And I know, if I die not in the true faith, I ſhall die everlaſtingly: and again I know, if I do not as you would have me, you will kill me and many thouſands more: yet had I rather periſh at your hands, than periſh eternally. And at this time I have loſt all my commodities of this world, and lie in a coal-houſe, where a man would not lay a dog, with which I am well contented.

Cole. Where are you able to prove that the church of Rome hath erred at any time? and by what hiſtory? Certain it is by Euſebius, that the church was eſtabliſhed at Rome, by Peter and Paul, and that Peter was biſhop 25 years at Rome.

Philpot. I know well that Euſebius ſo writeth: but if we compare that which St. Paul writeth to the Galatians, chap. 1. the contrary will manifeſtly appear, that he was not half ſo long there. He lived not paſt 35 years after he was called to be an apoſtle: and St. Paul maketh mention of his abiding at Jeruſalem after Chriſt's death more than 13 years.

Cole. What, did Peter write to the Galatians?

Philpot. No, I ſay Paul maketh mention of Peter, writing to the Galatians, and of his abiding at Jeruſalem: And further, I am able to prove, both by Euſebius, and other hiſtoriographers, that the church of Rome hath manifeſtly erred, and at this preſent doth err, becauſe ſhe agreeth not with that which they wrote. The primitive church did uſe according to the goſpel, and there needeth none other proof, but compare the one with the other.

Bonner. I may compare this man to a certain man I read of, who fell into a deſperation, and went in a wood to hang himſelf, and when he came there, he went viewing of every tree, and could find none on which he might vouchſafe to hang himſelf. But I will not apply it as I might. I pray you, Mr. Doctor, go forth with him.

Cole. My lord, there be on every ſide of me ſome who are better able to anſwer him, and I love not to fall into diſputation: for that now-a-days a man ſhall but ſuſtain ſhame and obloquy thereby of the people. I had rather ſhew my mind in writing.

Philpot. And I had rather you ſhould do ſo than otherwiſe, for then a man may better judge of your words, than by argument, and I beſeech you ſo to do. But if I were a rich man, I durſt wager an hundred pounds, that

that you ſhall not be able to ſhew that you have ſaid, to be decreed by a general council in Athanaſius's time. For this I am ſure of, that it was concluded by a general council in Africa many years after, that none of Africa (under pain of excommunication), ſhould appeal to Rome: which decree I am ſure they would not have made, if by the ſcriptures and by an univerſal council it had been decreed, that all men ſhould abide and follow the determination of the church of Rome.

Cole. But I can ſhew that they revoked that error again.

Philpot. So you ſay, Mr. Doctor, but I pray you ſhew me where. I have hitherto heard nothing from you to my ſatisfaction, but bare words without any authority.

Bonner. What, I pray you, ought we to diſpute with you of our faith? Juſtinian in the law hath a title, De fide Catholica, to the contrary.

Philpot. I am certain the civil law hath ſuch a conſtitution: but our faith muſt not depend upon the civil law. For as St. Ambroſe ſaith, Not the law, but the goſpel hath gathered the church together.

Worceſter, Mr. Philpot, you have the ſpirit of pride wherewith ye be led, which will not let you yield to the truth: leave it for ſhame.

Philpot. Sir, I am ſure I have the Spirit of faith, by which I ſpeak at this preſent; neither am I aſhamed to ſtand to my faith.

Glouceſter. What? do you think yourſelf better learned than ſo many notable learned men as be here?

Philpot. Elias alone had the truth, when there were four hundred prieſts againſt him.

Worceſter. Oh, you would be counted now for Elias. And yet I tell thee he was deceived: for he thought there had been none good but himſelf; and yet he was deceived, for there were ſeven thouſand beſide him.

Philpot. Yea, but he was not deceived in doctrine, as the other four hundred were.

Worceſter. By my faith you are greatly to blame, that you cannot be content to be of the church which ever hath been of that faithful antiquity.

Philpot. My lord, I know Rome, and have been there, where I ſaw your lordſhip.

Worceſter. Indeed I did fly from hence thither, and I remember not that I ſaw you there. But I am ſorry that you have been there; for the wickedneſs which you have ſeen there peradventure cauſeth you to do as you do.

Philpot. No, my lord, I do not as I do for that cauſe: for I am taught otherwiſe by the goſpel, not altogether to refuſe the miniſter for his evil living, ſo that he bring ſound doctrine out of God's book.

Worceſter. Do you think the univerſal church may be deceived?

Philpot. St. Paul to the Theſſalonians propheſied that there ſhould come an univerſal departing from the faith in the latter days before the coming of Chriſt, ſaying, that "Chriſt ſhall not come, 'till there come a parting firſt."

Cole. Yea, I pray you, how take you the departing there in St. Paul? it is not meant of faith, but of the departing from the empire; for it is in Greek, APOST ASIA.

Philpot. Marry indeed you, Mr. Doctor, put me in good remembrance of the meaning of St. Paul in that place, for APOST ASIA is properly a departing from the faith, and thereof cometh Apoſtata, which properly ſignifieth one that departeth from his faith: and St. Paul in the ſame place after ſpeaketh of the decay of the empire.

Cole. APOST ASIA doth not only ſignify a departing from the faith, but alſo from the empire, as I am able to ſhew.

Philpot. I never read it ſo taken, and when you ſhall be able to ſhew it (as you ſay in words), I will believe it, and not before.

Worceſter. I am ſorry that you ſhould be againſt the chriſtian world.

Philpot. The world commonly, and ſuch as be called chriſtians (for the multitude), hath hated the truth, and been enemies to the ſame.

Glouceſter. Why, Mr. Philpot, do you think that the univerſal church hath erred, and you only to be in the truth?

Philpot. The church that you are of was never univerſal, for two parts of the world, which is Aſia and Africa, never conſented to the ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome, as at this day they do not, neither do follow his decrees.

Glouceſter. Yes, in the Florentine council they did agree.

Philpot. It was ſaid ſo by falſe report, after they of Aſia and Africa were gone home: but it was not ſo indeed, as the ſequel of them all hitherto doth prove the contrary.

Glouceſter. I pray you by whom will you be judged in matters of controverſy which happen daily?

Philpot. By the word of God. For Chriſt ſaid in St. John, "The word that he ſpake, ſhall be judge in the latter day."

Glouceſter. What if you take the word one way, and I another way: who ſhall he judge then?

Philpot. The Primitive church.

Glouceſter. I know you mean the doctors that wrote thereof.

Philpot. I mean verily ſo.

Glouceſter. What if you take the doctors in one ſenſe, and I in another: who ſhall be judge then?

Philpot. Then let that be taken which is moſt agreeable to God's word.

Cole. My lords, why do you trouble yourſelves to anſwer him in this matter? It is not the thing which is laid to his charge, but his error of the ſacrament, and he to ſhift himſelf of that brought in another matter.

Philpot. This is the matter, Mr. Cole, to which I have referred all other queſtions, and deſire to be ſatisfied.

Worceſter. It is a wonder to ſee how he ſtandeth with a few againſt a great multitude.

Philpot. We have almoſt as many as you. For we have Aſia, Africa, Germany, Denmark, and a great part of France, and daily the number of the goſpel doth increaſe: ſo that I am credibly informed, that for this religion in which I ſtand, and for which I am like to die, a great multitude doth daily come out of France through perſecution, that the cities of Germany be ſcarce able to receive them: and therefore your lordſhip may be ſure, the word of God will one day take place, do what you can to the contrary.

Worceſter. They were well occupied to bring you ſuch news, and you have been well kept to have ſuch reſort unto you. Thou art the arroganteſt fellow, and ſtouteſt fond fellow that ever I knew.

Philpot. I pray your lordſhip to bear with my haſty ſpeech: for it is part of my corrupt nature to ſpeak ſomewhat haſtily: but for all that, I mean with humility to do my duty to your lordſhip.

Bonner. Mr. Philpot, my lords will trouble you no farther at this time, but you ſhall go from whence you came, and have ſuch favour as in the mean while I can ſhew you: and upon Wedneſday next you ſhall be called again, to be heard what you can ſay for the maintenance of your error.

Philpot. My lord, my deſire is to be ſatisfied of you in that I have required; and your lordſhip ſhall find me as I have ſaid.

Worceſter. We wiſh you as well as ourſelves.

Philpot. I think the ſame, my lords, but I fear you are deceived, and have a zeal of yourſelves, not according to knowledge.

Worceſter. God ſend you more grace.

Philpot. And alſo God increaſe the ſame in you, and open your eyes that you may ſee to maintain his truth, and his true church.

Then the biſhops roſe up, and conſulted together, and cauſed a writing to be made, in which I think my blood by them was bought and ſold, and thereto they put their hands; and after this I was carried to my coal-houſe again.

Thus ended the fourth part of this tragedy. God haſten the end thereof to his glory, Amen.

Becauſe I have begun to write unto you of mine examinations before the biſhop and others, more to ſatisfy your deſire than it is any thing worthy to be written; I have thought it good to write unto you alſo that which had been done of late, that the ſame might come to light which they do in darkneſs, and in privy corners, and that the world now, and the poſterity hereafter might know how diſorderly, unjuſtly, and unlearnedly theſe ravening wolves do proceed againſt the ſilly and faithful flock of Chriſt, and condemn and perſecute the ſincere doctrine of Chriſt in us, which they are not able by honeſt means to reſiſt, but only by tyranny and violence.

The fifth Examination of Mr. Philpot, before the Biſhops of London, Rocheſter, Coventry, St. Aſaph, and one other whoſe See I know not, Dr. Story, Dr. Curtop, Dr. Saverſon, Dr. Pendleton; with ſeveral other Chaplains, and Gentlemen of the Queen's Chamber, in the Gallery of my Lord of London's Palace.

BONNER. Mr. Philpot, come you hither, I have deſired my lords here, and other learned men, to take ſome pains once again to do you good, and becauſe I do mind to ſit in judgment on you to-morrow, as I am commanded, yet I would you ſhould have as much favour as I can ſhew you, if you will be any thing conformable: therefore play the wiſe man, and be not ſingular in your own opinion, but be ruled by theſe learned men.

Philpot. My lord, in that you ſay you will ſit on me in judgment to-morrow, I am glad thereof: for I was promiſed by them which ſent me unto you, that I ſhould have been judged the next day after: but promiſe hath not been kept with me, to my farther grief. I look for none other but death at your hands, and I am as ready to yield my life in Chriſt's cauſe, as you be to require it.

Bonner. Lo, what a wilful man is this? By my faith it is but folly to reaſon with him, neither with any of theſe heretics. I am ſorry you will be no more tractable, and that I am compelled to ſhew extremity againſt you.

Philpot. My lord, you need not ſhew extremity againſt me unleſs you will: neither by the law: (as I have ſaid) have you any thing to do with me, for that you are not mine ordinary, albeit I am (contrary to all right) in your priſon.

Bonner. Why the queen's commiſſioners ſent you hither unto me, upon your examination had before them. I know not well the cauſe; but I am ſure they would not have ſent you hither to me, unleſs you had made ſome talk to them otherwiſe than it becometh a chriſtian man.

Philpot. My lord, indeed they ſent me hither without any occaſion then miniſtred by me. Only the diſputation I made in the convocation-houſe, requiring me to anſwer the ſame, and to recant it. Which becauſe I would not do, they ſent me hither to your lordſhip.

Bonner. Why did you not anſwer them thereto?

Philpot. For that they were temporal men, and ought not to be judges in ſpiritual cauſes whereof they demanded me, without ſhewing any authority whereby I was bound to anſwer them, and hereupon they committed me to your priſon.

Bonner. Indeed I remember now, you maintained open hereſy in my dioceſe: whereby the commiſſioners ſent you unto me, that I ſhould proceed againſt you, for this you have ſpoke in my dioceſe.

Philpot. My lord, I ſtand ſtill upon my lawful plea in this behalf; that though it were a great hereſy, as you ſuppoſe it, yet I ought not to be troubled for it, in reſpect of the privilege of the parliament-houſe, whereof the convocation-houſe is a member, where all men in matters propounded may frankly ſpeak their minds; and here is preſent a gentlemen of the queen's majeſty that was preſent at the diſputation, and can teſtify the queſtions which were then in controverſy were not ſet forth by me, but by the prolocutor, who required, in the queen's majeſty's name, all men to diſpute their minds freely in the ſame that were of the houſe.

The Queen's Gentleman. Tho' the parliament-houſe be a place of privilege for men of the houſe to ſpeak, yet may none ſpeak any treaſon againſt the queen, or maintain treaſon againſt the crown.

Philpot. But if there be any matter which otherwiſe it were treaſon to ſpeak of, were it treaſon for any perſon to ſpeak therein, eſpecially the thing being propoſed by the ſpeaker? I think not.

The Queen's Gentleman. You may make the matter eaſy enough to you yet, as I perceive, if you will revoke the ſame which you did there ſo ſtubbornly maintain.

St. Aſaph. This man did not ſpeak under reformation, as many there did, but as earneſtly and perſuaſibly as ever I heard any.

Philpot. My lords, ſince you will not ceaſe to trouble me for that I have lawfully done, neither will admit my juſt defence for what was ſpoke in the convocation-houſe by me, contrary to the laws and cuſtom of the realm; I appeal to the whole parliament houſe, to be judged by the ſame, whether I ought thus to be moleſted for that I have there ſpoken.

Rocheſter. But have you ſpoken and maintained the ſame ſince that time, or no?

Philpot. If any man can charge me juſtly therewith, here I ſtand to make anſwer.

Rocheſter. How ſay you to it now? will you ſtand to that you have ſpoken in the convocation-houſe, and do you think you ſaid then well, or no?

Philpot. My lord, you are not mine ordinary to proceed Ex Officio againſt me, and therefore I am not bound to tell you my conſcience of your demands.

St. Aſaph. What ſay you now? is there not in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar (and with that they all put off their caps for reverence of the idol), the preſence of our Saviour Chriſt, really and ſubſtantially after the words of conſecration?

Philpot. I do believe in the ſacrament of Chriſt's body, duly miniſtred, to be ſuch manner of preſence, as the word teacheth me to believe.

St. Aſaph. I pray you, how is that?

Philpot. As for that I will declare another time, when I ſhall be lawfully called to diſpute my mind of this matter, but I am not yet driven to that point. And the ſcripture ſaith, "All things ought to be done after an order."

Another Biſhop. This is a froward and vain-glorious man.

Bonner. It is not lawful for a man by the civil laws to diſpute of his faith openly, as it appeareth in the title, De ſumma Trinitate & fide Catholica.

Philpot. My lord, I have anſwered you to this queſtion before.

Bonner. Why, I never aſked thee of this before now.

Philpot. Yes, that you did at my laſt examination, by that token I anſwered your lordſhip by St. Ambroſe,

that the church is congregated by the word, and not by man's law. Wherefore I now add further of this saying, "That he which refuseth the word, and objecteth the law, is an unjust man, because the just shall live by faith." And moreover, my lord, the title which your lordship alledgeth out of the law, maketh it not unlawful to dispute of all the articles of the faith, but of the Trinity.

Bonner. Thou liest, it is not so: and I will shew you by the book how ignorant he is.

And with that he went with all haste to his study, and fetched his book, and openly read the text, and the title of the law, and charged me with such words as seemed to make for his purpose, saying, How sayest thou to this?

Philpot. My lord, I say as I said before, that the law meaneth of the catholic faith, determined in the council of Chalcedon, where the articles of the creed were only concluded upon.

Bonner. Thou art the veriest beast that ever I heard, I must needs speak it, thou compellest me thereunto.

Philpot. Your lordship may speak your pleasure of me. But what is this to the purpose, which your lordship is so earnest in? You know that our faith is not grounded upon the civil law: therefore it is not material to me whatsoever the law saith.

Bonner. By what law wilt thou be judged? Wilt thou be judged by the common law?

Philpot. No, my lord, our faith dependeth not upon the laws of man.

St. Asaph. He will be judged by no law, but as he will himself.

Worcester. The common laws are but abstracts of the scriptures and doctors.

Philpot. Whatsoever you do make them, they are no ground of my faith, by which I ought to be judged.

Bonner. I must needs proceed against thee to-morrow.

Philpot. If your lordship so do, I will have Exceptionem fori: for you are not my competent judge.

Bonner. By what law canst thou refuse me to be thy judge?

Philpot. By the civil law, De competente judice.

Bonner. There is no such title in the law. In what book is it, as cunning a lawyer as you be?

Philpot. My lord, I take upon me no great cunning in the law: but you drive me to my shifts for my defence, and I am sure if I had the books of the law, I were able to shew what I say.

Bonner. What, De competente judice? I will go fetch thee my books. There is a title indeed, De officiis judicis Ordinarii.

Philpot. Verily that is the same De competente judice which I have alledged. With that he ran to his study, and brought the whole course of the law between his hands, which (as it might appear), he had well occupied, by the dust they were covered with.

Bonner. There be the books: find it now if thou canst, and I will promise to release thee out of prison.

Philpot. My lord, I stand not here to reason matters of the civil law, although I am not altogether ignorant of the same; for that I have been a student in the law six or seven years; but to answer to the articles of faith with which you may lawfully burden me. And whereas you go about unlawfully to proceed, I challenge, according to my knowledge, the benefit of the law in my defence.

Bonner. Why, thou wilt answer directly to nothing thou art charged withal: therefore say not hereafter but you might have been satisfied here by learned men, if you would have declared your mind.

Philpot. My lord, I have declared my mind unto you and to other of the bishops at my last being with you, desiring you to be satisfied but of one thing, whereunto I have referred all other controversies; which if your lordships now, or other learned men, can simply resolve me of, I am as contented to be conformable in all things, as you shall require; which is to prove that the church of Rome (whereof you are) is the catholic church

Coventry. Do you not believe your creed, "I believe the catholic church?"

Philpot. Yes, that I do: but I cannot understand Rome (wherewithal you burden us) to be the same, neither like to it.

St. Asaph. It is most evident that St. Peter did build the catholic church at Rome. And Christ said, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church," Moreover, the succession of bishops in the see of Rome can be proved from time to time, as it can be of none other place so well, which is a manifest probation of the catholic church, as divers doctors do write.

Philpot. That you would have to be undoubted, is most uncertain, and that by the authority which you alledge of Christ, saying unto Peter, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church," unless you can prove that rock to signify Rome, as you would make me falsly believe. And although you can prove the succession of bishops from Peter, yet this is not sufficient to prove that the catholic church, unless you can prove the profession of Peter's faith, whereupon the catholic church is built, to have continued in his successors at Rome, and at this present to remain.

Bonner. Is there any more churches than one catholic church? And I pray tell me into what faith were you baptized?

Philpot. I acknowledge one holy catholic and apostolic church, whereof I am a member (I praise God) and am of that catholic faith of Christ whereinto I was baptized.

Coventry. I pray you, can you tell what this word Catholic doth signify? shew if you can.

Philpot. Yes, that I can, I thank God. The catholic faith, or the catholic church, is not as now-a-days the people are taught, to be that which is most universal, or by most part of men received, whereby you do infer our faith to hang upon the multitude, which is not so: but I esteem the catholic church to be as St. Austin defineth the same: "We judge, saith he, the catholic faith, of that which hath been, is, and shall be." So that if you can be able to prove, that your faith and church hath been from the beginning taught, and is, and shall be; then may you count yourselves catholic, otherwise not. And Catholic is a Greek word, compounded of Cata, which signifieth after, or according, and Holon, a sum, or principal, or whole. So that the catholic faith, is as much as to say, the first, whole, sound, or chiefest faith.

Bonner. Doth St. Austin say so as he alledgeth it? or doth he mean as he taketh the same? how say you Mr. Curtop.

Curtop. Indeed, my lord, St. Austin hath such a saying, speaking against the Donatists, that the catholic faith ought to be esteemed of things in time past, and as they are practised according to the same, and ought to be through all ages, and not after a new manner, as the Donatists began to profess.

Philpot. You have said well, Mr. Curtop, and after the meaning of St. Austin, and to confirm that which I have said for the signification of catholic.

Coventry. Let the book be seen, my lord.

Bonner. I pray you, my lord, be content, or in good faith I will break even off, and let all alone. Do you think the catholic church (until it was within these few years, in which a few upon singularity have swerved from the same) have erred?

Philpot. I do not think that the catholic church can err in doctrine; but I require you to prove this church of Rome to be the catholic church.

Curtop. I can prove that Ireneus (which was within an 100 years after Christ) came to Victor, then bishop of Rome, to ask his advice about the excommunication of certain heretics, which (by all likelihood) he would not

not have done, if he had not taken him to be ſupreme head.

Coventry. Mark well this argument. How are you able to anſwer the ſame? Anſwer, if you can.

Philpot. It is ſoon anſwered, my lord, for that is of no force; neither this fact of Ireneus maketh no more for the ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome, than mine hath done, who have been at Rome as well as he, and might have ſpoken with the pope, if I had liſt: and yet I would none in England did favour his ſupremacy more than I.

St. Aſaph. You are the more to blame (by the faith of my body) for that you favour the ſame no better, ſince all the catholic church (until theſe few years) have taken him to be the ſupreme head of the church, beſides this good man Ireneus.

Philpot. That is not likely, that Ireneus ſo took him, or the primitive church: for I am able to ſhew ſeven general councils after Ireneus's time, wherein he was never ſo taken, which may be a ſufficient proof, that the catholic primitive church never took him for ſupreme head.

The other biſhop. This man will never be ſatisfied, ſay what we can. It is but folly to reaſon any more with him.

Philpot. O, my lords, would you have me ſatisfied with nothing? Judge, I pray you, who hath better authority, he which bringeth the example of one man going to Rome, or I that by theſe many general councils am able to prove, that he was never ſo taken in many hundred years after Chriſt, as by Nicene, Epheſine, the firſt and ſecond Chalcedon, Conſtantinopolitan, Carthagineſe, Aquilenſe.

Coventry. Why will ye not admit the church of Rome to be the catholic church?

Philpot. Becauſe it followeth not the primitive catholic church, neither agreeth with the ſame, no more than an apple is like a nut.

Coventry. Wherein doth it diſſent?

Philpot. It were too long to recite all, but two things I will name, the ſupremacy and tranſubſtantiation.

Curtop. As for tranſubſtantiation, albeit it was ſet forth and decreed for an article of faith not much above three hundred years, yet it was always believed in the church.

Bonner. Yea, that it was. Very well ſaid of you Mr. Curtop.

Philpot. Ye have ſaid right, that tranſubſtantiation is but a late plantation of the biſhop of Rome, and you are not able to ſhew any ancient writer, that the primitive church did believe any ſuch thing; and with this Curtop ſhrank away. And immediately after the ambaſſador of Spain came in, to whom my lord of London went, leaving the others with me. To whom I ſaid, My lords, if you can ſhew me that this church of Rome (whereof you are members) is the true catholic church, I ſhall be content to be one thereof, and as conformable to the ſame as you can require me in all things; for I know there is no ſalvation but within the church?

Coventry. Can you diſprove that the church of Rome is not the catholic church?

Philpot, Yea, that I am able: but I deſire rather to hear of you the proof thereof, And ſeeing I cannot have my requeſt at your hands, neither be ſatisfied with any probable authority, I will ſhew you good proof why it is not. For if the primitive church were catholic, as it was indeed, and ought to be the form and ſchool-miſtreſs of the church to the world's end; then is not the church of Rome now the catholic church, which diſſenteth ſo far from the ſame both in doctrine and uſe of the ſacraments.

Coventry. Now prove you that the church of Rome now diſſenteth in doctrine and uſe of the ſacraments from the primitive church?

Philpot. Compare the one with the other, and it ſhall ſoon appear: as you may ſee both in Euſebius and other eccleſiaſtical and ancient writers.

Coventry. What have you to ſay more, why it is not the catholic church?

Philpot. Becauſe it is not [by your interpretation of catholic] univerſal, neither ever was, albeit you falſly perſuade the people that it is ſo. For the world being divided into three parts, Aſia, Africa, and Europe, two parts thereof, Aſia and Africa, profeſſing Chriſt as well as we, did never conſent to the church of Rome, which is of Europe; which is a ſufficient teſtimony that your faith was never univerſal.

Coventry. How prove you that?

Philpot. All the hiſtorians which write of the proceedings of the church, do teſtify the ſame. Beſides that, this preſent time doth declare that to be true which I ſay: for at this preſent the church of Aſia and Africa do not conſent to the church of Rome. Yea, and beſides all this, moſt part of Europe doth not agree, neither allow the church of Rome; as Germany, the kingdom of Denmark, the kingdom of Poland, a great part of France, England, and Zeland, which is a manifeſt probation that your church is not univerſal.

After this the biſhop of London called away the other biſhops, and left with me divers gentlemen, with certain of his chaplains, as Dr. Saverſon an Engliſhman, who began with me in this manner.

Dr. Saverſon. Mr. Philpot, I remember you beyond ſea ſince the time you reaſoned with the friar (a notable learned man) coming from Venice to Padua in a barge.

Philpot. I cannot forget that; for the friar threatened to accuſe me of hereſy as ſoon as he came to Padua, becauſe I talked with him ſo boldly of the truth. He was not ſo learned a man as you name him to be, but only in his ſchool points a good purgatory friar.

Dr. Saverſon. Well, he was a learned man for all that. And I am ſorry that you this day, having communed with ſo many notable learned men, are no more conformable to them than you be.

Philpot. I will be conformable to all them that be conformable to Chriſt in his word. And I pray you, good Mr. Doctor, be not ſo conformable to pleaſe men more than God, contrary to your learning for worldly eſtimation ſake.

Dr. Saverſon. No, that I am not. Upon what occaſion ſhould you think thus of me.

Philpot. Upon no evil that I do know of you, Mr. Doctor; but I ſpeak as one wiſhing that you ſhould not be led away from the truth for promotion ſake, as many doctors be now-a-days.

Dr. Saverſon. I have heard your arguments hitherto, and me thinketh that a great many of the old ancient writers be againſt you, in that you do not allow the church of Rome, neither the ſupremacy; for St. Cyprian (which is an ancient writer) doth allow the biſhop of Rome to be ſupreme head of the church.

Philpot. That I am ſure he doth not. For he, writing to Cornelius then biſhop of Rome, calleth him but his companion and his fellow-biſhop, neither attributed to him the name either of pope, or elſe of any uſurped terms which now be aſcribed to the biſhop of Rome to the ſetting forth of his dignity.

Dr. Saverſon. You cannot be able to ſhew that St. Cyprian calleth Cornelius his fellow-biſhop.

Philpot. I will wager with you what I am able to make, that I can ſhew it you in St. Cyprian, as I have ſaid.

Dr. Saverſon. I will lay no other wager with you, but book for book that it is not ſo.

Philpot. I agree thereto, and I pray you, one of my lord's chaplains, to fetch us Cyprian hither for the trial hereof. And with that one of them went to my lord's ſtudy, and brought forth Cyprian, and by and by he turned

turned to the firſt book of his epiſtles, the third epiſtle, and there would have ſeemed to gather a ſtrong argument for the ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome, becauſe he ſaith; "It goeth not well with the church when the high prieſt is not obeyed, which ſupplieth the ſtead of Chriſt, after God's word, and the conſent of his fellow-biſhops and the agreement of the people."

Dr. Saverſon. How can you avoid this place which maketh ſo plainly for the biſhop of Rome's ſupremacy?

Philpot. It maketh not ſo plain, Mr. Doctor, on your ſide, as you gather, as by and by I will give you to underſtand. But firſt I challenge the wager we made, that your book is mine. For here you may ſee that he calleth Cornelius his fellow-biſhop, as he doth alſo in other places. And now for the underſtanding of that place, you do miſconſtrue it, to take the high-prieſt only for the biſhop of Rome, and otherwiſe than it was in his time. For there were by the Nicene council four patriarchs appointed, the patriarch of Jeruſalem, the patriarch of Conſtantinople, the patriarch of Alexandria, and the patriarch of Rome, of which four, the patriarch of Rome was placed loweſt in the council, and ſo continued many years, for the time of ſeven or eight general councils, as I can ſhew.

Therefore St. Cyprian, writing to Cornelius, patriarch of Rome (whom he calleth his fellow-biſhop) findeth himſelf offended that certain heretics, being juſtly excommunicated by him (as the Novatians were) did flee from his dioceſe, which was their chief biſhop (refuſing to be obedient to him and to be reformed) to the biſhop of Rome, and to the patriarch of Conſtantinople, and there were received in communion of the congregation, in derogation of good order and diſcipline in the church, and to the maintaining of hereſies and ſchiſms: and that hereſies did ſpring up, and ſchiſms daily riſe hereof, that obedience was not given to the prieſt of God, nor was it once conſidered him to be in the church for the time the prieſt, and for the time the judge in Chriſt's ſtead (as in the decree of the Nicene council was appointed) not the biſhop of Rome only, but every patriarch in his precinct; who had every one of them a college or cathedral church of learned prieſts, in hearing of whom by a convocation of his fellow-biſhops, with the conſent of the people, all hereſies were determined by the word of God: and this is the meaning of St. Cyprian.

Dr. Saverſon. You take it ſo, but it ſeemeth to me otherwiſe.

Philpot. Upon what ground it ſhould ſeem otherwiſe unto you I know not, but this meaning which I have declared, the general councils, ſeven or eight one after another, confirmed it ſo to be, which did not allow one ſupreme head only.

Pendleton. There were not ſo many general councils, but four only allowed.

Philpot. That is not ſo, Mr. Pendleton, although there be four eſpecially allowed for the confirmation of the Trinity, but beſides theſe four, there were many other general councils, as you may learn by many writers.

A chaplain. Did not Chriſt build his church upon Peter? St. Cyprian ſaith ſo.

Philpot. St. Cyprian De ſimplicitate Prælatorum, declareth in what reſpect he ſo ſaid; "God gave in perſon of one man the keys to all, that he might ſignify the unity of all men." And alſo St. Auguſtine ſaith in the tenth of St. John, "If in Peter had not been the myſtery of the church, the Lord had not ſaid unto him, I will give unto thee the keys. For if that were ſaid to Peter, the church hath them not; if the church have them when Peter received them, he ſignified the whole church." And alſo St. Hierom, a prieſt of Rome, writing to Nepotian, ſaith, "That all churches do lean to their own paſtors, where he ſpeaketh of the eccleſiaſtical hierarchy or regiment," where he maketh no mention of of the biſhop of Rome. And to Evagrius, he ſaith, "That whoſoever a biſhop be, whether it be at Rome, or at Eugi, or at Rhegium, he is of one power, and of one juriſdiction.

Dr. Saverſon. St. Hierom De cœleſti Hierarchia? It was Dionyſius you mean.

Philpot. I ſay not that Hierom wrote any book ſo intituled. But I ſay, that in the epiſtle by me alledged, he maketh mention of the eccleſiaſtical regiment.

Dr. Saverſon. I wonder you will ſtand ſo ſtedfaſt in your error to your own deſtruction.

Philpot. I am ſure we are in no error, by the promiſe of Chriſt made to the faithful once, which is, that he will give to his true church ſuch a ſpirit of wiſdom, that the adverſaries thereof ſhould never be able to reſiſt. And by this I know we are of the truth, for that neither by reaſoning, neither by wri ing, your ſynagogue of Rome is able to anſwer. Where is there one of you all that ever hath been able to anſwer any of the godly learned miniſters of Germany, who have diſcloſed your counterfeit religion? Wh ch of you all (at this day) is able to anſwer Calvin's inſtitutions, who is miniſter of Geneva?

Dr. Saverſon. A godly miniſter indeed, a receiver of cut-purſes and runagate traitors. And of late I can tell you, there is ſuch contention fallen between him and his own ſects, that he was obliged to fly the town, about predeſtination. I tell you truth, for I came by Geneva hither.

Philpot. I am ſure you blaſpheme that godly man, and that godly church where he is miniſter: as it is your church's condition, when you cannot anſwer men by learning, to oppreſs them with blaſphemies and falſe reports. For, in the matter of predeſtination, he is in none other opinion than all the doctors of the church be agreeing to the ſcriptures.

Saverſon. Men be able to anſwer him, if they liſt. And I pray you, which of you have anſwered biſhop Fiſher's book.

Philpot. Yes, Mr. Doctor, that book is anſwered, and anſwered again, if you liſt to ſeek what hath been written againſt him.

And after this Dr. Story came in. To whom I ſaid, Mr. Doctor, you have done me great injury, and without law have ſtraitly impriſoned me, more like a dog than a man. And beſides this, you have not kept promiſe with me, for you promiſed that I ſhould be judged the next day after.

Story. I am come to keep promiſe with thee. Was there ever ſuch a fantaſtical man as this is? nay, he is no man, he is a beaſt, yea, thoſe heretics be worſe than brute beaſts: for they will, upon a vain ſingularity, take upon them to be wiſer than all men, being indeed very fools and aſs-heads, not able to maintain that which of an arrogant obſtinacy they do ſtand in.

Philpot. Mr. Doctor, I am content to abide your railing judgment of me now. Say what you will, I am content; for I am under your feet to be trodden on as you liſt. God forgive it you: yet I am no heretic. Neither you nor any other ſhall be able to prove that I hold any jot againſt the word of God otherwiſe than a chriſtian man ought.

Story. The word of God? forſooth the word of God? It is but a folly to reaſon with theſe heretics, for they are incurable and deſperate. But yet I may reaſon with thee, not that I have any hope to win thee: Whom wilt thou appoint to judge of the word whereto thou ſtandeſt?

Philpot. Verily the word itſelf.

Story. Do you ſee the ignorance of this beaſtly heretic? he willeth the word to be judged of the word. Can the word ſpeak?

Philpot. If I cannot prove that which I have ſaid by good authority, I will be content to be counted an heretic, and an ignorant perſon, and further what you pleaſe.

Story. Let us hear what wiſe authority thou canſt bring in.

Philpot. It is the word of Chriſt in St. John, "The word which I have ſpoken, ſhall judge in the laſt day." If the word ſhall judge in the laſt day, much more it ought to judge our doings now: and I am ſure I have my judge on my ſide, who will abſolve and juſtify me in another world. Howſoever now it ſhall pleaſe you by authority unrighteouſly to judge of me and others, ſure I am in another world to judge you.

Story. What? You purpoſe to be a ſtinking martyr, and to ſit in judgment with Chriſt at the laſt day to judge the twelve tribes of Iſrael?

Philpot. Yea, Sir, I doubt not thereof, having the promiſe of Chriſt, if I die for righteouſneſs ſake, which you have begun to perſecute in me.

Story. I told you it was but vain to argue with this heretic; he is drowned in hereſies without all learning.

Philpot. Sir, I have brought you good authority for that I have ſaid out of God's book, to which you anſwer nothing, but go about ſtill to give railing judgment againſt me without any cauſe.

Story. I will come to you by and by. When the judge in Weſtminſter-Hall giveth ſentence, doth the word give ſentence, or the judge? Tell me.

Philpot. Civil matters be ſubject to civil men, and they have authority by the word to be judges of them. But the word of God is not ſubject to man's judgment, but ought to judge all the wiſdom, thoughts and doings of men; and therefore your compariſon diſproveth nothing that I have ſaid, neither anſwereth any whit thereto.

Story. Wilt thou not allow the interpretation of the church upon the ſcriptures?

Philpot. Yes, if it be according to the word of the true church: and this I ſay to you, as I have ſaid heretofore, that if ye can prove the church of Rome (whereof ye are) to be the true catholic church which I ought to follow, I will be as ready to yield thereto (as long as it can be ſo proved) as you may deſire me.

Story. What a fellow is this? He will believe nothing but what he liſt himſelf. Are we not in poſſeſſion of the church? Have not our forefathers theſe many hundred years taken this church for the catholic church whereof we are now? And if we had no other proof but this, it were ſufficient; for the preſcription of time maketh a good title in the law.

Philpot. You do well, Mr. Doctor, to alledge preſcription of many years, for it is all that you have to ſhew for yourſelves. But you muſt underſtand, that preſcription hath no place in matters belonging unto God, as I am able to ſhew by the teſtimony of many doctors.

Story. Well, Sir, you are like to go after your father Latimer the ſophiſter, and Ridley, who had nothing to alledge for himſelf, but that he had learned his hereſy of Cranmer. When I came to him with a poor bachelor of art, he trembled as though he had had the palſy, as theſe heretics have always ſome token of fear whereby a man may know them, as you may ſee this man's eyes do tremble in his head. But I diſpatched them; and I tell thee that there hath been yet never any one burnt, but I have ſpoke with him, and have been a cauſe of his diſpatch.

Philpot. You have the more to anſwer for, Mr. Doctor, as you ſhall feel in another world, how much ſoever you do now triumph of your proceedings.

Story. I tell thee I will never be confeſſed thereof. And becauſe I cannot now tarry to ſpeak with my lord, I pray one of you tell my lord, that my coming was to ſignify to his lordſhip, that he muſt out of hand rid this heretic out of the way. And going away he ſaid to me, I certify thee, that thou mayſt thank no other man but me.

Philpot. I thank you therefore with all my heart, and God forgive it you.

Story. What, doſt thou thank me? If I had thee in my ſtudy half an hour, I think I ſhould make you ſing another ſong.

Philpot. No, Mr. Doctor, I ſtand upon too ſure a ground to be overthrown by you now. And thus they departed all away from me one after another, until I was left alone. And afterwards going with my keeper to the coal-houſe, as I went I met with my lord of London, who ſpake unto me gently, ſaying,

Bonner. Philpot, if there be any pleaſure I may ſhew you in my houſe, I pray you require it, and you ſhall have it.

Philpot. My lord, the pleaſure that I will require of your lordſhip, is to haſten my judgment which is committed unto you, and to diſpatch me forth of this miſerable world unto my eternal reſt. And for all this fair ſpeech I cannot attain hitherto this fortnight's ſpace, neither fire nor candle, neither yet good lodging. But it is good for a man to be brought low in this world, and to be counted amongſt the vileſt, that he may in time of reward receive exaltation and glory. Therefore praiſed be God that hath humbled me, and given me grace with gladneſs to be content therewithal. Let all that love the truth ſay, Amen.

Thus endeth the fifth Tragedy.

The ſixth Examination of Mr. Philpot, before the righ honourable Lords, the Lord Chamberlain to the Queen the Viſcount Hereford, commonly called Lord Ferras, the Lord Rich, the Lord St. John, the Lord Windſor, the Lord Shandois, Sir John Bridges, Lieutenant of the Tower, and two others, whoſe names I know not, with the Biſhop of London, and Dr. Chedſey, Nov. 6. 1555.

WHILE the lords were ſeating themſelves, the biſhop of London came aſide to me and whiſpered in mine ear, willing to behave myſelf prudently before the lords of the queen's majeſty's council, and to take heed what I ſaid; and thus he pretended to give me counſel, becauſe he wiſhed me to do well, as I might now if I would.

And after the lords and other worſhipful gentlemen were ſat, my lord of London placed himſelf at the end of the table, and called me to him, and by the lords I was placed at the upper end againſt him; where I, kneeling down, the lords commanded me to ſtand up, and the biſhop ſpake to me in the following manner.

Bonner. Mr. Philpot, I have hitherto both privately myſelf, and openly before the lords of the clergy, more times than once cauſed you to be talked withal, to reform you of your errors, but I have not yet found you ſo tractable as I would wiſh: wherefore now I have deſired theſe honourable lords of the temporalty, and of the queen's majeſty's council, who have taken pains with me this day, I thank them for it, to hear you what you can ſay, that they may be judges whether I have ſought all means to do you good or no: and I dare be bold to ſay in their behalf, that if you ſhew yourſelf conformable to the queen's majeſty's proceedings, you ſhall find as much favour for your deliverance as you can wiſh. I ſpeak not this to fawn upon you, but to bring you home into the church. Now let them hear what you can ſay.

Philpot. My lord, I thank God that I have this day ſuch an honourable audience to declare my mind before. And I cannot but commend your lordſhip's equity in this behalf, which agreeth with the order of the primitive church, which was, if any body was ſuſpected of hereſy, as I am now, he ſhould be called firſt before the archbiſhop or biſhop of the dioceſe where he was ſuſpected; ſecondly, in the preſence of others his fellow-biſhops and learned elders; and thirdly, in hearing of the laity: where after the judgment of God's word declared, and with the aſſent of our biſhops and conſent of the people, he was condemned for an heretic, or abſolved. And the ſecond point of that good order I have found at your lordſhip's

hands already, in being called before you and your fellow-biſhops: and now have the third ſort of men, at whoſe hands I truſt to find more righteouſneſs in my cauſe, than I have found with my lords of the clergy: God grant I may have at the laſt the judgment of God's word concerning the ſame.

Bonner, Mr. Philpot. I pray you ere you go any further, tell my lords here plainly, whether you were by me or by my procurement committed to priſon or not, and whether I have ſhewed you any cruelty ſince ye have been committed to my priſon.

Philpot. If it ſhall pleaſe your lordſhip to give me leave to declare forth my matter, I will touch that afterward.

Rich. Anſwer firſt of all to my lord's two queſtions, and then proceed forth to the matter. How ſay you? Were you impriſoned by my lord or no? Can you find any fault ſince with his cruel uſing of you?

Philpot. I cannot lay to my lord's charge the cauſe of my impriſonment, neither may I ſay that he hath uſed me cruelly; but rather for my part I may ſay, that I have found more gentleneſs at his lordſhip's hands, than I did at mine own ordinary's, for the time I have been within his priſon, becauſe he hath called me three or four times to mine anſwer, to which I was not called in a year and a half before.

Rich. Well, now go to your matter.

Philpot. The matter is, that I am impriſoned for the diſputations had by me in the convocation-houſe againſt the ſacrament of the altar, which matter was not moved principally by me, but by the prolocutor, with the conſent of the queen's majeſty, and of the whole houſe, and that houſe, being a member of the parliament-houſe, ought to be a place of free ſpeech for all men of the houſe, by the ancient and laudable cuſtom of this realm. Wherefore I think myſelf to have ſuſtained hitherto great injury for ſpeaking my conſcience freely in ſuch a place as I might lawfully do it: and I deſire your honourable lordſhips judgment, who be of the parliament-houſe, whether of right I ought to be impeached for the ſame, and ſuſtain the loſs of my living (as I have done) and moreover of my life, as it is ſought.

Rich. You are deceived herein; for the convocation houſe is no part of the parliament-houſe.

Philpot. My lord, I have always underſtood the contrary by ſuch as are more expert men in things of this realm than I: and again, the title of every act leadeth me to think otherwiſe, which alledgeth the agreement of the ſpiritualty and temporalty aſſembled together.

Rich. Yea, that is meant of the ſpiritual lords of the upper houſe.

Windſor. Indeed the convocation-houſe is called together by one writ of the ſummons of the parliament of an old cuſtom; notwithſtanding that houſe is no part of the parliament-houſe.

Philpot. My lords, I muſt be contented to abide your judgments in this behalf.

Rich. We have told you the truth. Marry yet we would not that you ſhould be troubled for any thing that there was ſpoken; ſo that you having ſpoken amiſs, do declare now that you are ſorry for what you have ſaid.

Bonner. My lords, he hath ſpoken there manifeſt hereſy; yea, and there ſtoutly maintained the ſame againſt the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar (and with that he put off his cap, that all the lords might reverence and vail their bonnets at that idol as he did) and would not allow the real preſence of the body and blood of Chriſt in the ſame: yet my lords, God forbid that I ſhould go about to ſhew him extremity for ſo doing, in caſe he will repent and revoke his wicked ſayings; and if in faith he will do ſo, with your lordſhip's conſent, he ſhall be releaſed by and by; if he will not, he ſhall have the extremity of the law, and that ſhortly.

Lord Chamberlain. My lord of London ſpeaketh reaſonably unto you: take it while it is offered you.

Rich. How ſay you? will you acknowledge the real preſence of the body and blood of Chriſt, as all learned men of this realm do, in the maſs, and as I do, and will believe as long as I live, I do proteſt it?

Philpot. My lord, I do acknowledge in the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt ſuch a preſence as the word of God doth allow and teach me.

Rich. That ſhall be no otherwiſe than you liſt.

Bonner. A ſacrament is the ſign of a holy thing; ſo that there is both the ſign, which is the accident (as the whiteneſs, roundneſs, and ſhape of bread) and there is alſo the thing itſelf, as very Chriſt both God and man. But theſe heretics will have the ſacrament to be but bare ſigns. How ſay you? declare unto my lords here, whether you do allow the thing itſelf in the ſacrament, or no.

Philpot. I do confeſs that in the Lord's ſupper there is in due reſpects both the ſign and the thing ſignified, when it is duly adminiſtered after the inſtitution of Chriſt.

Bonner. You may ſee how he goeth about the buſh (as he hath done before with my lords of the clergy) and dare not utter his mind plainly.

Rich. Shew us what manner of preſence you allow in the ſacrament.

Philpot. If it pleaſe you, my lord of London, to give me leave to proceed orderly thereunto, and to let me declare my mind without interruption, I will thoroughly open my mind therein.

Lord Shandois. I pray you, my lord, let him ſpeak his mind.

Philpot. My lords, that at firſt I have not plainly declared my judgment unto you, the reaſon is this, becauſe I cannot ſpeak hereof without the danger of my life.

Rich. There is none of us here that ſeeketh thy life, or means to take any advantage of that thou ſhalt ſpeak.

Philpot. Although I miſtruſt not your honourable lordſhips that be here of the temporalty; yet here is one that ſitteth againſt me (pointing to the lord of London) that will lay it to my charge even to death. Notwithſtanding, ſeeing your honours do require me to declare of my mind of the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, that ye may perceive that I am not aſhamed of the goſpel of Chriſt, neither do maintain any opinion without probable and ſufficient authority of the ſcripture, I will ſhew you frankly my mind without all colour, whatſoever ſhall enſue unto me therefore, if my lord of London will not hinder me to utter my mind.

Rich. My lord, permit him to ſay what he can, ſeeing he is willing to ſhew his mind.

Bonner. I am content, my lords, let him ſay what he can, I will hear him.

Philpot. That which I do intend to ſpeak unto you (right honourable lords) I do proteſt here, firſt before God and his angels, that I ſpeak it not of vain-glory, neither of ſingularity, neither of wilful ſtubbornneſs, but truly upon a good conſcience, grounded on God's word, againſt which I dare not do for fear of damnation, which will follow that which is done contrary to knowledge. Neither do I diſagree to the proceedings of this realm in the religion, in that I love not the queen (whom I love from the bottom of my heart) but becauſe I ought to love and fear God in his word more than man in his laws, though I ſtand, as I ſeem to do, in this conſideration, and for none other, as God I call to witneſs.

There be two things principally, by which the clergy at this day doth deceive the whole realm; that is, the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, and the name of the catholic church: which both they do uſurp, having indeed none of them both. And as touching their ſacrament, which they term of the altar, I ſay now, as I ſaid in the convocation-houſe, that it is not the ſacrament of Chriſt, neither in the ſame is there any manner of

Chriſt's

Chriſt's preſence. Wherefore they deceive the queen's majeſty, and you of the nobility of this realm, in making you to believe that to be a ſacrament which is none, and cauſe you to commit manifeſt idolatry in worſhipping that for God, which is no God. And in teſtimony of this to be true, beſide manifeſt proof, which I am able to make to the queen's majeſty, and to all you of her nobility, I will yield my life; which to do, if it were not upon ſure ground, it were to my utter damnation.

And where they take on them the name of the catholic church (whereby they blind many folks eyes) they are nothing ſo, calling you from the true religion which was revealed and taught in king Edward's time, unto vain ſuperſtition. And this I will ſay for the trial hereof, that if they can prove themſelves to be the catholic church (as they ſhall never be able to do) I will never be againſt their doings, but revoke all that I have ſaid. And I ſhall deſire you, my lords, to be a means for me to the queen's majeſty, that I may be brought to the juſt trial hereof. Yea, I will not refuſe to ſtand againſt ten of the beſt of them in this realm. And if they be able to prove otherwiſe than I have ſaid, either by writing or by reaſoning, with good and lawful authority, I will here promiſe to recant whatſoever I have ſaid, and to conſent to them in all points.

And in the declaration of theſe things more at large, which now I write in ſum, the biſhop of London would have interrupted me, but the lords procured my liberty to make out my argument, to the great grief of the lord biſhop of London, as it appeared by the dumps he was in.

Bonner. It hath been told me before, that you love to make a long tale.

Rich. All heretics do boaſt of the Spirit of God, and every one would have a church by himſelf; as Joan of Kent, and the Anabaptiſts. I had myſelf Joan of Kent a week in my houſe after the writ was out for her to be burnt, where my lord of Canterbury, and biſhop Ridley reſorted almoſt daily unto her: but ſhe was ſo high in the ſpirit, that they could do nothing with her for all their learning. But ſhe went wilfully unto the fire, was burnt, and ſo do you now.

Philpot. As for Joan of Kent, ſhe was a vain woman (I knew her well) and an heretic indeed, well worthy to be burnt, becauſe ſhe ſtood againſt one of the manifeſt articles of our faith, contrary to the ſcriptures: and ſuch vain ſpirits be ſoon known from the true Spirit of God and his church, for that the ſame abideth within the limits of God's word, and will not go out of the ſame, neither ſtubbornly maintain any thing contrary to the word, as I have God's word thoroughly on my ſide to ſhew for that I ſtand in.

Bonner. I pray you, how will you join me theſe two ſcriptures together; Pater major me eſt; & Pater & ego unum ſumus. I muſt interpret the ſame, becauſe my lords here underſtand not the Latin, that is to ſay, "The Father is greater than I; and I and the Father are one." But I cry you mercy, my lords, I have miſ-ſpoken, in ſaying you underſtand no Latin; for the moſt part of you underſtand Latin as well as I. But I ſpeak in conſideration of my lord Shandois and Mr. Bridges his brother, whom I take to be no great Latin men. Now ſhew your cunning, and join theſe two ſcriptures by the word if you can.

Philpot. Yes that I can right well. For we muſt underſtand that in Chriſt there be two natures, the divinity and humanity, and in reſpect of his humanity it is ſpoken of Chriſt, "The Father is greater than I." But in reſpect of his Deity he ſaid again, "The Father and I be one."

Bonner. But what ſcripture have you?

Philpot. Yes, I have ſufficient ſcripture for the proof that I have ſaid. For the firſt, it is written of Chriſt in the Pſalms, "Thou haſt made him a little lower than the angels," It is the 19th Pſalm, beginning, "The heavens declare." And there I miſreckoned, wherewithal my lord took me.

Bonner. It is in "O lord, our Lord." Ye may ſee my lords, how well this man is uſed to ſay his matins.

Philpot. Though I ſay not matins in ſuch order as your lordſhip meaneth; yet I remember of old, that "O Lord our Lord," and "The heavens declare" be not far aſunder: and albeit I miſ-named the pſalm, it is no prejudice to the truth that I have proved.

Bonner. What ſay you then to the ſecond ſcripture? how couple you that by the word to the other?

Philpot. The text itſelf declareth, that notwithſtanding Chriſt did abaſe himſelf in our human nature, yet he is ſtill one in Deity with the Father. And this St. Paul to the Hebrews doth more at large ſet forth. And as I have by the ſcriptures joined theſe two ſcriptures together, ſo am I able to do in all other articles of faith which we ought to believe, and by the manifeſt word of God to expound them.

Bonner. How can that be, ſeeing St. Paul ſaith, "That the letter killeth, but it is the Spirit that giveth life,"

Philpot. St. Paul meaneth not the word of God written in itſelf killeth, which is the word of life, and faithful teſtimony of the Lord; but that the word is unprofitable and killeth him that is void of the Spirit of God, although he be the wiſeſt man of the world, and therefore St. Paul ſaid, "That the goſpel to ſome was a ſavour of life unto life, and to others a ſavour of death unto death." Alſo an example hereof we have in the ſixth of John, of them who, hearing the word of God without the Spirit, were offended thereby; wherefore Chriſt ſaid, "The fleſh profiteth nothing, it is the Spirit that quickeneth."

Bonner. What? do you underſtand that of St. Paul and of St. John ſo?

Philpot. It is not mine own interpretation, it is agreeable to the word in other places: and I have learned the ſame of ancient fathers interpreting it likewiſe. And to the Corinthians it is written, "The natural man perceiveth not the things that be of the Spirit of God, but the ſpiritual man, who is indued with the Spirit judgeth all things."

Bonner. You ſee, my lords, that this man will have his own mind, and will wilfully caſt himſelf away. I am ſorry for him.

Philpot. The words that I have ſpoken be none of mine but the goſpel, whereupon I ought to ſtand. And if you, my lord of London, can bring better authority for the faith you will draw me unto, than that which I ſtand upon, I will gladly hear the ſame by you or by any other in this realm.

Wherefore I kneeling down beſought the lords, to be good unto me a poor gentleman, that would fain live in the world if I might, and teſtify as you have heard me to ſay this day, that if any man can prove that I ought to be of any other manner of faith than that of which I am now, and can prove ſufficiently, I will neither be wilful nor deſperate, as my lord of London would make you believe me to be.

Rich. What countryman be you? are you of the Philpots of Hampſhire?

Philpot. Yea, my lord, I was Sir P. Philpot's ſon of Hampſhire.

Rich. He is my near kinſman; wherefore I am the more ſorry for him.

Philpot. I thank your lordſhip that it pleaſeth you to challenge kindred of a poor priſoner.

Rich. In faith I would go an hundred miles on my bare feet to do you good.

Lord Chamberlain. He may do well enough if he liſt.

St. John. Mr. Philpot, you are my countryman, and I would be glad you ſhould do well.

Rich.

Rich. You ſaid, even now, that you would deſire to maintain your belief before ten of the beſt in the realm. You did not well to compare with the nobility of the realm. But what if you have ten of the beſt in the realm to hear you, will you be tried by them?

Philpot. My lord, your lordſhip miſtaketh me to think that I challenge ten of the beſt of the nobility in this realm. It was no part of my mind, but I meant of the beſt learned on the contrary ſide.

Rich. Well, I take your meaning: what if means be made to the queen's majeſty that you ſhall have your requeſt, will you be judged by them?

Philpot. My lord, it is not meet that a man ſhould be judged by his adverſaries.

Rich. By whom then would you be judged?

Philpot. I will make your honours judges, that ſhall be hearers of us.

Rich. I dare be bold to procure for you of the queen's majeſty that you ſhall have ten learned men to reaſon with you, and twenty or forty of the nobility to hear, ſo you will promiſe to abide their judgment. How ſay you? will you promiſe here before my lords ſo to do?

Philpot. I will be contented to be judged by them.

Rich. Yea, but will you promiſe to agree to their judgment?

Philpot. There be cauſes why I may not ſo do, unleſs I were ſure that they would judge according to the word of God.

Rich. O, I perceive you will have no man judge but yourſelf, and think yourſelf wiſer than all the learned men in this realm.

Philpot. My lord, I ſeek not to be mine own judge, but am willing to be judged by others, ſo that the order of judgment in matters of religion be kept, that was in the primitive church, which is, firſt that God's will by his word was ſought, and thereunto both the ſpiritualty and temporalty was gathered together, and gave their conſents and judgment, and ſuch kind of judgment I will ſtand to.

Bonner. My lords, he would make you believe that he were profoundly ſeen in ancient writers of the judgments of the primitive church, and there was never any ſuch manner of judgment uſed as he now talketh of.

Philpot. In the epiſtles of St. Cyprian I am able to ſhew it you.

Bonner. Ah, I tell you there is no ſuch thing; fetch me Cyprian hither.

Philpot. You ſhall find it otherwiſe when the book cometh. And Dr. Chedſey his chaplain (whom he appointed to fetch the book), whiſpered the biſhop in his ear, and fetched not the book, by likelihood that he ſhould have ſuſtained the reproach thereof if the book had been brought. Well, my lord, quoth I, Mr. Doctor knoweth it is ſo, or elſe he would have brought the book ere this.

Rich. You would have no other judge, I ſee, but the word.

Philpot. Yes, my lord. I will be tried by the word, and by ſuch as will judge according to the word. As for an example, if there were a controverſy between your lordſhip and another upon the words of the ſtatute, muſt not the lords of the ſtatute judge and determine the controverſy?

Rich. No marry, the judges of the law may determine of the meaning thereof.

Bonner. He hath brought as good an example againſt himſelf as can be.

And here the biſhop thought he had a good argument againſt me, and therefore enlarged it with many words to the judgment of the church.

The Lords. He hath overthrown himſelf by his own argument.

Philpot. My lords, it ſeemeth to your honours that you have great advantage of me by the example I brought in to expreſs my cauſe, but if it be pondered thoroughly, it maketh wholly with me, and nothing againſt me, as my lord of London hath pretended. For I will aſk of my lord Rich here, whom I know to have good knowledge in the laws and ſtatutes of this realm, albeit a judge may diſcern the meaning of a ſtatute agreeable to the words, whether the ſame may judge a mean contrary to the expreſs words or no?

Rich. He cannot ſo do.

Philpot. Even ſo ſay I, that no man ought to judge the word of God to have a meaning contrary to the expreſs words thereof, as this falſe church of Rome doth in many things: and with this the lords ſeemed to be ſatisfied, and made no further replication herein.

Rich. I marvel then why you do deny the expreſs words of Chriſt in the ſacrament, ſaying, "This is my body:" and yet you will not ſtick to ſay it is not his body. Is not God omnipotent? And is not he able as well by his omnipotency to make it his body, as he was to make man fleſh of a piece of clay? Did not he ſay, "This is my body which ſhall be betrayed for you? And was not his very body betrayed for us? Therefore it muſt needs be his body.

Bonner. My lord Rich, you have ſaid wonderful well and learnedly. But you might have begun with him before alſo in the ſixth of John, where Chriſt promiſed to give his body in the ſacrament of the altar, ſaying, "The bread which I will give is my fleſh." How can you anſwer to that?

Philpot. If it pleaſe you to give me leave to anſwer firſt my lord Rich, I will alſo anſwer this objection.

Rich. Anſwer my lord of London firſt, and after come to me.

Philpot. My lord of London may be ſoon anſwered. That ſaying of St. John is, that the humanity of Chriſt, which he took upon for the redemption of man, is the bread of life whereby our ſouls and bodies are ſuſtained to eternal life, of which the ſacramental bread is a lively repreſentation, and an effectual coaptation to all ſuch as believe on his paſſion. And as Chriſt ſaith in the ſame ſixth of John, "I am the bread that came down from heaven:" but yet he is not material, neither natural bread: Likewiſe the bread is his fleſh, not natural or ſubſtantial, but by ſignification, and by grace in the ſacrament.

And now to my lord Rich's argument. I do not deny the expreſs words of Chriſt in the ſacrament, "This is my body: but I deny that they are naturally and corporally to be taken: they muſt be taken ſacramentally and ſpiritually, according to the expreſs declaration of Chriſt, ſaying, that the words of the ſacrament which the Capernaites took carnally, as the Papiſts now do, ought to be taken ſpiritually and not carnally, as they falſly imagine, not weighing what interpretation Chriſt hath made in this behalf, neither following the inſtitution of Chriſt, neither the uſe of the apoſtles and of the primitive church, who never taught, neither declared any ſuch carnal manner of preſence as is now exacted of us violently without any ground of ſcripture or antiquity, who uſed to put out of the church all ſuch as did not receive the ſacrament with the reſt, and alſo to burn that which was left after the receiving, as by the canon of the apoſtles, and by the decree of the council of Antioch may appear.

Bonner. No, that is not ſo; they were only Catechumeni, which went out of the church at the celebration of the communion, and none other.

Philpot. It was not only of ſuch as were novices in faith, but all others that did not receive.

Bonner. What ſay you to the omnipotency of God? is not he able to perform that which he ſpake, as my lord Rich hath very well ſaid? I tell thee, that God by his omnipotency may make himſelf to be this carpet if he will.

Philpot. As concerning the omnipotency of God, I ſay that God is able to do (as the prophet David ſaith), whatſoever he willeth; but he willeth nothing that is not agreeable to his word; as that is blaſphemy which my lord of London hath ſpoken, that God may become a carpet. For, as I have learned of ancient writers, God cannot do that which is contrary to his nature, as it is contrary to the nature of God to be a carpet. A carpet is a creature; and God is the creator; and the creator cannot be the creature: wherefore unleſs you can declare by the word, that Chriſt is otherwiſe preſent with us than ſpiritually and ſacramentally by grace, as he hath taught us, you pretend the omnipotency of God in vain.

Bonner. Why, wilt thou ſay that Chriſt is really preſent in the ſacrament? or do you deny it?

Philpot. I deny not that Chriſt is really preſent in the ſacrament to the receiver thereof according to Chriſt's inſtitution.

Bonner. What mean you by really preſent?

Philpot. I mean by really preſent, preſent indeed.

Bonner. Is God really preſent every where?

Philpot. He is ſo.

Bonner. How prove you that?

Philpot. The prophet Iſaiah ſaith, "That God filleth all places:" and whereſoever there be two or three gathered together in Chriſt's name, there is he in the midſt of them.

Bonner. What, his humanity?

Philpot. No, my lord, I mean the Deity, according to that you demanded.

Rich. My lord of London, I pray you let Mr. Dr. Chedſey reaſon with him, and let us ſee how he can anſwer him, for I tell thee he is a learned man indeed, and one that I do credit before a great many of you, whoſe doctrine the queen's majeſty and the whole realm doth well allow, therefore hear him.

Bonner. My lords, I pray you, will it pleaſe you to drink? you have talked a great while, and much talk is thirſty. I will leave Mr. Doctor and him reaſoning together a-while, with your leave, and will come to you by and by again. He went, as I ſuppoſe, to make room for more drink, after the lords had drank.

My lord Rich ſaid to the lords, I pray you let the poor man drink, for he is thirſty; and with that he called for a cup of drink, and gave it me, and I drank before them all: God requite it him, for I was athirſt indeed. Afterwards Dr. Chedſey began in this wiſe, making a great proceſs, of which this is the effect.

Chedſey. Mr. Philpot finding fault with the convocation-houſe before your lordſhips, that he had lain thus long in priſon, and that he had there a dozen arguments, whereof he could not be ſuffered to proſecute one thoroughly, which is not ſo; for he had leave to ſay what he could, and was anſwered to as much as he was able to bring; and when he had nothing elſe to ſay, he fell to weeping. I was there preſent and can teſtify thereof; albeit there is a book abroad of the report of the diſputation to the contrary, in which there is never a true word. And whereas you require to be ſatisfied of the ſacrament, I will ſhew you the truth thereof, both by the ſcriptures, and by the doctors.

Philpot. It is a ſhrewd likelihood that you will not conclude with any truth, ſince you have begun with ſo many untruths, as to ſay, that I was anſwered while I had any thing to ſay: and that I wept for lack of matter to ſay, and that the book of the report of the diſputation is not true. God be praiſed, there were a good many noblemen, gentleman, and worſhipful men, that heard and ſaw the doings thereof, which can teſtify that you here have made an unjuſt report before theſe honourable lords. And that I wept, was not for lack of matter, as you ſlander me; for I thank God I have more matter than the beſt of you all ſhall be able to anſwer, as little learning as I have: but my weeping was, as Chriſt was upon Jeruſalem, ſeeing the deſtruction that ſhould fall upon her: and I foreſeeing then the deſtruction which you (thro' violence and unrighteouſneſs which you there declared), would work againſt the true church of Chriſt and her faithful members, as this day beareth witneſs, was compelled to weep in remembrance of that which I with many more, have felt and ſhall feel.

All theſe words I did then ſpeak out, being interrupted by my lord Rich, ſaying that I ſhould ſuffer him to proceed out in this matter, and afterwards I ſhould have leiſure to anſwer him in every article. But he promiſed more than he could perform, as the end did well declare, for he had not the conſent of the ſpiritualty to his promiſe, which now rule the roaſt. God ſhorten their cruel days, for his elect's ſake. And therefore I add this, which I had purpoſed to have ſpoken, if then I might have been ſuffered, leſt any that perfectly know not the things done in the convocation-houſe, and now laid to my charge, if they ſhould not be anſwered by me, might reckon Dr. Chedſey's ſaying to be true. And as concerning the book of the report of the diſputations, I wrote the ſame, and it is true in every argument, as Mr. Dean of Rocheſter, and Mr. Cheney archdeacon of Hereford (yet being alive, and within the realm), can teſtify.

Chedſey. You have of ſcriptures the four evangeliſts for the probation of Chriſt's real preſence to be in the ſacrament after the words of conſecration, with St. Paul to the Corinthians; which all ſay, "This is my body." They ſay not, as you would have me believe, This is not the body. But eſpecially the 6th of John proveth the ſame moſt manifeſtly, where Chriſt promiſed to give his body, which he performed in his laſt ſupper, as it appeareth by theſe words, "The bread which I will give is my fleſh, which I will give for the life of the world."

Philpot. My lord Rich, with your leave I muſt needs interrupt him a little, becauſe he ſpeaketh open blaſphemy againſt the death of Chriſt: for if that promiſe brought in by St. John, was performed by Chriſt in his laſt ſupper, then needed he not to have died after he had given the ſacrament.

Rich. Let Mr. Doctor make an end of his arguments, and afterward object to him what you can.

Ched. You muſt note, that there is twice Dabo in this ſaying of St. John, and the firſt is referred to the ſacrament of the altar; and the ſecond to the ſacrifice upon the croſs; and beſides theſe manifeſt ſcriptures, there be many ancient doctors proving the ſame, as Ignatius, Ireneus, St. Cyprian [whoſe authority he recited at large, which I do omit, becauſe I was not permitted to anſwer the ſame.]

Rich. Now anſwer, and object to him what you can, and you ſhall be heard.

Philpot. My lord, the chief ground whereon he with the reſt of his ſide do ground themſelves againſt us, be theſe words, "This is my body," with a falſe pretence of the omnipotency of God. And before I will come to the particular anſwers of all that he hath alledged, for that your lordſhips may the better underſtand me, what I mean, and whereupon I ſtand, I will firſt require Mr. Doctor to anſwer me one queſtion. But firſt of all I do proteſt to your honours that I think as reverently of the ſacrament, as a chriſtian man ought to do, and that I acknowledge the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, miniſtered after Chriſt's inſtitution, to be one of the greateſt treaſures and comforts that he left us on earth: and contrarywiſe it is moſt diſcomfort and abominable, not being miniſtered as it ought to be, as it is uſed now-a-days.

And now to my queſtion, which is this: whether theſe words only, "This is my body," ſpoken by a prieſt over the bread and wine, may make the body and blood of Chriſt, as you ſuppoſe, or no?

Chedſey ſtaggering what he might ſay, at laſt he ſaid, That theſe words alone, pronounced by the prieſt, be ſufficient to make the bread and the wine the very body and blood of Chriſt really.

Philpot. That is blaſphemy to ſay, and againſt all the ſcriptures and doctors, who affirm, that the form and ſubſtance in conſecration muſt be obſerved which Chriſt uſed and did inſtitute, as St. Cyprian ſaith, "In the ſacrifice which is Chriſt, only Chriſt is to be followed." And by the law it is forbidden to add or to take away from God's word. And St. Peter ſaith, "If any man ſpeak let him ſpeak as the word of God." Wherefore whoſoever ſaith that theſe words only, "This is my body," do make a preſence of Chriſt, without "Bleſs, Take and Eat," which be three as ſubſtantial points of the ſacrament, as, "This is my body," he is highly deceived.

Therefore St. Auguſtine ſaith, "Let the word be joined to the element, and it becometh a ſacrament:" So that if the entire words of Chriſt's inſtitutions be not obſerved in the miniſtration of the ſacrament, it is no ſacrament; as the ſacrifices which the ten tribes did offer at Bethel to God, were not acceptable, becauſe they were not in all points done according to God's word. Wherefore except bleſſing be made after the word (which is a due thankſgiving for our redemption in Chriſt) and alſo a ſhewing forth of the Lord's death in ſuch wiſe as the congregation may be edified: and moreover a taking and eating after Chriſt's commandment: except (I ſay) theſe three parts be firſt performed (which is not done in the maſs) theſe words, "This is my body," which are laſt placed in the inſtitution of the Lord's ſupper, cannot be verified. For Chriſt commanded as well, "Take ye, Eat ye," as "This is my body."

Chedſey. Chriſt ſaid, "Take, Eat, this is my body." and not Take ye, Eat ye.

Philpot. Did he not, Mr. Doctor? be not theſe the words of Chriſt, Accipite, Manducate? And do not theſe words in the plural number ſignify, "Take ye, Eat ye," and not Take thou, Eat thou, as you would ſuppoſe?

Chedſey. I grant it is as you ſay.

Philpot. Likewiſe of conſequence, you (Mr. Doctor) muſt needs deny what you have ſaid, that theſe words, "This is my body," being only ſpoken, be ſufficient to make the body and blood of Chriſt in the ſacrament, as you have untruly ſaid.

Then the biſhop came in again and ſaid, What is it that you would have Mr. Doctor deny?

Philpot. My lord, Mr. Doctor hath affirmed that theſe words, "This is my body," ſpoken by the prieſt only, do make the ſacrament.

Bonner. Indeed if Mr. Bridges ſhould ſpeak theſe words over the bread and wine, they would be of none effect: but if a prieſt ſpeak them after a due manner, they are effectual, and make a real body.

Philpot. Mr. Doctor hath ſaid otherwiſe.

Bonner. I think you miſtake him; for he meaneth of the words duly pronounced.

Philpot. Let him revoke that he hath granted, and then will I begin again with that which before was ſaid, that, "This is my body," hath no place, except, Bleſs, Take, and Eat, duly go before. And therefore becauſe the ſame words do not go before, "This is my body," but prepoſterouſly follow in your ſacrament of the maſs, it is not the ſacrament of Chriſt, neither hath Chriſt in it preſent.

Chedſey. If, "This is my body" only do not make the ſacrament, no more do, "Bleſs, Take, and Eat."

Philpot. I grant that the one without the other cannot make the ſacrament. And it can be no ſacrament unleſs the whole action of Chriſt doth concur together according to the firſt inſtitution.

Chedſey. Why, then you would not have it to be the body of Chriſt, unleſs it be received?

Philpot. No verily, it is not the very body of Chriſt to any other, but ſuch as condignly receive the ſame after his inſtitution.

Bonner. Is not a loaf a loaf, being ſet on the table, though nobody eat thereof.

Philpot. It is not alike my lord? for a loaf is a loaf before it be ſet on the table; but ſo is not the ſacrament before it be duly adminiſtered at the table of the Lord.

Bonner. I pray you, what is it in the mean while, before it is received?

Philpot. It is, my lord, a ſign begun of a holy thing, and yet no perfect ſacrament until it be received. For in the ſacrament there be two things to be conſidered, the ſign, and the thing itſelf, which is Chriſt and his whole paſſion; and it is that to none but to ſuch as worthily receive the holy ſigns of bread and wine, according to Chriſt's inſtitution.

Windſor. There were never any that denied the words of Chriſt as you do. Did not he ſay, "This is my body?"

Philpot. My lord, I pray you be not deceived. We do not deny the words of Chriſt: but we ſay, theſe words be of none effect, being ſpoken otherwiſe than Chriſt did inſtitute them in his laſt ſupper. For example; Chriſt biddeth the church to baptize in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt: If a prieſt ſay theſe words over the water, and there be no child to be baptized, theſe words only pronounced do not make baptiſm. And again, Baptiſm is only baptiſm to ſuch as be baptized, and to none other ſtanding by.

Lord Chamberlain. I pray you, my lord, let me aſk one queſtion. What kind of preſence in the ſacrament (duly adminiſtered according to Chriſt's ordinance) do you allow?

Philpot. If any come worthily to receive, then do I confeſs the preſence of Chriſt wholly to be with all the fruits of his paſſion, unto the ſaid worthy receiver, by the Spirit of God, and that Chriſt is thereby joined to him, and he to Chriſt.

Lord Chamberlain. I am anſwered.

Bonner. My lords, take no heed of him, for he goeth about to deceive you. His ſimilitude that he bringeth in of baptiſm, is nothing like to the ſacrament of the altar. For if I ſhould ſay to Sir John Bridges, being with me at ſupper, and having a fat capon, Take, eat, this is of a capon, although he eat not thereof, is it not a capon ſtill? And likewiſe a piece of beef, or a cup of wine; if I ſay, Drink, this is a cup of wine, is it not ſo, becauſe he drinketh not thereof?

Philpot. My lord, your ſimilitudes are too groſs for ſo high myſteries as we have in hand, as if I were your equal I could more plainly declare; and there is much more diſſimilitude between common meats and drinks, than there is between baptiſm and the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt. Like muſt be compared to like, and ſpiritual things with ſpiritual, and not ſpiritual things wirh corporal things. And meats and drinks be of their own natures good or evil, and your words, commending or diſcommending, do but declare what they are. But the ſacraments be to be conſidered according to the word which Chriſt ſpake of them, of which, "Take ye, and eat ye," be ſome of the chief, concurrent to the making of the ſame, without which there can be no ſacraments: And therefore the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt is called Communion: and likewiſe in the goſpel Chriſt commanded, ſaying, "Divide it among you."

Chedſey. St. Paul called it a Communication.

Philpot. That doth more expreſly ſhew, that there muſt be a participation of the ſacrament together.

Bonner. My lords, I am ſorry I have troubled you ſo long with this obſtinate man, with whom we can do no good; I will trouble you no longer now. And with that the lords roſe up, none of them ſaying any evil word unto me, half amazed, in my judgment, God work it to good.

Thus

Thus ended the ſixth part of this tragedy: the ſeventh look for with joy.

The ſeventh Examination of Mr. John Philpot, on the 19th of November, before the biſhops of London and Rocheſter, the Chancellor of Litchfield, and Dr. Chedſey.

BOnner. Sirrah, come hither. How chance you came no ſooner? Is it well done of you to make Mr. Chancellor and me to tarry for you this hour? By the faith of my body, half an hour before maſs, and half an hour even at maſs, looking for your coming.

Philpot. My lord, it is well known to you that I am a priſoner, and that the doors be ſhut upon me, and I cannot come when I pleaſe: but as ſoon as the doors of my priſon were open, I came immediately.

Bonner. We ſent for thee to the intent thou ſhouldeſt have come to maſs. How ſay you, would you have come to maſs or no, if the doors had ſooner been opened?

Philpot. My lord, that is another manner of queſtion.

Bonner. Lo, Mr. Chancellor, I told you we ſhould have a froward fellow of him; he will anſwer directly to nothing. I have had him both before the ſpiritual lords and temporal, thus he fareth ſtill; yet he reckoneth himſelf better learned than all the realm. Yea, before the temporal lords the other day, he was ſo fooliſh to challenge the beſt; he would make himſelf learned, and is a very ignorant fool indeed.

Philpot. I reckon I anſwered your lordſhip before the lords plain enough.

Bonner. Why anſwereſt thou not directly, whether thou wouldſt have gone to maſs or no, if thou hadſt come in time?

Philpot. Mine anſwer ſhall be thus, that if your lordſhip can prove your maſs, whereunto you would have me to come, to be the true ſervice of God, whereunto a chriſtian ought to come, I will afterward come with a good will.

Bonner. Look, I pray you; the king and queen, and all the nobility of the realm do come to maſs, and yet he will not. By my faith, thou art too well handled: thou ſhalt be worſe handled hereafter, I warrant thee.

Philpot. If to lie in a blind coal-houſe, may be counted good handling, without both fire and candle, then it may be ſaid, I am well handled. Your lordſhip hath power to treat my body as you pleaſe.

Bonner. Thou art a fool, and a very ignorant fool. Mr. Chancellor, in good faith I have handled him and his fellows with as much gentleneſs as they can deſire. I did let their friends come unto them to relieve them. And wot you what? the other day they had gotten themſelves up into the top of the leads with a many apprentices, gazing as though they had been at liberty: but I will cut off your reſort: and as for the apprentices, they were as good not to come to you, if I take them.

Philpot. My lord, we have no ſuch reſort to us as your lordſhip imagineth, and there cometh very few unto us. And of apprentices I know not one, neither have we any leads to walk on over our coal-houſe, that I know of: wherefore your lordſhip hath miſtaken your mark.

Bonner. Nay, now you think (becauſe my lord chancellor is gone) that we will burn no more: yes I warrant thee, I will diſpatch you ſhortly, unleſs you do recant.

Philpot. My lord, I had not thought that I ſhould have been alive now, neither ſo raw as I am, but even well roaſted to aſhes.

Chancellor. Caſt not yourſelf wilfully away, Mr. Philpot. Be content to be ruled by my lord here, and other learned men of this realm, and you may do well enough.

Philpot. My conſcience beareth me record that I ſeek to pleaſe God, and that the love and fear of God cauſeth me to do as I do: and I were of all other creatures moſt miſerable, if for mine own will only I do loſe all the conveniences I might have in this life, and afterwards be caſt into damnation. But I am ſure it is not my will whereon I ſtand, but God's will, who will not ſuffer me to be caſt away, I am ſure.

Chancellor. You are not ſo ſure, but you may be deceived.

Bonner. Well, ſince thou wilt not be conformable by fair means I will proceed againſt thee Ex Officio, and therefore hearken here to ſuch articles as I have here written, and I charge thee to make anſwer to them. And with that he read a libel which he had in his hand of divers articles, and when he had done, he bade me anſwer.

Philpot. Your libel, my lord, containeth in ſum two ſpecial points: The firſt pretendeth, that I ſhould be of your dioceſe, and therefore your lordſhip, upon divers ſuſpects and infamies of hereſy going upon me, is moved to proceed againſt me by your ordinary office; which firſt is not true, for I am not of your lordſhip's dioceſe, as the libel doth pretend. And the ſecond is, that I being baptized in the catholic church, and in the catholic faith, am gone from them, which is not ſo, for I am of that catholic faith and church as I was baptized into.

Bonner. What! art thou not of my dioceſe? where are you now, I pray you?

Philpot. I cannot deny but I am in your coal-houſe, which is your dioceſe: yet I am not of your dioceſe.

Bonner. You were ſent hither unto me by the queen's majeſty's commiſſioners, and thou art now in my dioceſe: wherefore I will proceed againſt thee as thy ordinary.

Philpot. I was brought hither through violence, and therefore my preſent being now in your dioceſe is not enough to abridge me of mine own ordinary's juriſdiction, neither maketh it me willingly ſubject to your juriſdiction, ſince it cometh by force, and by ſuch men as had no authority ſo to do; no more than a ſanctuary man, being by force brought forth of his place of privilege, doth thereby loſe his privilege, but may challenge the ſame whereſoever he be brought.

Chedſey. Hath not the queen's majeſty authority, by her commiſſioners, to remove your body whither ſhe will? and ought you not to obey herein?

Philpot. I grant the queen's majeſty (of her juſt power) may tranſpoſe my body, whither it ſhall pleaſe her grace to command the ſame. But yet by your laws, Spiritual cauſes be not ſubject to the Temporal Power. As for example; you, Mr. Doctor, if the queen's majeſty would appoint two temporal men to be judges over you in ſpiritual matters, might not you alledge the privilege of a clerk, and demand competent ſpiritual judges in your cauſes?

Bonner. Doth not a judge (I pray you) appoint a court at his own diſcretion?

Philpot. My lord, your rule is true in temporal matters, but in ſpiritual cauſes it is not ſo, which be otherwiſe privileged.

Bonner. What ſayſt thou then to the ſecond article, and to the other?

Philpot. My lord, I ſay that I am not bound to anſwer the ſecond, neither the reſt, unleſs the firſt be proved.

Bonner. Well, ſuppoſe the firſt may be proved, as it will be, what will you ſay then to the ſecond, that you are not of the ſame catholic faith, neither of the ſame church now as you were baptized in?

Philpot. I am of the ſame catholic faith and of the catholic church, which is of Chriſt, the pillar and eſtabliſhment of truth.

Bonner. Nay, that you are not.

Philpot. Yes, that I am.

Bonner.

Bonner. Your godfathers and godmothers were of another faith than you be now.

Philpot. I was not baptized either into my godfathers faith or my godmothers, but into the faith and into the church of Chriſt.

Bonner. How know you that?

Philpot. By the word of God, which is the touchſtone of faith, and the limits of the church.

Bonner. How long hath your church ſtood, I pray you?

Philpot. Even from the beginning, from Chriſt and his apoſtles, and from their immediate ſucceſſors.

Chancellor. He will prove his church to be before Chriſt.

Philpot. If I did ſo, I go not amiſs: for there was a church before the coming of Chriſt, which maketh one catholic church.

Chancellor. It is ſo indeed.

Philpot. I will deſire no better rule than the ſame which is oftentimes brought in of your ſide, to prove both my faith and the catholic church; this is, antiquity, univerſality, and unity.

Bonner. Do you not ſee what a fooliſh bragging fellow this is? He would ſeem to be very well ſeen in the doctors, and he is but a fool. By what doctor art thou able to prove thy church? Name him, and thou ſhalt have him.

Philpot. My lord, let me have all your ancient writers, with pen, and ink, and paper, and I will prove both my faith and my church out of every one of them.

Bonner. No, that thou ſhalt not have. You ſhall ſee how he lieth. St. Cyprian ſaith, "There muſt be one high-prieſt, to which the reſidue muſt obey;" and they will allow no head, neither vicar general.

Philpot. St. Cyprian ſaith not, that there ſhould be a vicar general over all. For in his book De ſimplicitate Prælatorum, I am ſure he ſaith the contrary. "There is but one biſhopric, which is wholly poſſeſſed of every biſhop in part."

Bonner. Fetch hither the book, thou ſhalt ſee the manifeſt place againſt thee.

Dr. Chedſey brought the book, and turned to the place in an epiſtle written unto Cornelius then biſhop of Rome, and recited theſe words, in ſum, "That it went not well with the church, where the high-prieſt was not obeyed;" and ſo would have concluded for the confirmation of the biſhop's ſaying.

Philpot. Mr. Doctor, you miſconſtrue the place of St. Cyprian; for he meaneth not there by the high-prieſt the biſhop of Rome, but every patriarch in his precinct, of whom there were four appointed in his time. And in writing unto Cornelius, he meaneth by the high prieſt, himſelf, who was then biſhop of Africa, whoſe authority the heretics began to deſpiſe. Whereof he complaineth to Cornelius, and ſaith, The church cannot be well ordered, where the chief miniſter by order after the judgment of the ſcriptures, after the agreement of the people, and the conſent of his fellow-biſhops, is not obeyed.

Bonner. Hath not the biſhop of Rome always been ſupreme head of the church, and Chriſt's vicar in earth even from Peter?

Philpot. No, that he was not. For by the word of God he hath no more authority, than the biſhop of London hath.

Bonner. Was not Peter head of the church, and hath not the biſhop of Rome, who is his ſucceſſor, the ſame authority?

Philpot. I grant that the biſhop of Rome, as he is the ſucceſſor of Peter, hath the ſame authority as Peter had: but Peter had no more authority than every one of the apoſtles had.

Chancellor. Yes, that St. Peter had; for Chriſt ſaid ſpecially unto him, "I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven;" which he ſpake to none other of his diſciples ſingularly, but to him.

Philpot. St. Auguſtine anſwereth otherwiſe to the objection, and ſaith, "That if in Peter there had not been the figure of the church, the Lord had not ſaid to him, To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Which if Peter received not, the church hath them not; if the church hath them, then Peter hath them not."

Bonner. What if I can prove and ſhew you out of the civil law, that all Chriſtendom ought to follow the holy catholic church of Rome, as there is a ſpecial title thereof, De catholica fide & ſancta Romana eccleſia?

Philpot. That is nothing material, ſeeing the things of God be not ſubject to man's laws; and the divine matters muſt be ordered by the word of God, and not of man.

A doctor. What will you ſay, if I can prove that Chriſt built his church upon Peter, and that out of St. Cyprian? will you then believe that the biſhop of Rome ought to be ſupreme head of the church?

Philpot. I know what St. Cyprian writeth in that behalf; but he meaneth nothing as you take it.

A doctor. St. Cyprian hath theſe words, That upon Peter was built the church, as upon the firſt beginning of unity.

Philpot. He declareth that in an example, that unity muſt be in the church; he grounded on Peter his church alone, and not upon men. Which he doth more manifeſtly declare in the book De ſimplicitate Prælatorum, ſaying, In the perſon of one man God gave the keys to all, that he in ſignification thereby might declare the unity of all men.

A doctor. What, will you underſtand St. Cyprian ſo? That were good indeed.

Philpot. I think you cannot underſtand St. Cyprian better, than he doth declare himſelf.

Bonner. I will deſire you (Mr. Chancellor) to take ſome pains, with Mr. Doctor Chedſey, about his examination, for I muſt go to the parliament-houſe. And I will deſire you to dine with me.

Philpot. Then the doctor again took his former authority in hand for want of another, and would have made a further circumſtance, digreſſing from his purpoſe. To whom I ſaid, he knew not whereabouts he went, and therewith he laughed. And I ſaid his divinity was nothing but ſcoffing.

A doctor. Yea, then I have done with you, and ſo went away.

Philpot. You are too young in divinity to teach me in the matters of my faith. Though you may be more learned in other things than I, yet in divinity I have been longer practiſed than you, for any thing I can hear of you; therefore be not too haſty to judge what you do not perfectly know.

Chancellor. Peter and his ſucceſſors, from the beginning have been allowed for the ſupreme head of the church, and that by the ſcriptures, for that Chriſt ſaid unto him in St. John thrice, "Feed my ſheep."

Philpot. That is no otherwiſe to be taken, than, "Go ye and preach," which was ſpoken to all the apoſtles as well as unto Peter. And that Chriſt ſaid thrice, "Feed my ſheep," it ſignifieth nothing elſe but the ſtudy that the miniſters of God ought to have in preaching the word. God grant that you of the clergy would weigh your duty in this behalf more than you do. Is this a juſt interpretation of the ſcripture, to take "Feed my ſheep," for to be lord of the whole world?

In this mean while a bachelor of divinity came in, which is a reader of Greek in Oxford, belonging to the biſhop, and he took upon him to help Mr. Chancellor.

Scholar. What will you ſay if I can ſhew you a Greek author called Theophylact, to interpret it ſo? Will you believe his interpretation?

Philpot. Theophylact is a late writer, and one that was a favourer of the biſhop of Rome, and therefore not to be credited, ſince his interpretation is contrary to the manifeſt

feſt words of the ſcripture, and contrary to the determination of many general councils.

Scholar. In what general council was it otherwiſe, that the biſhop of Rome was not ſupreme head over all?

Philpot. In the council of Nice I am ſure it was otherwiſe; for Athanaſius was there the chief biſhop and preſident of the council, and not the biſhop of Rome.

Scholar. Nay, that is not ſo.

Philpot. Then I perceive you are better ſeen in words than in knowledge of things: and I will gage with you what you will it is ſo, as you may ſee in the Epitome of the councils.

Scholar. I will fetch Euſebius and ſhew the contrary, and the book of general councils. He went into my lord's cloſet, and brought Euſebius, but the general councils he brought not, ſaying (for ſaving of his honeſty) that he could not come by them, and there he would have defended that it was otherwiſe in Euſebius, but was not able to ſhew the ſame, and ſo ſhrank away confounded.

Chancellor. The church of Rome hath been always taken for the catholic church: therefore I would adviſe you to come into the ſame with us. You ſee all the men of this realm do condemn you. And why will you be ſo ſingular?

Philpot. I have ſaid, and ſtill do ſay, that if you can be able to prove it unto me, that I will be of the ſame. But I am ſure that the church, which you make ſo much of, is a falſe church, and a Synagogue of Satan. And you with the learned men of the realm do perſecute the true church, and condemn ſuch as be more righteous than you.

Chancellor. Do you hear, Mr. Doctor, what he ſaith, that the church of Rome is the devil?

Chedſey. I wiſh you did think more reverently of the church of Rome. What will you ſay if I can ſhew you out of St. Auſtin, in his epiſtle written unto pope Innocent, that the whole general council of Carthage did allow the church of Rome to be chiefeſt over all others?

Philpot. I am ſure you can ſhew no ſuch thing. And with that he fetch'd me the book of St. Auſtin, and turned to the epiſtle, but he could not prove his allegation manifeſtly, but by conjectures in this wiſe.

Chedſey. Here you may ſee, that the council of Carthage writing to Innocent, the biſhop, calleth the ſee of Rome the apoſtolic ſee. And beſides this, they write to him certifying him of things done in the council for the condemnation of the Donatiſts, requiring his approbations in the ſame; which they would not have had done if they had not taken the church of Rome for the ſupreme head of others. Aud moreover you may ſee how St. Auſtin doth prove the church of Rome to be the catholic church, by continual ſucceſſion of the biſhops until his time, which ſucceſſion we can prove until our days: therefore by the ſame reaſon of St Auſtin we ſay now, that the church of Rome is the catholic church.

Philpot. Mr. Doctor, I have conſidered how you do weigh St. Auſtin; and contrary to his meaning and words, you would infer your falſe concluſion. As concerning that it was called by him the apoſtolical ſee, that is not material to prove the church of Rome now to be the catholic church. I will grant it now that it is the apoſtolic ſee, in reſpect that Paul and Peter did once there preach the goſpel, and abode there for a certain ſeaſon. I would you could prove it to be the apoſtolical ſee of the true religion and ſincerity as the apoſtle left it, and did teach the ſame; which if ye could do, you might boaſt of Rome as of the apoſtolical ſee; otherwiſe it is now of no more force, than if the Turk at Antioch and at Jeruſalem ſhould boaſt of the apoſtolic ſees, becauſe the apoſtles once did there abide, and founded the church of Chriſt.

And whereas the whole council of Carthage did write unto pope Innocen-, certifying him of what was done in the general council, and willing him to ſet his helping hand to the ſuppreſſing of the Donatiſts, as they had done; that fact of the council doth not prove the ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome, no more than if the whole convocation-houſe now gathered together, and agreeing upon certain articles, might ſend the ſame to ſome biſhop, that upon certain impediments is not preſent, deſiring him to agree thereto, and to ſet them forth in his dioceſe. Which fact doth not make any ſuch biſhop of greater authority than the reſt, becauſe his conſent is brotherly required.

And touching the ſucceſſion of the biſhop of Rome brought in by St. Auguſtine, it maketh nothing now thereby to prove the ſame catholic church, unleſs you can conclude with the ſame reaſon as St. Auguſtine doth. And the rehearſal of the ſucceſſion of the biſhops doth tend to this only, to prove the Donatiſts to be heretics, becauſe they began as well at Rome as in Africa, to found another church of their own ſetting up, than was grounded by Peter and Paul, and by their ſucceſſors, whom he reciteth until his time, which all taught no ſuch doctrine, neither ſuch church as the Donatiſts. And if preſently you be able to prove by the biſhops of Rome (whereof you do glory) that ſuch doctrine hath not been taught by any of the ſucceſſors of Peter's ſee, as is now taught and believed by us, you have good reaſon againſt us: otherwiſe it is of no force, as I am able to declare.

Chancellor. Well, Mr. Doctor, you ſee we can do no good in perſuading of him: let us adminiſter the articles which my lord hath left us, unto him. How ſay you Mr. Philpot to theſe articles? Mr. Johnſon, I pray you write his anſwers.

Philpot. Mr. Chancellor, you have no authority to enquire of me my belief in ſuch articles as you go about, for I am not of my lord of London's dioceſe; and to be brief with you, I will make no further anſwer herein than I have already to the biſhop.

Chancellor. Why then let us go our ways, and let his keeper take him away.

Thus ended the ſeventh part of his tragedy.

A private Conference between Mr. Philpot and Biſhop Bonner.

EARLY the next morning the biſhop ſent one of his men to me, to call me up in his chapel to hear maſs.

Biſhop's man. Mr. Philpot, Where be you?

Philpot. Who is it that calleth me?

Biſhop's man. My lords will is, you ſhould riſe and come to hear maſs: will you come or no?

Philpot. My ſtomach is not very good this morning: you may tell my lord I am ſick. After this the keeper was ſent to bring me to my lord.

The Keeper. Mr Philpot, you muſt riſe and come to my lord.

Philpot. I am at your command, Mr. Keeper, as ſoon as I can: and going out of the priſon, he aſked me, ſaying:

The Keeper. Will ye go to maſs?

Philpot. My ſtomach is too raw to digeſt ſuch raw meats of fleſh, blood, and bone, this morning.

After this my keeper preſented me to the biſhop in his hall.

Bonner. Mr. Philpot, I charge you to anſwer unto ſuch articles as my chaplain and my regiſter have from me to object againſt you; go and anſwer them.

Philpot. My lord, all judgments ought to be public. Therefore if your lordſhip have any thing to charge me lawfully withal, let me be in judgment lawfully and openly called, and I will anſwer according to my duty; otherwiſe in corners I will not.

Bonner. Thou art a fooliſh knave I ſee well enough, thou ſhalt anſwer whether thou wilt or no; Go thy ways with them, I ſay.

Philpot. I will go with them at your lordſhip's pleaſure; but I will make them no further anſwers than I have ſaid already.

Bonner. No, wilt thou not knave? Have him away, and ſet him in the ſtocks: What, fooliſh knave?

Philpot. Indeed, my lord, you handle me, with others, like fools: and we muſt be content to be made fools at your hands, ſtocks and violence be your biſhop-like alms. You go about by force in corners to oppreſs, and be aſhamed that your doings ſhould come to light; God ſhorten your cruel kingdom for his mercies ſake. And I was put by and by into the ſtocks, into an houſe alone, ſeparate from my fellows: God be praiſed that he hath thought me worthy to ſuffer any thing for his name's ſake. Better it is to ſit in the ſtocks of this world, than to ſit in the ſtocks of a damnable conſcience.

Another Conference between the Biſhop and Mr. Philpot, and other Priſoners.

PHilpot. The next day after, an hour before day, the biſhop ſent for me again by the keeper.

The keeper. Mr. Philpot ariſe, you muſt come to my lord.

Philpot. I wonder what my lord meaneth, that he ſendeth for me thus early, I fear he will uſe ſome violence towards me: wherefore I pray you make him this anſwer, That if he did ſend for me by an order of law, I will come and anſwer; otherwiſe ſince I am not of his dioceſe, neither is he mine ordinary, I will not (without I be violently conſtrained) come unto him.

Keeper. I will go and tell my lord what anſwer you make: and ſo he went away to the biſhop, and immediately returned with two of the biſhop's men, ſaying, that I muſt come whether I would or no.

Philpot. If by violence any of you will enforce me to go, then I muſt go, otherwiſe I will not; and therewith one of them took me with force by the arm, and led me up into the biſhop's gallery.

Bonner. What, thou art a fooliſh knave indeed: thou wilt not come without thou be fetch'd.

Philpot. I am brought indeed (my lord) by violence unto you, and your cruelty is ſuch, that I am afraid to come before you. I would your lordſhip would gently proceed againſt me by the law.

Bonner. I am blamed by the lords the biſhops, for that I have not diſpatched thee ere this. And in faith I made ſute to my lord cardinal, and to all the convocation-houſe, that they would hear thee. And my lord of Lincoln ſtood up, and ſaid, that thou wert a frantic fellow, and a man that will have the laſt word. And they all have much blamed me, becauſe I have brought thee ſo often before the lords openly: and they ſay, it is meat and drink to you to ſpeak in an open audience, you glory ſo of yourſelf. Wherefore I am commanded to take a further order with thee, and in good faith if thou wilt not relent, I will make no further delay. Marry if thou wilt be conformable, I will yet forgive thee all that is paſt, and thou ſhalt have no hurt for any thing that is already ſpoken or done.

Philpot. My lord, I have anſwered you already in this behalf, what I will do. And as for the reporf of Mr. White, biſhop of Lincoln, I paſs not: who is known to be mine enemy, for that I being archdeacon did excommunicate him for preaching naughty doctrine. If Chriſt my maſter was called a mad man, it is no marvel though ye count me frantic,

Bonner, Hadſt thou not a pig brought thee the other day with a knife in it? Wherefore was it (pray thee) but to kill thyſelf? or, as it is told me (marry I am counſelled to take heed of thee) to kill me? But I fear thee not. I think I am able to tread thee under my feet; do the beſt thou canſt.

Philpot. My lord, I cannot deny but that there was a knife in the pig's belly that was brought me. But who put it in, or for what purpoſe, I know not, unleſs it were becauſe he that ſent the meat, thought I was without a knife, and ſo put it in. But other things your lordſhip needeth not to fear: for I was never without a knife ſince I came to priſon. And touching your own perſon, you ſhall live long if you ſhould live till I go about to kill you; and I confeſs by violence your lordſhip is able to overcome me.

Bonner. I charge thee to anſwer to mine articles. Hold him a book. Thou ſhalt ſwear to anſwer truly to all ſuch articles, as I ſhall demand of thee.

Philpot. I will firſt know your lordſhip to be mine ordinary, before I ſwear herein.

Bonner. What, we ſhall have an anabaptiſt of thee, which thinketh it not lawful to ſwear before a judge?

Philpot. My lord, I am no anabaptiſt, I think it lawful to ſwear before a competent judge, being lawfully required. But I refuſe to ſwear in theſe cauſes before your lordſhip, becauſe you are not mine ordinary.

Bonner. I am thine ordinary, and here do pronounce by ſentence preremptory, that I am thine ordinary, and that thou art of my dioceſe: and here he ordered others to be called in to bear him witneſs. And I make thee (taking one of his ſervants by the arm) to be my notary. And now hearken to my articles, to which (when he had read them) he moniſhed me to make anſwer, and ſaid to the keeper, Fetch me his fellows, and I ſhall make them to be witneſſes againſt him.

In the mean while came in one of the ſheriffs of London, whom the biſhop (calling for two chairs) placed by him, ſaying, Mr. Sheriff, I would you ſhould underſtand how I do proceed againſt this man. Mr. Sheriff, you ſhall hear what articles this man doth maintain: and ſo read a rabblement of feigned articles: That I ſhould deny baptiſm to be neceſſary to them that were born of chriſtian parents, that I deny'd faſting and prayer, and all other good deeds, and I maintained only bare faith to be ſufficient to ſalvation, whatſoever a man did beſides, and I maintained God to be the author of all ſin and wickedneſs.

Philpot. Ha, my lord, have ye nothing of truth to charge me withal, but ye muſt be fain to imagine theſe blaſphemous lies againſt me? You might as well have ſaid I had killed your father. The ſcriptures ſay, "That God will deſtroy all men that ſpeak lies. And is not your lordſhip aſhamed to ſay before this worſhipful gentleman (who is unknown to me) that I maintain theſe abominable blaſphemies which you have rehearſed? which if I did maintain, I were well worthy to be counted an heretic, and to be burnt an hundred times if it were poſſible.

Bonner. I do object them unto thee, to hear what thou wilt ſay in them, and how thou canſt clear thyſelf of them.

Philpot, Then it was not juſtly ſaid of your lordſhip in the beginning, that I did maintain them, ſince almoſt I hold none of theſe articles you have read, in form as they are written.

Bonner. How ſayſt thou? wilt thou anſwer to them or no?

Philpot. I will firſt know you to be mine ordinary, and that you may lawfully charge me with ſuch things, and then afterward being lawfully called in judgment, I will ſhew my mind fully thereof, and not otherwiſe.

Bonner. Well, then I will make thy fellows to be witneſſes herein againſt thee: Where are they? come.

Keeper. They be here, my lord.

Bonner. Come hither, Sirs [hold them a book] You ſhall ſwear by the contents of that book, that you ſhall (all manner of affections laid apart) ſay the truth of all ſuch articles as you ſhall be demanded of concerning this man here preſent, who is a very naughty man, and take you

you heed of him that he doth not deceive you, as I am afraid he doth you much hurt, and ſtrengtheneth you in your errors.

Priſoners. My lord, we will not ſwear, except we know whereto; we can accuſe him of no evil, we have been but a while acquainted with him.

Philpot. I wonder your lordſhip, knowing the law, will go about, contrary to the ſame, to have infamous perſons to be witneſſes, for your lordſhip doth take them to be heretics, and by the law an heretic cannot be a witneſs.

Bonner. Yes, one heretic againſt another may be well enough. And, Mr. Sheriff, I will make one of them to be a witneſs againſt another.

Philpot. You have the law in your hand, and you will do what you liſt.

Priſoners. No, my lord.

Bonner. No, will you not? I will make you ſwear, whether you will or no. I think they be anabaptiſts, Mr. Sheriff, they think it not lawful to ſwear before a judge.

Philpot. We think it lawful to ſwear for a man judicially called, as we are not now, but in a blind corner.

Bonner. Why then, ſeeing you will not anſwer againſt your fellow, you ſhall ſwear for yourſelves, and I do here, in the preſence of Mr. Sheriff, object the ſame articles unto you as I have done unto him, and to require you, under pain of excommunication, to anſwer particularly unto every one of them when ye ſhall be examined, as ye ſhall be by and by examined by my regiſter and ſome of my chaplains.

Priſoners. My lord, we will not accuſe ourſelves. If any man can lay any thing againſt us, we are here ready to anſwer thereto: otherwiſe we pray your lordſhip not to burden us; for ſome of us are here before you, we know no juſt cauſe why.

Bonner. Mr. Sheriff, I will trouble you no longer with theſe froward men. And ſo he roſe up, and was going away, talking with Mr. Sheriff.

Philpot. Mr. Sheriff, I pray you record how my lord proceedeth againſt us in corners, without all order of law, having no juſt cauſe to lay againſt us. And after this, we were all commanded to be put in the ſtocks, where I ſat from morning until night; and the keeper at night, upon favour, let me out.

Another private Conference between the Biſhop and Mr. Philpot in the Coal-houſe.

Philpot. THE Sunday after, the biſhop came into the coal-houſe at night with the keeper, and viewed the houſe, ſaying, that he was never there before: whereby a man may gueſs how he hath kept God's commandment in viſiting the priſoners, ſeeing he was never with them that have been ſo nigh his noſe: and he came not then for any good zeal, but to view the place, and thought it too good for me, and therefore, after ſupper, between eight and nine, he ſent for me, ſaying:

Bonner. Sir, I have great diſpleaſure of the queen and the council for keeping you ſo long, and letting you have ſo much liberty; and beſides that, you be yonder and ſtrengthen the other priſoners in their errors, as I have laid wait for your doings, and am certified of you well enough; I will ſequeſter you therefore from them, and you ſhall hurt no more as you have done, and I will out of hand diſpatch you, as I am commanded, unleſs you will be a conformable man.

Philpot. My lord, you have my body in your cuſtody, may tranſport it whither you pleaſe; I am content. And I wiſh you would make as quick expedition in my judgment, as you ſay; I long for it: and as for conformity, I am ready to yield to all truth, if any can bring better than I.

Bonner. Why, will you believe nothing but yourſelf, whatſoever they ſay?

Philpot. My belief muſt not hang upon men's ſayings, without ſure authority of God's word, which if any can ſhew me, I will be pliant to the ſame; otherwiſe, I cannot go from my certain faith to that which is uncertain.

Bonner. Have you then the truth only?

Philpot. My lord, I will ſpeak my mind freely unto you, and upon no malice I bear to you, before God. You have not the truth, neither are you of the church of God: but you perſecute both the truth and the true church of God, for which you proſper long. You ſee God doth not proſper your doings according to your expectations: he hath of late ſhewed his juſt judgment againſt one of your greateſt doers, who, by report, died miſerably. I envy not your authority you are in. You that have learning ſhould know how beſt to rule. And ſeeing God hath reſtored you to your dignity and living again, uſe the ſame to God's glory, and to the ſetting-forth of his true religion; otherwiſe it will not continue, do what you can. With this ſaying he pauſed, and at length ſaid;

Bonner. That good man was puniſhed for ſuch as thou art. Where is the keeper? Come, let him have him to the place that is provided for him. Go your way before.

Philpot. And he followed me, calling the keeper aſide, commanding to keep all from me, and narrowly to ſearch me (as the ſequel did declare) and brought me to his privy that goeth into the church, and commanded two of his men to accompany the keeper, and ſee me placed.

And afterwards I paſſed through St. Paul's up to Lollards Tower, and after that turned along the weſt-ſide of Paul's through the wall, and paſſing through ſix or ſeven doors, came to my lodging through many ſtraits; where I called to remembrance, that ſtrait is the way to heaven. And it is in a tower right on the other ſide of Lollards Tower, as high almoſt as the battlements of Paul's, eight feet in breadth, and thirteen in length, and almoſt over the priſon where I was before, having a window opening towards the eaſt, by which I may look over the tops of a great many houſes, but ſee no man paſſing into them: and whoſo walketh in the biſhop's outer gallery going to his chapel, may ſee my window, and me ſtanding in the ſame.

And as I came to my place, the keeper plucked off my gown, and ſearched me very narrowly. and took away penner, inkhorn, girdle and knife, but (as God would) I had an inkling a little before I was called, of my removal, and thereupon made an errand to the ſtool, where (full ſore againſt my will) I caſt away many a ſweet and friendly letter: but that which I had written of my laſt examination before, I thruſt into my hoſe, thinking the next day to have an end thereof, and with walking it was fallen down to my leg, which he, by feeling, did ſoon eſpy, and aſked what that was. I ſaid, they were certain letters: and with that he was very buſy to have them out. Let me alone, ſaid I, I will pluck them out: and with that I put in my hand, having two other letters therein, and brought up the ſame writing into my breeches, and there left it, giving him the other two letters that were not of any great importance; which to make a ſhew that they had been weighty, I began to tear as well as I could, 'till they ſnatched them from me, and ſo deluded him (I thank God) of his purpoſe.

Then he went away, and as he was going, one of them that came with him, ſaid, that I did not deliver the writing I had in my hoſe, but two other letters I had in my hand before. Did he not? quoth he; I will go and ſearch him better: which I hearing, conveyed my examination I had written, into another place near my bed, and took all my letters I had in my purſe, and was tearing of them when he came again, and as he came I threw the ſame out of the window, ſaying, That I heard what he ſaid; wherefore I prevented his ſearching again, and I

was right glad. God be praiſed that gave me that preſent ſhift to blind their eyes from the knowledge of my writings, which if they had known, it would have been a great occaſion of ſtraiter keeping and looking unto, although they look as narrowly as they may.

The eighth Examination of Mr. Philpot (before the Biſhop of London, the Biſhop of St. David's, Mr. Mordant, and others, in the Biſhop's Chapel.

THE next day after, my keeper came in the morning before day to call me down, and ſo I was brought down into his wardrobe, where with a keeper I was left, and there continued all day. But after dinner I was called down into the chapel before the biſhop of London, the biſhop of St. David's, Mr. Mordant, one of the queen's council, Mr. Archdeacon of London, and before a great many more Baalamites. And the biſhop ſpake unto me in this wiſe.

Bonner. Sir, here I object and lay unto you in the preſence of my lord of St. David's, and of Mr. Mordant, and theſe worſhipful men, theſe articles here in this libel contained; and openly he read them.

To whom when I would particularly have anſwered to ſome of his blaſphemies, he would not permit me; but ſaid, I ſhould have leiſure to ſay what I would when he had ſpoken.

And unto theſe here I add another ſchedule. Alſo I require thee to anſwer to the catechiſm ſet forth in the ſchiſmatical time of king Edward. Alſo I will thee to anſwer to certain concluſions agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge. And I here do bring forth theſe witneſſes againſt thee in thine own preſence, namely, my lord of St David's, Mr. Mordant, and Mr. Harpsfield, with as many as were preſent in the diſputation he made in the convocation-houſe: willing you to teſtify, of your oaths taken upon a book, his ſtubborn and irreverent behaviour he did there uſe againſt the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar. Give me a book; and receiving one, he opened the ſame, ſaying, I will teach him here one trick in our law which he knoweth not; that is, my lord of St. David's, becauſe you are a biſhop, you have this privilege, that you may ſwear by looking on the goſpel book, without touching of the ſame. And ſo he opened the book in his ſight, and ſhut it again, and cauſed the others to put their hands on the book, and took their oath, and deſired them to reſort to his regiſter to make their depoſitions when they might be beſt at leiſure: And afterwards he turned to me and ſaid, Now Sir, you ſhall anſwer but two words, whether you will anſwer to theſe articles which I have laid unto you, directly, yea or nay?

Philpot. My lord, You have told a long tale againſt me, containing many lying blaſphemies, which cannot be anſwered in two words: beſides this, you promiſed me at the beginning, that I ſhould ſay what I could for my defence, and now will you not give me leave to ſpeak; What law is this?

Bonner. Speak yea or nay, for you ſhall ſay no more at this time.

The cauſe was, as I gueſs, that he ſaw ſo many there gathered to hear.

Philpot. Then my two words you would have me ſpeak, ſhall be, that I have appealed from you, and take you not for my ſufficient judge.

Bonner. Indeed Mr. Mordant, he hath appealed to the king and to the queen; but I will be ſo bold with her majeſty, to ſtay that appeal in mine own hands.

Philpot. You will do what you pleaſe, my lord, you have the law in your own hands.

Bonner. Wilt thou anſwer or no?

Philpot. I will not anſwer otherwiſe than I have ſaid.

Bonner. Regiſter, note his anſwer that he maketh.

Philpot. Knock me on the head with an hatchet, or ſet up a ſtake and burn me out of hand, without further law: you may as well do ſo, as do what you do, for all is without order of law: ſuch tyranny was never ſeen as you uſe now-a-days: God of his mercy deſtroy your cruel kingdom. And whilſt I ſpake this, the biſhop went away in haſte.

St. David's. Mr. Philpot, I pray you be quiet, and have patience with you.

Philpot. My lord, I thank God I have patience to bear and abide all your cruel intents againſt me: notwithſtanding I ſpeak this earneſtly, being juſtly moved thereto, to notify your unjuſt and cruel dealing with men in corners, without all due order of law.

After this, at night I was conducted again by three or four into the coal-houſe.

The ninth Examination of Mr. Philpot before Biſhop Bonner and his Chaplains.

THE next day, betimes in the morning I was called down by my keeper, and brought again into the wardrobe, where I remained till the biſhop had heard his maſs, and afterward he ſent up for me into his inward parlour, and there he called for a chair to ſet down, and brought his infamous libel of his forged articles in his hand, and ſat down willing me to draw near unto him, and ſaid:

Bonner. I am this day appointed to tarry at home from the parliament-houſe, to examine you and your fellows upon theſe articles, and you ſtand dallying with me, and will neither anſwer to nor fro. I know all your exceptions will not ſerve you. Will it not be a fair honeſty for you, think ye, that when thou comeſt before my lord mayor and the ſheriffs, and other worſhipful audience, when I ſhall ſay before them all, that I have had thee many times before me, and before ſo many learned men, and then thou couldſt ſay nothing for that thou ſtandeſt in, for all thy brags of learning, neither wouldſt anſwer directly to any thing?

Philpot. My lord, I have told you my mind plain enough: but yet I do not intend to loſe that privilege the law giveth me, which is free choice to anſwer where I am not bound, and this privilege will I cleave unto, until I be compelled otherwiſe.

Bonner. Well, I perceive you will play the obſtinate fool. Lay thine appellation when thou comeſt in judgment, and anſwer in the mean while to theſe articles.

Philpot. No, my lord, by your leave I will not anſwer to them, until my lawful appeal be tried.

Bonner. Well, thou ſhalt hear them; and with that he began to read them.

Philpot, I ſhrank back into the window, and looked on a book, and after he had read them over he ſaid unto me;

Bonner. I have read them over, although it hath not pleaſed you to hear me. I marvel, in good faith, what thou meaneſt to be ſo wilful and ſtubborn, ſeeing thou mayeſt do well enough if thou liſt. It is but a ſingularity; doſt thou not ſee all the realm againſt thee?

Philpot. My lord, I ſpeak unto you in the witneſs of God, before whom I ſtand, that I am neither wedded to mine own will, neither ſtand upon mine own ſtubbornneſs or ſingularity, but upon my conſcience inſtructed by God's word: and if your lordſhip can ſhew better evidence than I have for a good faith, I will follow the ſame.

Bonner. What thou wilt not, lo, for all that. Well, all that is paſt ſhall be forgotten; if thou wilt be conformable unto us. I know thou mighteſt find as much favour as thou wouldeſt deſire.

Then I perceiving that he fawned ſo much upon me, thought it good to give him ſome hope of my relenting, to

to the intent I might give him and his hypocritical generation openly a further foil, perceiving that they dare reaſon openly with none but ſuch as are unlearned, and for lack of knowledge not able to anſwer, or elſe with ſuch as they have a hope that for fear or love of the world will recant: I ſaid, My lord, it is not unknown to you, that I have openly, in the audience of a great number, ſtood to the maintenance of theſe opinions I am in, and by learning did offer to defend them; therefore, my lord. I would it might openly appear to the world that I am won by learning, or elſe what will they ſay, but that either for fear, or love of the world; I am without any ground turned from the truth? And if I hear any kind of learning openly ſhewed, I ſhall be as conformable as you may require me.

Bonner. Yea, marry, now ye ſpeak ſomewhat like a reaſonable man. You might have had a great deal more favour in my houſe, and liberty than you have had; and you ſhall lack nothing that is within my houſe: call for it and you ſhall have it. And what is it that you would openly, by learning, ſomewhat be ſatisfied in? Tell me.

Philpot. My lord, I have openly ſaid, and do believe it alſo, that your ſacrifice of the maſs is no ſacrament.

Bonner. What, do you deny the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament?

Philpot. No, my lord, I deny not the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, but I have denied the ſacrament of the altar as it is uſed in your maſs, to be the true ſacrament of Chriſt's inſtitution; and firſt it muſt be proved a ſacrament before there can be any preſence granted.

Bonner. Why, do you deny the maſs to be a ſacrament? I pray you what is a ſacrament? is it not a ſign of a holy thing, as St. Auſtin doth define it?

Philpot. Yes verily that it is.

Bonner. Then I make this argument unto you: a ſacrament is a ſign of a holy thing: but the maſs is the ſign of a holy thing: Ergo, it is a ſacrament.

Philpot. You muſt add this to your major, or firſt propoſition, as St. Auguſtine doth mean, that a ſacrament is the ſign of a holy thing inſtituted of God, and commanded; for otherwiſe it can be no ſacrament; for all men cannot make a ſacrament.

Bonner. I grant that; and ſuch a ſign of a holy thing is the maſs of Chriſt's inſtitution.

Philpot. I deny that, my lord.

Bonner. I will prove this by St. Auguſtine by and by. I will go ſhew you the book, and you ſhall have any book I have that you will demand. Ho, who is without there? Call me Dr. Chedſey, Mr. Archdeacon, Mr. Coſins, and other chaplains hither.

Here, my lord: Mr. Doctor Chedſey is gone to Weſtminſter, and Mr. Archdeacon Harpsfield was here even now.

Bonner. Mr. Coſins, I pray you examine him upon theſe articles, and write the anſwer he maketh to every one of them. I will go examine his fellows, and ſend you St. Auguſtine by and by. I find this man more conformable than he was before.

Coſins. I truſt, my lord, you ſhall find him at length a good catholic man. Marry, here be a ſight of hereſies? I dare ſay you will hold none of them, nor ſtand in any of them. How ſay you to the firſt?

Philpot. Mr. Coſins, I have told my lord already, that I will anſwer to none of theſe articles he hath objected againſt me; but if you will with learning anſwer to that which is in queſtion between my lord and me, I will gladly hear and commune with you.

Coſins. Will you not? Why, what is that then that is in queſtion between my lord and you?

Philpot. Whether your maſs be a ſacrament or no.

Coſins. What, the maſs to be a ſacrament? who ever doubted thereof?

Philpot. If it be an undoubted truth, you may the ſooner prove it; for I doubt much thereof.

Coſins. Why, I will prove it. It is the ſign of a holy thing; Ergo, it is a ſacrament.

Philpot. I deny your antecedent.

Coſins. What, will you ſo? then there is no reaſoning with you.

Thus Mr. Coſins gave over in the plain field for want of further proof. And then the morrow-maſs chaplain began to ſpeak for his occupation: and with that Mr. Harpsfield came out from my lord with St. Auguſtine's epiſtles, ſaying:

Harpsfield. My lord hath ſent you here St. Auguſtine to look upon, and I pray you look what he ſaith in a certain epiſtle which he writeth; I will read over the whole. Here you may hear the celebration of the maſs, and how it reproveth them that went a hawking and hunting before the celebration of the ſame, on the ſabbath and holidays.

Philpot. I perceive the contents of this epiſtle, and I ſee nothing herein againſt me, neither any thing that maketh for the proof of your ſacrament of the maſs.

Harpsfield. No? doth he not make mention of the maſs, and the celebration thereof? what can be ſpoken more plain?

Philpot. St. Auſtin meaneth of the celebration of the communion, and of the true uſe of the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, and not of your private maſs, which you of late years have erected in the ſtead thereof; for the word Maſs hath been an old term, attributed to the communion even from the primitive church. And I pray you tell me what Miſſa doth ſignify? I think not many that ſay maſs can well tell.

Coſins. No, can they not? that is a marvel.

Philpot. Then tell me, if you can. But Mr. Coſins and my morrow-maſs chaplain were both dumb, looking upon Mr. Harpsfield for help, and at length he ſpake.

Harpsfield. You think it cometh of the Hebrew word Maſſah, as though none were ſeen in the Hebrew but yourſelf.

Philpot. I have not gone ſo long to ſchool, to derive the ſignification of Miſſa, which is a Latin word, out of Hebrew: but I have learned to interpret Greek words by Greek, and Latin by Latin, and Hebrew by Hebrew; I take the communion to be called Miſſa, a mittendo, of ſuch things as at the celebration of the communion were ſent by ſuch as were of ability, to the relief of the poor, where the rich brought according to their devotion and ability, and required the miniſter, in the celebration of the communion, to pray unto God for them, and to accept their common alms, which they at ſuch times did ſend for the help of their poor brethren and ſiſters; and for this cauſe was it called Miſſa, as learned men do witneſs. At which celebration of the maſs, all that were preſent did communicate under both kinds, according to Chriſt's inſtitution, as they did in St. Auguſtine's time. But unleſs you can ſhew that your maſs is uſed as it then was, ye ſhall never, by the name of maſs (which St. Auguſtine attributed to the true uſe of the communion) prove your private maſs to be a ſacrament, unleſs you can prove the ſame now to be in your maſſes as was then, which is clean contrary.

Harpsfield. What, deny you the maſs to be a ſacrament? for ſhame ſpeak it not.

Philpot. I will not be aſhamed to deny it, if you cannot prove it.

Harpsfield, Why, it is a ſacrifice, which is more than a ſacrament.

Philpot. You may make of it as much as you liſt: but you ſhall never make it a ſacrifice, as you imagine thereof, but firſt it muſt be a ſacrament, for of the ſacrament you deduce your ſacrifice.

Harpsfield.

Harpsfield. Why, doth not Chriſt ſay, "This is my body?" and doth not the prieſt pronounce the ſame that Chriſt did?

Philpot. The pronunciation only is not enough, unleſs the words be therewithal applied to the uſe, as Chriſt ſpake them to. For tho' ye ſpeak the words of baptiſm over water never ſo many times, yet there is no baptiſm unleſs there be a chriſtian perſon to be baptized.

Harpsfield. Nay, that is not alike; for, Hoc eſt corpus meum, is an indicative propoſition, ſhewing a working of God in the ſubſtance of bread and wine.

Philpot. It is not only an indicative propoſition, but alſo imperative or commanding. For he that ſaid, Hoc eſt corpus meum, that is, "This is my body," ſaid alſo, Accipite, manducate, that is, Take ye, eat ye. And except the former part of the inſtitution of Chriſt's ſacrament be accompliſhed according to the communion; the latter, "This is my body," can have no verification, take it which way you will, and how you will.

Morrow-maſs chaplain. Why then you will make the ſacrament to ſtand in the receiving, and that receiving maketh it a ſacrament.

Philpot. I do not ſay, that the receiving only maketh it a ſacrament; but I ſay, that a common receiving muſt needs be concurrent with the true ſacrament, as a neceſſary member, without which it cannot be a ſacrament, becauſe Chriſt hath made this a principal part of the ſacrament, "Take ye, eat ye," which you do not in your maſs according to Chriſt's inſtitution; wherefore, it can be no ſacrament; for that it wanteth of Chriſt's inſtitution.

Coſins. We do forbid none to come to it, but as many as liſt may be partakers with us at the maſs if they require it.

Philpot. Nay, that they ſhall not, tho' they require it, you will miniſter but one kind unto them, which is not after Chriſt's inſtitution. Beſides that, you ought before you go to maſs, to exhort all that be preſent, to make a ſacrifice of thankſgiving, for Chriſt's paſſion with you, and exhort them to be partakers with you, according to Chriſt's commandment, ſaying unto all that be preſent, "Take ye, eat ye:" and likewiſe by preaching ſhew forth the Lord's death, which you do not.

Coſins. What if all things be done, even as you would have it, and whilſt the miniſter is about to adminiſter the ſacrament, before any have received it there ariſe a ſudden hurlyburly, that the communicants be compelled to go away; is it not a ſacrament for all that none hath communicated beſides the prieſt?

Philpot. In this caſe, where all things are appointed to be done according to God's word, if incident neceſſity had not hindered, I cannot ſay but it is a ſacrament, and that he who hath received, hath received the true ſacrament. After this, the morrow-maſs prieſt made this apiſh reaſon.

Morrow-maſs prieſt. If the ſacrament of the maſs be no ſacrament, unleſs all do receive it, becauſe Chriſt ſaid, "Take ye, eat ye," then the ſacrament of baptiſm is no ſacrament where there is but one baptized, becauſe Chriſt ſaid to his apoſtles, "Go preach the goſpel to all creatures, baptizing all nations, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt."

Philpot. In that ſaying of Chriſt, "Baptizing all nations," is a commandment to the apoſtles, to baptize all ſorts of men, and to exclude none that believe, be he Gentile or Jew, not meaning all at once, for that were impoſſible. And there are many examples that baptiſm may be ſingularly miniſtered to one perſon, as we have example of Chriſt baptized of John, and in the Eunuch baptized of Philip, with many more ſuch like: but ſo have you not of the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, but contrariwiſe by the expreſs words of St. Paul, you are commanded to uſe it in a communion and participation of many together; 1 Cor. 11. "As oft as ye come together to eat (meaning the Lord's ſupper), tarry one for another." And alſo the miniſter in the celebration of the ſacrament ſpeaketh unto all that be preſent in Chriſt's behalf, to communicate with him, ſaying, "Take ye, eat ye." Wherefore, as many as be preſent and do not communicate, break God's commandment in not receiving the ſame, and the miniſter is no juſt miniſter that doth not diſtribute the ſacrament as Chriſt did, to all that are preſent; and where God's word is tranſgreſſed, there is not Chriſt preſent, and conſequently it is no ſacrament.

Harpsfield. What, would you have it no ſacrament without it be a communion?

Philpot. I make it not ſo, but God's expreſs word teacheth me ſo, yea, alſo all the ancient writers; as Chryſoſtom writing upon the epiſtle to the Epheſians, ſaith, That the oblation is in vain, where none doth communicate with the prieſt. If by his judgment the action of the prieſt alone is in vain, where is no communion, how can that be a ſacrament, which he calleth a vain oblation, and a vain ſtanding at the altar?

Coſins. Such a fellow I have never heard, you will not have the maſs to be a ſacrament; you are no man for me to reaſon withal. Come, let us go, pointing to the morrow-maſs chaplain: we will leave you (Mr. Archdeacon) and him together; and ſo they went away. Afterward the archdeacon fell into earneſt perſuaſions with me, ſaying:

Harpsfield. Mr. Philpot, you and I have been acquainted theſe many years; we were ſchool-fellows both in Wincheſter and in Oxford. Wherefore I muſt wiſh you as well to do as myſelf, and I pray you ſo think of me.

Philpot. I thank you for your good will towards me. But if you be deceived (as I am ſure you are) I ſhall deſire you not to wiſh me deceived with you. For before God I tell you plainly, you are highly deceived, and maintain falſe religion, and be not thoſe men you take yourſelves for: and if you do not repent, and leave off your perſecuting of Chriſt's truth, you will go to the devil for it. Therefore conſider it in time, I give you warning, for elſe in the day of judgment I ſhall be a witneſs againſt you, that I told you this here talking together.

Harpsfield. Fy, that is but your own ſingular opinion; I perceive you are now ſtill that man you were in Oxford.

Philpot. I truſt you can report no notorious evil that ever you knew by me there.

Harpsfield. I can ſay no evil of your converſation, but I knew you to be a ſtudious man. Marry, if you remember when we met in diſputation in Parvis, you would not lightly give over, and for that cauſe I ſpeak what I have ſaid.

Philpot. Mr. Harpsfield, you know in the ſchools of Oxford, when we were young men, we did ſtrive much upon vain-glory, and upon contention, more than for the truth; but now our years and our riper learning teach us to fall to a truth, which muſt be our portion for ever. And if I was then, in my time of ignorance, earneſt in my own cauſe, I ought now to be earneſt in my maſter Chriſt's cauſe, and his truth. I know now that nothing done upon vain-glory and ſingularity can pleaſe God, have it never ſo godly a ſhew: wherefore I pray you judge not ſo of me now.

Harpsfield. What, will you think yourſelf better learned, than all the learned men in this realm?

Philpot. My faith hangeth not upon the learned of the world, but upon the learned of God's word.

Harpsfield. Well, I will talk with you no more as now, but pray to God to open your heart.

Philpot. I pray God open both our hearts, to do more his will, than we have done in times paſt.

Harpsfield. Ho, keeper, take him away with you.

Philpot. I pray you, Mr. Harpsfield, tell me what this pronoun (Hoc) doth demonſtrate and ſhew, in this indicative

indicative propoſition, as you call it, Hoc eſt corpus meum, This is my body?

Harpsfield. It doth demonſtrate the ſubſtance of bread, which by the words ſpoken by the prieſt, and by the omnipotency of God, is turned into the ſubſtance of Chriſt's very body.

Philpot. Is the ſubſtance of bread, as you ſay, turned into Chriſt's body?

Harpsfield. Yea, that it is.

Philpot. Why, then Chriſt's body receiveth daily a great increaſe of many thouſand pieces of bread into his body, and that is his body become now, which was not before, and by this you would ſeem to make, that there is an alteration in Chriſt's glorified body, which is a wicked thing to think.

Harpsfield. Then he fetched about again, and remembering himſelf better, and ſeeing the inconvenience of his firſt aſſertion, of the tranſubſtantiation of bread into Chriſt's body, he ſaid, That the ſubſtance of bread, after the words ſpoken by the prieſt, was evacuated or vaniſhed away by the omnipotency of God.

Philpot. This is another ſong than you ſang firſt: and here you may ſee how contrary you are to yourſelves. For indeed your ſchoolmen do hold, That the very Subſtance of bread is really turned into the very ſubſtance of Chriſt's body. And now you perceiving of late the inconvenience which is objected againſt you in that opinion, you are driven to imagine a new ſhift, and ſay, The ſubſtance of bread is evacuated, contrary to that which your church hath at firſt believed and taught. O what contrariety is there among you, and all to deface the ſincere truth?

Harpsfield. Is not God omnipotent? and cannot he do as he hath ſaid?

Philpot. But his omnipotence will not do as you ſay, contrary to his word and to his honour. It is not God's honour to include him bodily into a piece of bread, and of neceſſity to tie him thereto. It is not God's honour for you to make a piece of bread God and man, which you ſee before your face doth putrify after a certain time. Is not God's omnipotence as able to give his body with the ſacramental bread, as to make ſo many turnings away of the bread, as you do, and that directly againſt the ſcripture, which calleth it bread many times after conſecration? Are you not aſhamed to make ſo many alterations of the Lord's holy inſtitution as you do, and to take away the ſubſtantial parts of the ſacrament, as, "Take ye, eat ye, drink ye all of this: do ye this in remembrance of me:" and to place in their ſtead, Hear ye, gaze ye, knock ye, worſhip ye, offer ye, ſacrifice ye for the quick and the dead? If this be not blaſphemy to God and his ſacraments, to add and to pluck away in this ſort, and that contrary to the mind of all ancient writers, and contrary to the example of Chriſt and his apoſtles, tell me.

Harpsfield. I know you have gathered the ſayings of the doctors together which make for your purpoſe; I will talk no longer with you.

Philpot. I pray God open both our hearts, to do more his will than we have done in times paſt.

Harpsfield. Ho, keeper, take him away with you.

The tenth Examination of Mr. Philpot, before Biſhop Bonner, his Regiſter, and Others.

THE next day after dinner, I was brought into my lord's upper hall, and there he called me before him and his regiſter, and before Dr. Chedſey, in the preſence of two homely gentlemen, and a prieſt which I knew not: at which time the biſhop ſaid;

Bonner. I do lay unto this man in your preſence (requiring you to be a witneſs againſt him, as much as you know in any of them), theſe articles, this book of the catechiſm made in king Edward's days; alſo theſe concluſions agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge; alſo I lay unto him, that he hath deſpiſed the cenſures of the church, and hath ſtood accurſed above this twelvemonth, and never required abſolution thereof. How ſay you, wert thou not accurſed by my lord chancellor?

Philpot. I was excommunicated by him wrongfully, and without any juſt cauſe, and without order of law, being never perſonally cited.

Bonner. Didſt thou not tell me the other day when I required thee to come to the maſs, that thou waſt excommunicated, and therefore by the law couldſt not hear maſs? How long haſt thou been thus excommunicated?

Philpot. More than a year and a half.

Bonner. Lo, you may hear what he ſaith: write it.

Philpot. But as you would have written that I have ſaid, I have been thus long excommunicated; ſo alſo let him write, that I did require of my lord chancellor that did excommunicate me, my abſolution, but he would not give it me, ſaying, That I was Excommunicatus ipſo jure, becauſe I was an heretic, as it pleaſed him to call me, therefore accurſed by your law, and ſo commanded me to priſon, where I remain.

Gentleman. Why do you not require abſolution at my lord's hands here now?

Philpot. Becauſe he is not mine ordinary, neither hath by the law any thing to do with me of right.

Bonner. What an obſtinate fool is this? I tell thee I will be thine ordinary whether thou wilt or no.

Philpot. And becauſe of this your unrighteous force towards me, I have appealed from you, and require you, Mr. Regiſter, that my appeal may be entered in writing.

Bonner. Have you heard ſuch a froward fellow as this? He ſeemed yeſterday to be very tractable, and I had a good hope of him. I tell thee that thou art of my dioceſe.

Philpot. I am of Wincheſter dioceſe, and not of London dioceſe.

Bonner. I pray you may not a man be of two dioceſes at once?

Philpot. No, that he cannot.

Bonner. Lo, will you ſee what an ignorant fool this is in the law, in which he would ſeem to be ſeen? I tell thee a man may be of three dioceſes at once: as if thou wert born in London, by reaſon thereof thou ſhouldſt be of my dioceſe; or elſe if thou wert not born, but hadſt a dignity here, alſo thou art to be counted of my dioceſe; or elſe by reaſon of thy habitation in my dioceſe.

Philpot. In none of theſe reſpects am I of your lordſhip's dioceſe. But for all that, this will not follow, that I dwelling at Wincheſter, am at that preſent of London dioceſe.

Bonner. What wilt thou lay thereof? Wilt thou recant if I prove it?

Philpot. But what ſhall I win if you do not?

Bonner. I will give thee my biſhopric, if I prove it not.

Philpot. Yea, but who ſhall deliver it me, if I win?

Bonner. Thou art an arrogant fool, enter their oaths, and take theſe witneſſes depoſitions. I muſt be gone to the parliament-houſe.

After this a prieſt, who was ſtanding by, aſked me, whether I was kin to my lord Rich, or no?

I ſaid, My lord Rich ſaid ſo himſelf to me the other day, but how I know not.

Chedſey. I heard him ſay he was his nigh kinſman.

Baalamite. Why then you and I muſt be of kin, for he is my nigh kinſman. How chance it that you and I be of contrary judgments?

Philpot. It is no marvel, for Chriſt propheſied "That the father ſhall be divided againſt the ſon, and the ſon againſt the father, for my truth ſake."

Baalamite. You do hold, as I underſtand, againſt the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, and againſt the holy maſs.

Philpot.

Philpot. If you can prove it a ſacrament, I will not hold againſt you.

Baalamite. What, prove it a ſacrament, ſaid he? Doth not St. Paul ſay, "That ſuch things as the eye hath not ſeen, neither ear heard, hath God prepared for them that love him?"

Philpot. That ſaying of St. Paul concerneth nothing your ſacrament, but is meant of the heavenly joys that are prepared for all faithful believers.

Baalamite. Why then I perceive you underſtand not St. Paul. By God, you are deceived.

Philpot. You ought not to ſwear, kinſman, if you will that I ſhall ſo call you: and without diſ-worſhip of our kindred, I underſtand St. Paul as well as you, and know what I ſay: and with that ſhewed him a Greek teſtament with Eraſmus's tranſlation, and with the old alſo, demanding him which text he was beſt acquainted withal.

Baalamite. I knew Greek too once, as well as you, I care not which you read.

Philpot. You know them then all alike; you underſtand the one as well as the other. With this my Baalamite kinſman departed in a fury.

The next day after, I was brought down again after dinner to the chapel, and there my Baalamite kinſman (to verify the ſcriptures, that a man's own kinsfolks ſhall be his enemies), came in with the biſhop as a witneſs againſt me: and there the biſhop cauſed another that came to him about other matters, to ſwear alſo to be a witneſs againſt me, who was a prieſt alſo, ſaying:

Bonner. You ſhall ſwear to diſpoſe all the truth of certain articles you ſhall be enquired of concerning this man: and here I (according to the law) do bring them forth in thy preſence.

Philpot. My lord, I do agree to the production of them, but do appeal from all theſe and other your proceedings againſt me; and require you, Mr. Regiſter, that my appeal may be entered, and I will give you for your labour.

Regiſter. Your appeal ſhall be entered at leiſure. Whom do you appeal unto? tell me.

Philpot. I appeal to a higher judge, as to the lieutenant of the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, for I know not who is biſhop thereof at this preſent. With that the biſhop went away, and my Baalamite kinſman looking big upon me, but ſaid never a word.

Thus have I in haſte ſcribbled out all mine examinations hitherto, that the ſame which hath been done unto me in dark might come to light; and that the papiſts unjuſt proceedings, and nakedneſs in their falſe religion, might be known to their confuſion. Jeſus is Emmanuel, that is, God with us, Amen, 1555.

The eleventh Examination of Mr. Philpot, on St. Andrew's Day, before the Biſhops of Durham, Chicheſter, Bath, and London, Mr. Chriſtopherſon, Dr. Chedſey, Mr. Morgan of Oxford, Mr. Huſſey, Dr. Weſton, Dr. Harpsfield Archdeacon, Mr. Coſins, and Mr. Johnſon, Regiſter to the Biſhop of London, in his Palace.

BEING ſent for with my keeper, the biſhop of London met me in his hall-door, and full mannerly he played the gentleman uſher to bring me before the lords, ſaying:

My lords, I ſhall deſire you to take ſome pains with this man, he is a gentleman, and I would he ſhould do well, but he will wilfully caſt away himſelf.

Durham. Come hither, Sir, what is your name?

Philpot. My name is Philpot.

Durham. I have heard of that name to be a worſhipful ſtock, and ſince you are a gentleman, do as you may live worſhipfully among other gentlemen. What is the cauſe of your trouble now?

I told him the cauſe, as in my former examinations is expreſſed.

Durham. Well, all cauſes ſet apart, will you now be a conformable man to the catholic faith, and leave all new-fangled opinions and hereſies: I was in Germany with Luther, at the beginning of theſe opinions, and can tell how they began. Leave them, and follow the catholic church throughout the whole world, as the whole realm now doth.

Philpot. My lord, I am in the catholic faith, and deſire to live and die in the ſame: but it is not unknown to your lordſhip that I with others theſe twenty years have been taught another manner of faith than you now go about to compel us unto; wherefore it is requiſite that we have a time to weigh the ſame, and to hear how it agreeth with God's word. For faith is at a ſudden neither won, neither removed, but as St. Paul ſaith, "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word."

Chicheſter. And if you will give me leave, my lord, I will ſhew him how he taketh the ſaying of St. Paul amiſs, as many others now-a-days alledging the ſame do, that they ought not to be compelled to believe, whereas St. Paul meaneth of infidels, and not be of the faithful; and ſo St. Auſtin, writing againſt the Donatiſts ſaith, That the faithful may be compelled to believe.

Philpot. St. Bernard (if it pleaſe your lordſhip), doth take that ſenſe of St. Paul as I do, ſaying, that faith muſt be perſuaded to a man, and not injoined. And St. Auguſtine ſpeaketh of ſuch as were firſt thoroughly perſuaded by manifeſt ſcriptures, and yet would reſiſt of ſtubborn wilfulneſs.

Chicheſter. So Bernard meaneth of infidels alſo.

Philpot. No, my lord, that he doth not, for he writeth not of the infidels, but he writeth of ſuch as were deceived by errors.

Chicheſter. My lord of Durham, I have been ſo bold to interrupt your lordſhip of your tale, I pray you now proceed on.

Durham. Mr. Philpot, will you be of the ſame catholic faith and church with us you were baptized in, and your godfathers promiſed for you, and hold as we do, and then may you be rid out of trouble? I perceive you are learned, and it is pity but you ſhould do well.

Philpot. I am of the ſame catholic faith and catholic church I was baptized unto, and in that will I live and die.

Durham. That is well ſaid; if you hold there you cannot do but well.

Chicheſter. Yea, my lord, but he meaneth otherwiſe than you do. Are you of the ſame faith your godfathers and godmothers were, or no?

Philpot. I cannot tell what faith they were of certainly, but I am of the faith I was baptized unto, which is the faith of Chriſt: for I was not baptized into the faith of my godfathers, but in the faith of Chriſt.

Chicheſter. St. Auſtin ſaith, That infants are baptized in the faith of their godfathers.

Philpot. St. Auguſtine in ſo ſaying, meaneth of the faith of Chriſt, which the godfathers do, or ought to believe, and not otherwiſe.

Durham. How ſay you, will you believe as we do, and all the learned of the realm, or no? and be of one church with us?

Philpot. My lords, it is not unknown to you, that there hath been always two churches.

Chicheſter. Nay, that is not ſo: there is but one catholic church.

Philpot. I ſhall deſire your lordſhips to hear out my tale, and to take my meaning. For I know there is but one true church; but always from the beginning there hath been joined to the ſame true church a falſe church, adverſary to the true: and that was declared at the firſt in

in Abel and Cain, who perſecuted and ſlew his brother, in whom (as St. Auguſtine witneſſeth) is repreſented the falſe and true church. And after that, as ſoon as God had choſen his peculiar people, and ſhewed unto them his ſanctuary, holy ſtatutes, and will, anon after roſe the falſe church, and ten of the twelve tribes of Iſrael divided themſelves from the true church of Judah and Benjamin, and made to themſelves at Bethel, and ſet up golden calves, and yet pretended therewith to ſerve God, and abuſed his word. Notwithſtanding, God was diſpleaſed with them, and ceaſed not his wrath, until he had utterly deſtroyed them.

Chicheſter. I will grant you, before the coming of Chriſt there were two churches in the old law; but in the new law ſince Chriſt's coming, you cannot ſhew it to be ſo by the ſcripture.

Philpot. Yes, my lord, that I can, if you give me leave. After Chriſt had choſen his twelve apoſtles, was there not a Judas in the new law, and a Simon Magus? and were not they of the falſe church?

Chicheſter. Yea, but I mean after the goſpel was written, where can you find me two churches after Chriſt had aſcended, and ſent the Holy Ghoſt?

Philpot. The goſpel was within eight years after the aſcenſion written by St. Matthew, and the writing thereof is not material to the declaration of theſe two churches to have been always from time to time, as by example it may be ſhewed: and yet as bad as my memory is, I remember, in the New Teſtament, is mention made of two churches, as it appeareth in the Revelations, and alſo as St. Paul to the Theſſalonians maketh mention, that Antichriſt, with his falſe generation, ſhall ſit in the temple of God. To which Chicheſter replied not.

Durham. The church, in the ſcripture, is likened to a great fiſher's net, which containeth in it both good fiſh and bad fiſh. I truſt you will be of the better ſort, and lean to the truth.

Philpot. My lord, it is my whole deſire now to follow that which is good, whatſoever I have done in times paſt, and to cleave to God's truth.

Durham. Do you ſo, and then ſhall you do well: it is almoſt night, my lord of London, I muſt needs be gone.

Bonner. Nay, my lord of Durham, I muſt deſire your lordſhip, and my lord of Chicheſter, to tarry a little while. And before he had ſo ſaid, the biſhop of Bath went his way without ſaying any word. What, my lord of Bath, will you be gone? I pray you tarry. My lords, I have earneſt matters to charge this man withal, whereof I would your lordſhips to be made privy, and I have them here written in a libel. I pray you ſit down again, or elſe I will. Firſt, I lay to him here, that he hath written in a bible, which I took from him, this erroneous ſaying, Quod Spiritus eſt Vicarius Chriſti in terra; that is, "The Holy Ghoſt is Chriſt's vicar in earth." Wilt thou abide by this ſaying of thine, that the Spirit is Chriſt's vicar on earth?

Philpot. My lord, it is not my ſaying, it is a more learned man's than mine: for I uſe not to write mine own ſayings, but the notable ſayings of other ancient writers, as all others be where ye find the ſame written. And as I remember, it is even the ſaying of St. Bernard, and a ſaying that I need not be aſhamed of, neither you to be offended at, as my lord of Durham, and my lord of Chicheſter, by their learning, can diſcern, and will not reckon it ill ſaid.

Bonner. Will they not? Why, take away the firſt ſyllable, and it ſoundeth Arius.

Philpot. That is far-fetched indeed; if your lordſhip will ſcan men's ſayings in ſuch wiſe, you may find out what you liſt.

Bonner. But to help this, I find moreover with his own hand in another book; In me Johanne Philpotto ubi abundavit peccatum, ſuperabundavit & gratia; that is, "In me, John Philpot, where ſin did abound, grace hath ſuperabounded." I pray you what ſuperabundant grace have you more than other men? So ſaid Arius, That he had the abundance of grace above all others.

Philpot. My lord, you need not be offended with that ſaying more than the other, for it is the ſaying of St. Paul himſelf, and I did apply it to myſelf for my comfort, knowing that though my ſins be huge and great in the ſight of God, yet is his mercy and grace above them all. And concerning Arius and his adherents, I defy them, and it is well known that I have written againſt them.

Bonner. Alſo I lay to thy charge that thou killedſt thy father, and waſt accurſed of thy mother in her death-bed, as I can bring witneſs thereof.

Philpot. O Lord, what blaſphemy is this! Hath your lordſhip nothing of truth to charge me withal, (but as I may ſpeak it with your honour) ſuch blaſphemous lyes? If any of theſe can be proved, I will promiſe here to recant at Paul's Croſs, what you will have me: I am ſo ſure they are as great blaſphemies as may be objected againſt any man. Ha, my lords, I pray you, conſider how my lord of London hath hitherto proceeded againſt me: For indeed he hath none other but ſuch pretenſed ſlanderous lyes.

Chicheſter. They be Parerga; that is, matter beſide the purpoſe.

Durham. My lord, I muſt needs bid you farewel.

Bonner. Nay, my lord, here is a letter which I ſhall deſire you to hear ere you go. This man (being in my keeping) hath taken upon him to write letters out of priſon, and to pervert a young gentleman, called Mr. Green, in my houſe, (call him hither) and hath made a falſe report of his examination, as you ſhall hear, not being content to be evil himſelf, but to make others as bad as himſelf. He tare the letter when he ſaw my man went about to ſearch him, but yet I have pieced it again together, and cauſed a copy to be written thereof: and he read the torn letter, bidding Mr. Chriſtopherſon and Morgan to mark the copy thereof.

The contents of the letter was the examination of Mr. Green before the biſhop of London, in the preſence of Mr. Fecknam dean of Paul's, and of divers others, whoſe ready anſwers in the ſcriptures and in the doctors were wondered at by the dean himſelf, and of many others, as Fecknam did report: and that he was committed to Dr. Chedſey, and to have his meat from the biſhop's own table. How ſay you, my lords, was this well done of him, being my priſoner, to write this? and yet he hath written a ſhameful lye, that he was in Dr. Chedſey's keeping. How ſay you, Mr. Dr. Chedſey, is it not a ſhameful lye?

Chedſey. Yes, my lord, he never was in my keeping.

Bonner. Art thou not aſhamed to write ſuch ſhameful letters? Come hither, Mr. Green, Did not I ſhew you this letter?

Green. Yea forſooth, my lord, you ſhewed it me.

Bonner. How think you, my lords, is not this an honeſt man to belye me?

Philpot. Your lordſhip doth miſtake all things. This letter (as your lordſhip may perceive, and all others that have heard the ſame) was not written by me, but by a friend of mine, certifying me, at my requeſt, how Mr. Green ſped at the biſhop of London's hands: and there is nothing in the letter that either I, or he that wrote it, need to fear, but that might be written as my report.

Bonner. Then tell me who wrote it, if you dare.

Philpot. No, my lord, it is not my duty to accuſe my friend: and eſpecially ſeeing you will take all things at the worſt: neither ſhall you ever know of me who wrote it. Your lordſhip may ſee, in the end of the letter, that my friend did write unto me upon occaſion of my appeal which I have made to the whole parliament-houſe about ſuch matter as I am wrongfully troubled for.

Bonner. I would ſee any ſo hardy to put up thine appeal.

Philpot,

Philpot. My lord, I cannot tell what God will work, I have written it, ſpeed it as it may.

Bonner. My lords, I have uſed him with much gentleneſs ſince he came to me. How ſayeſt thou, have I not?

Philpot. If to lie in the vileſt priſon in this town (being a gentleman and an archdeacon, and in a coal-houſe, for the ſpace of five or ſix weeks already, without fire or candle, may be counted gentleneſs at your hands, I muſt needs ſay I have found gentleneſs. But there were never men ſo cruelly handled as we are at theſe days.

Bonner. Lo, what a varlet is this. Beſides this, my lords, even yeſterday he procured his man to bring a bladder of black powder, I cannot tell for what purpoſe.

Philpot. Your lordſhip needeth not to miſtruſt the matter: it is nothing but to make ink withal for lack of ink, as I had it before in the King's-Bench when my keeper took away my inkhorn.

Bonner. And why ſhouldſt thou go about any ſuch thing unknown to me, being thy keeper? for I am thy keeper in this houſe, I tell thee.

Philpot. My lord, becauſe you have cauſed my pen-caſe and inkhorn to be taken from me, I would yet be glad my friends ſhould know what I lack, not that I intend to write any thing that I would be afraid ſhould come to your ſight.

Bonner. More than this, my lords, he cauſed a pig to be roaſted, and made a knife be put between the ſkin and the fleſh, for what purpoſe, judge you. How ſayſt thou, didſt thou not ſo?

Philpot. I cannot deny but there was half pig ſent me, and under the ſame a knife lying in the ſauce, but for no ill purpoſe that I know; your lordſhip may judge what you will. It was not to kill myſelf, nor any other, as you would have men to believe; for I was never yet without a knife ſince I came to priſon. Therefore all theſe are but falſe ſurmiſes, and not worth rehearſal.

Bonner. I have here to lay to his charge (chiefeſt of all) his book of the report of the diſputation in the convocation-houſe, which is the rankeſt hereſy that may be againſt the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar. How ſay you Mr. Dr. Weſton, did he maintain the ſame there ſtubbornly, or no?

Weſton. Yea, my lord, that he did, and would never be anſwered. And it is pity that the ſame worſhipful congregation ſhould be ſlandered with ſuch untrue reports.

Philpot. You anſwered me indeed, Mr. Doctor (being then prolocutor) goodly, with, Hold thy peace, and, Have him to priſon, and, Put him out of the houſe. I have read the book, and I find the report of every man's argument to be true in all points. And if there be any fault, it is, becauſe he ſetteth forth your doings too favourably, and nothing like to that you did uſe me, being an archdeacon, and not of the worſt in the houſe.

Weſton. Thou art no archdeacon.

Philpot. Indeed, Mr. Doctor, ye have amongſt you un-archdeaconed me as now, (I thank God for it) and that without all order of law.

Bonner. I pray you, my lords, hearken to what he writeth of himſelf, I read it over this morning, and made a note of it. He ſaid that Dr. Weſton called him frantic and mad-man, and ſaid, he ſhould go to Bedlam.

Philpot. Indeed, my lord, ſo it pleaſed Dr. Weſton to taunt at me, and ſay his ſhameful pleaſure, but yet I was not one whit the more ſo for all his ſayings, than Chriſt was when the ſcribes and phariſees ſaid likewiſe he was mad, and that he was poſſeſſed of a devil moſt blaſphemouſly.

Durham. My lord of London, I can tarry no longer, I muſt needs bid you farewel. Mr. Philpot, methinketh you have ſaid well that you will abide in the catholic faith, and in the catholic church: I pray you ſo do, and you ſhall do right well. And ſo departed with Dr. Weſton and Mr. Huſſey.

Philpot. I have purpoſed ſo to do, howſoever I ſpeed, by God's grace.

Bonner. I pray you, my lord of Chicheſter, and Mr. Prolocutor, and Mr. Dr. Morgan, to commune with him while I bring my lord of Durham going.

Chriſtopherſon. Mr. Philpot, I was acquainted with you at Rome, if you remember it, but you have forgotten me, and talked ſomewhat with you of theſe matters, and I find you now the ſame man that you were then, I wiſh it were otherwiſe. For God's ſake be conformable to men that be better learned than you, and ſtand not in your own conceit.

Philpot. Whereas you call me in remembrance of acquaintance had at Rome, indeed it was ſo, though it were but very ſtrange on your part to me-ward, being driven to neceſſity.

Chriſtopherſon. You know the world was dangerous at that time.

Philpot. Nothing ſo dangerous as it is now: but let that paſs. Whereas you ſay, you find me to be the ſame man I was then, I praiſe God that you ſee me not like a reed wavering with every wind. And whereas you would have me follow better learned men than myſelf: indeed I acknowledge that you, with a great many others, are far better learned than I, whoſe books, in reſpect of learning, I am not worthy to carry after you: but faith and the wiſdom of God conſiſteth not in learning only, and therefore St. Paul willeth that our faith be not grounded upon the wiſdom of man. If you can ſhew by learning out of God's book, that I ought to be of another faith than I am, I will hear you, and any other man whatſoever he be.

Chriſtopherſon. I marvel why you ſhould diſſent from the catholic church, ſince it hath thus long univerſally been received, except within theſe five or ſix years here in England.

Philpot. I do not diſſent from the true catholic church, I do only diſſent from the biſhop of Rome, which if you can prove to be the catholic church of Chriſt, I will be of the ſame alſo with you.

Chriſtopherſon. Will you believe St. Cyprian, if I can ſhew out of him, That the church of Rome is ſuch a one unto which miſbelief cannot approach?

Philpot. I am ſure you cannot ſhew any ſuch ſaying out of St. Cyprian.

Chriſtopherſon. What will you lay thereon?

Philpot. I will lay as much as I am able to make.

Morgan. Will you promiſe to recant, if I ſhew his ſaying to be true?

Philpot. My faith ſhall not hang upon any doctor's ſaying, further than he ſhall be able to prove the ſame by God's word,

Chriſtopherſon. I will go fetch the book, and ſhew it him by and by; and therewithal he went in the biſhop's ſtudy, and brought Cyprian, and pointed out theſe words in one of his epiſtles, Ad Romanos autem, quorum fides Apoſtolo predicante laudata eſt, non proteſt accedere perfidia: that is, "But unto the Romans, whoſe faith by the teſtimony of the apoſtle is praiſed, miſbelief can have no acceſs."

Philpot. Theſe words of St. Cyprian do nothing prove your pretenced aſſertion, which is, That to the church of Rome there could come no miſbelief.

Chriſtopherſon. Good Lord, doth it not? What can be ſaid more plainly?

Philpot. He ſpeaketh not of the church of Rome abſolutely.

Chriſtopherſon. By God, a child that can but ſay his grammar will not deny that you do, the words be ſo plain.

Philpot. Swear not, Mr. Doctor, but weigh Cyprian's words with me, and I ſhall make you to ſay as I have ſaid.

Chriſtopherſon. I am no doctor, but I perceive it is but labour loſt to reaſon with you.

And with that the biſhop of London came in blowing again and ſaid, What, is my lord of Chicheſter gone away alſo? (for he even a little before departed alſo without any other word, than that he muſt needs be gone.) What (ſays Bonner) is the matter you now ſtand upon?

Morgan. Mr. Chriſtopherſon hath ſhewed Mr. Philpot a notable place of the authority of the church of Rome, and he maketh nothing of it.

Bonner. Where is the place? let me ſee. By my faith here is a place alone. Come hither, Sir, what ſay you to this? Nay, tarry a while, I will help this place with St. Paul's own teſtimony, in the firſt chapter to the Romans, where he ſaith, That their faith is preached throughout the world: How can you be able to anſwer to this?

Philpot. Yes, my lord, it is ſoon anſwered, if you will conſider all the words of Cyprian; for he ſpeaketh of ſuch as in his time were faithful at Rome, and followed the doctrine of St. Paul, as he had taught them, and as it was notified throughout the world, by an epiſtle which he had written in the commendation of their faith. With ſuch as are praiſed by St. Paul at Rome, for following the true faith, miſbelief can have no place. And if you can ſhew, that the faith which the church of Rome holdeth now, is that faith which the apoſtle praiſed and allowed in the Romans in his time, then will I ſay what St. Cyprian then ſaid, and with you, That infidelity can have no place there; but otherwiſe it maketh not abſolutely for the authority of the church of Rome, as you do miſtake it.

Chriſtopherſon. You underſtand Cyprian well indeed; I think you never read him in your life.

Philpot. Yes, Mr. Doctor, that I have, I can ſhew you a book noted with mine own hand: though I have not read ſo much as you, yet I have read ſomewhat. It is a ſhame for you to wreſt and wreath the doctors as you do, to maintain a falſe religion, which be altogether againſt you, if you take them aright: and indeed your falſe packing of doctors together hath given me and others occaſion to look upon them, whereby we find you ſhameful lyars, and miſreporters of the ancient doctors.

Morgan. What, will you be in hand to allow doctors now? they of your ſect do not ſo. I marvel therefore that you will allow them.

Philpot. I do allow them in as much as they do agree with the ſcriptures, and ſo do all they which be of the truth, howſoever you term us, and I praiſe God for that good underſtanding I have received by them.

Chriſtopherſon. What, you underſtand not the doctors, you may be aſhamed to ſay it.

Philpot. I thank God, I underſtand them better than you: for you have Excæcationem cordis, The blindneſs of heart; ſo that you underſtand not truly what you read, no more than the wall here, as your taking of Cyprian doth declare. And before God you are but deceivers of the people, for all the brag you make of learning; neither have ye ſcripture or ancient doctors on your ſide, being truly taken.

Morgan. Why, all the doctors be on our ſide, and againſt you altogether.

Philpot. Yea, ſo you ſay when you be in your pulpits alone, and none to anſwer you. But if you will come to caſt accounts with me hereof, I will venture with you a recantation, that I (as little ſight as I have in the doctors) will bring more authorities of ancient doctors on my ſide than you ſhall be able for yours, and he that can bring moſt, to him let the other ſide yield. Are ye willing ſo to do?

Chriſtopherſon. It is but folly to reaſon with you, you will believe no man but yourſelf.

Philpot. I will believe you or any other learned man, if you can bring any thing worthy to be believed. You cannot win me with vain words from my faith. Before God there is no truth in you.

Morgan. What, no truth? no truth? ha, ha, ha,

Philpot. Except the articles of the Trinity, you are corrupt in all other things, and found in nothing.

Morgan. What ſay you, do we not believe well on the ſacrament?

Philpot. It is the thing which (among all others) you do moſt abuſe.

Morgan. Wherein I pray you? tell us.

Philpot. I have told you before, Mr. Doctor, in the convocation-houſe.

Morgan. Yes, Marry: indeed you told us there very well. For there you fell down upon your knees, and fell to weeping, ha, ha, ha.

Philpot. I did weep indeed, and ſo did Chriſt upon Jeruſalem, and am not to be blamed for it, if you conſider the cauſe of my weeping.

Morgan. What, make you yourſelf Chriſt? ha, ha, ha.

Philpot. No, Sir, I make not myſelf Chriſt; but I am not aſhamed to do as my Maſter and Saviour did, to bebewail and lament your infidelity and idolatry, which I there foreſaw through tyranny you would bring again to this realm, as this day doth declare.

Morgan. That is your argument.

Chriſtopherſon. Wherein do we abuſe the ſacrament? tell us.

Philpot. As I may touch but one of the leaſt abuſes, you adminiſter it not in both kinds as you ought to do, but keep the one half from the people, contrary to Chriſt's inſtitution.

Chriſtopherſon. Why, is not there as much contained in one kind, as in both? And what need is it then to miniſter in both kinds?

Philpot. I believe not ſo: for if it had, Chriſt would have given but one kind only: for he inſtituted nothing ſuperfluous: and therefore you cannot ſay that the whole effect of the ſacrament is as well in one kind as in both, ſince the ſcripture teacheth otherwiſe.

Chriſtopherſon. What if I can prove it by ſcripture, that we may adminiſter it in one kind? The apoſtles did ſo, as it may appear in the Acts of the Apoſtles in one or two places, where it is written, that the apoſtles continued "in prayers and in breaking of bread," which is meant of the ſacrament.

Philpot. Why, Mr. Doctor, do you not know that St. Luke, by making mention of breaking of bread, meaneth the whole uſe of the ſacrament according to Chriſt's inſtitution, by a figure which you have learned in grammar, Synecdoche, where part is mentioned, and the whole underſtood to be done, as Chriſt commanded it?

Chriſtopherſon. Nay, that is not ſo: For I can ſhew you out of Euſebius, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, that there was a man of God, whom he named, that ſent the ſacrament in one kind by a boy, to one that was ſick.

Philpot. I have read indeed that they did uſe to give what was left of the communion bread to children, to mariners, and to women, and ſo peradventure the boy might carry a piece of what was left to the ſick man.

Chriſtopherſon. Nay, as a ſacrament it was purpoſely ſent unto him.

Philpot. If it were ſo, yet can you not preciſely ſay, that he had not the cup adminiſtred unto him alſo by ſome other ſent unto him: but though one man did uſe it thus, doth it follow that all men may do the like? St. Cyprian noteth many abuſes of the ſacrament in his time, which roſe upon ſingular mens examples, as uſing of water inſtead of wine; therefore he ſaith, "We muſt not look what any man hath done before us, but what Chriſt firſt of all did and commanded."

Chriſtopherſon. Hath not the church taught us ſo to uſe the ſacrament? And how do we know that Chriſt is Homousios, that is, of one ſubſtance with the Father, but by the determination of the church? How can you prove that otherwiſe by expreſs words of ſcripture, and where find you Homousios in all the ſcripture?

Philpot. Yes that I do in the firſt of the Hebrews, where it is written that Chriſt is the expreſs image of God's own ſubſtance, Ejuſdem ſubſtantiæ.

Chriſtopherſon.

Chriſtopherſon. Nay, that is not ſo. That is, there is no more but Expreſſa imago ſubſtantiæ, The expreſs image of God's ſubſtance, and image is accident.

Philpot. It is in the text, Of his ſubſtance, Subſtantiæ illius, or of his own ſubſtance, as it may be right well interpreted. Beſides this, that which Chriſt ſpake of himſelf in St. John manifeſteth the ſame, ſaying, "I and the Father be one thing, Ego & pater unum ſumus. And whereas you ſay, Imago here is accidence, the ancient fathers uſe this for a ſtrong argument to prove Chriſt to be God, becauſe he is the very image of God.

Chriſtopherſon. Do they? Is this a good argument, becauſe we are the image of God, Ergo, We are God?

Philpot. We are not called the expreſs image of God, as it is written of Chriſt, and we are but the image of God by participation; and as it is written in Geneſis, We are made to the likeneſs and ſimilitude of God. But you ought to know, Mr. Chriſtopherſon, that there is no accident in God, and therefore Chriſt cannot be the image of God, but he muſt be of the ſame ſubſtance with God.

Chriſtopherſon. Tuſh.

Morgan. How ſay you to the preſence of the ſacrament? Will you ſtand here to the judgment of your book, or no? Or will you recant?

Philpot. I know you go about to catch me in words. If you can prove that book to be of my ſetting forth, lay it to my charge when I come to judgment.

Morgan. Speak, be you of the ſame mind as this book is of, or no? Sure I am you were once, unleſs you are become another manner of man than you were.

Philpot. What I was, you know; what I am, I will not tell you now: but this I will ſay to you by the way, that if you can prove the ſacrament of the maſs (as you now uſe it) to be a ſacrament, I will then grant you a preſence; but firſt you muſt prove the ſame a ſacrament, and afterward treat of the preſence.

Morgan. Ho, do you doubt that it is a ſacrament?

Philpot. I am paſt doubting, for I believe you can never be able to prove it a ſacrament.

Chriſtopherſon. Yea, do you? Good Lord, doth not St. Auguſtine call it the ſacrament of the altar? How ſay you to that?

Philpot. That maketh nothing for the probation of your ſacrament. For ſo he with other ancient writers do call the holy communion or ſupper of the Lord, in reſpect that it is the ſacrament of the ſacrifice which Chriſt offered upon the altar of the croſs, which ſacrifice all the altars and ſacrifices done upon the altars, in the old law, did prefigure and ſhadow, which pertaineth nothing to your ſacrament hanging upon your altars of lime and ſtone.

Chriſtopherſon. Doth it not? I pray you what ſignifieth Altar?

Philpot. Not as you falſly take it materially, but for the ſacrifice of the altar of the croſs.

Chriſtopherſon. Where find you it ever ſo taken?

Philpot. Yes that I do in St. Paul to the Hebrews, the thirteenth chapter, where he ſaith, "We have an altar, of which it is not lawful for them to eat that ſerve the tabernacle." Is not altar in this place taken for the ſacrifice of the altar, and not for the altar of lime and ſtone?

Chriſtopherſon. Well, God bleſs me out of your company. You are ſuch an obſtinate heretic, as I have not heard the like.

Philpot. I pray God keep me from ſuch blind doctors, which when they are not able to prove what they ſay, then they fall to reviling (as ye do now) for lack of better proof. In the mean while the biſhop of London was talking with ſome other hard by, and at length came in to ſupply his part, and ſaid:

Bonner. I pray you maſters, hearken what I ſhall ſay to this man. Come hither Mr. Green: And now, Sir, (pointing to me) you cannot think it ſufficient to be naught yourſelf, but muſt go about to procure this young gentleman by your letters to do the like.

Philpot. My lord, he cannot ſay that I ever hitherto wrote unto him concerning any ſuch matter, as he here can teſtify.

Green. No, you never wrote unto me.

Bonner. Why, is not this your letter which you did write concerning him?

Philpot. I have ſhewed your lordſhip my mind concerning that letter already: it was not written to Mr. Green, neither was he privy to the writing thereof.

Bonner. How ſay you then, if a man be in an error, and you know thereof, what are you bound to do in ſuch a caſe?

Philpot. I am bound to do the beſt I can to bring him out of it.

Bonner. If Mr. Green here be in the like, are you not bound to reform him thereof if you can.

Philpot. Yes that I am, and will do the uttermoſt of my power therein.

But the biſhop remembering himſelf, thinking that he would but ſhrewdly after his expectation be holpen at my mouth, but rather confirmed in that which he called an error, ceaſed to go any further in his demand, and called Mr. Green aſide, and before his regiſter read him a letter, I know not the contents thereof: and therewithal he gave Mr. Green the book of my diſputation in the convocation-houſe, and afterwards went aſide, communing with Mr. Chriſtopherſon, leaving of Mr. Morgan, Mr. Harpsfield, and Mr. Coſins, to reaſon with me in the hearing of Mr. Green.

Morgan. Mr. Philpot, I would aſk you how old your religion is?

Philpot. It is older than yours by a thouſand years and more.

Morgan. I pray you where was it fifty years ago?

Philpot. It was in Germany apparent by the teſtimony of Huſs, Jerome of Prague and Wickliff, whom your generation an hundred years ago and more, did burn for preaching the truth unto you; and before their time and ſince hath been, although under perſecution put to ſilence.

Morgan. That is a marvellous ſtrange religion, which no man can tell certainly where to find it.

Philpot. It ought to be no marvel unto you to ſee God's truth through violence oppreſſed; for ſo it hath been from the beginning from time to time, as it appeareth by hiſtory, and as Chriſt's true religion is now to be found here in England, although hypocriſy hath by violence the upper hand. And in the Revelations you may ſee it was propheſied, that the true church ſhould be driven into corners, and into the wilderneſs, and ſuffer great perſecutions.

Morgan. Ah, are you ſeen in the Revelations? there are many ſtrange things.

Philpot. If I tell you the truth which you are not able to refel, believe it, and dally not out ſo earneſt matters: Methinks you are more like a ſcoffer in a play, than a reaſonable doctor to inſtruct a man, you are bare-arſed, and dance naked in a net, and you ſee not your own nakedneſs.

Morgan. What I pray you, be not ſo quick with me, let us talk a little more coldly together.

Philpot. I will talk with you as mildly as you can deſire, if you will ſpeak learnedly and charitably. But if you go about with taunts to delude the truth, I will not hide it from you.

Morgan. Why will not you ſubmit your judgment to the learned men of this realm.

Philpot. Becauſe I ſee they can bring no good ground whereupon I may with a good conſcience ſettle my faith, more ſurely than on that which I am now grounded upon by God's manifeſt word.

Morgan. Can they not? it is marvel that ſo many learned men ſhould be deceived.

Philpot. It is no marvel by St. Paul, for he ſaith, "That not many wiſe, neither many learned after the world be called to the knowledge of the goſpel."

Morgan. Have you then alone the Spirit of God, and not we?

Philpot. I ſay not that I alone have the Spirit of God, but as many as abide in the true faith of Chriſt, have the Spirit of God as well as I.

Morgan. How know you that you have the Spirit of God?

Philpot. By the faith of Chriſt which is in me.

Morgan. Ah, by faith do you ſo? I think it is the ſpirit of the buttery, which your fellows have had that have been burned before you, who were drunk the night before they went to their death, and I believe went drunken unto it.

Philpot. It appeareth by your communication, that you are better acquainted with the ſpirit of the buttery than with the Spirit of God; wherefore I muſt now tell thee, thou painted wall and hypocrite, in the name of the living Lord, whoſe truth I have told thee, that God ſhall rain fire and brimſtone upon ſuch ſcorners of his word and blaſphemers of his people as thou art.

Morgan. What, you rage now.

Philpot. Thy fooliſh blaſphemies have compelled the Spirit of God, which is in me, to ſpeak that which I have ſaid to thee, thou enemy of all righteouſneſs.

Morgan. Why do ye judge me ſo?

Philpot. By thine own wicked words I judge of thee, thou blind and blaſphemous doctor; for as it is written, "By thy words thou ſhalt be juſtified, and by thy words thou ſhalt be condemned." I have ſpoke on God's behalf, and now I have done with thee.

Morgan. Why then I tell thee, Philpot, thou art an heretic, and ſhalt be burned for thine hereſy, and afterwards go to hell-fire.

Philpot. I tell thee, thou hypocrite, that I mind not thy threats of fire and faggots, neither, I thank God my Lord, ſtand in fear of the ſame: my faith in Chriſt ſhall overcome them. But the hell-fire with which thou threatneſt me, is thy portion, and is prepared for thee, (unleſs thou ſpeedily repent), and for ſuch hypocrites as thou art.

Morgan. What, thou ſpeakeſt upon wine, thou haſt tippled well to-day by likelihood.

Philpot. So ſaid the curſed generation to the apoſtles, being repleniſhed with the Holy Ghoſt, and ſpeaking the wondrous works of God, they ſaid they were drunk, when they had nothing elſe to ſay, as thou doſt now.

Morgan. Why, I am of opinion I am able to anſwer thee.

Philpot. So it ſeemeth, with blaſphemies and lyes.

Morgan. Nay, even with learning, ſay what thou canſt.

Philpot. That appeared well at my diſputation in the convocation-houſe, where thou didſt undertake to anſwer thoſe few arguments I was permitted to make, and yet wert not able to anſwer one; but in thine anſwers didſt fumble and ſtammer, that the whole houſe was aſhamed of thee: And the final concluſion of all thine anſwer was, that thou couldſt anſwer me if I were in the ſchools at Oxford.

Morgan. What, did I ſo? thou belyeſt me.

Philpot. I do not bely thee, the book of the report of the diſputation beareth record thereto, and all that were preſent then can tell thou ſaidſt ſo, if they liſt. And I tell thee plain, thou art not able to anſwer that Spirit of truth which ſpeaketh in me for the defence of Chriſt's true religion. I am able by the might thereof to drive thee round about this gallery before me: And if it would pleaſe the queen's majeſty and her council, to hear thee and me, I would make thee for ſhame ſhrink behind the door.

Morgan. Yea, would you ſo?

Philpot. Thou haſt the ſpirit of illuſion and ſophiſtry, which is not able to countervail the Spirit of truth. Thou art but an aſs in the true underſtanding of things appertaining unto God. I call thee aſs, not in reſpect of malice, but in that thou kickeſt againſt the truth, and art void of all godly underſtanding, not able to anſwer to that thou braggeſt in.

Morgan. Why, have I not anſwered thee in all things thou haſt ſaid unto me? I take them to record.

Philpot. Aſk of my fellow whether I be a thief.

Coſins. Hark, he makes us all thieves.

Philpot. You know that phraſe of the proverb, that like will hold with like. And I am ſure you will not judge with me againſt him, ſpeak I never ſo true; and in this ſenſe I ſpeak it. The ſtrongeſt anſwer that he hath made againſt me is, that you will burn me.

Morgan. Why, we do not burn you, it is the temporal men that burn you, and not we.

Philpot. Thus you would (as Pilate did) waſh your hands of all your wicked doings. But I pray you call upon the ſecular power to be executioners of your unrighteous judgments. And have you not a title in your law, De hæreticis comburendis, to burn heretics?

Harpsfield. I have heard you both a good while reaſon together, and I never heard ſo ſtout an heretic as you are, Mr. Philpot.

Coſins. Neither I in all my life.

Philpot. You are not able to prove me an heretic, by one jot of God's word.

Harpsfield. You have the ſpirit of arrogancy, I will reaſon with you no more. And ſo he was departing, and Mr. Coſins alſo. And with that the biſhop and Chriſtopherſon came in again, and ſaid:

Bonner. Mr. Doctor, how doth this man and you agree?

Morgan. My lord, I do aſk him where his church was fifty years ago.

Bonner. Are you not half agreed? as one man ſaid once to two parties, in whom the one was equally diſagreeing from the other.

Chriſtopherſon. My lord, it is but folly to reaſon with him any further, your lordſhip will but loſe time, for he is incurable.

Bonner. Well then, let his keeper have him away. And with that Dr. Chedſey led me a way by which we could not paſs, and therefore came back again through the biſhop's chamber, where all theſe doctors were cluſtered together; and as I was paſſing by, the biſhop took me by the gown, and ſaid, Know you what Mr. Chriſtopherſon telleth me? I pray you Mr. Chriſtopherſon rehearſe the ſentence in Latin; and ſo he did: the contents whereof were, That an heretic would not be won.

Chriſtopherſon. St. Paul ſaith, "Fly an heretic after once or twice warning."

All the doctors. Yea, my lord, it is beſt you do ſo, and trouble your lordſhip no more with him.

Philpot. You muſt prove me juſtly to be an heretic, before you uſe the judgment of St. Paul againſt me: for he ſpeaketh of ſuch as hold opinion againſt the manifeſt word, which you cannot prove by me: and becauſe you want in your proof, and be able to prove nothing againſt me; therefore you go about falſly to ſuppoſe me to be an heretic, for the ſafeguard of your own counterfeit honeſty; but before God you are heretics which ſo ſtoutly and ſtubbornly maintain ſo many things directly againſt God's word, as God in his time will reveal. As I went out of his chamber, the biſhop called me aſide, and ſaid:

Bonner. I pray thee in good ſadneſs, what didſt thou mean by writing in the beginning of thy bible, Spiritus eſt vicarius Chriſti in terris, "The Spirit is the vicar of Chriſt on the earth?" I ſuppoſe you have ſome ſpecial meaning therein.

Philpot. My lord, I have none other meaning than as I have told you already, That Chriſt ſince his aſcenſion worketh all things in us by his Spirit, and by his Spirit doth dwell in us. I pray you, my lord, let me have my bible, with other lawful books and writings you have of mine, whereof many of them be none of mine, but lent to me by my friends.

Bonner. Your bible you ſhall not have; but I will perhaps let you have another, and after I have peruſed the reſt, you ſhall have ſuch as I think good.

Philpot. I pray your lordſhip then, that you would let me have candle-light.

Bonner. To what purpoſe I pray you?

Philpot. The nights be long, and I would fain occupy myſelf about ſomewhat, and not ſpend my time idly.

Bonner. Then you may pray.

Philpot. I cannot well ſay my prayers without light.

Bonner. Can you not ſay your Pater-noſter without a candle? I tell you, Sir, you ſhall have ſome meat and drink of me, but candles you ſhall have none.

Philpot. I had rather have candle than your meat and drink; but ſeeing I ſhall not have my requeſt, the Lord ſhall be my light.

Bonner. Have him down.

Chedſey. I will bring him to his keeper, my lord. Mr. Philpot, I wonder all theſe learned men whom you have talked withal this day can nothing at all perſuade you.

Philpot. Why, Mr. Doctor, would you have me to be perſuaded with nothing? or would you have me build my faith upon ſand? What do you all bring, whereby I ought by any ſufficient authority to be perſuaded to you?

Chedſey. I am ſorry you will ſo wilfully caſt yourſelf away, whereas you might live worſhipfully: do you not think that others have ſouls to ſave as well as you?

Philpot. Every man ſhall receive according to his own doings. Sure I am that you are deceived, and maintain a falſe religion; and as for my caſting away, I wiſh my burning day were to-morrow, for this delay is every day to die, and yet not to be dead.

Chedſey. You are not likely to die yet, I can tell you.

Philpot. I am the more ſorry thereof. But the will of God be done of me to his glory, Amen.

The twelfth Examination of Mr. Philpot, on Wedneſday the fourth of December, before the Biſhop of London, the Biſhop of Worceſter, and the Biſhop of Bangor.

IN the morning I was brought down to the wardrobe adjoining to the chapel, and within a while after came three of the biſhop's chaplains unto me, ſaying:

Chaplains. Mr. Philpot, my lord hath ſent us unto you to deſire you to come to maſs, certifying you that there is a doctor of divinity, a chaplain of my lord's, a notable learned man, called Dr. Chedſey, going to maſs: therefore we alſo pray you, good Mr. Philpot, be content to come, it is hard hereby.

Philpot. I wonder my lord would trouble you in ſending you about this matter, ſeeing he knoweth I am a man (by your law) that cannot hear maſs, becauſe I ſtand excommunicate.

Chaplains. Your excommunication is but upon a contumacy, and my lord will diſpenſe with you if you will come.

Philpot. My lord cannot, for he is not mine ordinary, and I will not ſeek any ſuch thing at his hand. With this anſwer they went their way.

After maſs, the biſhop called me before him into his chapel, and there in the preſence of his regiſter (after he had ſaid his mind, becauſe I would not come to maſs), recited the articles, which he oftentimes before had done in that behalf, with the depoſitions of the witneſſes, of whom ſome were not examined.

Bonner. Sir, what can you now ſay why I ſhould not proceed to give ſentence againſt thee as an heretic?

Philpot. Why, my lord, will you proceed to give ſentence againſt me before your witneſſes be examined? that is plain againſt your own law, as all your doings have been hitherto.

Bonner. See what a fool thou art in the law. I need not to recite the depoſitions of the witneſſes, but if I liſt: for I know them well enough already.

Philpot. It appeareth indeed you may do what you liſt.

Bonner. Tell me, I ſay, whether thou wilt anſwer, or no: and whether if thou wert abſolved of thine excommunication, thou wouldſt come to maſs, or no?

Philpot. I have anſwered as much as I intended to do until I be called to lawful judgment: and as concerning my conſcience, I will not make you God to ſit there as yet; it is God's part only to be ſearcher of my heart.

Bonner. Look how fooliſhly he ſpeaks. Art thou God? and yet doſt thou not ſit in thine own conſcience?

Philpot. I ſit not in mine own conſcience, but I know it; and God there only ought to ſit, and none elſe.

Bonner. Thou art a naughty fellow, and haſt done much hurt, and haſt ſeduced other poor fellows here in priſon with thee, by thy comforting of them in their errors, and haſt made them rejoice and ſing with thee.

Philpot. Yea, my lord, we ſhall ſing, when you, and ſuch others as you are, ſhall cry, Wo, wo, except you repent.

Bonner. What an arrogant fool is this? I will handle thee like an heretic, and that ſhortly.

Philpot. I fear nothing, I thank God, you can do unto me. But God ſhall deſtroy ſuch as thou art, and that ſhortly, as I truſt.

Bonner. Have him away, this is a knave indeed.

And as I was had into the wardrobe again by my keeper, and within an hour after was ſent for to come before him and the biſhops of Worceſter and Bangor.

Bonner. Sir, I have talked with you many times, and have cauſed you to be talked with by many learned men, yea, and honourable, both temporal and ſpiritual, and it availeth nothing with you. I am blamed that I have brought thee before ſo many; for they ſay, thou glorieſt to have many to talk withal. Well, now it lieth upon thee to look to thyſelf, for thy time draweth near to an end, if thou do not become conformable. And at this preſent we are ſent from the ſynod to offer you this grace, that if you will come to the unity of the church of Rome with us, and acknowledge the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar with us, all that is paſt ſhall be forgiven, and you received to favour.

Worceſter. Mr. Philpot, we are ſent (as you here have heard by my lord of London), from the ſynod, to offer you mercy, if you will receive it, and of good-will I bear you, I wiſh you to take it whilſt it is offered, and be not a ſingular man againſt a whole multitude of learned men, which now in faſting and prayer are gathered together to deviſe things to do you good. Many very learned men have talked with you, why ſhould you think yourſelf better learned than them all? Be not of ſuch arrogancy, but have humility, and remember there is no ſalvation but in the church.

Bangor. Methinks my lord hath ſpoken wonderfully well unto you, that you ſhould not think yourſelf ſo well learned, but other men are as well learned as you; neither of ſo good wit, but others be as wiſe as you; neither of ſo good memory, but others have as good memories as you. Therefore miſtruſt your own judgment, and come home to us again. I never liked your religion, becauſe it was ſet forth by violence and tyranny, and that is no true token of true religion. And I was the ſame manner of man then that I am now, and a great many

many more. Marry, for fear we held our peace, and bore with that time. Wherefore, Mr. Philpot, I wiſh you well, for I love you; and therefore be content to come home with us again into the catholic church of Rome.

Philpot. Where, my lord, (as I may begin firſt to anſwer you) you ſay, that religion is to be miſliked which is ſet forth by tyranny, I pray God you give not men occaſion to think the ſame by yours at this day, which had no other argument to ſtand by but violence. If you can ſhew me any good ſufficient ground whereby to ground my conſcience, that the church of Rome is the true catholic church, whereunto you call me, I will gladly be of the ſame; otherwiſe I cannot ſo ſoon change the religion I have learned theſe many years.

Bangor. Where was your religion to be found (I pray you) an hundred years ago, that any man knew of it?

Philpot. It was in Germany, and in divers other places apparent.

Worceſter. Jeſus! will you be ſtill ſo ſingular a man? What is Germany to the whole world?

Bonner. My lords, I pray you give me leave to tell you, that I ſent for him to hear maſs this morning. And think you what excuſe he made unto me, forſooth, that he was accurſed, alledging his own ſhame. He playeth as the varlet Latimer did at Cambridge, when the vice-chancellor ſent for him (who intended to have excommunicated him for ſome of his hereſies) and the chancellor was coming to his chamber, he hearing thereof, made anſwer, That he was ſick of the plague, and ſo deluded the chancellor: even ſo this man ſaith, he was accurſed, becauſe he will not come to maſs.

Worceſter. My lord (I am ſure) he doth behave himſelf like a father unto you; therefore be admoniſhed by him, and by us, that come now friendly unto you, and follow your fathers before you.

Philpot. It is forbidden us of God by the prophet Ezekiel, to follow our fathers, or to walk in their commandments.

Worceſter. It is written alſo in another place, Aſk of your fathers.

Philpot. We ought to aſk indeed our fathers that have more experience and knowledge than we of God's will, but no more to allow them, than we perceive they agree with the ſcripture.

Worceſter. You will be a contentious man, I ſee well; and St. Paul ſaith, that neither we nor the church of God have any ſuch cuſtom.

Philpot. I am not contentious but for the verity of my faith, in which I ought to contend with all ſuch as do impugn the ſame without any juſt objection.

Worceſter. Let us ariſe, my lord, for I ſee we ſhall do no good.

Bonner. Nay, I pray you tarry and hear the articles I lay to his charge,. And after he had recited them, they aroſe, and after ſtanding they reaſoned with me a while.

Worceſter. Mr. Philpot, I am very ſorry that you will be ſo ſingular. I never talked with any yet in my dioceſe, but after once communication had with me, they have been contented to revoke their errors and to teach the people how they were deceived, and ſo do much good as you may if you liſt. For as I underſtand you were archdeacon of Wincheſter (which is the eye of the biſhop) and you may do much good in that country if you would forſake your errors, and come to the catholic church.

Philpot. Wherewithal you ſo ſoon perſuaded them to your will, I ſee not. Error, that I know, I hold none; and of the catholic church I am ſure I am.

Worceſter. The catholic church doth acknowledge a real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, and ſo will not you.

Philpot. That is not ſo: for I acknowledge a very eſſential preſence in the duly uſing of the ſacrament.

Worceſter. What, a real preſence.

Philpot. Yea, a real preſence, by the Spirit of God, in the right adminiſtration.

Worceſter. That is well ſaid: and do you agree with the catholic church alſo?

Philpot. I do agree with the true catholic church.

Worceſter. My lord of London, this man ſpeaketh reaſonably now.

Bonner. You do agree in generals, but when it ſhall come to particulars, you will far diſagree.

Worceſter. Well, keep yourſelf here, and you ſhall have other learned biſhops to commune further with you, as my lord of Durham, and my lord of Chicheſter, whom I hear ſay you do like well.

Philpot. I do like them as I do all others that ſpeak the truth. I have once already ſpoken with them, and they found no fault with me.

Worceſter. In the mean ſeaſon pray to God for grace.

Philpot. Prayer is the moſt comfortable exerciſe I feel in my trouble, and my conſcience is quiet, and I have the peace of mind, which cannot be the fruits of hereſy.

Worceſter. We bid you farewel for this time.

After dinner they called for me again, and demanded of me whether I meant as I ſpake before dinner, and would not go from it. To whom I anſwered, That I would not go from what I had ſaid.

Worceſter. You ſaid at my departing from you before dinner, that if we did burn you, we ſhould burn a catholic man: Will you be a catholic man, and ſtand to the catholic church?

Philpot. I will ſtand to the true catholic church.

Worceſter. Will you ſtand to the catholic church of Rome?

Philpot. If you can prove the ſame to be the catholic church, I will be one thereof.

Worceſter. Did not Chriſt ſay unto Peter, and to all his ſucceſſors of Rome, Paſce oves meas, paſce agnos meos; "Feed my ſheep, feed my lambs? Which doth ſignify that he gave him more authority than the reſt.

Philpot. That ſaying pertaineth nothing to the authority of Peter, above others, but declareth what Chriſt requireth of his beloved apoſtles, that they ſhould with all diligence preach to the flock of Chriſt the way of ſalvation, and that doth the iteration of feeding, ſpoken to Peter, only ſignify. But the biſhop of Rome little regardeth the ſpiritual feeding, and therefore he hath imagined an eaſier way to make himſelf lord of the whole world, yea and of God's word too, and doth not feed Chriſt's flock as Peter did.

Worceſter. How can you tell that?

Philpot. Yes, I have been there, and I could not learn of all his countrymen, that ever he preacheth.

Worceſter. Though he preacheth not one way, he preacheth another, by procuring good order for the church to be kept in.

Philpot. I am ſure that it will be his damnation before God, that he leaveth what he is commanded by Chriſt, and ſetteth forth his decrees to deface the goſpel.

Worceſter. It is the evil living that you have ſeen at Rome, that cauſeth you to have this ill judgment of the church of Rome. I cannot now tarry with you to reaſon further of the matter.

How ſay you to the real preſence of the ſacrament, will you ſtand to that?

Philpot. I do acknowledge (as I have ſaid) a real preſence of the ſacrament, in the due adminiſtration thereof, to the worthy receivers by the Spirit of God.

Worceſter.

Worceſter. You add now a great many more words than you did before; and yet you ſay more of the ſacrament, than a great many will do.

Thus they departed, and after them came unto me Dr. Chedſey and Dr. Wright archdeacon of Oxford, with a great many more.

Chedſey. Mr. Philpot, here is Mr. Archdeacon of Oxford come to you to give you good counſel, I pray hear him.

Philpot. I will refuſe to hear none that will counſel me any good; and if any can bring any matter better than I have, I will ſtick thereunto.

Wright. I would wiſh you, Mr. Philpot, to agree with the catholic church, and not to ſtand in your own conceit: you ſee a great many learned men againſt you.

Philpot. I am, Mr. Doctor, of the unfeigned catholic church, and will live and die therein: and if you can prove your church to be the true catholic church, I will be one of the ſame.

Wright. I came not to diſpute with you, but to exhort you. Here be better learned than I, that can inform you better than I.

Chedſey. What proof would you have? I will prove unto you, our church to have its being and foundation by the ſcriptures, by the apoſtles, and by the primitive church, confirmed with the blood of martyrs, and with the teſtimony of all confeſſors.

Philpot. Give me your hand, Mr. Doctor; prove that, and have with you.

Chedſey. If I had my books here I could ſoon prove it, I will go fetch ſome; and with that he went and brought his book of annotations, ſaying, I cannot well bring my books, therefore I have brought my book of annotations, and turned there to a common place of the ſacrament, aſking me whether the catholic church did allow the preſence of Chriſt's body in the ſacrament, or no? I hear ſay, you do confeſs a real preſence: but I will be hanged if you abide by it: you will deny it by and by.

Philpot. What I have ſaid I cannot deny, neither intend, whatever you ſay.

Chedſey. If there be a real preſence in the ſacrament, then evil men receive Chriſt, which thing you will not grant, I am ſure.

Philpot. I deny the argument, for I do not grant in the ſacrament, by tranſubſtantiation, any real preſence, as you falſly imagine, but in the due adminiſtration to the worthy receivers.

Chedſey. I will prove that the evil and wicked men eat the body of Chriſt, as well as the good men, by St. Auguſtine here.

Philpot. And in the beginning of his text St. Auguſtine ſeemeth to approve his aſſertion; but I bade him read out to the end, and there St. Auguſtine declareth moſt evidently that it was Quodammodo, after a certain manner the evil men received the body of Chriſt, which is ſacramentally, only in the outward ſign, and not really, or indeed, as the good doth. And thus all the doctors that you ſeem to bring in for your purpoſe, be quite againſt you, if ye did rightly weigh them.

Chedſey. By God you are a ſubtil fellow. See how he would writhe St. Auguſtine's words.

Philpot. See which of us do writhe St. Auguſtine moſt, you or I who take his meaning by his own expreſs words. And ſeeing you charge me with ſubtilty, what ſubtilty is this of you to ſay, that you will prove your matter of the church, even from the beginning, promiſing to ſhew your books therein, and when it cometh to the proof, you are able to ſhew none, and for want thereof ſlip into a by-matter, and yet faint in the proof thereof? Before God you are bare-arſed in your religion.

Chedſey. You ſhall be conſtrained to come to us at length, whether you will or no.

Philpot. Hold that argument faſt; for it is the beſt you have, for you have nothing but violence.

The thirteenth Examination of Mr. Philpot before the Archbiſhop of York, and other Biſhops.

THE Thurſday after, I was called in the morning before the archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of Chicheſter, the biſhop of Bath, and the biſhop of London. The biſhop of Chicheſter being firſt come, began to talk with me.

Chicheſter. I am come of good will to talk with you, to inſtruct you what I can, to come to the catholic church, and to exhort you to inſtruct your own judgment, and to learn firſt to have humility, and by the ſame to learn of others that be better learned than you, as they did learn of ſuch as were their betters before them.

Philpot. We muſt all be taught of God, and I will, with all humility, learn of them that will inform me by God's word, what I have to do. I confeſs I have but little learning in reſpect of you, that both of your years and great exerciſe do excel therein: but faith conſiſteth not only in learning, but in ſimplicity of believing that which God's word teacheth. Therefore I ſhall be glad to hear both of your lordſhip, and of any other (that God hath revealed unto by his word) the true doctrine thereof, and to thank you, that it doth pleaſe you to take pains herein.

Chicheſter. You take the firſt alledged amiſs, as though all men ſhould be taught by inſpiration, and not by learning. How do we believe the goſpel, but by the authority of the church, and becauſe the ſame hath allowed it?

Philpot. St. Paul ſaith, "He learned not the goſpel by men, neither of men, but by the revelation of Jeſus Chriſt." Which is a plain and ſufficient proof that the goſpel taketh not its authority of man, but of God only.

Chicheſter. St. Paul ſpeaketh but of his own knowledge how he came thereto.

Philpot. Nay, he ſpeaketh of the goſpel generally, "Which cometh not from man, but from God;" and that the church muſt only teach that which cometh from God, and not man's precepts.

Chicheſter. Doth not St. Auguſtine ſay theſe words, "I would not believe the goſpel, if the authority of the church did not move me thereto."

Philpot. I grant, that the authority of the church doth move the unbelievers to believe; but yet the church doth not give the word its authority; for the word hath its authority only from God, and not of men, men be but diſpoſers thereof. For firſt, the word had its being before the church, and the word is the foundation of the church, and firſt is the foundation ſure, before the building thereon can be ſtedfaſt.

Chicheſter. I perceive you miſtake me, I ſpeak of the knowledge of the goſpel, and not of the authority; for by the church we have all knowledge of the goſpel.

Philpot. I confeſs that; for faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. And I acknowledge that God appointeth an ordinary means for men to come unto the knowledge now, and not miraculouſly, as he hath done in times paſt; yet we that be taught by men, muſt take heed that we learn nothing elſe but that which was taught in the primitive church by revelation. Here came in the biſhop of York and the biſhop of Bath; and after they had ſaluted one another, and communed a while together, the archbiſhop of York called me unto them, ſaying:

York. Sir, we, hearing that you are out of the way, are come of charity to inform you, and to bring you into the true faith, and to the catholic church again; willing you firſt to have humility, and to be humble and willing to learn of your betters, for elſe we can do no good with you. And God ſaith by his prophet; "On whom ſhall I reſt, but the humble and meek, and ſuch as tremble at my word?" Now if you will ſo be, we ſhall be glad to travel with you.

Philpot.

Philpot. I know that humility is the door whereby we enter unto Chriſt: and, I thank his goodneſs, I have entered in at the ſame unto him, and with all humility will hear whatſoever truth you ſhall ſpeak unto me.

York. What be the matters you ſtand on, and require to be ſatisfied in?

Philpot. My lord, if it ſhall pleaſe your grace, we were entered into a good matter before you came, of the church, and how we ſhould know the truth but by the church.

York. Indeed that is the head we ought to begin at, for the church being truly known, we ſhall ſooner agree in the particular things.

Philpot. If your lordſhips can prove the church of Rome to be the true catholic church, it will do much to perſuade me toward what you would have me incline unto.

York. Why, let us go to the definition of the church. What is it?

Philpot. It is a congregation of people diſperſed through the world, agreeing together in the word of God, uſing the ſacraments and all other things according to the ſame.

York. Your definition is of many words to no purpoſe.

Philpot. I do not preciſely define the church, but declare unto you what I think the church is.

York. Is the church viſible or inviſible?

Philpot. It is both viſible and inviſible. The inviſible church is of the elect of God only; the viſible conſiſts both of good and bad, uſing all things in faith according to God's word.

York. The church is an univerſal congregation of faithful people in Chriſt through the world: which this word Catholic doth well expreſs; for what is catholic elſe? doth it not ſignify univerſal?

Philpot. The church is defined by St. Auguſtine to be called catholic in this wiſe, "The church is called therefore catholic, becauſe it is truly perfect, and halteth in nothing."

York. Nay, it is called catholic, becauſe it is univerſally received of all chriſtian nations for the moſt part.

Philpot. The church was catholic in the apoſtles time, yet was it not univerſally received of the world; but becauſe their doctrine which they had received of Chriſt was perfect, and appointed to be preached and received of the whole world, therefore it is called the catholic faith, and all perſons receiving the ſame, to be counted the catholic church. And St. Auguſtine in another place writeth, that the catholic church is that which believeth aright.

York. If you will learn, I will ſhew you St. Auguſtine, writing againſt the Donatiſts, that he proveth the catholic church by two principal points, which is, univerſality and ſucceſſion of biſhops in one apoſtolical ſee from time to time. Now thus I will make mine argument.

The church of Rome is univerſal, and hath the ſucceſſion of biſhops from time to time.

Ergo, it is the catholic church.

How anſwer you to this argument?

Philpot. I deny the antecedent, that the catholic church is only known by univerſality and ſucceſſion of biſhops.

York. I will prove it; and with that he brought forth a book which he had noted out of the doctors, and turned to his common places therein of the church, and recited one or two out of St. Auguſtine, and eſpecially out of his epiſtle written againſt the Donatiſts, where St. Auguſtine manifeſtly proveth, that the Donatiſts were not the catholic church, becauſe they have no ſucceſſion of biſhops in their opinion, neither univerſality; and the ſame force hath St. Auguſtine's argument againſt you.

Philpot. My lord, I have weighed the force of that argument before now, and perceive it maketh nothing againſt me, neither cometh it to your purpoſe; for I will ſtand to the trial of St. Auguſtine for the approbation of the catholic church whereof I am. For St. Auguſtine ſpeaketh of univerſality joined with verity, and of faithful ſucceſſors of Peter before corruption came into the church. And ſo if you can deduce your argument for the ſee of Rome now, as St. Auguſtine might do in his time, I would ſay it might be of ſome force, otherwiſe not.

York. St. Auguſtine proveth the catholic church principally by ſucceſſion of biſhops, and therefore you underſtand not St. Auguſtine. For what, I pray you, was the opinion of the Donatiſts, againſt whom he wrote, can you tell? What country where they of?

Philpot. They were a certain ſect of men, affirming, among other hereſies, that the dignity of the ſacraments depended upon the worthineſs of the miniſter; ſo that if the miniſter was good, the ſacraments which he miniſtred were available, or elſe not.

Chicheſter. That was their error, and they had none other but that. And he read another authority of St. Auſtin out of a book which he brought, even to the ſame purpoſe that the other was.

Philpot. I challenge St. Auſtin to be with me thoroughly in this point, and will ſtand to his judgment, taking one place with another.

Chicheſter. If you will not have the church to be certain, I pray you by whom will you be judged in matters of controverſy?

Philpot. I do not deny the church to be certain; but I deny that it is neceſſarily tied to any place, longer than it abideth in the word; and for all controverſies the word ought to be judge.

Chicheſter. But what if I take it one way and you another, how then?

Philpot. St. Auſtin ſheweth a remedy for that, and willeth, "That one place of the ſcripture ought to be underſtood by the more."

York. How anſwer you to this argument?

Rome hath known ſucceſſion of biſhops, which your church hath not.

Ergo, That is the catholic church, and yours is not, becauſe there is no ſuch ſucceſſion can be proved in your church.

Philpot. I deny, my lord, that ſucceſſion of biſhops is an infallible point to know the church by: for there may be a ſucceſſion of biſhops known in a place, and yet there be no church, as at Antioch and Jeruſalem, and in other places, where the apoſtles abode as well as at Rome. But if you put to the ſucceſſion of biſhops, ſucceſſion of doctrine withal, as St. Auſtin doth, I will grant it to be a good proof for the catholic church; but local ſucceſſion only is nothing available.

York. You will have no church then I ſee well.

Philpot. Yes, my lords, I acknowledge the catholic church, as I am bound by my creed; but I cannot acknowledge a falſe church for the true.

Chicheſter. Why, is there two catholic churches then?

Philpot. No, I know there is but one catholic church, but there have been, and be at this preſent that take upon them the name of Chriſt and of his church, which be not ſo indeed, as it is written, "There be they that call themſelves apoſtles, and be not ſo indeed, but the ſynagogue of Satan and lyars." And now it is with us as it was with the two women in Solomon's time, which lay together, and the one overlaid her child, and afterward went about to challenge the true mother's child.

Chicheſter. What a babbling is here with you now? I ſee you lack humility. You will go about to teach, and not to learn.

Philpot. My lords, I muſt deſire you to bear with my haſty ſpeech: it is my infirmity of nature. All that I ſpeak is to learn by; I wiſh you did underſtand all my mind, that I might be ſatisfied by you through better authority.

Chicheſter. My lord, if it pleaſe your grace, turn the argument upon him which you have made, and let him ſhew the ſucceſſion of the biſhops of his church, as we

can do. How ſay you, can you ſhew the ſucceſſion of biſhops in your church from time to time? I tell you, this argument troubled Dr. Ridley ſo ſore, that he could never anſwer it; yet he was a man well learned, I dare ſay you will ſay ſo.

Philpot. He was a man ſo learned, that I was not worthy to carry his books for learning.

Chicheſter. I promiſe you he was never able to anſwer that. He was a man that I loved well, and he me; for he came unto me divers times being in priſon, and conferred with me.

Philpot. I wonder, my lord, you ſhould make this argument which you would turn upon me, for the trial of my church whereof I am, or that you would make biſhop Ridley ſo ignorant that he was not able to anſwer it, ſince it is of no force. For behold, firſt I denied you that local ſucceſſion of biſhops in one place is a neceſſary point alone to prove the catholic church by, and that which I have denied you cannot prove: and is it then reaſon that you ſhould put me to the trial of that, which by you is unproved, and of no force to conclude againſt me?

Chicheſter. I ſee, my lords, we do but loſe our labours to reaſon with him, he thinketh himſelf better learned than we.

Philpot. I take upon me the name of no learning, I boaſt of no knowledge but of faith and of Chriſt, and that I am bound undoubtedly to know, as I am ſure I do.

Chicheſter. Theſe heretics take upon them to be ſure of all things they ſtand in. You ſhould ſay rather with humility, I truſt I know Chriſt, than that you be ſure thereof.

Philpot. Let him doubt of his faith that liſteth; God giveth me always grace to believe that I am ſure of true faith and favour in Chriſt.

Bath. How will you be able to anſwer heretics, but by the determination of the known catholic church?

Philpot. I am able to anſwer all heretics by the word of God, and convince them by the ſame.

Chicheſter. How arrogantly is that ſpoken! I dare not ſay ſo.

Philpot. My lords, I pray you bear with me; for I am bold on the truth's ſide, and I ſpeak ſomewhat by experience that I have had with heretics, and I know the Arians, be the ſubtileſt that ever were, and yet I have manifeſt ſcriptures to beat them down withal.

Chicheſter. I perceive now you are the ſame manner of man I have heard of, which will not be ſatisfied by learning.

Philpot. Alas, my lord, why do you ſay ſo? I do moſt humbly deſire to be taught, if there be any better way that I ſhould learn, and hitherto you have ſhewed me no better, therefore I pray your lordſhip not to miſ-judge without a cauſe.

Bath. If you be the true catholic church, then will you hold with the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, which the true church hath ever maintained.

Philpot. And I my lord with the true church do hold the ſame in the due adminiſtration of the ſacrament: but I deſire you my lord, there may be made a better concluſion in our firſt matter, before we enter into any other; for if the church be proved, we ſhall ſoon agree in the reſt. In the mean while my lord of York was turning his book for more places to help forth his cauſe.

York. I have found at length a very notable place, which I have looked for all this while, of St. Auſtin, De ſimplicitate credendi.

Chicheſter. It is but folly, my lord, for your grace to read any more places to him, for he eſteemeth them not.

Philpot. I eſteem them, inaſmuch as they be of force, as your lordſhip doth hear me deny no doctors you bring, but only require the true application of them, according to the writer's meaning, and as by his own words may be proved.

York. I will read him the place, and ſo make an end.

After he had read the ſentence he ſaid, that by four ſpecial points here St. Auguſtine proveth the catholic church. The firſt is by the conſent of all nations: the ſecond, by the apoſtolic ſee; the third, by univerſality; and the fourth, by this word Catholic.

Chicheſter. That is a notable place indeed, if it pleaſe your grace.

Philpot. I pray you, my lord, of what church doth St. Auguſtine write the ſame of Rome or not?

York. Yea, he writeth it of the church of Rome.

Philpot. I will lay with your lordſhip as much as I can make, that it is not ſo: and let the book be ſeen.

Bath. What art thou able to lay, thou haſt nothing?

York. Doth he not make mention here of the apoſtolic ſee, whereby he meaneth Rome?

Philpot. That is very ſtraightly interpreted, my lord, as though the apoſtolic ſee had been no where elſe but at Rome. But let it be Rome, and yet you ſhall never verify the ſame, unleſs all the other conditions do go therewith, as St. Auguſtine doth proceed withal, whereof none, except the apoſtolic ſee can now be verified of the church of Rome. For the faith which that ſee now maintaineth hath not the conſent of all nations, neither hath had. Beſides that, it cannot have the name of catholic, becauſe it differeth from the catholic churches which the apoſtles planted, almoſt in all things.

York. Nay, he goeth about here to prove the catholic church by univerſality; and how can you ſhew your church to be univerſal fifty or an hundred years ago?

Philpot. That is not material, neither any thing againſt St. Auguſtine: for my church (whereof I am) were to be accounted univerſal, though it were but in ten perſons, becauſe it agreeth with the ſame that the apoſtles did univerſally plant.

York. I perceive you are an obſtinate man in your own opinion, and will not be taught; wherefore it is but loſt labour to talk with you any longer, you are a member to be cut off.

Chicheſter. I have heard of you before, how you troubled the good biſhop of Wincheſter, and now I ſee in you what I have heard.

Philpot. I truſt you ſee no evil in me by this; I deſire of you a ſure ground to build my faith on, and if you ſhew me none, I pray you ſpeak not ill of him that maintain well.

Chicheſter. Thou art as impudent a fellow as any I have talked with.

Philpot. That is ſpoken uncharitably, my lord, to blaſpheme him whom you cannot juſtly reprove.

Chicheſter. Why, thou art not a God: blaſphemy is counted a rebuke to God-ward, and not to man.

Philpot. Yes, it may be as well verified of an infamy laid to man, ſpeaking in God's cauſe, as you do now lay unto me, for ſpeaking freely the truth before God, to maintain your vain religion. You are void of all good ground. I perceive you are blind guides, and leaders of the blind: and therefore (as I am bound to tell you) very hypocrites, tyrannouſly perſecuting the truth, which otherwiſe by juſt order you are by no means able to convince. Your own doctors and teſtimonies which you bring, be evidently againſt you, and yet you will not ſee the truth.

Chicheſter. Have we theſe thanks for our good will, in coming to inſtruct thee?

Philpot. My lords, you muſt bear with me, ſince I ſpeak in Chriſt's cauſe; and becauſe his glory is defaced, and his people cruelly and wrongfully ſlain by you, becauſe they will not conſent to the diſhonour of God, and to hypocriſy with you; if I told you not your fault, it would be required at my hands in the day of judgment. Therefore know you, ye hypocrites indeed, that it is the Spirit of

of God that telleth you your ſin, and not I; I thank God, I value not all your cruelty. God forgive you, and give you grace to repent. And ſo they departed.

Another Conference the ſame Day.

THE ſame day at night before ſupper, the biſhop ſent for me into his chapel, in the preſence of archdeacon Harpsfield, Dr. Chedſey, and his other chaplains, and ſervants. And then he ſaid:

Bonner. Mr. Philpot, I have by ſundry means gone about to do you good, and I marvel you do ſo little conſider it. By my truth, I cannot tell what to ſay to you: Tell me directly whether you will be a conformable man, or no; and whereupon you chiefly ſtand.

Philpot. I have told your lordſhip oftentimes plain enough, whereon I chiefly ſtand, requiring a ſure probation of the church whereunto you call me.

Harpsfield. St. Auguſtine writing againſt the Donatiſts, declareth four ſpecial notes to know the church by; the conſent of many nations, the faith of the ſacraments confirmed by antiquity, ſucceſſion of biſhops, and univerſality.

Bonner. I pray you, Mr. Archdeacon, fetch the book hither; it is a notable place, let him ſee it. And the book was brought, and the biſhop read it, demanding how I could anſwer the ſame.

Philpot. My lord, I like St. Auguſtine's four points for the trial of the catholic church, whereof I am: for it can abide every point thereof together, which yours cannot do.

Harpsfield. Have not we ſucceſſion of biſhops in the ſee and church of Rome? Wherefore then do you deny our church to be the catholic church?

Philpot. St. Auguſtine doth not put ſucceſſion of biſhops only to be ſufficient, but he addeth the uſe of the ſacraments according to antiquity, and doctrine univerſally taught and received by moſt nations from the beginning of the primitive church, which your church is far from. But my church can avouch all theſe better than yours: therefore by St. Auguſtine's judgment which you here bring, mine is the catholic church, and not yours.

Harpsfield and Chedſey. It is but folly, my lord, for you to reaſon with him, for he is irrecoverable.

Philpot. That is a good ſhift for you to run unto, when you be confounded in your own ſayings, and have nothing elſe to ſay; you are evidently deceived, and yet will not ſee it when it is laid to your face.

Thus have I at large ſet forth as many of the ſaid John Philpot his examinations and privy conferences as are yet come to light, being faithfully written with his own hand. And altho' he was examined after this ſeveral other times, both openly in the conſiſtory at St. Paul's, and alſo ſecretly in the biſhop's houſe; yet what was there ſaid is not yet ſufficiently known, either becauſe Mr. Philpot was not himſelf ſuffered to write, or elſe becauſe his writings are by ſome kept cloſe, and not brought forth, otherwiſe than as the biſhop's regiſter hath noted, whoſe handling of ſuch matters, becauſe it is (either for fear or favour of his lord and maſter), very ſlender, little light of any true meaning can be gathered, eſpecially in the behalf of the anſwerer; howbeit, ſuch as it is, ſuch thought I good to put forth; requiring the reader to judge hereof according to his anſwers in his former examinations.

The laſt Examinations of Mr. Philpot in open Judgment, with his final Condemnation by Biſhop Bonner, in the Conſiſtory at St. Paul's.

THE biſhop having ſufficiently taken his pleaſure with Mr. Philpot in his private talk, and ſeeing his zealous, learned, and immutable conſtancy, thought it now high time to rid his hands of him, and therefore on the thirteenth and fourteenth days of December, ſitting judicially in the conſiſtory at St. Paul's, he cauſed him to be brought thither before him and others, as it ſeemeth, more for order ſake, than for any good affection to juſtice and right judgment. The effect as well of which their two ſundry proceedings, as alſo of one other had the eleventh day of the ſame month in his chapel, appear in a manner to be all one. The biſhop therefore firſt ſpeaking to Mr. Philpot, ſaid;

Bonner. Mr. Philpot, amongſt other things that were laid and objected unto you, theſe three things ye were eſpecially charged and burdened withal.

The firſt is, That you being fallen from the unity of Chriſt's catholic church, do refuſe and will not come to be reconciled thereunto.

The ſecond is, That you have blaſphemouſly ſpoken againſt the ſacrifice of the maſs, calling it idolatry.

And the third is, That you have ſpoken againſt the ſacrament of the altar, denying the real preſence of Chriſt's body and blood to be in the ſame.

And according to the will and pleaſure of the ſynod legative, ye have been often by me invited and required to go from your ſaid errors and hereſies, and to return to the unity of the catholic church, which if ye will now willingly do, ye ſhall be mercifully and gladly received, charitably uſed, and have all the favour I can ſhew you. And now to tell you true, it is aſſigned and appointed me to give ſentence againſt you, if you ſtand herein, and will not return. Wherefore if ye ſo refuſe, I do aſk of you, whether you have any cauſe that you can ſhew, why I ſhould not now give ſentence againſt you?

Philpot. Under proteſtation, not to go from my appeal that I have made, and alſo not to conſent to you as my competent judge, I ſay, touching your firſt objection concerning the catholic church, I neither was nor am out of the ſame. And as touching the ſacrifice of the maſs, and ſacrament of the altar, I never ſpake againſt the ſame. And as concerning the pleaſure of the ſynod, I ſay, that theſe twenty years I have been brought up in the faith of the true catholic church, which is contrary to your church, whereunto you would have me to come: and in that time I have been many times ſworn both in the reign of king Henry the eighth, and good king Edward his ſon, againſt the uſurped power of the biſhop of Rome, which oath I think that I am bound in my conſcience to keep. Becauſe I muſt perform unto the Lord mine oath. But if you, or any of the ſynod, can by God's word perſuade me that my ſaid oath was unlawful, and that I am bound by God's law to come to your church, faith, and religion, whereof you be now, I will gladly yield, agree, and be conformable unto you, otherwiſe not.

Bonner then not able with all his learned doctors, to accompliſh this his offered condition, fell to perſuading of him, both by his accuſtomed vain promiſes and threatnings, to return to their church: To which he anſwered;

Philpot. You, and all other of your ſort, are hypocrites, and I wiſh all the world knew your hypocriſy, your tyranny, ignorance, and idolatry.

Upon theſe words the biſhop did for that time diſmiſs him, commanding that on Monday, the 16th day of the ſame month, between the hours of one and three in the afternoon, he ſhould again be brought thither, there to have the definitive ſentence of condemnation pronounced againſt him, if he remained then in his former conſtancy.

At which day and time, Mr. Philpot being there preſented before the biſhops of London, Bath, Worceſter, and Litchfield, Bonner biſhop of London began to talk in this manner.

Bonner,

Bonner. My lords, Stokeſley, my predeceſſor, when he went to give ſentence againſt an heretic, uſed to make this prayer:

Deus qui errantibus, ut in viam poſſint redire, juſtitiæ veritatiſq; tuæ lumen oſtendis, da cunctis qui chriſtiana profeſſione cenſentur, & illa reſpuere quæ huic inimica ſint nomini, & ea quæ ſint apta ſectari, per Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum, Amen. Which I will follow. And ſo he read it with a loud voice in Latin. To which Mr. Philpot ſaid:

I wiſh ye would ſpeak in Engliſh, that all men might hear and underſtand you; for St. Paul willeth, that all things ſpoken in the congregation to edify, ſhould be ſpoken in a tongue that all men might underſtand.

Whereupon the biſhop did read it in Engliſh: "O God, who ſheweth the light of thy truth and righteouſneſs to thoſe that ſtray, that they may return into thy way, give to all who profeſs themſelves chriſtians, to refuſe thoſe things which are foes to thy name, and to follow thoſe things which are fit, by Chriſt our Lord, Amen." And when he came to theſe words, "To refuſe thoſe things which are foes to thy name;" Mr. Philpot ſaid,

Then they all muſt turn away from you; for you are enemies to that name (meaning Chriſt's name), and God ſave us from ſuch hypocrites as would have things in a tongue that men cannot underſtand.

Bonner. Whom do you mean?

Philpot. You, and all others that be of your generation and ſect. And I am ſorry to ſee you ſit in the place that you now ſit in, pretending to execute juſtice, and to do nothing leſs but deceive all men in this realm.

And then turning himſelf unto the people, he further ſaid, O all you gentlemen, beware of theſe men (meaning the biſhops) and all their doings, which be contrary to the primitive church. And I would know of you, my lord, by what authority you proceed againſt me.

Bonner. Becauſe I am biſhop of London.

Philpot. Well, then ye are not my biſhop, nor have I offended in your dioceſe: and moreover, I have appealed from you, and therefore by your own law you ought not to proceed againſt me, eſpecially being brought hither from another place by violence.

Bonner. Why, who ſent you hither to me?

Philpot. Dr. Story and Dr. Cook, with other commiſſioners of the king and queen: and, my lord, is it not enough for you to worry your own ſheep, but ye muſt alſo meddle with other men's ſheep?

Then the biſhop delivered two books to Mr. Philpot, one of the civil, the other of the canon law, out of which he would have proved that he had authority to proceed againſt him in ſuch manner as he did. Mr. Philpot then peruſing the ſame, and ſeeing the ſmall and ſlender proof that was there alledged, ſaid to the biſhop:

Philpot. I perceive your law and divinity is all one; for you have knowledge in neither of them; and I wiſh ye did know your own ignorance: but ye dance in a net, and think that no man doth ſee you. Hereupon they had much talk, but what it was it is not yet known. At laſt Bonner ſaid unto him:

Philpot, as concerning your objections againſt my juriſdiction, ye ſhall underſtand that both the civil and canon laws make againſt you; and as for your appeal, it is not allowed in this caſe: for it is written in the law, There is no appeal from a judge executing the ſentence of the law.

Philpot. My lord, it appeareth by your interpretation of the law, that ye have no knowledge therein, and that ye do not underſtand the law; for if ye did, ye would not bring in that text.

Hereupon the biſhop recited a law of the Romans, That it was not lawful for a Jew to keep a chriſtian man in captivity, and to uſe him as a ſlave, laying then to the ſaid Philpot's charge, that he did not underſtand the law, but did like a Jew. Whereunto Mr. Philpot anſwered,

No, I am no Jew, but you, my lord, are a Jew. For you profeſs Chriſt, and maintain Antichriſt; you profeſs the goſpel, and maintain ſuperſtition; and ye are able to charge me with nothing.

Bonner and another biſhop. With what can you charge us?

Philpot. You are enemies to all truth, and all your doings be naught, full of idolatry, ſaving the article of the Trinity.

Whilſt they were thus debating the matter, there came thither Sir William Garret, knight, then mayor of London, Sir Martin Bowes, knight, and Thomas Leigh, then ſheriff of the ſame city, and ſat down with the ſaid biſhops in the ſaid conſiſtory, where biſhop Bonner ſpake theſe words in effect as followeth.

Bonner. Philpot, before the coming of my lord mayor, becauſe I would not enter with you into the matter wherewith I have heretofore, and now intend to charge you withal until his coming, I did rehearſe a prayer unto you both in Engliſh and in Latin, which biſhop Stokeſley, my predeceſſor, uſed when he intended to proceed to give ſentence againſt an heretic.

And here he did again read the ſaid prayer both in Engliſh and in Latin: which being ended he ſpake again unto him, and ſaid:

Bonner. Philpot, amongſt others I have to charge you eſpecially with three things:

1. Firſt, Where you have fallen from the unity of Chriſt's catholic church, you have thereupon been invited and required, not only by me, but alſo by many and divers other catholic biſhops, and other learned men, to return and come again to the ſame: and alſo you have been offered by me, that if you would ſo return, and confeſs your errors and hereſies, you ſhould be mercifully received, and have ſo much favour as I could ſhew unto you.

2. The ſecond is, That you have blaſphemouſly ſpoken againſt the ſacrifice of the maſs, calling it idolatry and abomination.

3. And thirdly, That you have ſpoken and held againſt the ſacrament of the altar, denying the real preſence of Chriſt's body and blood to be in the ſame.

This being ſpoken, the biſhop recited unto him a certain exhortation in Engliſh the tenor and form whereof is this:

Biſhop Bonner's Exhortation.

MR. Philpot, this is to be told you, that if you, not being yet reconciled to the unity of the catholic church, from whence ye did fall in the time of the late ſchiſm here in this realm of England, againſt the ſee apoſtolic of Rome, will now heartily and obediently be reconciled to the unity of the ſame catholic church, profeſſing and promiſing to obſerve and keep, to the beſt of your power, the faith and chriſtian religion obſerved and kept by all faithful people of the ſame; and moreover, if ye which heretofore, eſpecially in the year of our Lord 1553, 1554, 1555, or in one of them have offended and treſpaſſed grievouſly againſt the ſacrifice of the maſs, calling it idolatry and abominable; and likewiſe have offended and treſpaſſed againſt the ſacrament of the altar, denying the real preſence of Chriſt's body and blood to be there in the ſacrament of the altar; affirming alſo withal, material bread and material wine to be in the ſacrament of the altar, and not the ſubſtance of the body and blood of Chriſt: if ye, I ſay, will be reconciled as is aforeſaid, and will forſake your hereſies and errors before touched, being heretical and damnable; and will alſo allow the ſacrament of the maſs, ye ſhall be mercifully received, and charitably uſed with as much favour as

as may be; if not, ye ſhall be reputed, taken, and judged for an heretic (as ye be indeed.) Now do ye chuſe what ye will do; you are counſelled herein friendly and favourably.

Ita eſt quod Edm. Bonner Epiſc. Lond.

The biſhop's exhortation thus ended, Mr. Philpot turned himſelf to the lord mayor, and ſaid;

Philpot. To you my lord mayor bearing the ſword, I am glad that it is my chance now to ſtand before that authority that hath defended the goſpel, and the truth of God's word; but I am ſorry to ſee that that authority, which repreſenteth the king and queen's perſons, ſhould now be changed, and be at the commandment of Antichriſt; and ye (ſpeaking to the biſhops) pretend to be the followers of the apoſtles of Chriſt, and yet be the very Antichriſts and deceivers of the people; and I am glad that God hath given me power to ſtand here this day and to declare and defend my faith, which is founded on Chriſt.

Therefore, as touching your firſt objection, I ſay, that I am of the catholic church, whereof I was never out, and that your church (which ye pretend to be the catholic church), is the church of Rome, and ſo the Babylonical, and not the catholic church; of that church I am not.

As touching your ſecond objection, which is, that I ſhould ſpeak againſt the ſacrifice of the maſs; I do ſay, that I have not ſpoken againſt the true ſacrifice, but I have ſpoken againſt your private maſſes that you uſe in corners, which is blaſphemy to the true ſacrifice; for your ſacrifice daily reiterated is blaſphemy againſt Chriſt's death, and it is a lye of your own invention: and that abominable ſacrifice which ye ſet upon the altar, and uſe in your private maſſes, inſtead of the living ſacrifice, is idolatry, and ye ſhall never prove it by God's word; therefore ye have deceived the people with that your ſacrifice of the maſs, which ye make a maſquing.

Thirdly, where you lay to my charge, that I deny the body and blood of Chriſt to be in the ſacrament of the altar, I cannot tell what altar you mean, whether it be the altar of the croſs, or the altar of ſtone: and if ye call it the ſacrament of the altar in reſpect of the altar of ſtone, then I defy your Chriſt; for it is a rotten Chriſt.

And as touching your tranſubſtantiation, I utterly deny it; for it was firſt brought up by a pope. Now as concerning your offer made from the ſynod, which is gathered together in Antichriſt's name; prove me that to be of the catholic church (which ye can never do), and I will follow you, and do as ye would have me to do. But ye are idolaters, and daily do commit idolatry. Ye be alſo traitors; for in your pulpits ye rail againſt good kings, as king Henry, and king Edward his ſon, who have ſtood againſt the uſurped power of the biſhop of Rome; againſt whom I have alſo taken an oath, which if ye can ſhew me by God's law that I have taken unjuſtly, I will then yield unto you: but I pray God turn the king and queen's heart from your ſynagogue and church, for you do abuſe that good queen.

Here the biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield began to ſhew where the true church was, ſaying;

Coventry. The true catholic church is ſet upon an high hill.

Philpot. Yea, at Rome, which is the Babylonical church.

Coventry. No, in our true catholic church are the apoſtles, evangeliſts, and martyrs; but before Martin Luther there was no apoſtle, evangeliſt or martyr of your church.

Philpot. Will ye know the cauſe why? Chriſt did propheſy, that in the latter days there ſhould come falſe prophets and hypocrites, as you be.

Coventry. Your church of Geneva, which ye call the catholic church, is that which Chriſt propheſied of.

Philpot. I allow the church of Geneva; and the doctrine of the ſame, for it is One, Catholic, and Apoſtolic; and doth follow the doctrine that the apoſtles did preach; and the doctrine taught and preached in king Edward's days, was alſo according to the ſame. And are ye not aſhamed to perſecute me and others for your church's ſake, which is Babylonical, and contrary to the true catholic church?

And after this they had great conference together, as well out of the ſcriptures as alſo out of the doctors. But when Bonner ſaw that by learning they were not able to confute Mr. Philpot, he then endeavoured by his defamations to bring him out of credit; and therefore turning himſelf to the lord mayor of London, he brought forth a knife, and a bladder full of powder, and ſaid:

Bonner. My lord, this man had a roaſted pig brought unto him, and this knife was put ſecretly between the ſkin and the fleſh thereof, and ſo it was ſent unto him, being in priſon. And alſo this powder was ſent unto him, under pretence that it was good and comfortable for him to eat and drink; which powder was only to make ink to write withal. For when his keeper did perceive it, he took it and brought it unto me; which when I did ſee, I thought it had been gunpowder, and thereupon I put fire to it, but it would not burn. Then I took it for poiſon, and ſo gave it to a dog, but it was not ſo. Then I took a little water, and it made as fair ink as ever I did write withal. Therefore, my lord, you may underſtand what a naughty fellow this is.

Philpot. Ah, my lord, have you nothing elſe to charge me withal but theſe trifles, ſeeing I ſtand upon life and death? Doth the knife in the pig prove the church of Rome to be the catholic church? &c.

Then the biſhop brought forth a certain inſtrument, containing articles and queſtions, agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge. Alſo he exhibited two books in print; the one was the catechiſm made in king Edward's days, in the year 1552, the other, concerning the true report of the diſputation in the convocation-houſe, mention whereof is above expreſſed.

Moreover he brought forth two letters, and laid them to Mr. Philpot's charge; the one touching Bartlet Green, the other, containing godly exhortations and comforts; which were both written to him by ſome of his godly friends; the tenor whereof we thought proper here to exhibit.

A Letter produced by Bonner, written by ſome Friend of Mr. Philpot's, and ſent to him, concerning the Uſage of Mr. Green, in Bonner's Houſe at London.

YOU ſhall underſtand that Mr. Green came unto the biſhop of London on Sunday laſt, where he was courteouſly received; for what policy the ſequel declareth. His entertainment for one day or two was to dine at my lord's own table, or elſe to have his meat from thence. During thoſe days he lay in Dr. Chedſey's chamber, and was examined. Albeit in very deed the biſhop earneſtly and faithfully promiſed many right worſhipful men (who were ſuters for him, but to him unknown), that he in no caſe ſhould be examined; before which Mr. Fecknam would have had him in his friendly cuſtody, if he would have deſired to have conferred with him, which he utterly refuſed. And in that the biſhop objected againſt his ſingularity and obſtinacy; his anſwer thereunto was thus, To avoid all ſuſpicion thereof, although I myſelf am young and utterly unlearned in reſpect of the learned, (and yet I underſtand, I thank my Lord), yet let me have ſuch books as I ſhall require, and if I, by God's Spirit, do not thereby anſwer all your books and objections contrary thereto, I will aſſent to you. Whereunto the biſhop and his aſſented, permitting him at the firſt to have ſuch books. Who at ſundry times have reaſoned with him,

and have found him ſo ſtrong and rife in the ſcripture and godly fathers, that ſince they have not only taken from him ſuch liberty of books, but all other books, not leaving him ſo much as the New Teſtament. Since, they have baited and uſed him moſt cruelly. This Mr. Fecknam reported; ſaying farther, that he never heard the like young man, and ſo perfect. What ſhall become farther of him, God knoweth; but death I think, for he ramaineth more and more willing to die, as I underſtand. Concern ng your bill, I ſhall confer with others therein, knowing that the ſaid court is able to redreſs the ſame: and yet I think it will not be reformed, for that I know few or none that dare or will ſpeak therein, or prefer the ſame, becauſe it concerneth ſpiritual things. Notwithſtanding, I will aſcertain you thereof; committing you to the Holy Ghoſt, who keeps you and us all, as his.

Your own, &c.

The Copy of another Letter written by the Lady Vane to Mr. Philpot, exhibited likewiſe by Biſhop Bonner.

HEARTY thanks rendered unto you, my well-beloved in Chriſt, for the book ye ſent me, wherein I find great conſolations, and according to the doctrine thereof do prepare my cheeks to the ſtrikers, and my womaniſh back to the burdens of reproof, and ſo in the ſtrength of my God I truſt to leap over the wall; for his ſweetneſs overcometh me daily, and maketh all theſe apothecary drugs of the world, even medicinal-like in my mouth. For the continuance whereof, I beſeech thee (my dear fellow-ſoldier) make thy faithful prayer for me, that I may with a ſtrong and gladſome conſcience finiſh my courſe, and obtain the reward, though it be no whit due to my work. I am not content that you ſo often gratify me with thanks for that which is none worthy, but duty on my part, and ſmall relief to you. But if you would love me ſo much, that I might ſupply your lacks, then would I think ye believed my offers to be ſuch as agreed with my heart. And for the ſhort charges ye ſpeak of, the means are not ſo pleaſant, if God (whom my truſt is in) will otherwiſe prepare; but Solomon ſaith, "All things have here their time;" you to-day, and I to-morrow, and ſo the end of Adam's line is ſoon run out. The mighty God give us his grace, that during this time his glory be not defaced through our weakneſs. Becauſe you deſire to ſhew yourſelf a worthy ſoldier, if need ſo require, I will ſupply your requeſt for the ſcarf ye wrote of, that ye may preſent my handy-work before your captain, that I be not forgotten in the odours of incenſe, which our beloved Chriſt offered for his own; to whom I bequeath both our bodies and ſouls.

Your own in the Lord, F. E.

Beſides theſe letters, the biſhops did alſo bring forth a ſupplication, made by Mr. Philpot unto the high-court of parliament, whereof mention is made in the firſt of the two letters laſt mentioned; the copy whereof here follows.

To the King and Queen's Majeſties Highneſs, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of this preſent Parliament aſſembled.

IN moſt humble wiſe complaineth unto this honourable court of parliament, John Philpot, clerk, that where there was, by the queen's highneſs, a parliament called in the firſt year of her gracious reign, and, after the old cuſtom, a convocation of the clergy, your ſuppliant then being one of the ſaid convocation-houſe, and matters there ariſing upon the uſing of the ſacraments, did diſpute in the ſame, knowing that there all men had and have free ſpeech, and ought not to be after-troubled for any thing there ſpoken, and yet that notwithſtanding, not long after the ſaid parliament, your ſaid ſuppliant (without any act or matter) was commanded to priſon to the King's-Bench by the late lord chancellor, where he hath remained ever ſince, until now of late that my lord the biſhop of London hath ſent for your ſaid ſuppliant, to examine him (being none of his dioceſe) upon certain matters, wherein they would have found your orator to declare his conſcience, which the ſaid biſhop ſaith he hath authority to do, by reaſon of an act of parliament made in the firſt and ſecond years of the king and queen's majeſties reign, for the reviving of three ſtatutes made againſt them that hold any opinion againſt the catholic faith: whereby he affirmeth, that every ordinary may, Ex officio, examine every man's conſcience. And for that your ſaid orator hath and doth refuſe, that the ſaid biſhop of London hath any authority over your ſaid orator, becauſe he is neither his dioceſan, nor hath publiſhed, preached, or held any opinion againſt the catholic faith (notwithſtanding the ſaid biſhop of London detaineth him in the coal-houſe in the ſtocks, without a bed, or any other thing to lie upon but ſtraw) and for that your ſaid orator cannot appeal for his relief, from the ſame biſhop to any other judge, but the ſame biſhop may refuſe the ſame by their law, and therefore hath no ſuccour and help but by this high court of parliament, for the explanation of the ſaid act; therefore may it pleaſe you, that it may be enacted by the king and queen's majeſties, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons of this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that no biſhop or ordinary ſhall commit or detain in priſon any ſuſpected perſon or perſons for the catholic faith, except he or they have ſpoken, written, or done ſome manifeſt act againſt the catholic faith; and the ſame to be lawfully proved againſt every ſuch perſon or perſons, by the teſtimony of two lawful witneſſes, to be brought before the ſaid perſon or perſons ſo accuſed, before he or they ſhall either be committed to priſon, or convicted for any ſuch offence or offences; the ſaid former ſtatute, made in the ſaid firſt and ſecond year of our ſaid ſovereign lord and lady notwithſtanding: whereby your ſaid orator ſhall not only be ſet at liberty, and divers other more remaining in priſon, but alſo the blood of divers of the queen's majeſties true and faithful ſubjects preſerved.

The Condemnation of the worthy Martyr of God John Philpot.

THESE books, letters, ſupplications, and other matters being thus read, the biſhop demanded of him, if the book intituled, "The true report of the diſputation, &c." were of his penning, or not? Whereunto Philpot anſwered, That it was a good and true book, and of his own penning and ſetting forth.

The biſhops growing weary, and not being able by any ſufficient ground, either of God's word, or of the true ancient catholic fathers, to convince and overcome him, fell by fair and flattering ſpeech to perſuade with him; promiſing, that if he would revoke his opinions, and come again to the Romiſh and Babylonical church, he ſhould not only be pardoned that which was paſt, but alſo they would with all favour and chearfulneſs of heart, receive him again as a true member thereof. Which words when Bonner ſaw would take no place, he demanded of Mr. Philpot (and that with a charitable affection, I warrant you) whether he had any juſt cauſe to alledge why he ſhould not condemn him as an heretic. Well, quoth Mr. Philpot, your idolatrous ſacrament, which you have found out, ye would fain defend; but yet cannot, nor ever ſhall.

In the end the biſhop, ſeeing his unmoveable ſtedfaſtneſs in the truth, did openly pronounce the ſentence of condemnation againſt him. In the reading whereof, when he came to theſe words, And you an obſtinate, pernicious and impenitent heretic, &c. Mr. Philpot ſaid, I thank God that I am an heretic out of your curſed church; I am no heretic before God. But God bleſs you, and give oyu

you once grace to repent your wicked doings, and let all men beware of your bloody church.

Moreover, whilſt Bonner was about the midſt of the ſentence, the biſhop of Bath pulled him by the ſleeve, and ſaid, My lord, my lord, know of him firſt whether he will recant, or no. Then Bonner ſaid (full like himſelf) O let him alone; and ſo read forth the ſentence.

And when he had done, he delivered him to the ſheriffs; and ſo two officers brought him through the biſhop's houſe into Pater-noſter-row, and there his ſervant met him; and when he ſaw him, he ſaid, Ah, dear maſter.

Then Mr. Philpot ſaid to his man, Content thyſelf, I ſhall do well enough; for thou ſhalt ſee me again.

And ſo the officers thruſt him away, and took him to Newgate; and as he went, he ſaid to the people, Ah, good people, bleſſed be God for this day; and ſo the officers delivered him to the keeper. Then his man thruſt to go in after his maſter, and one of the officers ſaid unto him, Hence, fellow, what wouldſt thou have? And he ſaid, I would go to ſpeak with my maſter. Mr. Philpot then turned him about, and ſaid to him, To-morrow thou ſhalt ſpeak with me.

Then the under keeper ſaid to Mr. Philpot, Is this your man? and he ſaid, Yea. So he gave his man leave to go in with him. And Mr. Philpot and his man were turned into a little chamber on the right-hand, and there remained a ſhort time, until Alexander the chief keeper came unto him; who, at his entering, greeted him in theſe words, Ah, ſaid he, haſt not thou done well to bring thyſelf hither? Well, ſaid Mr. Philpot, I muſt be content, for it is God's appointment; and I ſhall deſire you to let me have your gentle favour, for you and I have been of old acquaintance. Well, ſaid Alexander, I will ſhew thee gentleneſs and favour, ſo thou wilt be ruled by me. Then ſaid Mr. Philpot, I pray you ſhew me what you would have me to do.

He ſaid, If you would recant, I will ſhew you any pleaſure I can. Nay, ſaid Mr. Philpot, I will never recant, whilſt I have my life, that which I have ſpoken; for it is moſt certain truth, and in witneſs hereof I will ſeal it with my blood. Then Alexander ſaid, This is the ſaying of the whole pack of you heretics. Whereupon he commanded him to be ſet upon the block, and as many irons upon his legs as he could bear, becauſe he would not follow his wicked mind.

Then the clerk told Alexander in his ear, that Mr. Philpot had given his man money. And Alexander ſaid to his man, What money hath thy maſter given thee? He anſwered, My maſter hath given me none. No! ſaid Alexander, hath he given thee none? That will I know, for I will ſearch thee.

Do with me what you liſt, and ſearch me all that you can, quoth his ſervant; he hath given me a token or two to ſend to his friends, as to his brother and ſiſters. Ah, ſaid Alexander unto Mr. Philpot, thou art a maintaining of heretics; thy man ſhould have gone to ſome of thine affinity, but he ſhall be known well enough. Nay, ſaid Mr. Philpot, I do ſend it to my friends; there he is, let him make anſwer to it. But, good Mr. Alexander, be ſo much my friend, that theſe irons may be taken off. Well, ſaid Alexander, give me my fees, and I will take them off; if not, thou ſhalt wear them ſtill.

Then ſaid Mr. Philpot, Sir, what is your fee? He ſaid, Four pounds was his fee. Ah, ſaid Mr. Philpot, I have not ſo much; I am but a poor man, and I have been long in priſon. What wilt thou give me then, ſaid Alexander? Sir, ſaid he, I will give you twenty ſhillings, and that I will ſend my man for, or elſe I will lay my gown to gage; for the time is not long I am ſure, that I ſhall be with you; for the biſhop ſaid unto me, that I ſhould be ſoon diſpatched.

Then Alexander ſaid unto him, What is that to me? And with that he departed from him, and commanded him to be laid into Limbo, and ſo his commandment was fulfilled; but before he could be taken from the block, the clerk would have a groat.

Then one Witterence, ſteward of the houſe, took him on his back, and carried him down, his man knew not whither. Wherefore Mr. Philpot ſaid to his man, Go to Mr. Sheriff, and ſhew him how I am uſed, and deſire Mr. Sheriff to be good unto me; and ſo his ſervant went ſtraitway, and took an honeſt man with him.

And when they came to Mr. Sheriff (which was Mr. Macham) and ſhewed him how Mr. Philpot was handled in Newgate; the ſheriff hearing this, took his ring off from his finger, and delivered it unto that honeſt man which came with Mr. Philpot's man, and bade him go unto Alexander the keeper, and commanded him to take off his irons, and to handle him more gently, and to give his man again that which he had taken from him.

And when they came again to the ſaid Alexander, and delivered their meſſage from the ſheriff, Alexander took the ring, and ſaid, Ah, I perceive that Mr. Sheriff is a bearer with him, and all ſuch heretics as he is, therefore to-morrow I will ſhew it to his betters: yet at ten of the clock he went in to Mr. Philpot, where he lay, and took off his irons, and gave him ſuch things as he had taken before from his ſervant.

Upon Tueſday at ſupper, being the ſeventeenth day of December, there came a meſſenger from the ſheriffs, and bade Mr. Philpot make him ready, for the next day he ſhould ſuffer, and be burned at a ſtake with fire. Mr. Philpot anſwered and ſaid, I am ready; God grant me ſtrength, and a joyful reſurrection. And ſo he went into his chamber, and poured out his ſpirit unto the Lord God, giving him moſt hearty thanks, that he of his mercy had made him worthy to ſuffer for his truth.

In the morning the ſheriffs came according to the order, about eight of the clock, and called for him, and he moſt joyfully came down unto them. And there his man met him, and ſaid, Ah, dear maſter, farewel. His maſter ſaid unto him, Serve God, and he will help thee. And ſo he went with the ſheriffs to the place of execution; and when he was entering into Smithfield, the way was foul, and two officers took him up to bear him to the ſtake. Then he ſaid, merrily, What! will ye make me a pope? I am content to go to my journey's end on foot. But firſt coming into Smithfield, he kneeled down there, ſaying theſe words, "I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield."

And when he was come to the place of ſuffering, he kiſſed the ſtake, and ſaid, Shall I diſdain to ſuffer at this ſtake, ſeeing my Redeemer did not refuſe to ſuffer moſt vile death upon the croſs for me? And then with an obedient heart full meekly he ſaid the 106, 107 and 108th Pſalms: and when he had made an end of all his prayers, he ſaid to the officers, What have you done for me? and every one of them declared what they had done; and he gave money to them.

Then they bound him to the ſtake, and ſet fire to that conſtant martyr; who the eighteenth day of December, in the midſt of the fiery flames, yielded his ſoul into the hands of Almighty God, and, like a lamb, gave up his breath, his body being conſumed into aſhes.

Thus haſt thou, gentle reader, the life and actions of this learned and worthy ſoldier of the Lord, John Philpot; with all his examinations that came to our hands: firſt penned and written with his own hand, being marvellouſly preſerved from the ſight and hand of his enemies; who by all manner of means ſought not only to ſtop him from all writing, but alſo to ſpoil and deprive him of that which he had written. For which cauſe he was many times ſtripped and ſearched in the priſon by his keeper: but yet ſo happily theſe his writings were conveyed and hid in places about him, or elſe his keeper's eyes ſo blinded, that notwithſtanding all this malicious purpoſe of the biſhops they are yet remaining and come to light.

A Prayer

A Prayer to be ſaid at the Stake, of all them that God ſhall account worthy to ſuffer for his Sake.

MErciful God and Father, to whom our Saviour Chriſt approached in his fear and need, by reaſon of death, and found comfort; gracious God and moſt bounteous Chriſt, on whom Stephen called in his extreme need, and received ſtrength: moſt benign Aoly Spirit, which in the midſt of all croſſes of death didſt comfort the apoſtle St. Paul with more conſolations in Chriſt, than he felt ſorrows and terrors, have mercy upon me a miſerable, vile, and wretched ſinner, which now draws near the gates of death, deſerved both in ſoul and body eternally, by reaſon of manifold, horrible, old and new tranſgreſſions, which to thine eyes, O Lord, are open and known: O be merciful unto me for the bitter death and blood ſhedding of thine own only Son Jeſus Chriſt. And though thy juſtice doth require (in reſpect of my ſins) that now thou ſhouldeſt not hear me, meaſuring me in the ſame meaſure I have meaſured thy Majeſty, contemning thy daily calls; yet let thy mercy which is above all thy works, and wherewith the earth is filled, let thy mercy, I ſay, prevail towards me, through and for the mediation of Chriſt our Saviour. And for whoſe ſake in that it hath pleaſed thee to bring me forth now as one of his witneſſes, and a record-bearer of thy verity and truth taught by him, to give my life therefore (to which dignity I do acknowledge, dear God, that there was never any ſo unworthy and ſo unmeet, no not the thief that hanged with him on the croſs:) I moſt humbly therefore pray thee that thou wouldſt accordingly aid, help, and aſſiſt me with thy ſtrength and heavenly grace, that with Chriſt thy Son I may find comfort, with Stephen I may ſee thy preſence, and gracious power, with Paul, and all others, who for thy name's ſake have ſuffered afflictions and death, I may find ſo preſent with me thy gracious conſolations, that I may by my death glorify thy holy name, propagate and ratify thy verity, comfort the hearts of the heavy, confirm thy church in thy truth, convert ſome that are to be converted, and ſo depart forth of this miſerable world, where I do daily heap ſin upon ſin, and ſo enter into the fruition of thy bleſſed mercy; whereof now give and increaſe in me a lively truſt, ſenſe and feeling, where through the terrors of death, the torments of fire, the pangs of ſin, the darts of Satan, and the dolours of hell may never depreſs me, but may be driven away through the working of that moſt gracious Spirit; which now plenteouſly endue me withal, that through the ſame Spirit I may offer (as I now deſire to do in Chriſt by him) myſelf wholly, ſoul and body, to be a lively ſacrifice, holy and acceptable in thy ſight. Dear Father, whoſe I am, and always have been, even from my mother's womb, yea even before the world was made, to whom I commend myſelf, ſoul and body, family and friends, country and all the whole church, yea even my very enemies, according to thy good pleaſure; beſeeching thee intirely to give once more to this realm of England the bleſſing of thy word again, with godly peace, to the teaching and ſetting forth of the ſame. O dear Father, now give me grace to come unto thee. Purge and ſo purify me by this fire in Chriſt's death and paſſion through thy Spirit, that I may be a burnt-offering of a ſweet ſmell in thy ſight, who liveſt and reigneſt with the Son and the Holy Ghoſt, now and for evermore, world without end, Amen.

Mr. Philpot's Letter to a Chriſtian Congregation, exhorting them to refrain from Idolatry, and to ſerve God after his Word.

IT is a lamentable thing to behold at this preſent in England the faithleſs departing both of men and women, from the true knowledge and uſe of Chriſt's ſincere religion which ſo plentifully they have been taught, and do know, their own conſciences bearing witneſs to the verity thereof. If that earth be curſed of God, which ſoon receiving moiſture and pleaſant dews from heaven, doth not bring forth fruit accordingly; how much more grievous judgment ſhall ſuch perſons receive, who having received from the Father of heaven the perfect knowledge of his word by the miniſtry thereof, do not ſhew forth God's worſhip after the ſame? If the Lord will require in the day of judgment a godly uſury of all manner of talents which he lendeth unto men and women, how much more will he require the ſame of his pure religion revealed unto us (which is of all other talents the chief, and moſt pertaining to our exerciſe in this life) if we hide the ſame in a napkin, and ſet it not forth to the uſury of God's glory, and edifying of his church by true confeſſion? God hath kindled the bright light of his goſpel, which in times paſt was ſuppreſſed, and hid under the vile aſhes of man's traditions, and hath cauſed the brightneſs thereof to ſhine in our hearts, to the end that the ſame might ſhine before men, to the honour of his name. It is not only given us to believe, but alſo to confeſs and declare what we believe in our outward converſation. For, as St. Paul writeth to the Romans, "The belief of the heart juſtifieth, and to acknowledge with the mouth maketh a man ſafe." It is all one before God, not to believe at all, and not to ſhew forth the lively works of our belief. For Chriſt ſaith, "Either make the tree good and his fruits good; or elſe make the tree evil and the fruits evil; becauſe a good tree bringeth forth good fruits, and an evil tree bringeth forth evil fruits." So that the perſon who knoweth his maſter's will, and doth it not, ſhall be beaten with many ſtripes. And not all they who ſay, Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the kingdom of God, but he that doth the the will of the Father. And, "Whoſoever, in the time of trial, is aſhamed of me (ſaith Chriſt) and of my words, of him the Son of man will be aſhamed before his Father." And after that we have built ourſelves into the true church of God, it hath pleaſed him, by giving us over into the hands of the wicked ſynagogues, to prove our building, and to have it known as well to the world as to ourſelves, that we have been wiſe builders into the true church of God upon the rock, and not on the ſand, and therefore now the tempeſt is riſen, and the ſtorms do mightily blow againſt us, that we might notwithſtanding ſtand upright, and be firm in the Lord, to his honour and glory, and to our eternal felicity. There is now no new thing happened unto us, for with ſuch tempeſts and dangerous weathers the church of God hath continually been exerciſed. Now once again, as the prophet Haggai tells us, "The Lord ſhaketh the earth, that thoſe might abide for ever, which be not overcome.

Therefore my dearly beloved, be ſtable and immoveable in the word of God, and in the faithful obſervation thereof, and let no man deceive you with vain words, ſaying, that you may keep your faith to yourſelves, and diſſemble with Antichriſt, and to live at reſt and quietneſs in the world, as moſt men do, yielding to neceſſity. This is the wiſdom of the fleſh; but the wiſdom of the fleſh is death and enmity to God, as our Saviour for example, aptly did declare in Peter, who exhorteth Chriſt not to go to Jeruſalem to celebrate the paſſover, and there to be ſlain, but counſelled him to look better to himſelf.

Likewiſe the world would not have us to forſake it, neither to aſſociate ourſelves to the true church, which is the body of Chriſt, whereof we are lively members, and to uſe the ſacraments after God's word with the danger of our lives. But we muſt learn to anſwer the world as Chriſt did Peter, and ſay, "Go behind me, Satan, thou ſavoureſt not the things of God. Shall I not drink of the cup which the Father giveth me?" For it is better to be afflicted and to be ſlain in the church of God than be counted the ſon of the king in the ſynagogue of falſe religion. Death for righteouſneſs is not to be abhorred, but

but rather to be desired, which assuredly bringeth with it the crown of everlasting glory. These bloody executioners do not persecute Christ's martyrs, but crown them with everlasting felicity: we were born into this world to be witnesses unto the truth, both learned and unlearned.

Now since the time is come that we must shew our faith, and declare whether we will be God's servants in righteousness and holiness, as we have been taught, and are bound to follow, or else with hypocrisy to serve unrighteousness: let us take good heed that we be found faithful in the Lord's covenant, and true members of his church, in which through knowledge we are ingrafted; from which if we fall by transgression with the common sort of people, it will more straightly be required of us, than many yet do make account thereof. We cannot serve two masters; we may not halt on both sides, and think to please God: we must be fervent in God's cause, or else he will cast us out from him. For by the first commandment we are commanded to love God with all our heart, with all our mind, with all our power and strength: But they are manifest transgressors of this commandment, which with their heart, mind, or bodily power, do communicate with a strange religion, contrary to the word of God, in the papistical synagogue, which calleth itself the church, and is not. As greatly do they offend God now which so do, as the Israelites did in times past by forsaking Jerusalem, the true church of God, and by going to Bethel to serve God in a congregation of their own setting up, and after their own imaginations and traditions: for which doing God utterly destroyed all Israel, as all the prophets almost do testify. This happened unto them for our ensample, that we might beware to have any fellowship with any like congregation to our destruction.

God hath one catholic church dispersed throughout the world, and therefore we are taught in our creed to believe one catholic church, and to have communion therewith: which catholic church is grounded upon the foundation of the prophets and of the apostles, and upon none other, as St. Paul witnesseth to the Ephesians. Therefore wheresoever we perceive any people to worship God truly after his word, there we may be certain the church of Christ to be; unto which we ought to associate ourselves, and to desire with the prophet David, to praise God in the midst of his church. But if we behold, through the iniquity of the time, segregations to be made with counterfeit religion, otherwise than the word of God doth teach, we ought then, if we be required, to be companions thereof, to say again with David, "I have hated the synagogue of the malignant, and will not sit with the wicked." In the Revelations the church of Ephesus is highly commended, because she tried such as said they were apostles, and were not indeed, and therefore would not abide the company of them. Further, God commanded his people, that they should not seek Bethel, neither enter into Gilgal where idolatry was used, by the mouth of his prophet Amos; Also we must consider, that our bodies be the temple of God, and whosoever (as St. Paul teacheth) doth prophane the temple of God, him the Lord will destroy. May we then take the temple of Christ, and make it the member of an harlot? All strange religion and idolatry is accounted whoredom with the prophets, and more detestable in the sight of God than the adventurous abuse of the body.

Therefore the princes of the earth, in the Revelations of St. John, are said to go a whoring, when they are in love with false religion, and follow the same. How then by any means may a Christian man think it tolerable to be present at the popish private mass (which is the very prophanation of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ) and at other idolatrous worshippings and rites, which be not after the word of God, but rather to the derogation thereof, in setting man's traditions above God's precepts, since God by his word judgeth all strange religion, which is not according to his institution, for whoredom and adultery?

Some fondly think that the presence of the body is not material, so that the heart do not consent to their wicked doings. But such persons little consider what St. Paul writeth to the Corinthians, commanding them to glorify God as well in body as in soul.

Moreover, we can do no greater injury to the true church of Christ, than to seem to have forsaken her, and disallow her by cleaving of her adversary: whereby it appeareth to others which be weak, that we allow the same; and so contrary to the word, do give a great offence to the church of God, and do outwardly slander, as much as men may, the truth of Christ. But wo be unto him by whom any such offence cometh. Better it were for him to have a mill-stone tied about his neck, and to be cast into the sea. Such be traitors to the truth, like unto Judas, who with a kiss betrayed Christ. Our God is a jealous God, and cannot be content that we should be of any other than of that unspotted church, whereof he is the head only, and wherein he hath planted us by baptism. This jealousy which God hath towards us, will cry for vengeance in the day of vengeance, against all such as now have so large consciences to do that which is contrary to God's glory, and the sincerity of his word, except they do in time repent, and cleave inseparably to the gospel of Christ, how much soever at this present both men and women otherwise in their own corrupt judgment do flatter themselves. God willeth us to judge uprightly and to allow and follow that which is holy and acceptable in his sight, and to abstain from all manner of evil, and therefore Christ commandeth us in the gospel to beware of the leaven of the pharisees, which is hypocrisy.

St. Paul to the Hebrews saith, "If any man withdraw himself from the faith, his soul shall have no pleasure in him: therefore he saith also, "That we are none such as do withdraw ourselves unto perdition, but we belong unto faith, for the attainment of life." St. John in the Revelations telleth us plainly, that none of those who are written in the book of life, do receive the mark of the beast, which is of the papistical synagogue, either in their foreheads, or else in their hands, that is, apparently or obediently.

St. Paul to the Philippians affirmeth, that we may not have any fellowship with the works of darkness, but in the midst of this wicked and froward generation we ought to shine like lights upholding the word of truth. Further he saith, that we may not touch any unclean thing; which signifieth, that our outward conversation in foreign things ought to be pure and undefiled as well as the inward, that with a clean spirit and rectified body we might serve God justly in holiness and righteousness all the days of our life.

Finally, in the 18th of the Revelations, God bideth us plainly to depart from the Babalonical synagogue, and not to be partakers of her trespass. St. Paul to the Thessalonians commandeth us, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, to withdraw ourselves from every brother that walketh inordinately, and not according to the institution which he hath received of him.

Ponder ye therefore well, good brethren and sisters, these scriptures which be written for your erudition and reformation, whereof one jot is not written in vain: which be utterly against all counterfeit illusion to be used by us with the papists in their fantastical religion, and be adversaries to all them that have so light consciences in so doing: And if they do not agree with this adversary (I mean the word of God) which is contrary to their attempts, he will (as is signified in the gospel) deliver them to the judge, which is Christ; and the judge will deliver them to the Executioner, that is the devil: and the devil shall commit them to the horrible prison of hell-fire (where is the portion of all hypocrites) with sulphur and

brimſtone, with wailing and gnaſhing of teeth, world without end. But yet many will ſay for their vain excuſe, God is merciful, and his mercy is over all. But the ſcripture teacheth us, That curſed is he that ſinneth upon hope of forgiveneſs. Truth it is, that the mercy of God is above all his works, and yet but upon ſuch as fear him: for it is written in the Pſalms, "The mercy of God is on them that fear him." Where we may learn, that they only put their truſt in God, that ſerve him; and to fear God, is to turn from evil and do that is good. So that ſuch as do look to be partakers in God's mercy, may not abide in that which is known to be manifeſt evil and deteſtable in the ſight of God.

Another ſort of perſons do make them a cloak for the rain under the pretence of obedience to the magiſtrates, whom we ought to obey although they be wicked. But ſuch muſt learn of Chriſt to give to Cæſar that is Cæſar's, and to God that is due to God, and with St. Peter to obey the higher powers in the Lord, although they be evil, if they command nothing contrary to God's word, otherwiſe we ought not to obey their commandments, although we ſhould ſuffer death for it, as we have the apoſtles for our example herein to follow, who anſwered the magiſtrates as we ought to do in this caſe, not obeying their wicked precepts, ſaying, "Judge you whether it be more righteous that we ſhould obey man rather than God."

Alſo Daniel choſe rather to be caſt into the den of lions to be devoured, than to obey the king's wicked commandments. If the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch. There is no excuſe for the tranſgreſſion of God's word, whether a man doth it voluntary or at commandment, although great damnation is to them, by whom the offence cometh. Some others there be that for an extreme refuge in their evil-doings, do run to God's predeſtination and election, ſaying, that if I be elected of God to ſalvation, I ſhall be ſaved whatſoever I do. But ſuch be great tempters of God, and abominable blaſphemers of God's holy election, and caſt themſelves down from the pinnacle of the temple in preſumption, that God may preſerve them by his angels through predeſtination. Such verily may reckon themſelves to be none of God's elect children, that will do evil that good may enſue; whoſe damnation is juſt, as St. Paul ſaith. God's predeſtination and election ought to be with a ſimple eye conſidered, to make us more warily to walk in good and godly converſation according to God's word, and not to ſet cock in the hoop, and put all on God's back to do wickedly at large: for the elect children of God muſt walk in righteouſneſs and holineſs after they be once called to the true knowledge. For ſo ſaith St. Paul to the Epheſians, "That God hath choſen us before the foundations of the world were laid, that we ſhould be holy and blameleſs in his ſight."

Therefore St. Peter willeth us through good works to make our vocation and election certain to ourſelves, which we know not but by the good working of God's Spirit in us, according to the rule of the goſpel; and he that conformeth not himſelf to the ſame in godly converſation, may juſtly tremble, and doubt that he is none of the elect children of God, but of the viperous generation, and a child of darkneſs. For the children of light will walk in the works of light and not of darkneſs, though they fall, they do not lie ſtill.

Let all vain excuſes be ſet apart, and whilſt ye have light, as Chriſt commandeth, believe the light and abide in the ſame, leſt eternal darkneſs overtake you unawares. The light is come into the world, but (alas) men love darkneſs more than light. God give us his pure eye-ſalve to heal our blindneſs in this behalf. O that men and women would be healed, and not ſeek to be wilfully blinded. The Lord open their eyes, that they may ſee how dangerous a thing it is to decline from the knowledge of truth, contrary to their conſcience.

But what ſaid I, conſcience? Many affirm their conſcience will bear them well enough to do all that they do, and to go to the idolatrous church to ſervice; whoſe conſcience is very large to ſatisfy man more than God. And although their conſcience can bear them ſo to do, yet I am ſure that a good conſcience will not permit them ſo to do; which cannot be good, unleſs it be directed after the knowledge of God's word; and therefore in Latin this feeling mind is called Conſcientia, which ſoundeth by interpretation, as much as with knowledge.

And therefore if our conſcience be led of herſelf, and not after true knowledge, yet we are not ſo to be excuſed, as St. Paul beareth witneſs, ſaying, "Although my conſcience accuſeth me not, yet in this I am not juſtified." And he joineth a good conſcience with theſe three ſiſters, charity, a pure heart, and unfeigned faith. Charity keepeth God's commandments, a pure heart loveth and feareth God above all, and unfeigned faith is never aſhamed of the profeſſion of the goſpel, whatſoever damage he ſhall ſuffer in body thereby. The Lord who hath revealed his holy will unto us by his word, grant us never to be aſhamed of it, and give us grace ſo earneſtly to cleave to his word, and the true church, that for no manner of worldly reſpect we become partakers of the works of hypocriſy, which God doth abhor: ſo that we may be found faithful in the Lord's teſtament to the end, both in heart, word and deed, to the glory of God and our everlaſting ſalvation, Amen.

John Philpot, priſoner in the King's Bench,
for the teſtimony of the truth. 1555.

Mr. Philpot's Letter to Mr. John Careleſs, Priſoner in the King's Bench.

MY dearly beloved brother Careleſs, I have received your loving letters full of love and compaſſion, inſomuch that they made my hard heart to weep, to ſee you ſo careful for one that hath been ſo unprofitable a member as I have been, and am in Chriſt's church. God make me worthy of that I am called unto, and I pray you ceaſe not to pray for me, but ceaſe to weep for him, who hath not deſerved ſuch gentle tears: and praiſe God with me, for that I now approach to the company of them, whoſe want you may worthily lament; God give your pitiful heart his inward conſolation. Indeed my dear Careleſs, I am in this world in hell, and in the ſhadow of death; but he that hath brought me for my deſerts down into hell, ſhall ſhortly lift me up to heaven, where I ſhall look continually for your coming, and other my faithful brethren in the King's-Bench. And though I tell you that I am in hell in the judgment of this world, yet aſſuredly I feel in the ſame the conſolation of heaven, I praiſe God: and this loathſome and horrible priſon is as pleaſant to me, as the walk in the garden of the King's Bench.

You know, brother Careleſs, that the way to heaven out of this life is very narrow, and we muſt ſtrive to enter in at a narrow gate. If God do mitigate the uglineſs of mine impriſonment, what will he do in the rage of fire whereunto I am appointed? And this hath happened unto me, that I might be hereafter an enſample of comfort, if the like happen unto you, or to any other of my dear brethren with you in theſe cruel days, in which the devil ſo rageth at the faithful flock of Chriſt, but in vain (I truſt) againſt any of us, who be perſuaded that neither life, neither death is able to ſeparate us from the love of Chriſt's goſpel, which is God's high treaſure committed to our brittle veſſels to glorify us by the ſame. God of his mercy make us faithful ſtewards to the end, and give us grace to fear nothing whatſoever in his good pleaſure we ſhall ſuffer for the ſame. That I have not written unto you ere this, the cauſe is our ſtrait keeping and the want of

of light by night; for the day ſerveth us but a while in our dark cloſet. This is the firſt letter that I have written ſince I came to priſon, beſides the report of mine examinations; and I am fain to ſcribble it out in haſte.

Commend me to all our faithful brethren, and bid them with a good courage look for their redemption, and frame themſelves to be hearty ſoldiers in Chriſt. They have taken his preſt money a great while, and now let them ſhew themſelves ready to ſerve him faithfully, and not to fly out of the Lord's camp into the world, as many do. Let them remember, that in the revelations, the fearful be excluded the kingdom. Let us be of good cheer, for our Lord overcame the world, that we ſhould do the like. Bleſſed is the ſervant, whom when the Lord cometh, he findeth watching. O let us watch and pray earneſtly one for another, that we be not led into temptation. Be joyful under the croſs, and praiſe the Lord continually, for this is the whole burnt-ſacrifice which the Lord delighteth in. Commend me to my father Hunt, and deſire him to love and continue in the unity of Chriſt's true church, which he hath begun, and then will he make me more and more to joy under my croſs with him. Tell my brother Clements that he hath comforted me much by his loving token in ſignification of an unfeigned unity with us; let him increaſe my joy unto the end perfectly. The Lord of peace be with you all. Salute my loving friends, Mr. Mering, Mr. Crooch, with the reſt, and eſpecially Mr. Marſhal, and his wife, with great thanks for his kindneſs ſhewed unto me. Farewell my dear Careleſs. I have dallied with the devil a while, but I am over the ſhoes: God ſend me well out.

Out of the Coal-houſe, by your brother,
John Philpot.

Another Letter to Mr. John Careleſs, profitable to be read by all thoſe who mourn for, and repent of their Sins.

THE God of all comfort, and the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſend unto thee, my dear brother Careleſs, the inward conſolation of the Holy Spirit, in all the malicious aſſaults and troublous temptations of our common adverſary the devil, Amen.

That God giveth you ſo contrite a heart for your ſins, I cannot but rejoice to behold the lively mark of the children of God, whoſe property is to think more lowly and meanly of themſelves than of any other, and oftentimes do ſet their ſins before them, that they might the more be ſtirred to bring forth the fruits of repentance, and learn to mourn in this world, that in another they might be glad and rejoice. Such a broken heart is a pleaſant ſacrifice unto God: O that I had the like contrite heart. God mollify my ſtony heart, which lamenteth not in ſuch wiſe my former deteſtable iniquities. Praiſed be God that he hath given you this ſorrowful heart in reſpect of righteouſneſs, and I pray you let me be partaker of theſe godly ſorrows for ſin, which be the teſtimony of the preſence of the Holy Ghoſt. Did not the ſword of ſorrow pierce the heart of the elect and bleſſed mother of our Lord? Did not Peter weep bitterly for his ſins, which was ſo beloved of Chriſt? Did not Mary Magdalen waſh the feet of our Saviour with her tears, and received therewithal remiſſion of her ſevenfold ſins?

Be of good comfort therefore, mine own dear heart, in this thy ſorrow, for it is the earneſt penny of eternal conſolation. In thy ſorrow laugh, for the Spirit of God is with thee. Bleſſed be they (ſaith Chriſt) that mourn, for they ſhall be comforted. They went forth and wept, ſaith the prophet, ſuch ſhall come again having their gripes full of gladneſs. And altho' a ſorrowful heart, in conſideration of his ſins, be an acceptable ſacrifice before God, whereby we are ſtirred up to more thankfulneſs unto God, knowing that much is forgiven us that we might love the more, yet the man of God muſt keep a meaſure in the ſame, leſt he be ſwallowed up by much ſorrow. St. Paul would not that the Theſſalonians ſhould be ſorry as other men without hope: ſuch a ſorrow is not commendable, but worketh damnation, and is far from the children of God, who are continually ſorrowful in God when they look upon their own unworthineſs, with hope of forgiveneſs. For God to this end by his Spirit ſetteth the ſins of his elect ſtill before them, that where they perceive ſin to abound, there they might be aſſured that grace ſhall ſuper-abound; and bring down unto hell, that he might lift them up with greater joy unto heaven. Wherefore, mine own bowels in Chriſt, as long as you are not void altogether of hope; be not diſmayed thro' your penſive heart for your ſins, how huge ſoever they have been, for God is able to forgive more than you are able to ſin: yea, and he will forgive him who with hope is ſorry for his ſins.

But know, brother, that as oft as we do go about, by the help of God's Spirit to do that is good, the evil ſpirit Satan layeth hard wait to turn the good unto evil, and goeth about to dung the deteſtable weeds of deſperation with the godly ſorrow of a pure penitent heart. You be not ignorant of his malicious ſubtilty, and how that continually he aſſaulted that good which the grace of God planteth. I ſee the battle betwixt you and him, but the victory is yours, yea, and that daily: for you have laid hold upon the anchor of ſalvation, which is hope in Chriſt, which will not ſuffer you to be made aſhamed.

Be not diſcontented that you have this conflict: but be glad that God hath given you the ſame to try your faith, and that you might appear daily worthy of the kingdom of God, for which you ſtrive. God beholdeth your ſtriving faith againſt Satan, and is pleaſed with your mighty reſiſtance. The Spirit which is in you, is mightier than all the adverſary's power. Tempt he may, and lying in wait at your heels, give you a fall unawares; but overcome he ſhall not; yea, he cannot, for you are ſealed up already with a lively faith to be the child of God for ever: and whom God hath once ſealed for his own, him he never utterly forſaketh.

The juſt falleth ſeven times, but he riſeth again. It is man's frailty to fall, but it is the property of the devil's child to lie ſtill.

This ſtrife againſt ſin is a ſufficient teſtimony that you are the child of God: for if you were not, you would feel no ſuch malice as he now troubleth you withal. When this ſtrong Goliah hath the hold, all things are in peace which he poſſeſſeth: and becauſe he hath you not, he will not ſuffer you unaſſaulted. But ſtand faſt, and hold out the buckler of faith, and with the ſword of God's promiſes ſmite him on the ſcalp; that he may receive a deadly wound, and never be able to ſtand againſt you any more. St. James telleth you he is but a coward, ſaying, "Reſiſt the devil, and he will flee from thee." It is the will of God that he ſhould thus long tempt you, and not go away as yet; or elſe he had done with you long ere this. He knoweth already that he ſhall receive the foil at your hands, and increaſe the crown of your glory: for he that overcometh ſhall be crowned. Therefore glory in your temptations, ſince they ſhall turn to your felicity. Be not afraid of your continual aſſaults, which be occaſions of your daily victory. The word of God abideth for ever. In what hour ſoever a ſinner repenteth him of his ſins, they be forgiven. Who can lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? Do you not perceive the manifeſt tokens of your election? Firſt, your vocation to the goſpel, and after your vocation, the manifeſt gifts of the Spirit of God given unto you above many other of your condition, with godlineſs which believeth and yieldeth to the authority of the ſcriptures, and is zealous for the ſame? Seeing you are God's own darlings, who can hurt you? Be not of a dejected mind

for theſe temptations, neither make your unfeigned friends to be more ſorrowful for you than need doth require.

Since God hath willed you at your baptiſm in Chriſt to be careleſs, why do you make yourſelf careful? Caſt all your care on him. Set the Lord before your eyes always, for he is on your right ſide, that you ſhould not be then moved. Behold the goodneſs of God towards me. I am careleſs, being faſt incloſed in a pair of ſtocks, which pinch me for very ſtraitneſs; and will you be careful? I would not have that unſeemly addition to your name. Be as your name pretendeth, for doubtleſs you have no other cauſe but ſo to be. Pray, I beſeech you, that I may be ſtill careleſs in my careful eſtate, as you have cauſe to be careleſs in your eaſier condition. Be thankful, and put away all care, and then I ſhall be joyful in my ſtrait preſent care. Commend me to all our brethren, and deſire them to pray for me, that I may overcome my temptations: for the devil rageth againſt me. I am put in the ſtocks in a place alone, becauſe I would not anſwer to ſuch articles as they would charge me withal in a corner at the biſhop's appointment, and becauſe I did not come to maſs when the biſhop ſent for me. By God's grace, I will lie all the days of my life in the ſtocks, rather than I will conſent to the wicked generation. Praiſe God, and be joyful, that it hath pleaſed him to make us worthy to ſuffer ſomewhat for his name's ſake. The devil muſt rage for ten days. Commend me to Mr. F—, and thank him for his law-books: but neither law nor equity will take any place among theſe blood-thirſty. I wiſh for your ſake the unjuſt dealing were noted unto the parliament-houſe, if it might avail. God ſhorten theſe evil days. I have anſwered the biſhop meetly plain already; and I ſaid unto him, If he will call me in open judgment, I will anſwer him as plainly as he ſhall require; otherwiſe I have refuſed, becauſe I fear they will condemn me in hugger-mugger. The peace of God be with you, my dear brother. I can write no more for lack of light, and that which I have written I cannot read myſelf, and God knoweth it is written very uneaſily. I pray God you may pick out ſome underſtanding of my mind towards you. Written in a coal-houſe of darkneſs, out of a pair of painful ſtocks, by thine own in Chriſt.

John Philpot.

Another Letter of Mr. Philpot, to certain godly Women, who forſook their own Country for the Goſpel, full of fruitful Precepts.

THE Spirit of truth, revealed unto you my dearly beloved by the goſpel of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, be continually abiding with you, and augmented into a perfect building of you into the lively temple of God, through the mighty operation of his holy power, Amen.

I read in the Evangeliſts, of certain godly women, that miniſtered unto Chriſt, following him in the days of his paſſion, and never forſook him, but being dead in his grave, brought oil to anoint him, until he had ſhewed himſelf unto them after his reſurrection, and bidding them ſhew unto his diſciples, which at his paſſion were diſperſed, and tell them that he was riſen, and that they ſhould ſee him in Galilee. To whom I may juſtly compare you (my loving ſiſters in Chriſt), who of late have ſeen him ſuffer in his members, and have miniſtred to their neceſſity, anointing them with the comfortable oil of your charitable aſſiſtance, even to the death: and now ſince ye have ſeen Chriſt to live in the aſhes of them whom the tyrants have ſlain, he willed you to go away upon juſt occaſion offered you, and to declare to our diſperſed brethren and ſiſters that he is riſen, and liveth in his elect members in England, and by death doth overcome infidelity, and that they ſhall ſee him in Galilee, which is by forſaking this world, and by a faithful deſire to paſs out of this world by thoſe ways, which he with his holy martyrs hath gone on before.

God therefore (intire ſiſters) direct your way, as he did Abraham and Tobias unto a ſtrange land. God give you health both of body and ſoul, that ye may go from virtue to virtue, and go from ſtrength to ſtrength, until ye may ſee face to face the God of Sion in his holy hill, with the innumerable company of his bleſſed martyrs and ſaints. Let there be no decreaſe of any virtue, which is already planted in you. Be as the light of the juſt, ſuch as Solomon ſaith, increaſeth to the perfect day of the Lord. Let the ſtrength of God be commended in your weak veſſels, as it is. Be examples of faith and ſobriety to all that ye ſhall come in company withal. Let your godly converſation ſpeak where your tongue may not, in the congregation. Be ſwift to hear, and ſlow to ſpeak, after the counſel of St. James. Be not curious about other men's doings, but be occupied in prayer, and continual meditation, with reverent talking of the word of God, without contentions among the ſaints. Let your faith ſhine in a ſtrange country, as it hath done in your own, that your Father which is in heaven may be glorified by you to the end.

This farewel I ſend you, not as a thing needful (which know already what your duty is, and be deſirous to perform the ſame), but as one that would have you underſtand that he is mindful of your godly converſation, whereof he hath had good experience, and therefore written this to be a perpetual memorial betwixt you and him, until our meeting together before God, where we ſhall joy that we have here lovingly put one another in memory of our duty to perform it.

Farewel again mine own bowels in Chriſt, and take me with you whereſoever you go, and leave yourſelves with me, that in ſpirit we may be preſent one with another. Commend me to the whole congregation of Chriſt, willing them not to leave their country without witneſs of the goſpel, after that we all are ſlain which already be ſtalled up and appointed to the ſlaughter; and in the mean ſeaſon to pray earneſtly for our conſtancy, that Chriſt may be glorified in us and in them, both by life and death. Farewel in the Lord.

Yours for ever, John Philpot.

An Exhortation to his own Siſter, conſtantly to ſtick to the Truth, which ſhe had fruitfully profeſſed.

GOD the eternal Father, who hath juſtified you by the blood of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, and called you to hallow his name thro' a good converſation and profeſſion of faith, ſanctify you with daily increaſe of virtue and faith by his Holy Spirit, that you may appear a veſſel of ſanctification, in the midſt of this wicked and perverſe generation, to the laud and praiſe of the goſpel, Amen.

I have occaſion (my own dear ſiſter) to praiſe God in you for two cauſes: the one, that to your ability you are ready to ſhew yourſelf a natural loving ſiſter to me your poor afflicted brother, as by your gentle tokens you have often teſtified being abſent, and alſo preſently viſiting me; which well declareth that you be a very natural ſiſter indeed, and to be praiſed in this behalf. But in the other, that you be alſo a ſiſter to me in faith after Chriſt's goſpel, I am occaſioned to thank God ſo much the more, how much the one excelleth the other, and the ſpiritual conſanguinity is more perdurable than that which is of fleſh and blood, and is a worker of that which is by nature: for commonly ſuch as be ungodly, be unnatural, and only lovers of themſelves, as daily experience teacheth us. The living Lord, which through the incorruptible ſeed of his word hath begotten you to be my liege ſiſter, give you grace ſo to grow in that generation, that you may increaſe to a perfect age in the Lord, to be my ſiſter in Chriſt for ever.

Look

Look therefore that you continue a faithful ſiſter as you are called and godly entered, not only to me, but to all the church of Chriſt, yea, to Chriſt himſelf, who vouchſafeth you in this your unfeigned faith, worthy to be his ſiſter. Conſider this dignity to ſurmount all the vain dignities of the world, and let it accordingly prevail more with you than all earthly delights: for thereby you are called to an equal proportion of the everlaſting inheritance of Chriſt, if now in no wiſe you do ſhew yourſelf an unnatural ſiſter to him in forſaking him in trouble, which I truſt you will never for any kind of worldly reſpect do. You are under dangerous temptations to be turned from that natural love you owe unto Chriſt, and you ſhall be tried with God's people, through a ſieve of great affliction: for ſo Satan deſireth us to be ſifted, that through fear of ſharp troubles we might fall from the ſtableneſs of our faith, and ſo be deprived of that honour, joy, and reward, which is prepared for ſuch as continue faithful brothers and ſiſters in the Lord's covenant to the end. Therefore the wiſe man in the book of Eccleſiaſticus, biddeth them that come to the ſervice of the Lord, "To prepare themſelves to ſuffer temptations."

Since then that for the glory of God and our faith, we are called now to abide the brunt of them, and that when our adverſary hath done all that he can, yet we may be ſtable and ſtand; this Chriſt, our firſt-begotten brother, looketh for at our hands, and all our brethren and ſiſters in heaven deſire to ſee our faith through afflictions to be perfect that we might fulfil their number: and the univerſal church here militant rejoiceth at our conſtancy, all whom by the contrary we ſhould make ſorry, to the danger of the loſs both of body and ſoul. Fear not, therefore, whatſoever may be threatened of the wicked world; prepare your back, and ſee it be ready to carry Chriſt's croſs. And if you ſee any unwillingneſs in you (as the fleſh is continually repugnant to the will of God) aſk with faithful prayer, that the good Spirit of God may lead your ſinful fleſh whither it would not: for if we will dwell in the fleſh, and follow the counſel thereof, we ſhall never do the will of God, neither work that which tendeth to our ſalvation.

You are at this preſent in the confines and borders of Babylon, where you are in danger to drink of the whore's cup, unleſs you be vigilant in prayer. Take heed the ſerpent ſeduce you not from the ſimplicity of your faith, as he did our firſt mother Eve. Let not worldly fellowſhip make you partaker of iniquity. He that toucheth tar, cannot but be defiled thereby. With ſuch as be perverſe, a man ſhall ſoon be perverted; with the holy you ſhall be holy. Therefore ſay continually with the prophet David, Pſalm 35. "Unto the ſaints that be on the earth, all my will is on them." You have been ſanctified and made pure through the truth; take heed you be not unholied and defiled, leſt the laſt be worſe than the firſt. I write not this becauſe I ſtand in any doubt of your ſincere continuance, of which I have had ſo good experience. But becauſe the days be evil, and in the ſame it is the duty of every of us to exhort and ſtir op one another; I am bold to put you (my good ſiſter) in remembrance of that which doth not a little comfort me to remember, in my troubles and daily temptations. Wherefore I doubt not but you will take that in good part which cometh from your brother both in ſpirit and body, who tendereth your ſalvation as earneſtly as his own, that we might joy together eternally with ſuch joy as the world ſhall never be able to take from us. Thanks be unto God, you have begun to run a good and a great time well in the ways of the Lord: run out the race to the end, which you have begun, and then ſhall you receive the crown of glory. None ſhall be crowned, but ſuch as lawfully ſtrive. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good, and the Lord will make you one of thoſe faithful virgins, that ſhall follow the Lamb whereſoever he goeth; which Chriſt grant both to you and me, Amen.

No. 36.

Commend me to all them that love me in the Lord unfeignedly. God increaſe our faith, and give us never to be aſhamed of his goſpel. The ſame requeſt which I have made to my brother Thomas, I make alſo to you, deſiring you by all means you can to accompliſh my requeſt, that my ſureties might be ſatisfied with that is mine own, to the contentation of my mind, which cannot be quiet until they be diſcharged: therefore I pray you help to purchaſe quietneſs, that I might depart out of this world in peace. My diſſolution I look for daily, but the Lord knoweth how unworthy I am of ſo high an honour, as to die for the teſtimony of his truth. Pray that God would vouchſafe to make me worthy, as he hath done, of long impriſonment, for which his name be praiſed for ever. Pray, and look for the coming of the Lord, whoſe wrath is great over us, and I will pray for you as long as I live. The 9th of July in the King's-Bench.

Your loving brother, as well in faith as in body,
John Philpot.

Another Letter of Mr. Philpot to certain godly Brethren.

THE grace of God the Father, and the peace of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, his eternal Son, and the conſolation of the Holy Ghoſt, our Comforter, ſtrengthen your hearts, and comfort your minds, that you may rejoice, and live in the truth of Chriſt's goſpel to the end, Amen.

I do much rejoice, dearly beloved in the Lord, to hear of your conſtant faith in the word of God, which you have ſo purely received: which do not with the worldlings decline from the purity thereof, albeit you ſuffer grief and trouble thereby; for which I praiſe God moſt heartily: and the Lord of all ſtrength, who hath begun this good work in you, make it perfect to the end, as I doubt not but he will, for the faithful zeal ye have to his truth, and to his afflicted church. Therefore that ye may the better ſtand and bear the brunt of many temptations, which you are like to be aſſaulted withal in theſe wicked and ſtormy days: I thought it good, as it is the duty of one chriſtian man to exhort another in the time of trouble, to put you in remembrance thereof, and to will you with the wiſe man to prepare yourſelves to temptations; and to beware that ye, which yet do ſtand by the goodneſs of God, may not fall from your lively knowledge and hope. It is an eaſy thing to begin to do well, but to continue out in well-doing, is the only property of the children of God, and ſuch as aſſuredly ſhall be ſaved. For ſo ſaith our Saviour in his goſpel, "Bleſſed are they that perſevere to the end."

Let not therefore this certainty of your ſalvation, which is continuance in the ſincerity of faith, ſlide from you. Eſteem it more than all the riches and pleaſures of this world, for it is the moſt acceptable treaſure of eternal life. This is that precious ſtone, for which the wiſe merchantman, after the goſpel, doth ſell all that he hath, and buyeth the ſame. God, in the third of the Revelations, doth ſignify to the church, that there ſhall come a time of temptation upon the whole world, to try the dwellers on the earth. From the danger of which temptation all ſuch ſhall be delivered as obſerve his word: which word there is called the word of patience: to give us to underſtand, that we muſt be ready to ſuffer all kinds of injuries and ſlanders for the profeſſion thereof,

Therefore God commandeth us there to hold it faſt, that no man might bereave us of our crown of glory, and St. Peter telleth us now we are afflicted with divers trials, as it is need it ſhould be ſo, That the trial of our faith being much more precious than gold that periſheth, and yet is tried by fire, might redound to the laud, glory and honour of Jeſus Chriſt. St. Paul to the Hebrews ſheweth us, that Chriſt our Saviour was in his humanity made perfect by afflictions, that we being called to perfec-

tion in him, might more willingly ſuſtain the troubles of the world, by which God giveth all them that be exercised in the ſame for his ſake, his holineſs. And in the the twelfth chapter of the ſaid epiſtle is written, My ſon, refuſe not the correction of the Lord, nor ſhrink when thou art rebuked of him: for the Lord doth chaſtiſe every ſon whom he receiveth, &c. Chriſt, in the goſpel of St. John, biddeth his diſciples to look for afflictions, ſaying, In the world ye ſhall have trouble, but in me ye ſhall have joy. And therefore, in the midſt of their trouble, in the twenty-firſt of Luke he biddeth them look up, and lift up their heads, For your redemption, ſaith he, is at hand. And in the twenty-ſecond he ſaith, to all ſuch as be afflicted for him, You are thoſe that have continued with me in my temptations, and therefore I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed for me, to eat and drink upon my table in my kingdom.

Oh how glorious be the croſſes of Chriſt, which bring the bearers of them unto ſo bleſſed an end! Shall we not be glad to be partakers of ſuch ſhame as may bring us to ſo high a dignity? God open our eyes to ſee all things as they be, and to judge uprightly. Then doubtleſs we would think, with Moſes, that it is better to be afflicted with the people of God, than to be counted the king of Egypt's ſon. Then ſhould we joyfully ſay with David, in all our adverſities and troubles, It is good, O Lord, thou haſt brought me low, to the end I might learn thy righteouſneſs. Therefore St. Paul would not glory in any other thing of the world, but in the croſs of Chriſt, and in other his infirmities. We have the commandment of Chriſt, daily to take up his croſs and follow him. We have the godly enſamples of all his apoſtles and holy martyrs, which with great joy and exultation have ſuffered the loſs of all lands, goods, and life, for the hope of a better reward; which is laid up for all thoſe in heaven, that unfeignedly cleave to the goſpel, and never be aſhamed thereof.

Great is the felicity of the world to the outward man, and very pleaſant are the tranſitory delights thereof: but the reward of the righteous after the word of God, doth incomparably excell them all, inſomuch that St. Paul to the Romans doth plainly affirm, that all the tribulations of this world cannot deſerve that glory which ſhall be ſhewed unto us.

Let us therefore (good brethren and ſiſters) be merry and glad in theſe troubleſome days, which be ſent of God to declare our faith, and to bring us to the end and fruition of that which we hope for. If we would enter into the Lord's ſanctuary, and behold what is prepared for us, we could not but deſire the Lord to haſten the day of our death, in which we might ſet forth, by true confeſſion, his glory. Neither ſhould we be afraid to meet our adverſaries, who ſo earneſtly ſeek our ſpoil and death, as Chriſt did Judas and that wicked rout, which came to apprehend him, ſaying, I am he whom you ſeek. It is commanded us by the goſpel, not to fear them that can kill the body, but to fear God, who can caſt both body and ſoul into hell-fire. So much we are bound to obſerve this commandment, as any other which God hath given us. The Lord increaſe our faith, that we fear God more than man. The Lord give us ſuch love towards him and his truth, that we may be content to forſake all and follow him. Now will it appear what we love beſt; for to what we love we ſhall ſtick. There is none worthy to be counted a chriſtian, except he can find in his heart for Chriſt's ſake, if the confeſſion of his truth doth require it, to renounce all that he hath and follow him; and in ſo doing he gaineth an hundred fold more in this life (as our Saviour ſaid to Peter) and hereafter is aſſured of eternal life. Behold, I pray you, what he loſeth, who in this life receiveth an hundred for one, with aſſurance of eternal life. O happy exchange! Perchance your outward man will ſay; If I were ſure of this great recompence here, I would be glad to forſake all; but where is this hundred fold in this life to be found? Yes, truly; for inſtead of the worldly riches which thou doſt forſake, which be but temporal, thou haſt found the everlaſting riches of heaven, which be glory, honour, and praiſe, both before God, angels, and men; and for an earthly habitation, haſt an eternal manſion with Chriſt in heaven; for even now thou art of the city and houſhold of the ſaints with God, as it is verified in the fourth to the Philippians. For worldly peace, which can laſt but for a while, thou doſt poſſeſs the peace of God, which paſſeth all underſtanding; and for the loſs of a few friends, thou art made a fellow of the innumerable company of heaven, and a perpetual friend of all thoſe that have died in the Lord, from the beginning of the world. Is not this more than an hundred fold? Is not the peace of God, which we in this world have through faithful imitation of Chriſt (which the world cannot take from us) ten thouſand fold more, than thoſe things that moſt highly be eſteemed in the world, without the peace of God? All the peace of the world is no peace, but a mere anguiſh, and a gnawing fury of hell. As of late God hath ſet example before our eyes, to teach us how horrible an evil it is to forſake the peace of Chriſt's truth, which breedeth a worm in conſcience that ſhall never reſt.

O that we would weigh this with indifferent ballances. Then ſhould we not be diſmayed at this troubleſome time, neither ſorrow after a worldly manner, for the loſs which we are now like to ſuſtain, as the weak faithleſs perſons do, which love their goods more than God, and the things viſible above thoſe which be inviſible; but rather would heartily rejoice and be thankful, that it pleaſed God to call us to be ſoldiers in his cauſe againſt the works of hypocriſy, and to make us like unto our Saviour Chriſt in ſuffering, whereby we may aſſure ourſelves of his eternal glory: for bleſſed are they, ſaith Chriſt, that ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſs ſake. And St. Paul witneſſeth to Timothy, If we die with Chriſt, we ſhall live with Chriſt; and if we deny him, he will deny us.

O that we would enter into the vail of God's promiſes. Then ſhould we, with St. Paul to the Philippians, reject all, and count all things but for droſs, ſo that we may gain Chriſt. God, which is the enlightner of all darkneſs, and putter away of blindneſs, anoint our eyes with the true eye-ſalve, that we might behold his glory, and our eternal felicity, which is hidden with Chriſt, and prepared for us that do abide in his teſtament: for bleſſed is that ſervant, whom the maſter, when he cometh (as Chriſt ſaid) doth find faithful. Let us therefore watch and pray one for another, that we yield not in any point of our religion to the antichriſtian ſynagogue, and that we be not overthrown by theſe temptations. Stand therefore, and be no cowards in the cauſe of your ſalvation; for his Spirit that is in us, is ſtronger than he which is in the world, doth now rage againſt us. Let us not put out the Spirit of God from us, by whoſe might we ſhall overcome our enemies, and then death ſhall be as great a gain to us as it was to the bleſſed apoſtle St. Paul. Why then do ye mourn? why do ye weep? why be ye ſo careful, as though God had forſaken you? He is never more preſent with us, than when we be in trouble, if we do not forſake him. We are in his hands, and nobody can do us any injury or wrong, without his good will and pleaſure. He hath commanded his angels to keep us, that we ſtumble not at a ſtone, without his divine providence. The devil cannot hurt any of us, and much leſs any of his miniſters, without the good will of our eternal Father.

Therefore let us be of good comfort, and continually give thanks unto God for our eſtate, whatſoever it be; for if we murmur againſt the ſame, we murmur againſt God, who ſendeth the ſame: which, if we do we kick but againſt the pricks, and provoke more the wrath of God againſt us; which, by patient ſuffering, otherwiſe would ſooner be turned into our favour through faithful prayer.

I beſeech you, with St. Paul, to give your bodies pure and holy ſacrifices unto God. He hath given us bodies to beſtow unto his glory, and not after our own concu-

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piſcence. If many years God hath ſuffered us to uſe our bodies, which be his temples, after the luſt of the fleſh, in vain delights, not according to his glory; is it not our duty, in the latter end of our life, the more willingly to yield unto God's glory our bodies, with all that we have, in demonſtration of true repentance of that we have evil ſpent before? Cannot the example of the bleſſed man, Job, horribly afflicted, cauſe us to ſay, "The Lord hath given it, the Lord hath taken it; bleſſed be the name of the Lord: even as it hath pleaſed the Lord, ſo is it come to paſs." If we caſt our whole care likewiſe upon God, he will turn our miſery to felicity, as well as he did to Job. God tempteth us now as he did our father Abraham, commanding him to ſlay his ſon Iſaac in ſacrifice to him; which Iſaac, by interpretation, doth ſignify mirth and joy. Who, by his obedience, preſerved Iſaac unto long life, and offered in his ſtead a ram that was tied by the horns in the brambles. So likewiſe we are all commanded to ſacrifice unto God our Iſaac, which is our joy and conſolation; which, if we be ready to do, as Abraham was, our joy ſhall not periſh, but live and be increaſed, although our ram be ſacrificed for our Iſaac: which doth ſignify, that the pride and concupiſcence of our fleſh intangled through ſin, with the cares of this ſtinking world, muſt be mortified for the preſervation and perfect augmentation of our mirth and joy, which is ſealed up for us in Chriſt.

And to withſtand theſe preſent temptations, wherewithal we are now encumbered, ye cannot have a better remedy than to ſet before your eyes how our Saviour Chriſt overcome them in the deſert, and to follow his example? That if the devil himſelf, or any other by him, willeth you to make ſtones bread, that is, to take ſuch a worldly-wiſe way, that you may have your fair houſes, lands and goods, to live on ſtill; ye muſt ſay, that man liveth not by bread, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

Again, if the devil counſelleth you to caſt yourſelves down to the earth, as to revoke your ſincere belief and godly converſation, and to be conformable to the learned men of the world, pretending that God will be well enough content therewith; ye muſt anſwer, that it is written, that a man ſhall not tempt his Lord God.

Further, if the devil offer you large promiſes of honour, dignity, and poſſeſſions, ſo that ye will worſhip idols in his ſynagogue, ye muſt ſay, Go behind me, Satan, for it is otherwiſe written, that a man muſt worſhip his Lord God, and ſerve him only.

Finally, if your mother, brother, ſiſter, wife, child, kinſman, or friend, do require you to do otherwiſe than the word of God hath taught you, ye muſt ſay, with Chriſt, that they are your mothers, brothers, ſiſters, wives, children, kinſmen, which do the will of God the Father. To which will, the Lord for his mercy conform us all unfeignedly to the end, Amen.

Your loving and faithful brother in Chriſt,
in captivity,

John Philpot.

Mr. Philpot's Letter to Mr. Robert Harrington.

GEntle Mr. Harrington, I cannot tell what condign thanks I may give unto God for you, in reſpect of the great gentleneſs and pains which you have taken for the relief of me, and of our other afflicted brethren in Chriſt. God be praiſed for his mercy, whoſe loving providence we have ſeen towards us by ſuch faithful ſtewards as you have been towards a great many. Bleſſed be you of God for the loving care which you have taken for his poor flock. God hath reſerved your reward of thanks in heaven, and therefore I go not about to render you any, leſt I might ſeem to judge that you looked for that here, which is reſerved to a better place. I thank God for that which I have found by your faithful and diligent induſtry, and God forgive me my unworthineſs of ſo great benefits. God give me grace to ſerve him faithfully, and to run out my race with joy. Glorious is the courſe of the martyrs of Chriſt at this day. Never had the elect of God a better time for their glory than this is. Now may they be aſſured under the croſs, that they are Chriſt's diſciples for ever.

Methinks I ſee you deſiring to be under the ſame. The fleſh draweth back, but the ſpirit ſaith, it muſt be brought whither it would not. Here is the victory of the world: Here is true faith, and everlaſting glory. Who is he which deſireth not to be found faithful to his maſter? And now is the time that every faithful ſervant of Chriſt hath juſt opportunity to ſhew himſelf a glorious ſoldier in the Lord's ſight. Now do the Amalekites invade the true Iſraelites, that the Iſraelites might with ſpeed be glorified. I need not, for want of underſtanding, to admoniſh you hereof, but as a willing ſoldier in Chriſt, to exhort you ſo to run as you may get the victory, and that ſpeedily with us. A man that is invited to a glorious feaſt, deſireth his friend may go with him, and be partaker thereof. God doth call me moſt unworthy, among others, to drink of the bride-cup of his Son, whereby we ſhall be made worthy (as many of our brethren have been before us) to ſit at the right-hand and at the left-hand of Chriſt. O what unſpeakable condition is that! May any worldly thing hinder us from the deſire thereof? Since we ſeek the kingdom of God, why do we not apprehend it, being ſo near offered unto us?

Let us approach near unto God, and God will draw near unto us. God draw us after him, that we all may run after the ſavour of his ſweet ointments. Chriſt anoint us, that we may be ſupplied in theſe evil days to run lightly unto the glory of the Lord. Shame, impriſonment, loſs of goods, and ſhedding of our blood, be the juſt price which we muſt willingly beſtow for the ſame. Wherefore (dearly beloved in the Lord) let not the great charges keep you back from buying this glory: for the reward is ten thouſand fold greater than the price.

That you have married a wife, whom God bleſs, I cannot excuſe you from this mart, but you muſt bring your wife for an uſury to the Lord, whoſe pleaſure is in godly yoke-fellows. I wiſh you to be as I am, except theſe horrible bands, but yet moſt comfortable to the ſpirit, aſſuring you, that we are made worthy, through Chriſt, of the kingdom for which we ſuffer. Praiſed be the Lord for the affliction which we ſuffer, and he give us ſtrength to continue to the end.

Commend me to Mr. Heath, and tell him that I would wiſh him with me, to prove how apt he is to carry the croſs of Chriſt. I pray for his continuance in Chriſt, as for mine own. Commend me to his wife, and to Mrs. Hall, certifying them that I am brought to the gates of hell, that I might never enter into the ſame, but be raiſed up from hell to heaven, through the word that ſanctifieth us. Commend me to Mr. Elſing and his wife, and thank them that they remembered to provide for me ſome eaſe in priſon, and tell them, that though my lord's coal-houſe be but very black, yet it is more to be deſired by the faithful than the queen's palace. God make her a joyful mother, and preſerve them both to the comfort of God's people. Thus for this time farewel, dear brother. Written in poſt-haſte, becauſe of ſtrait keeping.

This day I expect to be called before the commiſſioners again. Pray, dear brother, for the Spirit of wiſdom to remain with me. Commend me to your wife, and I thank you both for your tokens. Your token I have ſent to your wife; and my token unto you, is my faithful heart with this letter. Commend me to all my friends, and tell them I am chearful in Chriſt, wiſhing them to fear God more than man, and to learn to deſpiſe earneſtly the vanities of this world; deſiring you all to pray for me, that I may end my journey with fidelity, Amen.

John Philpot.

Abſtract

Abſtract of a Letter written by Mr. Philpot to the Lady Vane.

THE principal Spirit of God the Father, given unto us by Chriſt our merciful Saviour, confirm, ſtrengthen and ſtabliſh you in the true knowledge of the goſpel, that your faithful heart (worſhipful and dear ſiſter in the Lord) may attain and taſte, with all the ſaints, what is the height, the depth, the length, and the breadth of the ſweet croſs of Chriſt, Amen, &c.

Oh how happy are you amongſt all other women, that have found this precious ſtone which is hidden in the goſpel; for which we ought to ſell all other things, and to purchaſe the ſame. Oh happy woman, whoſe heart God hath moved and enlarged to be in the profeſſion thereof. Others ſeek worldly goods, honours, and delights; but you ſeek, with a good underſtanding, to ſerve God in ſpirit and in truth. This is the gate that leadeth to heaven, this is your portion for ever. By this you ſhall ſee God face to face (which ſight is unſpeakable joy) and by this ſhall you ſee a full ſight of all the beautiful heavenly powers, and of all the celeſtial paradiſe. By this ſhall you know them that you never knew, and be glad and joyful with thoſe which you have known here in God, world without end, &c.

Ah I lament the infidelity of England, that after ſo great light, is ſtept into ſo huge darkneſs again. The ſervant that knoweth his maſter's will, and doth it not, ſhall be beaten with many ſtripes. Ah, great be the plagues that hang over England, yea, though the goſpel ſhould be reſtored again. Happy ſhall that perſon be whom the Lord ſhall take out of this world, not to ſee them. Ah, the great perjury which men have run into ſo wilfully againſt God, by receiving Antichriſt again, and his wicked laws; which do threaten a great ruin unto England. O that the Lord would turn his juſt judgments upon the authors of the truce-breaking between God and us, that they might be brought low (as Nebuchadonoſor was) that his people might be delivered, and his glory exalted. God grant that that good luck which you hope ſhortly to come upon the houſe of God, be a true prophecy, and not a well-wiſhing only. Ah, Lord, take away thy heavy hand from us, and ſtretch it out upon thine enemies, thoſe hypocrites, as thou haſt begun, that they may be confounded. O let not the weak periſh for want of knowledge through our ſin. Although thou kill us, yet we will put our truſt in thee.

Thus (dear heart) you teach me to pray with you in writing. God hear your prayers, and give us the ſpirit of effectual prayer, to pour out our hearts continually together before God, that we may find mercy both for ourſelves, and for our afflicted brethren and ſiſters. I cannot but praiſe God in you, for that pitiful heart that taketh other folk's calamities to heart, as your own. Bleſſed be they that mourn, for ſuch ſhall be comforted. God wipe away all tears from your pitiful eyes, and ſorrow from your merciful heart, that you may (as doubtleſs you ſhall do ſhortly) rejoice with his elect for ever. You have ſo armed me to the Lord's battle, both inwardly and outwardly, that except I be a very coward, I cannot faint, but overcome by death. You have appointed me ſo good and gracious a general of the field, to ſo victorious a captain, and to ſo favourable a marſhal, that if I ſhould not go on luſtily, there were no ſpectacle of heavenly manhood in me. I will preſent your coat armour before my captain, and in the ſame, I truſt, by him to overcome. The ſcarf I deſire as an outward ſign to ſhew our enemies, who ſee not our glorious end, neither what God worketh inwardly in us, through the blindneſs of their hearts, that they perſecute Chriſt's croſs in us, whereby he hath ſealed up the truth of his goſpel by his death unto us, that we by our death (if need be) might confirm the ſame, and never be aſhamed, whatſoever torment we do ſuffer for his name's ſake; and our weak brethren, ſeeing the ſame, might be more encouraged to take up Chriſt's croſs, and to follow him. God give us grace to do all things to his glory, Amen, &c.

The world wondereth how we can be merry in ſuch extreme miſery, but our God is omnipotent, who turneth miſery into felicity. Believe me (dear ſiſter) there is no ſuch joy in the world as the people of Chriſt have under the croſs. I ſpeak by experience; therefore believe me, and fear nothing that the world can do unto you. For when they impriſon our bodies, they ſet our ſouls at liberty with God. When they caſt us down, they lift us up; yea, when they kill us, then do they bring us to everlaſting life. And what greater glory can there be, than to be in conformity with Chriſt? which afflictions do work in us.

God open our eyes to ſee more and more his glory in the croſs of Jeſus Chriſt, and make us worthy partakers of the ſame. Let us rejoice, with St. Paul, in the croſs of Jeſus Chriſt, by whom the world is crucified unto us, and we to the world. The croſs of Chriſt be our ſtandard to fight under for ever. While I am talking with you of our common conſolation, I forget how I trouble you with my rude and inordinate tediouſneſs: but you muſt impute it to love, which cannot quickly depart from them whom he loveth, but deſireth to pour himſelf into their boſoms.

Therefore, though your fleſh ſhould be offended (as it might juſtly be) at ſuch rudeneſs, yet your ſpirit will ſay nay, which taketh all things in good part that cometh of love. And now I am departing, yet will I take my leave ere I go, and would fain ſpeak ſomewhat that might declare my ſincere love to you for ever. Farewel, O elect veſſel of the Lord, to the comfort of his afflicted flock, farewel on earth, whom in heaven I am ſure I ſhall not forget. Farewel under the croſs moſt joyfully, and until we meet, always remember what Chriſt ſaith, "Be of good cheer, for I have overcome the world, &c."

God pour his Spirit abundantly upon you, mine own dear bowels in Chriſt, until you may come to ſee the God of all gods, with his elect, in the everlaſting Sion. I ſend to you the kiſs of peace, with which I do moſt entirely take my leave of you at this preſent. It is neceſſary we depart hence, or elſe we could not be glorified. Your heart is heavy, becauſe I ſay I muſt depart from you. It is the calling of the merciful Father, wherewithal you are content, and ſo am I. Be of good comfort, hold out your buckler of faith; for by the ſtrength thereof we ſhall ſhortly meet in eternal glory: to which Chriſt bring us both, Amen, Amen. The 10th of December 1555.

Death, why ſhould I fear thee? ſince thou canſt not hurt me, but rid me from miſery unto eternal glory.

Dead to the world, and living to Chriſt, your own brother, ſealed up in the verity of the goſpel for ever.

John Philpot.

Another Letter of Mr. Philpot, written to the ſame Lady, being a great Supporter of him.

I Cannot but moſt heartily give God thanks for theſe his gifts in you, whoſe brightneſs many beholding that are weak, are much encouraged to ſee God likewiſe, and to cleave to him, having the example of ſo faithful and conſtant a gentlewoman before their eyes. If the queen of the South ſhall riſe with the men of Chriſt's generation, and condemn them, for that ſhe came from the end of the world to hear the wiſdom of Solomon; then ſhall your ſincere and godly converſation, thus ſhining in this dangerous time of the trial of Chriſt's people, (being a woman of a worſhipful eſtate and wealthy condition) condemn in the latter day a great many of theſe faint-hearted goſpellers, which ſo ſoon be gone back and turned from the truth, at the voice of a handmaiden; ſeeing that neither the fear of impriſonment, neither the poſſeſſion of the world,

world, (wherewithal you are ſufficiently indued above a great many), can ſeparate you from the love of the truth, which God hath revealed unto you; whereby it appeareth that the ſeed of God's word which was ſown in you, fell neither in the high way, nor among the thorns, nor upon the ſtones, but upon good ground, which is bleſſed of God, and bringeth forth fruit with great affliction, an hundred fold to the glory of God, and the increaſe of his church, &c.

In conſideration whereof St. James biddeth us highly to rejoice, whenſoever we fall into many temptations, knowing that it is but the trial of our faith, that we might bring forth that excellent virtue patience, by which we are made like to our Redeemer Chriſt, with whom we here being like in ſuffering, aſſuredly ſhall hereafter be partakers of his eternal glory. Therefore St. Paul ſaith, "God forbid that I ſhould glory in any thing but in the croſs of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt." I that am under the croſs with you (thanks be given to God therefore), have felt in the ſame more true joy and conſolation, than ever I did by any benefit that God hath given me in my life before. For the more the world doth hate us, the nigher God is unto us, and there is no perfect joy but in God. Wherefore Chriſt ſaid; "In me ye ſhall have joy, but in the world affliction." Bleſſed be God which ſendeth us this affliction, that we might perfectly joy in him. For this cauſe in the ripeſt time of iniquity, and in the moſt fervent ſeaſon of perſecution of the true church, which Chriſt in the 21ſt of Luke propheſied to come, he willeth us to be of good cheer, and to lift up our heads, for our redemption is at hand.

O that the Lord would come and deliver us from this world, which is a vale of miſery, unto his own kingdom, where floweth perpetual joy and conſolation. And verily that is the true and only joy which is conceived, not of the creature, but of the Creator, which when we do poſſeſs, nobody can take it away from us. To which joy all other joys being compared, are but mournings, all delights ſorrow, all ſweetneſs ſour, all beauty filth, and finally all others things that be counted pleaſant, are tediouſneſs. Your ownſelf is better witneſs of than I: Aſk yourſelf with whom you are beſt acquainted. Doth not the Holy Ghoſt ſpeak the ſame in your heart? Have you not perſuaded yourſelf this to be true, before I wrote thereof? For how ſhould you, being a woman, and a young gentlewoman, beautiful, and at your own liberty, have overcome this your frail kind and age, and deſpiſed your excellent beauty and eſtate, unleſs all thoſe things which be ſubject to the ſenſes, had been counted of you vile, and little to be eſteemed in compariſon of things which inwardly do comfort you to overcome the fleſh, the world, and the devil?

God increaſe your joy in all ſpiritual things, and eſtabliſh your hope to the day of eternal reſt. You have forſaken darkneſs, and are entered into light, God grant the ſame may ſhine ſtill in you, until the perfect day come of the Lord, in which is all our conſolation. Here we muſt be darkened, that there we may appear as bright as the ſun in the face of the whole world, and of all them that now condemn us for our well-doing; whoſe judges then we ſhall be, to their horrible grief, though now wrongfully they judge us. Pray heartily, and that often, that God once again for his Chriſt's ſake would be merciful to his afflicted church in England. Faithful prayer is the only remedy that we have againſt the fiery darts of the devil, that are kindled againſt us. By prayer the Amalekites ſhall be overcome, and the roarings of the lion, which ſeeketh ſtill to devour us, ſhall be ſtopped and put to ſilence. The Lord ſtop Leviathan's mouth, that he ſwallow not up God's ſilly people, according to his expectation.

Praiſe the Lord for the faithful teſtimony and ſacrifice which two of our brethren of late have through fire rendered to the truth of the goſpel, which now triumpheth by the death of godly martyrs. The Lord is at hand, therefore watch and pray. The laſt of May 1555. Captive in the King's-Bench.

Yours with heart in Chriſt.
John Philpot.

Another Letter of Mr. Philpot to the Lady Vane.

GOD the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt increaſe in your godly heart the faith of the goſpel, which is your eternal inheritance, and the Holy Ghoſt comfort your Spirit with all ſpiritual conſolation to the day of the Lord, Amen.

I cannot but praiſe God moſt highly and earneſtly (my dear and faithful lady), for the great and unfeigned love which you bear unto me in Chriſt, declared oftentimes, as well now as of late, by manifeſt and liberal tokens. Bleſſed be God, that hath made you ſo worthy a member in his kingdom. For it cannot be but ſuch ſhall reap with abundance in time of reward, that here do ſow ſo plenteouſly in well-doing; albeit I am moſt unworthy to receive any ſuch benefit at your hands, as in reſpect of a pillar of Chriſt's church, which am ſcarce a ſhadow thereof. But the zeal of Chriſt's church in you wiſhed me to be ſuch an one as the time doth require. God fulfil your deſire of me, that I may be found conſtant, and no wandering ſtar. I am not worthy of the name of a prophet, or of a miniſter of God's word, for that I have (being hindered by the inquity of the time), little or nothing laboured therein. I am a friend of our common ſpouſe Jeſus, and do rejoice in the verity of his word; for which (praiſed be his name) he hath counted me worthy to ſuffer: and indeed whoſoever giveth a draught of water in the name of a diſciple (as Chriſt promiſed), ſhall not loſe his reward. Therefore that your gentleneſs doth in the name of him, which I am not, the Lord recompence unto you in all his bleſſings, which he is accuſtomed to pour on them who love his flock unfeignedly.

Good lady, you have to joy that the kingdom of God is thus continually before your eyes, and that you are not aſhamed of the bands of Chriſt, which you with his people in part do ſuffer. They may be aſſured of the glory everlaſting, who here are not aſhamed to take up the croſs of Chriſt, and to follow him. Here we muſt weep and lament, while the world laugheth and triumpeth over us; but our tears ſhall ſhortly be turned to unſpeakable joy, and we ſhall eternally be merry together, when the world ſhall lament their infidelity without end, &c.

I would I were able to do any thing that might ſhew condign thanks for that ſincere love you bear unto me in Chriſt: you adjure me (as it were) by your gentle letters to be bold on you in all my needs. I thank God who ceaſeth not to provide for his, I lack nothing at preſent, but only ability to thank your faithful heart for your goodneſs towards me. I love you and not yours, as it is meet for chriſtians to love one another in God; and your faith which I behold in you, is more worth unto me than all your poſſeſſions. And I think I ſhall not need long to be chargeable unto you, for that this week I look for ſome commiſſioners to ſit on me, and my fellow-priſoners in priſon, leſt the ſpirit of our breath might blow further abroad. The will of God be done. We are not ſo good as John the Baptiſt who was beheaded in priſon. Darkneſs cannot abide the light. Therefore their doings muſt declare what they are. We are as ſheep appointed for a ſacrifice to the Lord. We muſt not fear the fire, for our Lord is a conſuming fire, who will put out the fierceneſs of raging torments from us. Be not afraid of them that can kill the body, but fear him that can caſt both body and ſoul into hell-fire. God forbid that we ſhould rejoice otherwiſe than in the croſs of Chriſt, and pray that he would

make us worthy to ſuffer for his ſake. God will have our faith tried and known; and therefore let us willingly humble ourſelves under the mighty hand of God, that he may gloriouſly lift us up in his good time. There is none perfectly faithful indeed, till he can ſay with St. Paul, "I am perſuaded that neither death nor life, nor angels, nor principalities or powers, nor things preſent nor things to come, nor height nor depth, nor any other creature is able to ſeparate us from the love of God which is in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord." This faith God plant both in you and me unmoveably. In this faith we have to rejoice, and in none other.

All the tribulations of the world are not worthy of the eternal weight of glory which is prepared for them, that here do with patience abide the croſs. Wherefore let us be ſtrong with the ſtrength in him, that is able to make us ſtrong, and lament the weakneſs, I might ſay, the infidelity of our faint-hearted goſpellers. Chriſt whom we would pretend to have put upon us, is the ſtrength of God, and how then can they be weak where Chriſt is? We have more to be glad, touching ourſelves, of this time, than we have had of any time before, in which we have ſo ready a way to go unto God, and ſo good occaſion to ſhew our duty in glorifying his holy name. For if we be impriſoned in his cauſe, we are bleſſed. If we loſe all that we have, we are bleſſed an hundred fold. If we die, we are bleſſed eternally; ſo that in ſuffering perſecutions, all is full of bleſſings. Be bleſſed therefore (O elect lady) of God, with the bleſſed of God, and flee (as you do) the concupiſcence of the world. Embrace that which is perfect, and joyfully look for the coming and croſs of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, &c. Thus deſiring God to preſerve you to his true peace, and to give you victory of that temptation which now is come to try our faith; Chriſt be with you, and bleſs you both in body and ſoul; and my prayer ſhall follow you whereſoever you go, as I deſire that yours may be with me. The laſt week I ſent your beneficence to Oxford; I could not have a convenient meſſenger before. As ſoon as I have word, you ſhall be ſatisfied of your requeſt. Love me as you do, and the God of love be with you. The 20th day of Auguſt.

By yours, with all his power in the Lord.

John Philpot.

Another Letter to the ſame Lady.

THE mercy of God the Father, and the conſolation of the Holy Ghoſt through Jeſus Chriſt, be with you, and ſtrengthen you, my dear mother and ſiſter in the Lord, in theſe dangerous days, to the crown of eternal glory, which is now offered to all faithful ſoldiers in the goſpel, Amen.

As your good ladyſhip doth deſire to hear from me, ſo am I deſirous to write, as your gentleneſs and daily goodneſs bindeth me. But Satan of late hath hindered me, who envying all good exerciſes which I have had and received by mine eaſy impriſonment in times paſt, hath brought me out of the King's-Bench into the biſhop of London's coal-houſe, a dark and an ugly priſon as any is about London, (but my dark body of ſin hath well deſerved the ſame, and the Lord now hath brought me into outward darkneſs, that I might the more be enlightened by him, as he is moſt preſent with his children in the midſt of darkneſs), where I cannot be ſuffered to have any candle-light, neither ink nor paper, but by ſtealth. Wherefore I cannot write to you as I would, neither as my duty is. As Chriſt, my maſter, was ſent from Annas to Caiaphas, ſo am I ſent from Wincheſter dioceſe to London, I truſt to make a ſpeedy end of my courſe; God give me grace and patience to be a faithful follower of my maſter. I have been already a week in this coal-houſe, and have of late been four times called to mine anſwer, but hitherto not called to judgment, which I do daily look for; but I fear they will prolong me, and try me by ſtrait impriſonment a while, in which God's will be done.

Pray (dear lady) that my faith faint not, which I praiſe God is preſently more lively with me than it hath been in times paſt. I taſte and feel the faithfulneſs of God in his promiſe, who hath promiſed to be with his in their trouble, and to deliver them. I thank the Lord, I am not alone, but have ſix other faithful companions; who in our darkneſs do chearfully ſing hymns and praiſes unto God for his great goodneſs. We are ſo joyful, that I wiſh you part of my joy. For you that are ſo careful of my bodily relief, how can I but wiſh your ſpiritual conſolation, and that abundantly? Let not (dear heart) my ſtrait impriſonment any thing moleſt you: for it hath added, and daily doth add unto my joy; but rather be glad and thankful unto God with me, that it hath pleaſed him to make me, moſt wretched ſinner, worthy to ſuffer any thing for his ſake. Hitherto we have not reſiſted unto blood. God make us never to count our blood more precious in our eyes than his truth.

Ah, my dear ſiſter, I thank you again for the laſt letter you ſent me; it is a ſingular comfort unto me, as oft as I read the ſame. I have it in my boſom, and will carry the ſame even to the ſtake with me, in witneſs that Chriſt hath ſo conſtant and faithful a lady in England. God ſuccour and keep that ſpirit in you; for it is the very ſpirit of adoption of the child of God. Such chearful and holy ſpirits under the croſs be acceptable ſacrifices in the ſight of God; for Chriſt came to caſt fire into the earth, and looketh that it ſhould be kindled. Be you fervent in ſpirit in our Chriſt's cauſe, as you have begun, for that is the principal ſpirit wherewithal David deſired to be confirmed. O, how do I rejoice, your ladyſhip to go arm in arm with me unto Chriſt, or rather before me? I cannot but joy of ſuch a worſhipful fellow. Methinks I ſee you mourn, and deſire to be looſed out of the earthly and frail habitacle of this body. O, how amiable and pleaſant is it to dwell in God's tabernacle? Our Chriſt and his heavenly company look for us; let us haſte and run thereto, for behold the Lord is ready to embrace us. Mine own bowels in the Lord, be merry in the Lord with your afflicted brother, who daily offereth your merciful alms, which moſt unworthily I do receive ſtill of you, unto the Lord. But now (dear mother) you need not burden yourſelf ſo much (as my laſt letters did ſignify), for that my chargeable impriſonment is cut off, and a little now ſerveth me; wherefore I pray you ſend no more until I ſend to you, for I have ſufficient, and do abound. God's peace be with you for ever. Out of my lord of London's coal-houſe, the laſt of October.

Your own, John Philpot.

Another Letter of Mr. Philpot to the ſaid Lady, wherein partly he complaineth of the Diſſimulation and Perjury of Engliſhmen falling again to the Pope, and partly he expreſſeth his joy in his Afflictions.

I Cannot but joy with you (my heartily beloved in Chriſt), of the fall of Sennacherib: [he meaneth the death of the biſhop of Wincheſter] ſince it is to the glory of God, and to the conſolation of his church, to ſee the fall of their enemies before their face, according as it is written, "The juſt ſhall rejoice, when he ſeeth the vengeance of the wicked." God make this your joy perfect; for as concerning myſelf I count not to ſee thoſe good days whereof you have a glimmering in this life. For although the cockatrice be dead, yet his peſtilent chickens, with the whore of Babylon, ſtill liveth. But a great hope there is of their ſhort confuſion, becauſe God doth not proſper their doings according to their expectation. Moſt happy ſhall he be, whom the Lord ſhall

ſhall ſooneſt take out of this life, that he may not ſee the plagues which the manifeſt perjury, and the manifold idolatry and deteſtable diſſimulation, and that of ſuch as do know the truth, do threaten to come.

The Lord is juſt, and all unrighteouſneſs diſpleaſeth him, and either here or elſe in another world he will puniſh this groſs infidelity of the world: but his elect, and ſuch as he loveth, will he puniſh here, that they ſhould not be condemned hereafter with the world eternally. We have nothing ſo much to rejoice in, as in the croſs of Jeſus Chriſt, and in that we are partakers of his afflictions, which are the earneſt-penny of that eternal kingdom which he upon the croſs for us hath purchaſed. For as Paul his faithful witneſs ſaith, "If we ſuffer with him, we ſhall reign with him. If we die with him, we ſhall live with him."

Wherefore (mine own dear bowels), praiſe God with me moſt entirely, that it hath pleaſed him now mercifully to viſit the ſins of my youth, and my huge unthankfulneſs, and by the ſame doth give me much conſolation, that he aſſureth me of his great goodneſs and mercy, and turneth his fatherly chaſtiſement into my crown of glory. O good God, what am I, on whom he ſhould ſhew this great mercy? To him that is immortal, inviſible, and only wiſe, be all honour, praiſe and glory therefore, Amen.

This is the day which the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in the ſame. This is the way, though it be narrow, which is full of the peace of God, and leadeth to eternal bliſs. O how my heart leapeth for joy, that I am ſo near the apprehenſion thereof; God forgive me mine unthankfulneſs and unworthineſs of ſo great glory. The ſwords which pierced Mary's heart in the paſſion of our Saviour, which daily alſo go through your faithful heart, be more glorious and to be deſired than the golden ſcepters of this world. O bleſſed be they that mourn in this world to God-ward, for they ſhall eternally be comforted: God make my ſtony heart to mourn more than it doth. I have ſo much joy of the reward that is prepared for me, moſt wretched ſinner, that though I be in place of darkneſs night and morning, yet I cannot lament, but both night and day am ſo joyful, as though I were under no croſs at all: yea, in all the days of my life I was never ſo merry, the name of the Lord be praiſed therefore for ever and ever, and he pardon mine unthankfulneſs. Our enemies do fret, fume, and gnaſh their teeth, to ſee and hear that we, under this grievous affliction in the world, can be ſo merry. We are by them counted as deſperate perſons, for the certain hope and feeling which we have of our everlaſting ſalvation: and it is no marvel, for the worldly men cannot perceive the things of God, it is mere fooliſhneſs and abomination to them.

Be thankful unto our God, (mine own dear helper) for his wondrous working in his choſen people. Pray inſtantly that this joy be never taken from us, for it paſſeth all the delights of this world. This is the peace of God which ſurmounteth all underſtanding: this peace, the more his choſen be afflicted, the more they feel, and therefore cannot faint, neither for fire, neither for water. Let us pray for our weak brethren and ſiſters ſake, that it may pleaſe God to alleviate the grievous and intolerable burden of theſe cruel days. But touching ourſelves, let us heartily beſeech our Saviour to vouchſafe to give us this glorious gift to ſuffer for his goſpel ſake, and that we may think the ſhame of the world to be our glory, as it is indeed. God increaſe our faith, and open our eyes to behold what is prepared for us. I lack nothing, praiſe be to God. I truſt my marriage garment is ready. I will ſend you my examinations as ſoon as I can get them written, if you be deſirous of them.

God of his mercy fill your merciful heart with all joy and conſolation of the hope to come. Out of the coal-houſe the 19th of November.

John Philpot.

A Letter of Mr. Philpot to a friend of his, Priſoner the ſame Time in Newgate, wherein is debated and diſcuſſed the Matter or Queſtion of Infants to be baptized.

THE God of all light and underſtanding enlighten your heart with all true knowledge of his word, and make you perfect to the day of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whereunto you are now called, through the mighty operation of his Holy Spirit, Amen.

I received yeſternight from you (dear brother, ſaint, and fellow-priſoner for the truth of Chriſt's goſpel) a letter, wherein you gently require my judgment concerning the baptiſm of infants, which is the effect thereof. And before I do ſhew you what I have learned out of God's word, and of his true and infallible church touching the ſame, I think it not out of the matter firſt to declare what viſion I had the ſame night; while muſing on your letter I fell aſleep, knowing that God doth not without cauſe reveal to his people, who have their minds fixed on him, ſpecial and ſpiritual revelations to their comfort as a taſte of their joy and kingdom to come, which fleſh and blood cannot comprehend.

Being in the midſt of my ſweet reſt, it ſeemed me to ſee a great beautiful city, all of the colour of azure and white, four-ſquare in a marvellous beautiful compoſition, in the midſt of the ſky, the ſight whereof ſo inwardly comforted me, that I am not able to expreſs the conſolation I had thereof, yea the remembrance thereof cauſeth as yet my heart to leap for joy: And as charity is no churl, but would others to be partakers of his delight, ſo methought I called to others (I cannot tell whom) and while they came and we together beheld the ſame, by and by, to my great grief, it faded away.

This dream I think not to have come of the illuſion of the ſenſes, becauſe it brought with it ſo much ſpiritual joy, and I take it to be of the working of God's Spirit for the contentation of your requeſt, as he wrought in Peter to ſatisfy Cornelius. Therefore I interpret this beautiful city to be the glorious church of Chriſt, and the appearance of it in the ſky, ſignifieth the heavenly ſtate thereof, whoſe converſation is in heaven; and that according to the primitive church which is now in heaven, men ought to meaſure and judge the church of Chriſt now in earth: for as the prophet David ſaith, "The foundations thereof be in the holy hills, and glorious things be ſpoken of the city of God." And the marvellous quadrature of the ſame, I take to ſignify the univerſal agreement in the ſame, and that all the church here militant ought to conſent to the primitive church throughout the four parts of the world; as the prophet affirmeth, ſaying, "God maketh us to dwell after one manner in one houſe." And that I conceived ſo wonderful joy at the contemplation thereof, I underſtand the unſpeakable joy which they have that be at unity with Chriſt's primitive church: for there is joy in the Holy Ghoſt, and peace, which paſſeth all underſtanding: as it is written in the Pſalms, as of joyful perſons is the dwelling of all them that be in thee. And that I called others to the fruition of this viſion, and to behold this wonderful city, I conſtrue it by the will of God this viſion to have come upon me muſing on your letter, to the end that under this figure I might have occaſion to move you with many others, to behold the primitive church in all your opinions concerning faith, and to conform yourſelf in all points to the ſame, which is the pillar and eſtabliſhment of truth, and teacheth the true uſe of the ſacraments, and having with a greater fulneſs than we have now, the firſt fruits of the Holy Ghoſt, did declare the true interpretation of the ſcriptures according to all verity, even as our Saviour promiſed to ſend them another Comforter, which ſhould teach them all truth.

And ſince all truth was taught and revealed to the primitive church, which is our mother, let us all that be obedient

obedient children of God, ſubmit ourſelves to the judgment of the church, for the better underſtanding of the articles of our faith, and of the doubtful ſentences of the ſcripture. Let us not go about to ſhew in us (by following any private man's interpretation upon the word) another ſpirit than they of the primitive church had, leſt we deceive ourſelves. For there is but one faith and one Spirit, which is not contrary to himſelf, neither otherwiſe now teacheth us than he did them. Therefore let us believe as they have taught us of the ſcriptures, and be at peace with them, according as the true catholic church is at this day: and the God of peace aſſuredly will be with us, and deliver us out of all our worldly troubles and miſeries, and make us partakers of their joy and bliſs, through our obedience to faith with them.

Therefore God commandeth us in Job, to aſk of the elder generation, and to ſearch diligently the memory of the fathers. For we are but yeſterday's children, and be ignorant, and our days are like a ſhadow, and they ſhall teach thee, ſaith the Lord, and ſpeak to thee, and ſhall utter words from their hearts. And by Solomon we are commanded, not to reject the direction of our mother. The Lord grant you to direct your ſteps in all things after her, and to abhor contention with her. For as St. Paul writeth, If any man be contentious, neither we, neither the church of God hath any ſuch cuſtom."

Hitherto I have ſhewed you (good brother) my judgment generally of that you ſtand in doubt and diſſent from others, to which I wiſh you as mine own heart to be conformable, and then doubtleſs you cannot err, but boldly may be glad in your troubles, and triumph at the hour of your death, that you ſhall die in the church of God a faithful martyr, and receive the crown of eternal glory. And thus much have I written upon the occaſion of a viſion before God unfeigned. But that you may not think that I go about to ſatisfy you with uncertain viſion only, and not after God's word, I will take the ground of your letter, and eſpecially anſwer to the ſame by the ſcriptures, and by infallible reaſons deduced out of the ſame, and prove the baptiſm of infants to be lawful commendable, and neceſſary, whereof you ſeem to ſtand in doubt.

Indeed if you look upon the papiſtical ſynagogue only, which had corrupted God's word by falſe interpretations, and hath perverted the true uſe of Chriſt's ſacraments, you might ſeem to have good handfaſt of your opinion againſt the baptiſm of infants. But foraſmuch as it is of more antiquity, and hath its beginning from God's word, and from the uſe of the primitive church, it muſt not in reſpect of the abuſe in the popiſh church be neglected, or thought not expedient to be uſed in Chriſt's church. Auxentius, one of the Arian ſect, with his adherents, was one of the firſt that denied the baptiſm of children, the next after him Pelagius the heretic, and ſome others there were in St. Bernard's time, as it doth appear by his writings, and in our days the Anabaptiſts, an inordinate kind of men ſtirred up by the devil, to the deſtruction of the goſpel. But the catholic truth delivered unto us by the ſcriptures, plainly determineth, that all ſuch are to be baptized, as whom God acknowledgeth for his people, and voucheth them worthy of ſanctification or remiſſion of their ſins. Therefore ſince that infants be in the number or ſcroll of God's people, and be partakers of the promiſe by their purification in Chriſt, it muſt needs follow thereby, that they ought to be baptized as well as thoſe that can profeſs their faith. For we judge the people of God as well by the free and liberal promiſe of God, as by the confeſſion of faith. For to whomſoever God promiſeth himſelf to be their God, and whom he acknowledgeth for his, thoſe no man without great impiety may exclude from the number of the faithful.

But God promiſeth that he will not only be the God of ſuch as do profeſs him, but alſo of infants, promiſing them his grace and remiſſion of ſins, as it appeareth by the words of the covenant made unto Abraham. "I will ſet my covenant between thee and me, ſaith the Lord, and between thy ſeed after thee in their generations, with an everlaſting covenant, to be thy God, and the God of thy ſeed after thee." To which covenant circumciſion was added, to be a ſign of ſanctification as well in children as in men; and no man may think that this promiſe is abrogated with circumciſion and other ceremonial laws. For Chriſt came to fulfil the promiſes, and not to diſſolve them. Therefore in the goſpel he ſaith of infants, that is, of ſuch as yet believed not: "Let the little ones come unto me, and forbid them not, for of ſuch is the kingdom of heaven. Again, It is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that any of theſe little ones do periſh. Alſo, He that receiveth me. Take heed therefore that ye deſpiſe not one of theſe babes, for I tell you their angels do continually ſee in heaven my Father's face." And what may be ſaid more plain than this? It is not the will of the heavenly Father that the infants ſhould periſh; whereby we may gather, that he receiveth them freely unto his grace, although as yet they confeſs not their faith. Since then that the word of the promiſes, which is contained in baptiſm, pertaineth as well to children as to men, why ſhould the ſign of the promiſe, which is baptiſm in water, be withdrawn from children, when Chriſt himſelf commandeth them to be received of us, and promiſeth the reward of a prophet to thoſe that receive ſuch a little infant, as he for an example did put before his diſciples?

Now will I prove with manifeſt arguments that children ought to be baptized, and that the apoſtles of Chriſt did baptize children. The Lord commanded his apoſtles to baptize all nations; therefore alſo children ought to be baptized, for they are comprehended under this word, All Nations.

Further, whom God doth account among the faithful, they are faithful, for it was ſaid to Peter, "That thing which God hath purified, thou ſhalt not ſay to be common or unclean:" But God doth repute children among the faithful: Ergo, they be faithful, except we had rather to reſiſt God, and ſeem ſtronger and wiſer than he.

And without all doubt the apoſtles baptized thoſe which Chriſt commanded: But he commanded the faithful to be baptized, among which infants be reckoned: The apoſtles then baptized infants.

The goſpel is more than baptiſm, for Paul ſaid, "The Lord ſent me to preach the goſpel, and not to baptize:" not that he denied abſolutely that he was ſent to baptize, but that he preferred doctrine before baptiſm, for the Lord commanded both to the apoſtles: But children be received by the doctrine of the goſpel of God, and not refuſed: therefore what perſon being of reaſon, may deny them baptiſm, which is a thing leſs than the goſpel? For in the ſacraments be two things to be conſidered, the thing ſignified, and the ſign, and the thing ſignified is greater than the ſign; and from the thing ſignified in baptiſm, children are not excluded; who therefore may deny them the ſign which is baptiſm in water?

St. Peter could not deny them to be baptized in water, to whom he ſaw the Holy Ghoſt given, which is the certain ſign of God's people: for he ſaith in the Acts, "May any body forbid them to be baptized in water who have received the Holy Ghoſt as well as we?" Therefore St. Peter denied not baptiſm to infants, for he knew certainly both by the doctrine of Chriſt, and by the covenant which is everlaſting, that the kingdom of heaven pertaineth to infants.

None be received into the kingdom of heaven but ſuch as God loveth, and which are indued with the Spirit: for whoſo hath not the Spirit of God, he is none of his. But infants be beloved of God, and therefore want not the Spirit of God: wherefore if they have the Spirit of God as well as men, if they be numbered among the people of God as well as we that be of age, who (I pray

you) may well withſtand children to be baptized with water, in the name of the Lord?

The apoſtles in times paſt, being yet not ſufficiently inſtructed, did murmur againſt thoſe which brought their children unto the Lord, but the Lord rebuked them, and ſaid, "Let the babes come unto me." Why then do not theſe rebellious anabaptiſts obey the commandment of the Lord? For what do they now-a days elſe that bring their children to baptiſm, than that they did in times paſt which brought their children to the Lord, and our Lord received them, and putting his hands on them, bleſſed them, and both by words and gentle behaviour towards them, declared manifeſtly, that children be the people of God, and entirely beloved by him. But ſome will ſay, Why then did not Chriſt baptize them? becauſe it is written, Jeſus himſelf baptized not, but his diſciples.

Moreover, circumciſion in the old law was adminiſtered to infants: therefore baptiſm ought to be adminiſtered in the new law unto children. For baptiſm is come in the ſtead of circumciſion, as St. Paul witneſſeth, ſaying to the Coloſſians, "By Chriſt ye are circumciſed with a circumciſion which is without hands, when ye put off the body of ſin of the fleſh, by the circumciſion of Chriſt, being buried together with him through baptiſm." Behold, Paul calleth baptiſm the circumciſion of a chriſtian man, which is done without hands, but that with hands no man any longer ought to be circumciſed, albeit the myſtery of circumciſion do ſtill remain in faithful people.

To this I may add, that the ſervants of God were always ready to adminiſter the ſacraments to them, for whom they were inſtituted. As for an example, we may behold Joſhua, who moſt diligently procured the people of Iſrael to be circumciſed before they entered into the land of promiſe; but ſince the apoſtles were the preachers of the word, and the very faithful ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, who may hereafter doubt that they baptized infants, ſince baptiſm is in place of circumciſion?

Item, The apoſtles did attemperate all their doings to the ſhadows and figures of the Old Teſtament, therefore it is certain that they attemperate baptiſm accordingly to circumciſion, and baptized children becauſe they were under the figure of baptiſm; for the people of Iſrael paſſed through the Red-Sea, and the bottom of the water of Jordan, with their children. And although the children be not always expreſſed, neither the women in the holy ſcriptures, yet they are comprehended and underſtood in the ſame.

Alſo the ſcripture evidently telleth us, that the apoſtles baptized whole families or houſholds: But the children are comprehended in a family or houſhold, as the chiefeſt and deareſt part thereof: Therefore we may conclude, that the apoſtles did baptize infants or children, and not only men of lawful age. And that the houſe or houſhold is taken for man, woman and child, it is manifeſt in the ſeventeenth of Geneſis; and alſo in that Joſeph doth call Jacob, with all his houſe, to come out of the land of Canaan into Egypt.

Finally, I can declare out of ancient writers, that the baptiſm of infants hath continued from the apoſtles time unto ours, neither was it inſtituted by any councils, neither of the pope, nor of other men, but commanded from the ſcripture by the apoſtles themſelves. Origen, upon the declaration of St. Paul's epiſtle to the Romans, expounding the ſixth chapter, ſaith, "That the church of Chriſt received the baptiſm of infants from the very apoſtles." St. Jerome maketh mention of the baptiſm of infants in the third book againſt the Pelagians, and in his epiſtle to Leta. St. Auguſtine reciteth for this purpoſe a place out of John biſhop of Conſtantinople, in his firſt book againſt Julian, chap. 2. and he again writing to St. Jerome, epiſt. 28. ſaith, "That St. Cyprian, not making any new decree, but firmly obſerving the faith of the church, judged with his fellow-biſhops, that as ſoon as one was born, he might be lawfully baptized." The place of Cyprian is to be ſeen in his epiſtle to Fidus.

Alſo St. Auguſtine, in writing againſt the Donatiſts in the fourth book, chap. 23 and 24. ſaith, That the baptiſm of infants was not derived from the authority of man, neither of councils, but from the tradition or doctrine of the apoſtles.

Cyril upon Leviticus, chap. 8. approveth the baptiſm of children, and condemneth the iteration of baptiſm. Theſe authorities of men I do alledge, not to tie the baptiſm of children unto the teſtimonies of men, but to ſhew how men's teſtimonies do agree with God's word, and that the verity of antiquity is on our ſide, and that the Anabaptiſts have nothing but lyes for them, and new imaginations, which feign the baptiſm of children to be the pope's commandment.

After this will I anſwer the ſum of your arguments for the contrary. The firſt, which includeth all the reſt, is, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the glad tidings to all creatures. He that believeth and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved: but he that believeth not, ſhall be damned, &c."

To this I anſwer, That nothing is added to God's word by baptiſm of children, as you pretend, but that is done which the ſame word doth require, for that children are accounted of Chriſt, in the goſpel, among the number of ſuch as believe, as it appeareth by theſe words, "He that offendeth one of theſe little babes, which believe in me, it were better for him to have a mill-ſtone tied about his neck, and to be caſt into the bottom of the ſea." Where plainly Chriſt calleth ſuch as be not able to confeſs their faith, Believers, becauſe of his mere grace he reputeth them for believers. And this is no wonder ſo to be taken, ſince God imputeth faith for righteouſneſs unto men that be of riper age: for both in men and children, righteouſneſs, acceptation, ſanctification, is of mere grace, and by imputation, that the glory of God's grace might be praiſed.

And that the children of faithful parents are ſanctified, and among ſuch as do believe, is apparent in the ſeventh chapter of the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians. And whereas you do gather, by the order of the words in the ſaid commandment of Chriſt, that children ought to be taught before they be baptized, and to this end you alledge many places out of the Acts, proving that ſuch as confeſſed their faith firſt, were baptized: I anſwer, that if the order of words might weigh any thing in this cauſe, we have the ſcripture that maketh as well for us. For in St. Mark we read that John did baptize in the deſart, preaching the baptiſm of repentance. In which place we ſee baptizing go before, and preaching to follow after.

And alſo I will declare this place of Matthew, exactly conſidered, to make for the uſe of baptiſm in children: for St. Matthew hath it written in this wiſe, "All power is given me (ſaith the Lord) in heaven and in earth," therefore going forth MATHETEUSATE, that is, Diſciple ye, (as I may expreſs the ſignification of the word) that is, Make or gather to me diſciples of all nations. And following, he declareth the way how they ſhould gather to him diſciples out of all nations, "Baptizing them and teaching;" by baptizing and teaching, ye ſhall procure a church to me. And both theſe aptly and briefly ſeverally he ſetteth forth, ſaying, "Baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, teaching them to obſerve all things whatſoever I have commanded you." Now then baptiſm goeth before doctrine.

But hereby I do not gather, that the Gentiles, who never heard any thing before of God, and of the Son of God, and of the Holy Ghoſt, ought to be baptized, neither would they permit themſelves to be baptized before they knew to what end. But this I have declared, to ſhew you upon how feeble foundation the Anabaptiſts be grounded. And plainly it is not true which they imagine of this text, that the Lord did only command ſuch to be baptized whom the apoſtles had firſt of all taught. Neither here verily is ſignified who only be to be baptized, but he ſpeaketh of ſuch as be at perfect age, and of the firſt foundations

of faith, and of the church to be planted among the Gentiles, which were as yet rude and ignorant of religion.

Such as be of age may hear, believe and confeſs that which is preached and taught, but ſo cannot infants; therefore we may juſtly collect, that he ſpeaketh here nothing of infants or children. But for all this they ought not to be excluded from baptiſm.

It is a general rule, "He that doth not labour, muſt not eat." But who is ſo barbarous that might think hereby, that children ſhould be famiſhed?

The Lord ſent his apoſtles, at the beginning of his ſetting up of his true religion, unto all nations, unto ſuch as were both ignorant of God, and were out of the covenant of God; and truly ſuch perſons it behoved not firſt to be baptized, and afterward taught; but firſt to be taught, and after baptized. If at this day we ſhould go to the Turks, to convert them to the faith of Chriſt, verily firſt we ought to teach them, and afterwards baptize ſuch as would yield to be the ſervants of Chriſt. Likewiſe the Lord himſelf in time paſt did, when firſt he renewed the covenant with Abraham, and ordained circumciſion to be a ſeal of the covenant after that Abraham was circumciſed. But he, when he perceived the infants alſo to pertain to the covenant, and that circumciſion was the ſealing up of the covenant, did not only circumciſe Iſhmael his ſon, that was thirteen years of age, but all other infants that were born in his houſe, among whom we reckon Iſaac.

Even ſo faithful people, who were converted from heathen idolatry by the preaching of the goſpel, and confeſſing the faith, were baptized: when they underſtood their children to be counted among the people of God, and that baptiſm was the token of the people of God, they procured alſo their children to be baptized. Therefore, as it is written, "Abraham circumciſed all the male children of his houſe." In like manner we read in the Acts and writings of the apoſtles, that after the maſter of the houſe was turned to the faith, all the whole houſe was baptized. And as concerning thoſe which of old time were compelled to confeſs their faith before they received baptiſm, which were called Catechumeni, they were ſuch as with our fore-fathers came from the Gentiles into the church, who being yet rude of faith, they did inſtruct in the principels of their belief, and afterward they did badtize them; but the ſame ancient fathers, notwithſtanding, did baptize the children of faithful men, as I have already partly declared.

And becauſe you do require a haſty anſwer of your letter of one that is but a dull writer, I am here enforced to ceaſe particularly to go through your letter in anſwering thereto, knowing that I have fully anſwered every part thereof, in that I have already written, although not in ſuch order as it had been meet, and as I purpoſed. But foraſmuch as I underſtand that you will be no contentious man, neither in this matter, neither in any other, contrary to the judgment of Chriſt's primitive church, which is the body and fulneſs of Chriſt, I deſire you in the entire love of him, or rather Chriſt deſireth you by me (that your joy may be perfect, whereto you are now called) to ſubmit your judgment to that church, and to be at peace and unity in the ſame; that the coat of Chriſt, which ought to be without ſeam, but now, alas, moſt miſerably is torn in pieces by many dangerous ſects and damnable opinions, may appear by you in no part to have been rent, neither that any giddy head in theſe dog-days, might take an enſample by you to diſſent from Chriſt's true church. I beſeech thee, dear brother in the goſpel, follow the ſteps of the faith of the glorious martyrs in the primitive church, and of ſuch as at this day follow the ſame: decline from them neither to the right hand nor to the left. Then ſhall death, be it never ſo bitter, be more ſweet than this life; then ſhall Chriſt, with all the heavenly Jeruſalem, triumphantly embrace your ſpirit with unſpeakable gladneſs and exultation, who in this earth was content to join your ſpirit with their ſpirits, according as it is commanded by the word, that the ſpirit of the prophets ſhould be ſubject to the prophets. One thing aſk, with David, ere you depart, and require the ſame, that you may dwell with a full accord in his houſe, for there is glory and worſhip: and ſo, with Simeon in the temple embracing Chriſt, depart in peace: to which peace Chriſt bring both you and me, and all our loving brethren that love God in the unity of faith, by ſuch ways as ſhall pleaſe him, to his glory. Let the bitter paſſion of Chriſt, which he ſuffered for your ſake, and the horrible torments which the godly martyrs of Chriſt hath endured before us, and alſo the ineſtimable reward of your life to come, which is hidden yet a little while from you with Chriſt, ſtrengthen, comfort, and encourage you to the end of that glorious race which you are in, Amen.

Your yoke-fellow in captivity for the verity of Chriſt's goſpel, to live and die with you in the unity of faith.

John Philpot.

Other letters were written by Mr. Philpot to divers perſons, but theſe, as moſt principal, I have inſerted. Amongſt which I thought here not much impertinent to the place, to adjoin another certain letter of a godly and zealous goſpeller (whoſe name in her writing doth not appear) who in defending and commending the quarrel of Mr. John Philpot, the famous and worthy martyr of Chriſt, was therefore troubled and brought before biſhop Bonner. And therefore being appointed by the ſaid biſhop to appear upon a certain day to anſwer for herſelf, indeed kept not her day with the biſhop, but inſtead of her appearance, ſent him this letter here following.

"Wo be unto the idolatrous ſhepherds of England, that feed themſelves. Should not the ſhepherds feed the flock? but ye have eaten the fat, ye have cloathed you with the wool; the beſt fed have ye ſlain, but the flock have ye not nouriſhed, the weak have ye not holden up, the ſick have you not healed, the broken have you not bound together, the out-caſts have ye not brought again, the loſt have ye not ſought, but churliſhly and cruelly have ye ruled them." Ezek. 34.

FOraſmuch (my lord) as my buſineſs is ſuch that I cannot come to your lordſhip, according to my promiſe, I have been ſo bold to write theſe few words unto you, partly to excuſe mine abſence, and partly to anſwer your lordſhip's demands at my laſt moſt happy departure from you. As touching the breach of my promiſe with you in not coming again at the hour appointed, your lordſhip ſhall underſtand that I take the counſel of the angel, which warned the wiſe men not to come again to Herod according to their promiſe, but to return home again another way. Now, my lord, I perceiving your lordſhip to be a more cruel tyrant than ever was Herod, and more deſirous to deſtroy Chriſt in his poor members than ever he was, who, to deſtroy Chriſt, killed his own ſon, I thought good to take the angel's counſel, and to come no more at you; for I ſee that you are ſet all in a rage like a ravening wolf againſt the poor lambs of Chriſt, appointed to the ſlaughter for the teſtimony of the truth. Indeed you are called the common cut-throat, and general ſlaughter-ſlave to all the biſhops in England; and therefore it is wiſdom for me, and all other ſimple ſheep of the Lord, to keep us out of your butcher's ſtall as long as we can: eſpecially ſeeing that you have ſuch ſtore already, that you are not able to drink all their blood, leſt you ſhould break your belly; and therefore let them lie ſtill and die for hunger. Therefore (my lord) I thought it good to tarry a time until your lordſhip's ſtomach were come to you a little better; for I do perceive by your great fat cheeks, that you lack no lamb's fleſh yet, and belike you are almoſt glutted with ſupping ſo much blood, and therefore you will let ſome of the leaneſt die in priſon, which will then

be meat good enough for your barking beagles, Harpsfield and his fellows; but yet, my lord, it were a great deal more for your lordſhip's honour, if your chaplains might have the meat roaſted in Smithfield at the fire of the ſtake, yea, and when it is ſomething fat and fair liking; for now they have nothing but ſkin and bones, and if the dogs come haſtily to it, they may chance ſhortly to be choaked and then your hunting will be greatly hindered, if it be not altogether marred.

I hear ſay, my lord, that ſome of the butcherly curs came of late to my houſe to ſeek their prey, and that they go round about (as David ſaith) grinning and grudging that they have not meat enough; therefore belike they have killed my poor brethren and ſiſters that have lain ſo long upon the butcherly ſtall, and eaten them up: for I hear ſay their friends could not be ſuffered to ſee them theſe three days and more; therefore I perceive now, that if I had come again according to my promiſe, your lordſhip, like a ravening wolf, or elſe ſome of your hell-hounds, would quickly have worried me: but I ſee well my appointed time is not yet come, therefore I will yet live and thank him for my deliverance, with continual ſongs of laud and praiſe. Thus have I been bold to trouble your lordſhip with telling you the truth, and the very cauſe that I came not to you again according to my unpurpoſed promiſe. I truſt your lordſhip will take this in good part, and accept it as a lawful excuſe, and not doubting but your lordſhip would have done the like if you had been in my caſe.

Now as concerning the ſecond part that cauſed me to write unto your lordſhip, which is to anſwer unto your ſubtle or rather cruel demand of my judgment of the death of that bleſſed martyr of Jeſus Chriſt, good Mr. Philpot, I will anſwer your lordſhip ſimply and plainly, what peril ſoever ſhall come thereof. Truly, my lord, I do not only think, but I am alſo moſt certain and ſure, that he as a very man of God, died a true martyr, and conſtant confeſſor of his dear Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to whom he did moſt faithfully commit his ſweet ſoul, who will ſurely keep the ſame with him in joy for evermore. Alſo, my lord, I do verily believe and know, that your lordſhip hath committed a horrible and moſt cruel murder in the unjuſt condemning and killing of him, and that you ſhall make as heavy an account of his blood, which ſhortly ſhall be required at your hand, as ever your great grandfather cruel Cain did or ſhall do for his innocent brother Abel. Moreover, becauſe I am credibly informed, that your lordſhip doth believe, and have in ſecret ſaid, that there is no hell, I certify you, that your lordſhip never did any thing in all your life that did ſo much redound to your lordſhip's diſhonour, and perpetual ſhame and infamy, as your killing the body of this bleſſed prophet doth; eſpecially ſeeing that he was none of your dioceſe, nor had offended any of your lordſhip's deviliſh and cruel laws. Verily I hear almoſt every body ſay in all places where I come, that your lordſhip is made the common ſlaughter-ſlave to all your fellows, bite-ſheep biſhops I would ſay; yea, the very papiſts themſelves begin now to abhor your blood-thirſtineſs, and ſpeak ſhame of your tyranny. Like tyranny, believe me, my lord, every child that can any whit ſpeak, can call upon by your name and ſay, Bloody Bonner is biſhop of London; and every man hath it as perfectly upon his fingers ends as his Pater noſter, how many you for your part have burned with fire, and famiſhed in priſon; they ſay the whole ſum amounteth to forty perſons within this three quarters of a year. Therefore, my lord, tho' your lordſhip believeth that there is neither heaven nor hell, nor God nor devil; yet if your lordſhip love your own honeſty, which was loſt long ago, you were beſt to ceaſe from this cruel burning of true chriſtian men; and alſo from murdering of ſome in priſon: for that indeed offendeth men's minds moſt: yea, even your old friends the rankeſt papiſts that be. For, ſay they, Felix that heathen ruler did not forbid Paul's friends to viſit him in priſon, and to bring him neceſſary relief; and therefore it is a very great ſhame and ſin, to ſee a biſhop that beareth the name of a chriſtian, to be more cruel upon his poor brethren, than an heathen, turk, or infidel.

Theſe are men's ſayings in every place, not only of this realm, but alſo of the moſt part of the world, and the common talk they have of your lordſhip; therefore I thought to be ſo bold with your lordſhip, as to tell you of it, tho' perchance you will give me but ſmall thanks for my labour. Well, as for that, I put it to your lordſhip's choice, for I have as much already as I look for. Finally, my lord, I will give you to underſtand, that the death of this conſtant martyr and valiant ſoldier of Jeſus Chriſt, hath given a greater ſhake towards the overthrowing of your papiſtical kingdom, than you ſhall ever be able to recover again theſe ſeven years, do the beſt you can, and ſet as many crafty dawbers to patch it up with untempered clay as you will; yea, tho' prating Pendleton, that wicked apoſtate, apply all his wily wits to help them. Verily, my lord, by all men's reports, his bleſſed life could never have done the like ſorrow to Satan's ſynagogue, whereof ſome ſay your lordſhip is a mighty member, as his happy death hath done. You have broken a pot indeed, but the precious word contained therein is ſo notably therewithal ſhed abroad, that the ſweet ſavour thereof hath wonderfully well refreſhed all the true houſhold, or congregation of Chriſt, that they cannot abide any more the ſtinking ſavour of your filthy ware that came from the dunghil of Rome, tho' your lordſhip's Judaſſes do ſet them to ſale every where to fill your bags. I put your lordſhip out of doubt, that if you do break any more ſuch pots, you will marr your own market altogether: for I promiſe you, moſt men begin to diſlike your deviliſh doings, and wonderfully to loath your popiſh pedlary wares.

Thus have I (according to your lordſhip's command), ſhewed you ſimply what I think of that good man's death, whoſe blood crieth for vengeance againſt your lordſhip's butcherly bloody proceedings in the ears of the Lord of Hoſts, who will ſhortly revenge the ſame upon your pilled pate, and upon the reſt of all your poll-ſhorn brethren, the very marked cattle of the great Antichriſt of Rome. The meaſure of his iniquity is filled up to the brim, therefore will God ſhortly pour in double unto your deſerved deſtruction. And then your new made proſelytes will be glad to cover their crowns with a cowturd (ſaving your lordſhip's reverence I ſhould have ſaid firſt.) Well, I rather deſire their converſion than confuſion, the Lord ſend one of them ſhortly, as may be moſt to his glory, Amen.

I ſignify alſo unto your lordſhip, that the railing words which your lying preacher ſhewed forth of his filthy fountain upon Sunday, againſt the dear ſervant of God, good Mr. Philpot, do greatly redound to your lordſhip's diſhoneſty, and much deface your ſpiritual honour. Verily I ſee that the great wrath of God hath ſo blinded your eyes, that you ſee not what is with you, nor what is againſt you, but ſtill you vomit out your own ſhame, and make all the world wonder upon you. Was it not enough for you to condemn him moſt unjuſtly; yea, contrary to your own laws, and to kill his innocent body moſt tyrannouſly, but you muſt alſo ſet a lying limb of the devil to blaſpheme, ſlander, and belye him now he is dead? O viperous generation, ſeed of the ſerpent, and right children of the devil: full well do you counterfeit your father's ſteps, whom Chriſt calleth a murderer, and a lyar from the beginning; which two things be the only weapons of your war, wherewith you maintain all your miſchief, that is to ſay, lying and murder; for thoſe whom ye cannot overcome with your lying perſuaſions, them you kill moſt cruelly, and then blaſpheme and belye them with railing ſentences when they are dead. But all this will not blind the people

ple of God, nor yet make them any whit the leſs believe the truth, nor abate their love from the true preachers thereof; yea, it is a true ſign and a token that they are the very diſciples of Chriſt; for he hath ſaid, "Bleſſed are ye when men revile you, and ſay all manner of evil ſayings againſt you for my name's ſake. Rejoice, and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven." And doubtleſs great is the good man's reward in heaven by this time, as your lordſhip's damnation ſhall be great in hell, except you repent and ſurceaſe from ſhedding innocent blood. But it is to be feared your heart is hardened as Pharaoh's was, ſeeing that with Judas ye have ſold and betrayed your Maſter. Take heed, my lord, leſt you come to the ſame end, or a worſe than he did: for verily I cannot perceive how you ſhould eſcape it long; therefore ſay not but that a woman gave you warning, if you liſt to take it. And as for the obtaining of your popiſh purpoſe in ſuppreſſing the truth, I put you out of doubt, you ſhall not obtain it ſo long as you got his way to work as ye do; for verily I believe that you have loſt the hearts of twenty thouſand that were rank papiſts within theſe twelve months.

It is found very true that one holy doctor ſaith, The blood of the martyrs is the ſeed of the goſpel; when one is put to death, a thouſand doth riſe for him. And that this is true, you may well perceive by the hearty love that the people ſhewed unto good Mr. Philpot at his going to his death. They went not about to make an idol of him, as your adder's brood would have men imagine; but they worſhipped God who gave ſuch ſtrength to his dear child, to die ſo conſtantly for the teſtimony of his truth, unto the utter deſtruction of that deteſtable idolatry which your lordſhip doth moſt deviliſhly maintain with the force of fire, faggots, and ſword: yea, and rather than fail, to famiſh men in priſon again, as ye have done already. It is reported by your own tormentors, that the ſix priſoners, which you have in your priſon, be put in ſix ſeveral places all the day, and every night brought together, and ſet in the ſtocks. Forſooth, my lord, this doth get you a foul name all about the country, and yet all will not help your lordſhip's peſtilent purpoſe, but every way hinder the ſame. For Zorababel will be found no lyar, who ſaid, The truth ſhall have victory. You do but ſtrive againſt the ſtream, and kick againſt the pricks; the Lord doth laugh your doings to ſcorn, and will bring all your councils and devices to naught (as knoweth the Lord God), who of his great mercy ſhortly convert your lordſhip, or utterly confound you, and get his name a glory over you, Amen.

Your lordſhip's orator, who prayeth daily to God that he may reward you according to your deeds. Anno 1556.

Anno 1556.

The Hiſtory of ſeven Martyrs ſuffering together at London, for the Teſtimony of Chriſt's Goſpel.

THE catholic prelates of the Pope's band being as yet not ſatisfied with this their one year's murdering of the reverend, learned, and principal members of Chriſt's church (whereof now there were but very few, who either were not cruelly conſumed by fire, or elſe, to avoid their popiſh rage, compelled to flee their natural country), continued ſtill this next year alſo, which was Anno 1556, in no leſs cruelty towards the poor, ſimple, and inferior ſort of people (I mean in degree, tho' God be praiſed, not in ſtedfaſtneſs), having yet ſometimes amongſt them ſuch as were both learned and of good eſtimation, as in continuance of this ſtory ſhall appear.

Wherefore (as the firſt fruits thereof), to begin this year withal, about the 27th day of January were burned in Smithfield, at London, theſe ſeven perſons hereafter following, to wit:

Thomas Whittle, prieſt. Bartlet Green, gentleman. John Tudſon, artificer. John Went, artificer. Thomas Browne. Iſabel Foſter, wife. Joan Warne, alias Laſhford, maid.

All which ſeven, as they were burned together in one fire, ſo were they likewiſe all upon one ſort and form of articles condemned in one day. Howbeit, foraſmuch as the gifts of God in them were diverſe (ſome more abounding in knowledge than others, their dealings withal were alſo diverſe, as ſhall be more plainly perceived in the diſcourſing of their ſeveral proceſſes hereafter following. And therefore for the better underſtanding hereof, I will firſt (by the leave of the Lord) paſſing over their private articles and examinations had at ſundry times in the biſhop's houſe, ſet forth their general examinations in the public conſiſtory, upon the biſhop's articles there adminiſtered unto them, with their anſwers alſo to the ſame, according as they all agreed after one manner and ſort together, as here by the words both of the articles and their anſwers underwritten, may appear.

The Form and Words of Biſhop Bonner's Articles adminiſtered to the ſeven Perſons above-mentioned in the Conſiſtory.

AND firſt to behold the manner of ſpeech in theſe biſhops, ſitting in their majeſty to terrify the ears of the ſimple withal, let us hear the pontifical phraſe of this biſhop, beginning in this ſort.

The within written Articles, and every of them, and every Part and Parcel of them, we Edmund, by the Permiſſion of God, Biſhop of London, do object and adminiſter to thee Thomas Whittle, &c. of our mere Office, for thy Soul's Health, and for the Reformation of thine Offences and Miſdemeanours, admoniſhing thee in the virtue of Obedience, and under the Pains of both Cenſures of the Church, and alſo of other Pains of the Law, to Anſwer fully, plainly, and truly to all the ſame.

FIRST, that thou N. haſt firmly, ſtedfaſtly, and conſtantly believed in times paſt, and ſo doſt now believe at this preſent, that there is here in earth a catholic church, in which catholic church the faith and religion of Chriſt is trully profeſſed, allowed, received, kept and retained by all faithful and true chriſtian people.

2. Item, That thou the ſaid N. in times paſt haſt alſo believed, and ſo doſt believe at this preſent, that there are in the catholic church ſeven ſacraments, inſtituted and ordained by God, and by the conſent of the holy church allowed, approved, kept, and retained.

3. Item, That thou the ſaid N. waſt in times paſt baptized in the faith of the ſaid catholic church, profeſſing by thy godfathers and godmothers, the faith and religion of Chriſt and the obſervation thereof, renouncing there the devil and all his pomps and works, and waſt by the ſaid ſacrament of baptiſm incorporated to the catholic church, and made a faithful member thereof.

4. Item, That thou the ſaid N. coming to the age of fourteen years, and ſo to the age of diſcretion, didſt not depart from the ſaid profeſſion and faith, nor didſt miſlike any part of the ſame faith or doings, but didſt like a faithful chriſtian perſon abide and continue in all the ſame by the ſpace of certain years, ratifying and confirming all the ſame.

5. Item, That thou the ſaid N. notwithſtanding the premiſes, haſt of late, that is to ſay within theſe two years laſt paſt, within the city and dioceſe of London, ſwerved at the leaſt way from ſome part of the ſaid catholic faith and religion; and amongſt other things thou haſt miſliked

misliked and earnestly spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and the unity of the church, railing and maligning the authority of the see of Rome, and the faith observed in the same.

6. Item, That thou the said N. hast heretofore refused, and dost refuse at this present to be reconciled again to the unity of the church, not acknowledging and confessing the authority of the said see of Rome to be lawful.

7. Item, That thou the said N. misliking the sacrifice of the mass, and the sacrament of the altar, hast refused to come to thy parish-church to hear mass, and to receive the said sacrament, and hast also expressly said, that in the said sacrament of the altar there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ really, substantially and truly, but hast affirmed expressly, that the mass is idolatry and abomination; and in that the sacrament of the altar there is none other substance but only material bread and material wine, which are tokens of Christ's body and blood only, and that the substance of Christ's body and blood is in no wise in the said sacrament of the altar.

8. Item, That thou the said N. being convented before certain judges or commissioners, for thy disorder herein, and being found obstinate, wilful and heady, wast by their commandment sent unto me and my prison, to be examined by me, and process to be made against thee for thy offence herein.

9. Item, That all and singular the premises have been, and be true and manifest, and thyself not only infamed and suspected thereof, but also culpable therein; and by reason of the same, thou wast and art of the jurisdiction of me Edmund bishop of London, and before me, according to the order of the ecclesiastical laws, are to be convented, and also by me to be punished and reformed.

Their Answers to the foregoing Articles.

TO the first article they altogether agreed, affirming the same to be true: John Tudson, and Thomas Browne further adding, that the church of England, as it was at that present used, was no part of the true catholic church.

To the second article they answered, that they acknowledged but only two sacraments in Christ's catholic church, that is to say, baptism, and the supper of the Lord; John Went, and Tudson affirmed, that the sacrament of the altar, as it was then used, was an idol, and no sacrament at all.

To the third article they all agreed, and confessed it to be true, that they were baptized in the faith of Christ, and the church then taught; and afterwards during the time of king Edward the sixth, they hearing the gospel preached, and the truth opened, followed the order of the religion and doctrine then used and set forth in the reign of the said king Edward.

To the fourth article they also agreed: but John Went added, that about seven years past, he then being about twenty years of age, began to mislike certain things used in the church of England, as the administration of the sacrament of the altar; likewise all the ceremonies of the said church, and did likewise at that present time mislike the same as they were used, although his godfathers and godmothers promised for him the contrary.

John Tudson also said, that when he came to the years of discretion, that is, about nine years past, being about eighteen years of age, he did mislike the doctrine and religion then taught and set forth in the church of England, except in the time of king Edward, in whose reign the gospel was truly set forth: and he further said, that the doctrine set forth in the queen's reign was not agreeable to God's word, nor yet to the true catholic church that Christ speaketh of, &c.

Isabel Foster, with others granted, adding likewise, and saying, to the said four articles, that she continued in the same faith and religion which she was baptized in, after she came to the years of discretion as other common people did; howbeit, blindly and without knowledge, till the reign of king Edward the sixth: at which time she, hearing the gospel truly preached and opened to the people, received thereupon the faith and religion then taught and set forth, &c.

To the fifth articles, they answered and agreed the same to be true, according to the contents thereof: Thomas Whittle adding moreover, that he had swerved and gone away, and not in whole but in part, not from the whole catholic church, but from the church of Rome, in speaking against the mass, the sacrifice thereof, and the see of Rome.

Joan Lashford, alias Joan Warne, granted with the other the said article, added moreover, that she never hitherto swerved or went away, nor yet doth, from any part of Christ's catholic faith and religion; but said, that from the time she was eleven years of age, she had misliked the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and the authority of the see of Rome, with the doctrine thereof, because they be against Christ's catholic church, and the right faith of the same.

Bartlet Green answering to this article, said, that he swerved not from the catholic faith, but only from the church of Rome, &c.

To the sixth article they answered, and confessed the same to be true, rendering the cause thereof, because (say they) the same church and doctrine therein set forth and taught, disagreeth from the true unity of Christ's word, and the true catholic faith, &c.

Whereunto Bartlet Green answered, that he was contented to be reconciled to the unity of Christ's catholic church, but not of the church of Rome.

In like manner added also John Went.

To the seventh article they answered, and confessed the contents thereof to be true, giving withal the reasons and cause of this their so doing, for that the mass with the sacrament thereof, as it was then used and set forth in the church of England, was dissonant to the word and teaching of the people, &c.

John Went furthermore said, as concerning the mass, that he believed no less, but the mass which he calleth the supper of the Lord, as it is now used in the realm of England, is naught, full of idolatry, and against God's word so far as he seeth it: howbeit, he saith that since the queen's coronation by chance he hath been present where the mass hath been said, whereof he is sorry.

Isabel Foster also answering to the said article, with the other before, confessed moreover, that since queen Mary's reign she had not heard mass, nor received the sacrament, but had refused to be in the place where it was administered: for she knew no such sacrament to be. And being demanded of her belief in the same, she said, that there was but one only material bread, and material wine, and not the real substance of the body of Christ in the same sacrament: for so she had been taught to believe by the preachers in the time of king Edward, whom she believed to have preached the truth in that behalf.

To the eighth article they grant the same, and the contents thereof to be so.

Thomas Whittle adding and affirming, that the lord chancellor that then was, sent him up to the bishop there present.

Bartlet Green added, that he was sent up to the said bishop, but for no offence herein articulate.

John Went said, that Dr. Story, queen Mary's commissioner, examined him upon the sacrament, and because he denied the real presence, he presented this examinate to the bishop.

John Tudson likewise examined by Mr. Cholmley and Dr. Story upon the same matters, and for not coming to

the church, and accuſed by the ſame, becauſe he would not agree to them, was ſent to the biſhop.

Thomas Browne alſo ſaid, that he for not coming to the church of St. Bride's, was brought by the conſtable to the biſhop, &c.

Joan Warne confeſſed, that ſhe was ſent by Dr. Story to the biſhop of London, about twelve weeks ago, ſince which time ſhe hath continued with the ſaid biſhop.

To the ninth article they confeſs and ſay, that as they believe the premiſes before by them confeſſed to be true, ſo they deny not the ſame to be manifeſt, and that they be of the juriſdiction of London.

And thus having expreſſed their articles with their anſwers jointly made unto the ſame, it remaineth further more fully to diſcourſe the ſtories, and handling of all the ſeven aforeſaid martyrs ſeverally and particularly by themſelves, firſt beginning with Thomas Whittle.

1. Thomas Whittle, Martyr.

MEntion was made before in Mr. Philpot's ſtory, (p. 444.) of a married prieſt, whom he found in biſhop Bonner's coal-houſe at his firſt coming thither, in heavineſs of mind of great ſorrow, for recanting the doctrine which he had taught in king Edward's days, whoſe name was Thomas Whittle of Eſſex; and thus lieth his ſtory. This Thomas Whittle, after he had been expulſed from the place in Eſſex where he ſerved, went abroad where he might, now here and there, as occaſion offered, preaching and ſowing the goſpel of Chriſt. At length being apprehended by one Edmund Alablaſter, in hope of reward and promotion, which he miſerably gaped after, he was brought firſt as priſoner before the biſhop of Wincheſter, who then was lately fallen ſick of his diſeaſe, whereof not long after he died moſt ſtrangely. But the apprehender for his proffered ſervice was highly checked by the biſhop, aſking if there were no man unto whom he might bring ſuch raſcals, but to him. Hence (quoth he) out of my ſight, thou varlet, what doſt thou trouble me with ſuch matters? The greedy cormorant being thus defeated of his deſired prey, yet thinking to ſeek and hunt further, carried his priſoner to the biſhop of London, with whom what ill uſage this Whittle had, and how he was by the biſhop beaten and buffeted about the face, by this his own narration in a letter ſent to his friend, manifeſtly may appear.

Upon Thurſday, which was the tenth of January, the biſhop of London ſent for me Thomas Whittle, miniſter, out of the porter's lodge, where I had been all night, lying upon the earth, on a little low bed, where I had as painful a night of ſickneſs as ever I had. And when I came before him, he talked with me many things of the ſacrament ſo groſly, as is not worthy to be rehearſed. And amongſt other things, he aſked me if I would have come to maſs that morning if he had ſent for me? Whereunto I anſwered, that I would have come to him at his commandment, but to your maſs (ſaid I) I have ſmall affection. At which anſwer he was ſore diſpleaſed, and ſaid, I ſhould be fed with bread and water. And as I followed him through the great hall, he turned back, and beat me with his fiſt, firſt on the one cheek, and then on the other, as the ſign of my beating did many days appear. And then he led me into a little ſalt-houſe, where I had neither ſtraw nor bed, but lay two nights on a table, and ſlept ſoundly, I thank God.

Then, upon the Friday next after, I was brought to my lord, and he then gave me many fair words, and ſaid he would be good to me. And ſo he going to Fulham committed me to Dr. Harpsfield, that he and I in that afternoon ſhould commune together, and draw out certain articles, whereunto if I would ſubſcribe, I ſhould be diſmiſſed. But Dr. Harpsfield ſent not for me till night, and then perſuaded me very much to forſake my opinions. I anſwered, I held nothing but the truth, and therefore I could not ſo lightly turn therefrom. So I thought I ſhould at that time have had no more ado: but he had made a certain bill, which the regiſter pulled out of his boſom, and read it. The bill indeed was very eaſily made, and therefore more dangerous: for the effect thereof was, to deteſt all errors and hereſies againſt the ſacrament of the altar, and other ſacraments, and to believe the faith of the catholic church, and live accordingly.

The copy of this bill here mentioned, if it pleaſe the gentle reader to peruſe, ſo as it came to our hands, we have hereunto adjoined, written in their own words, as followeth.

The Bill of Submiſſion, offered to Thomas Whittle to ſubſcribe.

I Thomas Whittle, prieſt, of the dioceſe of London, acknowledge and confeſs with my mouth, agreeing with my heart before you, reverend father in God, Edmund biſhop of London, my ordinary, that I do deteſt and abhor all manner of hereſies and errors againſt the ſacrament of the altar, or any of the ſacraments of the church, which hereſies and errors have heretofore been condemned in any wiſe by the catholic church: and I do proteſt and declare by theſe preſents, that I do both now hold, and alſo intend by God's grace always hereafter to hold, obſerve and keep, in all points, the catholic faith and belief of Chriſt's church, according as this church of England, being a member of the ſaid catholic church, doth now profeſs and keep, and in no wiſe to ſwerve, decline, or go from the ſaid faith, during my natural life, ſubmitting myſelf fully and wholly to you, reverend father, my ſaid ordinary, in all things concerning my reformation and amendment at all times. In witneſs whereof I the ſaid Thomas Whittle, prieſt, have hereunto ſubſcribed my name, written, &c.

To this bill I did indeed ſet my hand, being much deſired and counſelled ſo to do; and the fleſh being always deſirous to have liberty, I conſidered not thoroughly the inconvenience that might come thereupon; and reſpite I deſired to have had, but earneſtly they deſired me to ſubſcribe. Now when I had ſo done, I had little joy thereof. For by and by my mind and conſcience told me by God's word that I had done evil, by ſuch a ſlight means to ſhake off the ſweet croſs of Chriſt: and yet it was not my ſeeking, as God he knoweth, but altogether came of them. O the crafty ſubtilty of Satan in his members! Let every man, that God ſhall deliver into their hands, take good heed, and cleave faſt to Chriſt: for they will leave no corner of his conſcience unſought, but will attempt all guileful and ſubtil means to corrupt him, to fall both from God and his truth. But yet let no man deſpair of God's help, for Peter did fall and riſe again. And David ſaith, "A righteous man though he fall, he ſhall not be caſt away: for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand." For I for my part have felt my infirmities, and yet have I found God's preſent help and comfort in time of need, I thank him therefore.

The night after I had ſubſcribed I was ſore grieved, and for ſorrow of conſcience could not ſleep. For in the deliverance of my body out of bonds, which I might have had, I could find no joy nor comfort, but ſtill was in my conſcience tormented more and more, being aſſured by God's Spirit and his word, that I through evil counſel and advice had done amiſs. And both with diſquietneſs of mind, and with my other cruel handling, I was ſickly, lying upon the ground when the keeper came: and ſo I deſired him to pray Dr. Harpsfield to come to me, and ſo he did.

And

And when he came and the regiſter with him, I told him that I was not well at eaſe, but eſpecially I told him I was grieved very much in my conſcience and mind becauſe I had ſubſcribed. And I ſaid, that my conſcience had ſo accuſed me, through the juſt judgment of God and his word, that I had felt hell in my conſcience, and Satan ready to devour me: and therefore I pray you Mr. Harpsfield (ſaid I) let me have the bill again, for I will not ſtand to it. So he gently commanded it to be fetched, and gave it me, and ſuffered me to put out my name, whereof I was right glad when I had ſo done, although death ſhould follow. And hereby I had experience of God's providence and mercy towards me, who trieth his people, and ſuffereth them to fall, but not to be loſt: for in the midſt of this temptation and trouble, he gave me warning of my deed, and alſo delivered me, his name be praiſed for evermore, Amen.

Neither devil nor cruel tyrant can pluck any of Chriſt's ſheep out of his hand. Of which flock of Chriſt's ſheep I truſt undoubtedly I am one, by means of his death and blood-ſhedding, which ſhall at the laſt day ſtand at his right hand, and receive with others his bleſſed benediction. And now being condemned to die, my conſcience and mind I praiſe God is quiet in Chriſt, and I by his grace am very willing and content to give over this body to the death, for the teſtimony of his truth and pure religion, againſt Antichriſt and all his falſe religion and doctrine. They that report otherwiſe of me, ſpeak not truly. And as for Fountain I ſaw him not all this while.

By me Thomas Whittle, Miniſter.

Concerning the troubled mind of this good man, and tearing his name out of the bill, here followeth the report of the ſame, written in the letters both of the ſaid Mr. Harpsfield, and alſo of Johnſon the regiſter, being then preſent thereat, and reporters of the ſame unto the biſhop, as in their letters hereto annexed is to be ſeen.

Mr. Harpsfield's Letter to Bonner biſhop of London, concerning Mr. Whittle.

PLeaſeth your good lordſhip to underſtand, that yeſterday I dined with my lord of Exeter, who ſoon after my firſt coming to him, aſked me what news? I anwered, none but good that I had heard. No, ſaid he; why, it is a rumour in the city, that to-morrow the queen's grace will take her journey towards the king. I anſwered, that I thought it not to be any whit true, but an invention of heretics: Yea, and further, ſaid he, there is a report made abroad of my lord your maſter, that he is in diſcomfort, and therefore will ſuffer no man to come unto him. When I heard thus much, I began to laugh, and to declare how untrue this report was: ſo that my lord (who before was very ſad) afterward knowing the truth, rejoiced much to hear that all was well with your lordſhip, and deſired me to have his hearty commendations to your lordſhip.

One of my lord of Pembroke's retinue, a very handſome man, and as far as I can yet learn, a catholic, is a ſuter to your lordſhip to have licence to erect a ſchool: and the order which he intendeth to uſe, is contained in this printed paper which I ſend here incloſed to your lordſhip. I would be glad for my lord of Pembroke's ſake, that he underſtood, that upon my motion your lordſhip were content he ſhould teach as he intendeth. Mr. Johnſon and I have travailed with the prieſt, and he hath ſubſcribed his name to this draught which is here incloſed, and hath promited he will ſtand to the ſame before your lordſhip.

When I had written thus much, ſuddenly came tidings to me, that he was turned the other ſide of Jordan. Cluney coming to the prieſt, found him lying proſtrate, and groaning as though he ſhould have died forthwith. Then Cluney took him up, and ſet him up upon a ſtool, and came to me, and told me of this revel. It happened that Mr. Johnſon was with me, and he went to this fond heretic, and found him lying all along, holding his hands up, and looking hypocritically towards heaven. I cauſed Thomas More and Cluney to ſet him on the ſtool, and with much ado, at length he told me, that Satan had been with him in the night, and told him that he was damned; and weeping, he prayed Mr. Johnſon and me to ſee the bill whereunto he ſubſcribed; and when he ſaw it, he tore out his name, to wit, out of the book of the living. Me thinketh he will needs burn a faggot, neither is there any other likelihood of the young woman [J. Warne.] I have enquired of the two perſons who ſue to have a licence to eat fleſh. And the woman of Chriſt-church is indeed very much diſeaſed, and hath been long diſeaſed, and ſhe and her huſband both catholic. Of the other yet I can learn nothing. Thus Jeſus evermore preſerve your good lordſhip, and my miſtreſs, your lordſhip's ſiſter, with all yours. This preſent Sunday.

Your lordſhip's moſt bounden ſervant,
Nicholas Harpsfield.

Another Letter of Robert Johnſon, Regiſter, touching Thomas Whittle, written to Bonner Biſhop of London.

MY bounden duty premiſed, pleaſeth your lordſhip to underſtand, that this laſt Friday in the afternoon, Mr. Archdeacon of London did diligently travail with Sir Thomas Whittle, prieſt. I being preſent, and perceiving his conformity, as outwardly appeared, deviſed this ſubmiſſion, and he being content therewith did ſubſcribe the ſame. But now this Saturday morning Mr. Archdeacon and I, upon Cluney's report, declaring that he feigned himſelf to be deſtracted of his ſenſes, went unto him, to whom he declared, that Satan in the nighttime appeared unto him, and ſaid that he was damned, for that he had done againſt his conſcience in ſubſcribing to the ſaid ſubmiſſion, with other like-words. And then Mr. Archdeacon at his earneſt requeſt, delivered unto him the ſubmiſſion. And thereupon the ſaid Whittle did tear out his ſubſcription, made in the foot of the ſame, as your lordſhip ſhall perceive by the ſubmiſſion ſent now unto your lordſhip by Mr. Archdeacon; wherewith the ſaid Whittle was ſomewhat quieted.

And as touching Joan Laſhford, Mr. Archdeacon did likewiſe travail with her, and ſhewing her Sir Thomas Whittle's ſubmiſſion, which I read unto her twice, demanded if ſhe could not be content to make the like ſubmiſſion, and ſhe deſired reſpite until this morning. And being now immediately demanded, in like wiſe ſaith, that ſhe will not make any thing in writing, nor put any ſign thereunto. Mr. Archdeacon and I intended this afternoon to examine the ſaid Sir Thomas upon articles: for as yet there doth appear nothing in writing againſt him, as knoweth Almighty God, who preſerve your good lordſhip in proſperity with honour long to endure.

From London this Saturday.

By your lordſhip's daily beadſman, and bounden ſervant,
Robert Johnſon.

The Condemnation and Martyrdom of Mr. Thomas Whittle.

AT his laſt examination before the biſhop, upon the 14th day of January, 1556, biſhop Bonner with others ſitting in his conſiſtory in the afternoon, firſt called forth Thomas Whittle, with whom he began in effect as followeth: Becauſe ye be a prieſt (ſaith he) as I and other biſhops here be, and did receive the order of prieſthood after the rite and form of the catholic church, ye ſhall not think but I will adminiſter juſtice as well unto you

you as unto others. And then the ſaid Bonner, in further communication, did charge him, that where in times paſt he had ſaid maſs, according to the order then uſed, the ſame Whittle now of late had ſpoken and railed againſt the ſame, ſaying, that it was idolatry and abomination. Whereunto Thomas Whittle, anſwering again, ſaid, That at ſuch a time as he ſo ſaid maſs, he was then ignorant, &c. adding moreover, that the elevation of the ſacrament at the maſs, giveth occaſion of idolatry to them that be ignorant and unlearned.

After this the biſhop, making haſte to the articles (which in all his examinations he ever harped upon) came to this article, that thou waſt in times paſt baptized in the faith of the catholic church.

To this the ſaid Whittle inferred again, I was baptized in the faith of the catholic church, although I did forſake the church of Rome. And ye, my lord, do call theſe hereſies that be no hereſies, and do charge me therewith as hereſies, and ye ground yourſelf upon that religion which is not agreeable to God's word, &c.

Then the ſaid Thomas Whittle was again admoniſhed, and with perſuaſions intreated by the biſhop; who becauſe he would not agree unto the ſame, the biſhop forthwith proceeded firſt to his degradation. The order and manner of which their popiſh and moſt vain degradation may be ſeen before in the ſtory of biſhop Hooper. (p. 120)

Then Whittle, in the midſt of the ceremonies, when he ſaw them ſo buſy in degrading him, after their father the pope's pontifical faſhion, ſaid unto them, Paul and Titus had not ſo much to do with their prieſts and biſhops. And farther, ſpeaking to the biſhop, he ſaid unto him, My lord, your religion ſtandeth moſt with the church of Rome, and not with the catholic church of Chriſt.

The biſhop after this, according to his accuſtomed formal proceedings, tried him yet again with words rather than with ſubſtantial arguments, to conform him to his religion. Who then denying ſo to do, ſaid, As for your religion, I cannot be perſuaded that it is according to God's word.

The biſhop then aſked, what fault he found in the adminiſtration of the ſacrament of the altar.

Whittle anſwered and ſaid, It is not uſed according to Chriſt's inſtitution, in that it is privately and not openly done. And alſo becauſe it is adminiſtered but in one kind to the lay people, which is againſt Chriſt's ordinance. Farther, Chriſt commanded it not to be elevated nor adored; for the adoration and elevation cannot be approved by ſcripture.

Well, quoth Bonner, my lords here, and other learned men, have ſhewed great learning for thy converſion, wherefore, if thou wilt yet return to the faith and religion of the catholic church, I will receive thee thereunto, and not commit thee to the ſecular power, &c. To make ſhort, Whittle, ſtrengthened with the grace of the Lord, ſtood ſtrong and unmoveable in what he had affirmed. Wherefore the ſentence being read, the next day following he was committed to the ſecular power; and ſo in a few days after brought to the fire, with the other ſix above named, ſealing up the teſtimony of his doctrine with his blood, which he willingly and chearfully gave for the witneſs of the truth.

A Letter of Thomas Whittle to John Careleſs, Priſoner in the King's-Bench.

THE peace of God in Chriſt be with you continually, dearly beloved brother in Chriſt, with the aſſiſtance of God's grace and Holy Spirit, to the working and performing of thoſe things which may comfort and edify his church (as ye daily do) to the glory of his name, and the increaſe of your joy and ſolace of ſoul in this life, and alſo your reward in heaven with Chriſt our captain, whoſe faithful ſoldier ye are, in the life to come, Amen.

I have greatly rejoiced (my dear heart) with thanks to God for you, ſince I have heard of your faith and love which you bear towards God and his ſaints, with a moſt godly ardent zeal to the virtue of Chriſt's doctrine and religion, which I have heard by the report of many, but eſpecially by the declaring of that valiant captain in Chriſt's church, that ſtout champion in God's cauſe, that ſpectacle to the world, I mean our good brother Philpot, who lieth now under the altar, and ſweetly enjoyeth the promiſed reward. And eſpecially I, and my condemned fellows, give thanks to God for your loving and comfortable letter in the deepneſs of our trouble (after the fleſh) ſent unto us to the conſolation of us all, but eſpecially to me moſt ſinful miſer on mine own behalf, but happy, I hope, through God's loving kindneſs in Chriſt ſhewed unto me; who ſuffered me to faint and fail thro' human infirmity, by the working of the arch-enemy in his ſworn ſoldiers the biſhops and prieſts. In whom ſo lively appeareth the very viſage and ſhape of Satan, that a man (if it were not prejudice to God's word) might well affirm them to be devils incarnate, as I by experience do ſpeak. Wherefore, who ſo ſhall for conſcience matters come in their hands, had need of the wiſeneſs of the ſerpent to ſave his head, though it be with the wounding of his body, and to take diligent heed how he conſenteth to their wicked writings, or ſetteth his hand to their conveyances.

So did they aſſault me and craftily tempt me to their wicked ways, or at leaſt to a denial of my faith and true opinions, though it were but by colour and diſſimulation. And, alas, ſomething they did prevail. Not that I did any thing at all like their opinions and falſe papiſtical religion, or elſe doubted of the truth wherein I ſtand, but only the infirmity of the fleſh beguiled me, deſiring liberty by an unlawful means; God lay it not to my charge at that day, and ſo I heartily deſire you to pray. Howbeit, uncertain I am whether more profit came thereby: profit to me, in that God ſuffered Satan to buffet me by his aforeſaid miniſter of miſchief, ſhewing me mine infirmity that I ſhould not boaſt nor rejoice in myſelf, but only in the Lord, who when he had led me to hell in my conſcience through the reſpect of his fearful judgments againſt me for my fearfulneſs, miſtruſt, and crafty cloaking in ſuch ſpiritual and weighty matters, yet he brought me from thence again to the magnifying of his name, ſuſpecting of fleſh and blood, and conſolation of mine own ſoul, or elſe that I might feel diſprofit in offending the congregation of God, which peradventure will rather adjudge my fall to come of doubtfulneſs in doctrine and religion, than of human imbecility.

Well, of the importune burthen of a troubled conſcience for denying or diſſembling the known verity, I, by experience, could ſay very much more, which perhaps I may declare by writing, to the warning of others, if God grant time; for now am I and my fellows ready to go hence even for Chriſt's cauſe; God's name be praiſed who hath hereto called us. Pray, I pray you, that we may end our courſe with joy, and at your appointed time you ſhall come after. But as the Lord hath kept you, ſo will he preſerve your life ſtill, to the intent you ſhould labour (as you do) to appeaſe and convince theſe ungodly contentions and controverſies, which now do too much reign, brawling about terms to no edification. God is diſhonoured, the church diſquieted, and occaſion to ſpeak evil of the goſpel miniſtered to our adverſaries. But ſuch is the ſubtilty of Satan, that whom he cannot win with groſs idolatry, in open religion, them he ſeeketh to corrupt and deceive in opinions, in a private profeſſion. But here I will abruptly leave, leſt with my rude and ſimple vein I ſhall be tedious unto you, deſiring you (my loving brother) if it ſhall not ſeem grievous unto you, to write unto me and my fellows yet once again, if you have leiſure, and we time to the ſame.

Provide me Mr. Philpot's nine examinations for a friend of mine, and I ſhall pay you therefore, by the leave of Almighty

Almighty God our heavenly Father, who correcteth all his dear children in this world, that they ſhould not be damned with the world; and trieth the faith of his ſaints through many tribulations, that being found conſtant to the end, he may crown his own gifts in them, and in heaven highly reward them; whither I truſt I go before, looking for you to follow (my faithful friend) that we ſing perpetual praiſe to our loving Lord God for victory over Satan and ſin, won for us by Jeſus Chriſt, God and man, our only and ſufficient Saviour and advocate, Amen.

Farewel, and pray in faith.

Yours, Thomas Whittle, miniſter, and now condemned to die for the goſpel's ſake, Jan. 21. 1556.

All my fellows ſalute you. Salute all our faithful brethren with you.

To my dear Friend and Brother, John Went, and other his Fellow-Priſoners in Lollard's-Tower.

HE that preſerved Joſeph priſoner in Egypt, fed Daniel in the lion's den, and delivered Paul, Peter, and the apoſtles out of priſon, vouchſafe of his goodneſs to keep, feed, and deliver you my good brother Went, with the other our fellow-ſoldiers your priſon-fellows, as may be moſt to his glory, to your conſolation, and the edification of his church.

I cannot but praiſe God moſt earneſtly, when I hear of your conſtancy in the faith, and joy in the croſs of Chriſt, which you now bear and ſuffer together, with many other good members of Chriſt, which is a token that by Chriſt you are counted worthy of the kingdom of God, as St. Paul ſaith. And though the world counteth the yoke and croſs of Chriſt as a moſt pernicious and hurtful thing, yet we which have taſted how friendly the Lord is, cannot but rejoice in this perſecution as touching ourſelves; inaſmuch as the cauſe for which we ſuffer is the Lord's cauſe, and not ours, at whoſe hand, if we endure to the end, we ſhall receive, through his liberal promiſe in Chriſt, not only a great reward in heaven, but alſo the kingdom of heaven itſelf; and alſo in the mean ſeaſon be ſure to be defended and cared for, ſo that we ſhall lack no neceſſary things, neither a hair of our heads ſhall periſh without his knowledge. O what is he that would miſtruſt, or not gladly ſerve ſo loving a Father? O how unhappy are they that forſake him and put their truſt in man but how bleſſed are they that for his love and for his holy word's ſake, in theſe troubleſome days do commit their ſouls and bodies into his hands with well-doing, counting it greater happineſs and riches to ſuffer rebuke with Chriſt and his church, than to enjoy the pleaſures of this life for a little ſhort ſeaſon? This croſs that we now bear hath been common to all the faithful from Abel hitherto, and ſhall be to the end, becauſe the devil having great wrath againſt God and his Chriſt, cannot abide that he ſhould for his manifold mercies be lauded and magnified, and Chriſt to be taken and believed upon for our only ſufficient Redeemer, Saviour, and Advocate: and therefore becauſe we will not deny Chriſt, nor diſſemble with our faith, but openly proteſt and profeſs the ſame before the world, he ſeeketh by all means to ſtir up his wicked members to perſecute and kill the bodies of the true chriſtians; as St. John ſaith, "The devil ſhall caſt ſome of you into priſon." And David ſaith, "I believed, and therefore have I ſpoken, but I was ſore troubled." This notwithſtanding, go forward, dear brethren, as ye have begun, to fight the Lord's battle, conſidering Chriſt the captain of your war, who will both fight for you, give you victory, and alſo highly reward your pains. Conſider to your comfort the notable and chief ſhepherds and ſoldiers of Chriſt, which are gone before us in theſe days, I mean thoſe learned and godly biſhops, doctors and other miniſters of God's word; whoſe faith and examples we that be inferiors ought to follow; as St. Paul ſaith, Remember them that have declared unto you the word of God, the end of whoſe converſation ſee that ye look upon and follow their faith. The grace and bleſſing of God, with the miniſtry of his holy angels be with you for ever, Amen. All my priſon-fellows greet you. From the coal-houſe this 4th of December.

By your poor brother, Thomas Whittle, an unworthy miniſter of Chriſt, now his priſoner for the goſpel-ſake, Amen.

To all the true Profeſſors and Lovers of God's Holy Goſpel within the City of London.

THE ſame faith for which Abraham was counted righteous, and Mary bleſſed, the Lord God increaſe and make ſtable in your hearts, my dear and faithful brethren and ſiſters of London, for ever and ever, Amen.

Dearly beloved, be not troubled in this heat which is now come amongſt you to try you, as tho' ſome ſtrange thing had happened unto you, but rejoice, inaſmuch as ye are partakers of Chriſt's paſſions, that when his glory appeareth, ye may be merry and glad, &c. Out of theſe words of St. Peter I gather moſt eſpecially theſe four notes. Firſt, that perſecution happeneth to Chriſt's church for their trial, that is, for the probation and proof of their faith. Which faith, like as it is known with God in the depth of our hearts, ſo will he have it made manifeſt to the whole world through perſecution, that ſo it may evidently appear that he hath ſuch a church and people upon earth, which ſo truſteth in him and feareth his holy name, that no kind of perſecution, pains, nor death ſhall be able to ſeparate them from the love of him. And thus was Abraham tried, and Job tempted, that their faith, which before lay hid almoſt in their hearts, might be made known to the whole world to be ſo ſtedfaſt and ſtrong, that neither the devil, natural love, nor any other enemy, could be able to bereave them thereof. Whereby alſo God was to be magnified, who hath tried his people by many tribulations, and alſo ſtandeth by them in the midſt of their troubles, to deliver them by life or death as he ſeeth beſt: like as he aſſiſted Lot, and delivered him out of his enemies hands; Joſeph out of the hands of his brethren, and out of priſon; Paul from his enemies in Damaſcus, and the apoſtles out of the ſtocks and priſon.

Theſe with many more he delivered to life; and alſo he delivered Abel, Eleazar, Stephen, and John Baptiſt, with many others by death, and hath alſo by the trial of their faith made them good precedents, and examples to us and all that come after, to ſuffer affliction in the like cauſe: as St. James ſaith, Take, my brethren (ſaith he) the prophets for an enſample of ſuffering adverſity and of long patience, which ſpake unto you in the name of the Lord: behold we count them happy which endure. Ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have known what end the Lord made with him, for the Lord is very pitiful and merciful. Alſo the Lord trieth us, to let us ſee our own hearts and thoughts, that no hypocriſy or ambition deceive us, and that the ſtrong in Chriſt may pray that he fall not, but endure to the end; and that thoſe that fall through fearful infirmity, might ſpeedily repent and riſe again with Peter, and alſo that the weak ones might bewail their weakneſs, and cry with David, Pſal. 6. "Have mercy upon me, O Lord, for I am weak; O Lord heal me, for all my bones are vexed.

Of this opening of the heart by perſecution ſpake holy Simeon to Mary Chriſt's mother, when he ſaid, The ſword, that is, the croſs of perſecution, ſhall pierce thy ſoul, that the thoughts of many hearts may be opened. For like as a king that ſhould go to battle, is compelled to look in his coffers what treaſures he hath, and alſo what number and puiſſance of men and weapons he hath, ſo that if he himſelf be unready and unarmed to bicker with his enemy, he ceaſeth, and taketh truce for a time: even ſo we by perſecutions have our hearts opened, that we may look therein to ſee what faith in Chriſt we have, and what ſtrength to withſtand the enemies, and to bear the croſs

that if we be rich in theſe treaſures, we might rejoice, and valiantly go to battle; or if we want thoſe things, we might with all ſpeed call and cry upon him who giveth all good gifts to thoſe that aſk them. Item, The croſs trieth the good people from the bad, the faithful from the worldlings and hypocrites, and alſo cleanſeth and ſcoureth the faithful hearts from all corruption and filthineſs both of the fleſh and the ſpirit. And even as iron, except it be often ſcoured, will ſoon wax ruſty: ſo except our ſinful hearts and fleſh be often ſcoured with the whetſtone of the croſs, they will ſoon corrupt and overgrow with the ruſt of filthineſs and ſin. And therefore it is meet and good for us (as the wiſe man ſaith, Syrach 2.) that as gold and ſilver is tried in the fire, ſo ſhould the hearts of acceptable men be tried in the furnace of adverſity. Abide the trial (dear friends) that ye may obtain the crown of life. Fight manfully in this the Lord's cauſe, that ye may obtain a glorious victory here, and receive a great reward in heaven hereafter.

As ye are called chriſtians, and would be angry to be called Jews or Turks, ſo declare your chriſtianity by following the ſteps of Chriſt, whoſe name ye bear; ſuffer with him, and for his goſpel's ſake, rather than to deny him, or to defile your faith and conſcience with falſe worſhipping of Romiſh religion.

Take up your croſs (my dear hearts), now when it is offered you, and go up with Chriſt to Jeruſalem amongſt the biſhops, prieſts, and rulers, if God call you thereto, and they will anon ſend you to Calvary: from whence (dying in the cauſe of the goſpel, wherein our good preachers and brethren have given their lives), your ſouls (I warrant you) through Chriſt Jeſus ſhall aſcend to God that gave them, and that body ſhall come after at the laſt day, and ſo ſhall ye dwell with the Lord for ever in unſpeakable joy and bliſs. O bleſſed are they that ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſs ſake, as Chriſt's people in this Jewiſh England now doth; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. O my beloved, ſet your minds on this kingdom where Chriſt our head and king is; conſidering that as the brute beaſt looketh downwards with the face towards the earth; ſo man is made contrariwiſe with his face looking upwards towards the heavens, becauſe his converſation ſhould be in heaven and heavenly things, and not upon the earth and earthly things, as St. Paul ſaith, Col. 3. Set your mind on things that are above, where Chriſt is. And again he ſaith, Phil. 3. Our converſation is in heaven, from whence we look for our Saviour, who will change our vile bodies, and make them like to his glorious body. O the glorious eſtate that we be called unto! The Lord preſerve us harmleſs unto his eternal kingdom through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

The ſecond thing that I note in the aforeſaid words of Peter, is, that he calleth perſecution no ſtrange thing. And truth it is: for which of the prophets were not perſecuted, with Chriſt and his apoſtles, and ſome of them in the end cruelly killed for the truth's ſake? Cain killed Abel, Iſaac was perſecuted of Iſhmael, Jacob was hated of Eſau, Joſeph was impriſoned and ſet in the ſtocks, the prophet Iſaiah was cut in two with a ſaw, Jeremiah was ſtoned, Micaiah was buffeted and fed with bread and water, Elias was ſore perſecuted, Eleazar, and the woman with her ſeven ſons were cruelly killed. What Chriſt and the apoſtles ſuffered is well known. So that by many tribulations (as Paul ſaith, Acts 14.) we muſt enter into the kingdom of heaven. All the holy prophets, Chriſt and his apoſtles ſuffered ſuch afflictions, not for evil doing, but for preaching God's word, for rebuking of the world of ſin, and for their faith in Jeſus Chriſt.

This is the ordinance of God (my friends), this is the high way to heaven, by corporal death to eternal life; as Chriſt ſaith, John 5. He that heareth my words, and believeth in him that ſent me, hath eternal life, and ſhall not come into judgment, but is eſcaped from death to life. Let us never fear death which is killed by Chriſt, but believe in him, and live for ever, as St. Paul ſaith, Rom. 8. There is no damnation to them that are in Chriſt Jeſus, which walk not after the fleſh, but after the ſpirit. And again, Paul ſaith, 1 Cor. 15. Death, where is thy ſting? Hell, where is thy victory? Thanks be to God, which hath given us the victory through Jeſus Chriſt.

Beſides this, ye have ſeen, and daily do ſee, the blood of your good preachers and brethern, which hath been ſhed in the goſpel's cauſe in this ſinful Sodom, this bloody Jeruſalem, this unhappy city of London. Let not their blood be forgotten, nor the blood of your good biſhop Ridley, who like a ſhepherd, to your comfort and example, hath given his life for his ſheep. Good St. Paul ſaith, Heb. 13. Remember them that have ſpoken to you the word of God, and look upon the end of their converſation, and follow their faith.

The devil ever ſtirreth up falſe teachers, as he hath done now over all England, as Peter, Paul, and Jude propheſied it ſhould be, to poiſon and kill our ſouls with their falſe doctrine. And where he faileth of his purpoſe that way, then moveth he his members to perſecute the ſilly carcaſſes of the ſaints, becauſe they will not deny nor diſſemble their pure faith in our living Chriſt, and confeſs a dead bready Chriſt, and honour the ſame as CHRIST God and man, contrary to God's commandment, Exodus 20.

This is the working of Satan, who knowing his own juſt damnation, would all mankind to be partakers with him of the ſame; ſuch a mortal hatred beareth he againſt God and his people. And therefore when this wicked tempter could not kill Chriſt, with ſubtil temptation to fall down and worſhip him, then he ſtirred up his ſervants the biſhops and phariſees to kill his body, whereby notwithſtanding the devil loſt his title and intereſt which he had to man's ſoul, and man by his precious paſſion and death was ranſomed from the devil, death and hell, to immortality and life everlaſting: and ſo when Satan thought to have won all in killing of Chriſt, he loſt all: and ſo ſhall he do in us if we abide conſtant and ſtrong in the faith of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt unto the end. God grant it for his mercy's ſake in Chriſt. Bleſſed are all they that put their truſt in him, Amen.

Wherefore (my hearty beloved brethren and ſiſters), be of good comfort through Jeſus Chriſt, for he that is in us is ſtronger than he that is in the world. Therefore draw ye near to God, and he will draw near to you. Reſiſt the devil, and he will (as St. James ſaith) flee from you. Beware of the leaven of the phariſees. Touch not pitch leſt you be defiled therewith. Eat no ſwines fleſh, for it is againſt the law; I mean, defile not yourſelves either inwardly or outwardly with this falſe and wicked religion of Antichriſt: for it is nothing elſe but pitch and ſwines fleſh. Beware of the beaſt's mark, leſt ye drink of the cup of God's wrath. If God hath given you knowledge and faith, diſſemble not therewith. Deny not the known verity before men, leſt Chriſt deny you before his Father. Come away from Babylon, as St. John biddeth you, Rev. 18. and touch no unclean thing, but ſeparate yourſelves from the company of the ungodly, as St. Paul commandeth you. Whatſoever you have done amiſs heretofore, now repent ye and amend: for with the Lord there is mercy and plenteous redemption.

The third thing and note which I gather out of the aforeſaid words of Peter, is this, that he ſaith, Rejoice becauſe ye are partakers of Chriſt's paſſion. Our ſufferings (my well beloved) are Chriſt's ſufferings, and that injury that is done to us for his ſake, he reckoneth it to be done to himſelf, as he ſaid to St. Paul, Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me? Therefore we ought to rejoice in our ſufferings, as St. Paul writeth, which we

ſuffer

ſuffer with Chriſt, and one with another, as St. Peter ſaith, and ſo to fulfil that which is behind of the paſſions of Chriſt in our fleſh; which Chriſt hath, by his paſſion, fully redeemed and ſaved us in his own perſon: howbeit, his elect muſt ſuffer with him and for him unto the world's end, that he may be glorified in them, and they thereby corrected and cleanſed from ſin in this world, and be made more meet temples for the Holy Ghoſt, and alſo obtain a great reward in heaven for their ſuffering for righteouſneſs ſake, according to his promiſe. And therefore I ſay (my brethren) rejoice in the Lord always, and again I ſay rejoice. Let us rejoice in the croſs of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whereby the world is crucified to us, and we to the world.

And why ſhould we ſo greatly rejoice in the croſs of Chriſt, which we do now ſuffer? Becauſe (ſaith St. Peter) when his glory appeareth, we may be merry and glad. And this is the fourth note that I gather out of his words above written. Wherein is ſet out the reward of ſuffering, not to be had in this world; but at his coming to judgment when we ſhall be raiſed again: and then ſhall they that have ſown in tears reap in joy, as Chriſt ſaith, Bleſſed are they that weep here, for they ſhall laugh. Bleſſed are ye when men hate you, and thruſt you out of their company, railing on you, and abhorring your name as an evil thing for the Son of man's ſake: rejoice in that day and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven.

Wherefore (my dearly beloved) through the hope of this heavenly joy and reward, which he that cannot lie hath promiſed (which joy is ſo great that no ear hath heard, no eye hath ſeen, nor the heart can think, where we ſhall dwell for ever in the heavenly city, the celeſtial Jeruſalem, in the preſence of God the Father, and Jeſus Chriſt our Mediator, as Paul ſaith, and in the company of innumerable angels, and with the ſpirits and ſouls of all faithful and juſt men), rejoice and be glad: and ſeeing ye be called to ſo great glory, ſee that you make your election and vocation ſure by good works, and eſpecially by ſuffering adverſity for the goſpel's ſake: for it is given us of God, ſaith St. Paul, not only to believe in Chriſt, but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake. Continue in prayer, and pray for me, that I may end my courſe with joy. Have brotherly love amongſt yourſelves, which is a token that ye be Chriſt's diſciples. Edify and comfort one another in the word of the Lord, and the God of peace and love be with you always, Amen.

For your liberality and kindneſs ſhewed upon the priſoners and afflicted people of God in the time of perſecution, the Lord will reward you when he cometh to reward every man according to their deeds, and will not leave a cup of cold water beſtowed upon his faithful people unrewarded. God make you rich in all grace, that ye always having ſufficient, may be rich unto all manner of good works.

The grace of our Lord Jeſus-Chriſt, the love of God, and the fellowſhip of the Holy Ghoſt, be with you always, Amen.

Your brother now in bonds for the goſpel,
Thomas Whittle.

To my loving and faithful Brother J. Careleſs, Priſoner in the King's-Bench.

THE ſame faith for which Abraham was accounted juſt, and Mary bleſſed, whereby alſo all juſt men live, the Lord God our loving Father increaſe and eſtabliſh in you and me, to the obtaining of eternal life in our alone and ſweet Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, Amen.

I cannot worthily and ſufficiently praiſe God (my heartily beloved brother), for the conſolation and joy that I have received, by reaſon of your loving letters, repenting me much that I being ſo long ſo near you, did not enterprize to ſtir up familiarity and communication between us by writing, to mutual conſolation in Chriſt. For what is there upon earth wherein to rejoice (where all things are tranſitory and vain, yea, man himſelf reſpecting this life), but (as David ſaith, Pſalm 16.) The ſaints that dwell upon the earth, and ſuch as excel in virtue? But here now I conſider, that if the fellowſhip, love, and joy of faithful men and children of God being as we now be, in double bondage, the body within clay walls, and the ſoul within theſe frail earthly bodies, be ſo great and comfortable; how unſpeakable will theſe joys be, when we ſhall be delivered from all corruption into the glorious liberty of the ſons of God? where we ſhall be preſent together continually in our glorified bodies beholding the face of our Father preſently (whom now we ſee but in the glaſs of faith), with his dear Son Chriſt our Redeemer and brother, and the bleſſed company of angels, and all faithful ſaved ſouls.

Oh the incomparable good things, and heavenly treaſures laid up for us in heaven by Jeſus Chriſt! for the obtaining whereof, we ought to ſet light by all temporal grief and tranſitory afflictions, ſo much the more, in that our good God is faithful, and will not ſuffer us to be tempted above our ſtrength, and that namely in the end of our life, when the tree where it falleth lieth ſtill, as the preacher ſaith, Eccleſ. 11. for elſe before the end he ſuffereth his ſometimes to fall, but not finally to periſh: as Peter ſinketh upon the ſea, but yet was not drowned; and ſinned grievouſly upon the land through infirmity denying his maſter, but yet found mercy: for the righteous falleth oftentimes. And Chriſt's holy apoſtles are taught to ſay, Forgive us our treſpaſſes. Yea, though the righteous fall, ſaith David, he ſhall not be caſt away, for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand. O the bottomleſs mercy of God towards us miſerable ſinners! He vouchſafe to plant in my heart true repentance and faith, to the obtaining of the remiſſion of all my ſins in the mercies of God, and merits of Chriſt his Son, and thereto I pray you ſay, Amen.

O my dearly beloved, it grieveth me to ſee the ſpoil and havock that Saul maketh with the congregation of Chriſt: but what remedy? This is God's will and ordinance, that his people ſhall here both be puniſhed in the fleſh, and tried in their faith: as it is written, "Many are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of all;" for by a ſtrait path and narrow door muſt we enter. Whither? Into the joyful kingdom of heaven. Therefore bleſſed are you and others that ſuffer perſecution for Chriſt's ſake, for the profeſſion of the ſame. Pray for me and my fellows, good brother, that we may fight a good fight, that we may keep the faith, and end our courſe with joyful gladneſs, for now the time of our deliverance is at hand. The Lord guide, defend, and keep us and you, and all his people in our journey, that we may ſafely through a ſhort death, paſs to that long laſting life.

Farewel my dear and loving brother and fellow-ſoldier in Chriſt; farewel, I ſay, in him: who receive our ſouls in peace when they ſhall depart from theſe tabernacles, and he grant us a joyful reſurrection, and a merry meeting at the laſt day, and continual dwelling together in his eternal heavenly kingdom, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

Yours with my poor prayer; other pleaſure can I do you none,
Thomas Whittle, Miniſter.

To my dear Brethren Mr. Filles and Cutbert.

MY dear and well beloved brethren in Chriſt, Mr. Filles and Cutbert, I wiſh you all welfare of ſoul and body. Welfare to the ſoul is repentance of ſin, faithful affiance in Chriſt Jeſus, and a godly life. Welfare to the body is the health of the ſame, with all neceſſary things for this life. The ſoul of man is immortal,

tal, and therefore ought to be well kept, leſt immortality to joy ſhould turn to immortality of ſorrow. As for the body, be it never ſo well kept and much made of, yet ſhortly by nature will it periſh and decay: But thoſe that are ingrafted and incorporated into Chriſt by true faith, feeling the motion of God's Holy Spirit as a pledge of their election and inheritance, exciting and ſtirring them not only to ſeek heavenly things, but alſo to hate vice, and embrace virtue, will not only do theſe things, but alſo if need require, will gladly take up their croſs and follow their captain, their king and their Saviour Jeſus Chriſt (as his poor afflicted church of England now doth) againſt that falſe and antichriſtian doctrine and religion now uſed, and eſpecially that blaſphemous maſs, wherein Chriſt's ſupper and holy ordinance is altogether perverted and abuſed, contrary to his inſtitution and to Paul's proceedings: ſo that that which they have in their maſs, is neither ſacrament of Chriſt, nor yet ſacrifice for ſin, as the prieſts falſly pretend. It is a ſacrament, that is, as St. Auguſtine ſaith, a viſible ſign of inviſible grace, when it is adminiſtered to the communicants according to Chriſt's example, and as it was of late years in this realm. And as for ſacrifice, there is none to be made now for ſin: "For Chriſt with one ſacrifice hath perfected for ever thoſe that are ſanctified."

Beware of falſe religion, and men's vain traditions, and ſerve God with reverence and godly fear, according to the doctrine of his goſpel, whereto cleave ye that ye may be bleſſed though of wicked men ye are hated and accurſed. Rather drink of the cup of Chriſt with his church, than of the cup of that roſe-coloured whore of Babylon, which is full of abominations. Rather ſtrive ye to go to heaven by the path which is ſtrait to fleſh and blood, with the little flock, than to go in the wide way, following the enticements of the world and the fleſh, which leadeth to damnation.

Like as Chriſt ſuffered in the fleſh, ſaith St. Peter, ſo arm ye yourſelves with the ſame mind: for Chriſt ſuffered for us, leaving us example to follow his footſteps. Bleſſed are they that ſuffer for his ſake, great is their reward in heaven. He that overcometh (ſaith St. John, Rev. 2. 3.) ſhall eat of the tree of life; he ſhall have a crown of life, and not be hurt of the ſecond death: he ſhall be cloathed with white array, and not be put out of the book of life; yea, I will confeſs his name, ſaith Chriſt, before my Father and before his angels, and he ſhall be a pillar in the houſe of God, and ſit with me on my ſeat. And thus I bid you farewel mine own brethren and dear fellows in Chriſt; whoſe grace and peace be always with you, Amen.

This world I do forſake.
To Chriſt I me take,
And for his goſpel's ſake,
Patiently death I take.
My body to the duſt,
Now to return it muſt:
My ſoul I know full well.
With my God it ſhall dwell.

Thomas Whittle.

Another Letter of Mr. Thomas Whittle to a godly Woman.

O My dear and loving ſiſter in Chriſt, be not diſmayed in this ſtorm of perſecution: for Paul calleth the goſpel the word of the croſs, becauſe it is never truly taught, but the croſs and cruel perſecution immediately and neceſſarily doth follow the ſame, and therefore it is a manifeſt token of God's truth, and hath been here and is ſtill abroad, and that is the cauſe of the rage and cruelty of Satan againſt Chriſt and his members, which muſt be corrected for their ſins in this world; their faith muſt be tried, that after trial and patient ſuffering the faithful may receive the crown of glory, Fear not therefore, my well-beloved, but proceed in the knowledge and fear of God, and he will keep you from all evil. Call upon his holy name, and he will ſtrengthen you and aſſiſt you in all your ways; and if it pleaſe him to lay his croſs upon you for his goſpel ſake, refuſe it not, neither ſhake it off by unlawful means, leſt you ſhould (as God forbid) find a more grievous croſs and torment of conſcience, if you ſhould diſſemble and deny the known verity, than is any perſecution or death of body. O how happy are they that ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſs ſake? their reward is great in heaven. The momentary afflictions of this life are not worthy of the glory that ſhall be ſhewed upon us. O remember the godly women of the Old Teſtament and New, who lived in God's ſervice and fear, and therefore are now in bliſs and commended for ever: and namely, Judith, Eſther, Abigail, the mother of the ſeven ſons Mary, Elizabeth, Suſanna, Lidia, Phebe, and others. Set their examples before your eyes and fear nothing, for Satan is conquered by our Saviour Chriſt: ſin is put to flight, and the gate of immortality and eternal life is ſet wide open; God grant we may enter therein through the door Jeſus Chriſt, Amen.

Thomas Whittle.

The Hiſtory of Mr. Bartlet Green.

AFTER the martyrdom of Mr. Whittle, next followeth in order to ſpeak of Bartlet Green, who the next day after the aforeſaid Whittle, was likewiſe condemned. Mr. Green was of a good houſe, and had ſuch parents, as both favoured learning, and were alſo willing to bring up this their child in the ſame. Who after ſome entrance in other inferior ſchools, was by them ſent unto the univerſity of Oxford: where through exerciſe and diligent ſtudy he ſo profited, that within ſhort time he attained, as well to the knowledge of ſundry profane ſciences, as alſo now in his laſt years unto the godly underſtanding of divinity. Whereunto through ignorance (in which he was trained up from his youth) he was at the firſt an utter enemy, until ſuch time as God of his mercy had opened his eyes, by his often repairing unto the common lectures of Peter Martyr, reader of the divinity-lecture in the ſame univerſity, ſo that thereby (as by God's inſtrument) he ſaw the true light of Chriſt's goſpel.

Whereof when he had once taſted, it became unto him as the fountain of living water that our Saviour Chriſt ſpake of to the woman of Samaria, ſo as he never thirſted any more, but had a well ſpringing unto everlaſting life. Inſomuch as when he was called by his friends from the univerſity, and was placed in the Temple at London, there to attain to the knowledge of the common laws of the realm, he yet continued ſtill in his former ſtudy and earneſt profeſſion of the goſpel, wherein alſo he greatly profited. Howbeit (ſuch is the frailty of our corrupt nature, without the ſpecial aſſiſtance of God's Holy Spirit) through the continual accompanying, and fellowſhip of ſuch worldly (I will not ſay too much youthful) young gentlemen, as are commonly in that and the like houſes, he became by little and little a compartner of their fond follies and youthful vanities, as well in his apparel as alſo in banquettings, and other ſuperfluous exceſſes: which he afterward (being again called by God's merciful correction, did ſore lament and bewail, as appeareth by his own teſtimony, notified and left in a book belonging to Mr. Bartram Calthrop, one of his friends, written with his own hand a little before his death, in manner as followeth:

"Two things have very much troubled me whilſt I was in the Temple, pride and gluttony; which under the colour of glory and good fellowſhip, drew me almoſt from God. Againſt both there is one remedy, by earneſt prayer, and without ceaſing. And foraſmuch as

as vain-glory is ſo ſubtle an adverſary, that almoſt it woundeth deadly, ere ever a man can perceive himſelf to be ſmitten, therefore we ought ſo much the rather by continual prayer, to labour for humbleneſs of mind. Truly gluttony beginneth under a charitable pretence of mutual love and ſociety, and hath in it moſt uncharitableneſs. When we ſeek to refreſh our bodies, that they may be the more apt to ſerve God, and perform our duties towards our neighbours, then ſtealeth it in as a privy thief, and murdereth both body and ſoul, that now it is not apt to pray, or ſerve God, apt to ſtudy, or labour for our neighbour. Let us therefore watch and be ſober: for our adverſary the devil walketh about like a roaring lion, ſeeking whom he may devour. And remember what Solomon ſaith, A patient man is better than a ſtrong warrior, and he that conquereth his own ſtomach is better than he that conquereth towns and cities.

Bartlet Green."

"Agreement of minds joining in unity of faith, and growing up in charity, is true and ſtedfaſt amity. Farewel (my Bartram) and remember me, that ever we may be like together. Farewel. At Newgate, January. 20. 1556.

Set ſober love againſt haſty wrath.

Bartlet Green."

Thus we ſee the fatherly kindneſs of our moſt gracious and merciful God, who never ſuffereth his elect children ſo to fall, that they lie ſtill in ſecurity of ſin, but oftentimes quickeneth them up by ſome ſuch means, as perhaps they think leaſt of, as he did here this his ſtrayed ſheep. And now therefore to return to our hiſtory: For the better maintenance of himſelf in theſe his ſtudies, and other his affairs, he had a large exhibition of his grandfather, Mr. Doctor Bartlet, who during the time of Green's impriſonment made unto him large offers of great livings if he would recant, and (forſaking the truth and the goſpel of Chriſt) come home again to the church and ſynagogue of Rome. But thoſe his perſuaſions (the Lord be therefore praiſed) took ſmall effect in his faithful heart, as the ſequel did declare. He was a man beloved of all men (except the papiſts, who love none that love the truth) and ſo he well deſerved: for he was of a meek, humble diſcreet, and moſt gentle behaviour to all. Injurious he was to none, beneficial to many, eſpecially to thoſe who were of the houſhold of faith, as appeareth, amongſt others, by his friendly dealing with Mr. Chriſtopher Goodman, being at that preſent a poor exile beyond the ſeas. With whom this Bartlet Green (as well for his toward learning, as alſo for his ſober and godly behaviour) had often ſociety in Oxford, in the days of good king Edward: who now, notwithſtanding his friend's miſery and baniſhment, he did not lightly forget; and that turned, as it happened (not without the providence of Almighty God) to the great grief of both; the one of heart, for the loſs of his friend, and the other of body, in ſuffering the cruel and murdering rage of papiſts.

The cauſe hereof was a letter which Green wrote unto the ſaid Goodman, containing as well the report of certain demands or queſtions, which were caſt abroad in London (as appeareth hereafter in a letter of his own penning, which he intended to have ſent to Mr. Philpot, wherein he fully declareth his uſage before the biſhop of London, and others) as alſo an anſwer to a queſtion made by the ſaid Chriſtopher Goodman, in a letter written unto him, in which he required to have the certainty of the report which was ſpread amongſt them on the other ſide of the ſeas, that the queen was dead. Whereunto Mr. Green ſimply anſwered, and as the truth then was, that ſhe was not dead.

Theſe letters, with many others, written to divers of the godly exiles, by their friends here in England, being delivered to a meſſenger to carry over, came by the apprehenſion of the ſaid bearer, unto the hands of the king and queen's council. Who at their convenient leiſure (which in thoſe days by ſome of them was quickly found out for ſuch matters) peruſed the whole number of the ſaid letters, and amongſt them eſpied this letter of Mr. Green's, written to his friend Chriſtopher Goodman; in the contents whereof (amongſt other news and private matters) they found theſe words, The queen is not yet dead. Which words were only written as an anſwer, to certify Mr. Goodman of the truth of his former demand. Howbeit (to ſome of the council) they ſeemed very heinous words, yea treaſon they would have made them, if the law would have ſuffered. Which when they could not do (and being yet very loth to let any ſuch depart freely, whom they ſuſpected to be favourers of the goſpel) they then examined him upon his faith in religion, but upon what points it is not certainly known.

Nevertheleſs (as it ſeemeth) his anſwers were ſuch, as little pleaſed them (eſpecially the anointed ſort) and therefore after they had detained him in priſon, as well in the Tower of London as elſewhere, they ſent him at laſt to Bonner biſhop of London, to be ordered according to his eccleſiaſtical law; as appeareth by their letters ſent to the biſhop, with the ſaid priſoner alſo: wherein it may appear that Sir John Bourne (then ſecretary to the queen) was a chief ſtirrer in ſuch caſes, yea, and an enticer of others of the council; who otherwiſe (if for fear they durſt) would have been content to have let ſuch matters alone. The Lord forgive them their weakneſs, if it be his good pleaſure, and give them true repentance, Amen.

A Letter ſent to Bonner Biſhop of London, by the Queen's Council, dated the 11th Day of November, 1555. but not to be delivered until the 15th Day of the ſame Month.

AFTER our hearty commendations to your good lordſhip, we ſend to the ſame herewith the body of Bartlet Green, who hath of good time remained in the Tower for his obſtinate ſtanding in matters againſt the catholic religion, whom the king and queen's majeſties pleaſures are (becauſe he is of your lordſhip's dioceſe) ye ſhall cauſe to be ordered according to the laws in ſuch caſes provided. And thus we bid your lordſhip heartily farewel. From St. James's the 11th of November, 1555.

Your lordſhip's loving friends.

Wincheſter,	William Haward,
Pembroke,	John Bourne,
Tho. Ely,	Thomas Wharton.

Poſtſcript. I, Sir John Bourne, will wait upon your lordſhip, and ſignify further the king and queen's majeſties pleaſure herein.

That ye may the better underſtand the certainty of the ill uſage he met with in Bonner's cuſtody, I have thought it good to put forth his own letter, containing at large the diſcourſe of the ſame. Which letter he wrote, intending to have ſent it to Mr. Philpot, but, either by Mr. Philpot's death, or (more probably) by the watchfulneſs of his keeper, he was prevented: for it came (by what means I know not) to the biſhop's hands, and being delivered to his regiſter, was found in one of his books of record. The copy whereof here followeth.

A Letter of Bartlet Green, written to John Philpot, containing, beſides other particular Matters betwixt him and Mr. Philpot, a brief rehearſal of his Conferences with Biſhop Bonner and others, at his firſt coming before them.

THAT which was wanting in talk (through my default) at your being here, I have ſupplied by writing in your abſence, now at length getting ſome opportunity and leiſure. The 17th day of November, being brought hither by two of the clock in the afternoon, I was preſented before my lord of London, and other two biſhops, Mr. Deane, Mr. Roper, Mr. Welch, Dr. Harpſfield archdeacon of London, and two or three others, all ſitting at one table. There were alſo preſent Dr. Dale, Mr. George Mordant, Mr. Dee. Then after the biſhop of London had read unto himſelf the letter that came from the council, he ſpake with more words, but (as I remember) to this effect; that the cauſe of their aſſembly was, to hear mine examination, whereunto he had authority by the council, and had provided Mr. Welch, and another, whoſe name I know not (but well I remember, though he obtained it not, yet deſired he, my lord, that I might hear the council's letters) to be there if any matters of the common law ſhould ariſe, to diſcuſs them, he intreated my lord to determine all controverſies of ſcriptures: and as for the civil law, he and Dr. Dale ſhould take on them.

Wherefore he demanded of me the cauſe of mine impriſonment: I ſaid, that the occaſion of my apprehenſion was a letter which I wrote to one Chriſtopher Goodman, wherein (certifying him of ſuch news as happened here) among the reſt, I wrote that there were certain printed papers of queſtions ſcattered abroad. Whereupon, being ſuſpected to be privy to the deviſing or publiſhing of the ſame, I was committed to the Fleet: but after the commiſſioners had received my ſubmiſſion I heard nothing thereof. The ſum whereof was, that as I was ſure there neither could be true witneſſes, nor probable conjecture againſt me in that behalf; ſo refuſed I no puniſhment, if they of their conſciences would judge me privy to the deviſing, printing, or publiſhing of thoſe queſtions. But my lord affirming that there was another cauſe of mine impriſonment, demanded if I had not after, ſince I was committed to the Fleet, ſpoken or written ſomewhat againſt the natural preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar.

Then I deſired his lordſhip to be good unto me, truſting that he would not put me to anſwer to new matters, except I were firſt diſcharged of the old. And when I ſtood long in that, Mr. Welch anſwered, that it was procured that I ſhould ſo do, right well. For albeit I were impriſoned for treaſon, if during the time of my confinement I had maintained hereſy, that were no ſufficient allegation againſt the ordinary; neither whether I were before him acquitted or condemned, ſhould it take away the former fault. Then my lord affirming that I was not brought before him but for hereſy, and the other gentleman ſaying, that doubtleſs I was diſcharged of my former matter; my deſire was, that I might be charged according to the order of the law, to hear my accuſers.

Then Dr. Chedſey was ſent for, who reported, that in the preſence of Mr. Moſley, and the lieutenant of the Tower, I ſpake againſt the real preſence and the ſacrifice of the maſs, and that I affirmed that their church was the church of Antichriſt.

Is not this true, ſaid my lord? I ſaid, Yea. Will you continue therein, ſaid he? Yea, ſaid I. Wilt thou then maintain it by learning, ſaid he? Therein, quoth I, I ſhould ſhew myſelf to have little wit, knowing mine own youth and ignorance, if I would take on me to maintain any controverſy againſt ſo many grave and learned men. But my conſcience was ſatisfied in the truth, which was ſufficient to my ſalvation.

Conſcience, ſaid Mr. Roper; ſo ſhall every Jew and Turk be ſaved.

We had hereafter much talk to no purpoſe, and eſpecially on my part, who felt in myſelf, through cold and open air, much dullneſs of wit and memory. At length I was aſked what conſcience was: And I ſaid, the certifying of the truth.

With that Mr. Welch roſe up, deſiring leave to talk with me alone. So he taking me aſide into another chamber, ſaid that he was ſorry for my trouble, and would gladly ſee me at liberty: he marvelled that I being a young man, would ſtand againſt all the learned men of the realm, yea and contrary to the whole determination of the catholic church from Chriſt's time, in a matter wherein I could have no great learning; I muſt not think mine own wit better than all mens, but ſhould believe them that were learned. I promiſe you (quoth he) I have read all Peter Martyr's book, and Cranmer's, and all the reſt of them, and have conferred them with the contrary, as the biſhop of Wincheſter, &c. and could not perceive but that there was one continual truth, which from the beginning had been maintained; and thoſe that at any time ſevered from this unity, were anſwered and anſwered again. This was the ſum of his tale, which lacked neither wit nor eloquence.

Mr. Green. Then ſpake I: Foraſmuch as it pleaſeth your maſterſhip to uſe me ſo familiarly (for ſo he behaved himſelf towards me, as though I had been his equal), I ſhall open my mind freely unto you, deſiring you to take it in good part. I conſider my youth, lack of wit and learning, which would God it were but a little under the opinion that ſome men have of me. But God is not bound to time, wit or knowledge, but rather chooſeth the weak of the world that they may confound the ſtrong; neither can men appoint bounds to God's mercy: For, I will have compaſſion, ſaith he, on whom I will ſhew mercy. There is no reſpect of perſons with God, whether it be old or young, rich or poor, wiſe or fooliſh, fiſher or baſket-maker. God giveth knowledge of his truth, through his free grace, to whom he liſt, James 1. Neither do I think myſelf only to have the truth, but ſtedfaſtly believe that Chriſt hath his ſpouſe, the catholic and univerſal church, diſperſed in many realms where it pleaſeth him, the Spirit bloweth where it liſteth: no more is he addicted to any one place, than to the perſon and quality of one man. Of this church I nothing doubt myſelf to be a member, truſting to be ſaved by the faith that is taught in the ſame. But how this church is known, is in a manner the end of all controverſy. And the true marks of Chriſt's church is the true preaching of his word, and adminiſtering of his ſacraments. Theſe marks were ſealed by the apoſtles, and confirmed by the ancient fathers, till at length they were, through the wickedneſs of men and the devil, ſore worn, and almoſt utterly taken away. But God be praiſed that he hath renewed the print, that his truth may be known in many places. For myſelf, I call God to witneſs, I have none hope in mine own wit and learning, which is very ſmall: but I am perſuaded thereto by him, as by an inſtrument [he meaneth Peter Martyr] that is excellent in all good learning and living. And God is my record, that chiefly I ſought it of him by continual prayer with tears.

Furthermore, what I have done herein, it is not needful for me to ſpeak: but one thing, I ſay, I wiſh of God with all my heart, that all men which are of contrary judgment, would ſeek the truth in like manner. Now I am brought hither before a great many biſhops and learned men, to be made a fool and a laughing ſtock, but I weigh it not a ruſh; for God knoweth that my whole ſtudy is to pleaſe him. Beſides that, I care not for man's pleaſure or diſpleaſure.

Mr. Welch. No, Mr. Green, ſaid he, think not ſo uncharitably of any man, but judge rather that men labour for

for your ſoul's health, as for their own. But, alas, how will you condemn all our fore-fathers? or how can you think yourſelf to be of the catholic church, without any continuance, and contrary to the judgment of all learned men?

Green. Sir, I have no authority to judge any man: nevertheleſs, I doubt not but that I am of the true catholic church, however our learned men here judge of me.

Welch. Why then do you ſuppoſe your own wit and learning better than all theirs? If you do not give credit only to them, other learned men ſhall reſort unto you, that ſhall perſuade you by the ſcriptures and doctors.

Green. Sir, God knoweth that I refuſe not to learn of any child, but I would embrace the truth from the mouth of a natural fool, in any thing wherein I am ignorant, and that in all things, ſaving my faith: but concerning the truth, wherein I am thoroughly perſuaded, I cannot ſubmit myſelf to learn, unleſs it be, as your maſterſhip ſaid, that I peruſed books on both ſides. For ſo might I make myſelf an indifferent judge; otherwiſe I may be ſeduced.

And here we had a long diſcourſe of the church, wherein his learning and wit was much above mine: but in the end I told him I was perſuaded, and that he did but loſe his labour.

Welch. Why, then, what ſhall I report to my lord?

Green. Even as pleaſeth you, or elſe you may ſay that I would be glad to learn, if I had books on both ſides.

So he going in, the biſhops (being riſen and ready to depart) aſked how he liked me? He anſwered, In faith, my lord, he will be glad to learn. Which words when they were taken, leſt they ſhould miſtake his meaning and mine, I ſaid, Yea, my lord, ſo that I may have books on both ſides, as Calvin, and my lord of Canterbury's books, and ſuch others. Well, ſaid my lord, I will ſatisfy thy mind therein alſo; and they were all in great hopes, that ſhortly I ſhould become a good catholic, as they call it.

Then I was brought into my lord's inner chamber (where you were) [Mr. Philpot, to whom he wrote this letter] and there was put in a chamber with Mr. Dee, who treated me very friendly. That night I ſupped at my lord's table, and lay with Mr. Dee in the chamber you did ſee. On the morrow I was ſerved at dinner from my lord's table, and at night did eat in the hall with his gentlemen; where I have been placed ever ſince, and fared wonderful well. Yea, to ſay the truth, I had my liberty within the bounds of his lordſhip's houſe: for my lodging and fare, ſcarce have I been at any time abroad in better caſe ſo long together, and have found ſo much gentleneſs of my lord and his chaplains, and others ſervants, that I ſhould eaſily have forgotton that I was in priſon, were it not that this good chear was often powdered with unſavoury ſauces of examinations, exhortations, poſings and diſputations.

For ſhortly after ſupper, the firſt Monday at night, I was had into my lord's bed-chamber, and there he would know of me how I came firſt into theſe hereſies. I ſaid I was perſuaded thereto by the ſcriptures, and authorities of the doctors, alledged by Peter Martyr in his lectures upon the 11th Chap. of the 1ſt Epiſt. to the Corinthians, while he treated there on the place of the Lord's ſupper for a month together. But then my lord enforced the plainneſs of Chriſt's words, and his almighty power, demanding of me, what reaſon ſhould move me from the literal ſenſe of the words: but I having no luſt to thoſe matters, would have alledged that there were books ſufficient of that matter, as Peter Martyr, Cranmer, and Oecolampadius: nevertheleſs, when this ſhift would not ſerve, but I was conſtrained to ſay ſomewhat, I ſaid I was moved from the literal ſenſe by the manner of ſpeaking, by the circumſtance, and by the conference of other places of the ſcriptures. It is evident that Chriſt took bread, and that he ſhewed them (they ſeeing it) bread, which he affirmed to be his body.

Chriſt affirmed that bread was his body.

But that affirmation taken literally, can by no means be true.

Ergo, the words, if they be taken according to the letter, cannot be true.

For this predication, Panis eſt corpus Chriſti, or, Corpus Chriſti eſt panis, is neither Identica nor Accidentalis, nor Eſſentialis prædicatio. Wherefore of neceſſity I muſt ſay it was ſpoken in the ſame ſenſe, as Chriſt was a door, a vine, and a way. Neither can it ſerve to ſay, that it was not of bread that he affirmed to be his body, and that for two cauſes.

For whatſoever he ſhewed, that was bread, for naught elſe was ſeen.

But that which he ſhewed he affirmed to be his body.

Ergo, he affirmed of bread that it was his body.

The ſecond reaſon is, For that it was not changed before, ſeeing Benedixit, is Gratias egit, or elſe Chriſt affirmed no true propoſition, and you are without authority.

In the end of this letter there were noted theſe ſentences following, collected for confirmation of his former aſſertions, viz.

Eadem locutio poculi, that is, The phraſe is uſed and ſpoken upon the cup.

Dicitur poſtea panis. It is called bread in the ſame place afterwards.

Eadem ratione rejecero corpus, qua tu panem, that is, By the ſame reaſon as it may be denied to be bread, it may be denied to be the body.

Aſcendit in cœlum, that is, His body aſcended into heaven.

Corpore nobis factus eſt ſimilis in omnibus poſt nativitatem. At noſtrum corpus non poteſt eſſe in duobus locis. Ergo, &c. In body he was like to us in all things after his nativity (ſin excepted). Seeing then our body cannot be in two places at once: Ergo, neither his.

Diſcipuli non ſtupebant, &c. His diſciples took it as no miracle nor wonder.

The laſt Examination and Condemnation of Mr. Green.

THUS, as it ſeemeth, for this time they left off. But not long after the biſhop perceiving Green's learning and conſtancy to be ſuch, as neither he, nor any of his doctors and chaplains could by the ſcriptures refel, began then to object and put in practice his chief and ſtrongeſt argument againſt him; which was the rigour of the law, and cruelty of execution: an argument, I aſſure you, which without the ſpecial grace of our God to fleſh is inſupportable. And therefore uſing law as a cloak of his tyranny, the 28th day of November, the ſaid biſhop examined him upon certain points of chriſtian religion. Whereunto when he had anſwered, the biſhop appointed the regiſter (as their moſt common manner is), to draw thereout an order of confeſſion: which being afterwards read to Mr. Green, was alſo ſubſcribed by him, as a confirmation of his former aſſertions: the tenor whereof here enſueth.

The Confeſſion of Bartlet Green.

BArtlet Green, born in the city of London, in the pariſh of Baſſinghall, in the dioceſe of London, and of the age of 25 years, being examined in the biſhop's palace the 27th day of November, Anno 1555, upon certain articles, anſwered as followeth, viz. That neither in the time of king Edward, after the maſs by him was put down, neither in the time of queen Mary,

after the mass was restored again, he hath heard any mass at all; but he saith that in the reign of the said queen's majesty, he, the said Bartlet, two times, to wit, at two Easter-tides or days, in the chamber of John Pulline, one of the preachers in king Edward's time, within the parish of St. Michael's, Cornhill, of the diocese of London, did receive the communion with the said Pulline, and Christopher Goodman, sometimes reader of the divinity lecture, in Oxford, now gone beyond the sea; and the second time with the said Pulline, and with one Rimneger, master of arts, of Magdalen college, in Oxford: and this examinate also saith, that at both the said communions, he and the other before named, did take and receive bread and wine, which bread and wine he called sacramental bread, and sacramental wine, which he saith were used there by them, Pulline only reading the words of the institution, expressed in the book of Communion.

In which receiving and using, this examinate saith, that the others aforenamed did receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that they received material bread and material wine, no substance thereof changed, and so no real presence of the body and blood of Christ there being, but only grace added thereto.

And further, this examinate saith, that he had heretofore, during the reign of the queen's majesty aforesaid, refused, and so now doth refuse to come and hear mass, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, as they are now used and administered in the church of England, because he saith that concerning the mass, he cannot be persuaded in his conscience, that the sacrifice pretended to be in the same, is agreeable to God's word, or maintainable by the same: And that without deadly offence he cannot worship the body and blood of Christ that is pretended to be there. And as concerning the sacrament of the altar, this examinate saith, that he heretofore during the said reign, hath refused, and now doth refuse to receive the same, as it is now used in this church of England, because it is not used according to the institution of Christ, but both in a strange tongue, and also not ministered in both kinds; and besides that, contrary to God's word it is there taught, that the thing there administered is to be adored, as the real and true body of Christ.

And furthermore this examinate saith, that during the said reign he hath not been confessed to the priest, nor received absolution at his hands, because he is not bound by God's word to make auricular confession.

Bartlet Green.

Many other conferences and examinations they brought him unto. But in the end (seeing his stedfastness of faith to be such, as against which neither their threatnings, nor yet their flattering promises could prevail), the 19th day of January the bishop caused him, with the rest above named, to be brought into the consistory in St. Paul's; where being set in his judgment-seat, accompanied with Mr. Fecknam, then dean of the same church, and other his chaplains, after he had condemned the other six, he then calling for Bartlet Green, began with these, or the like words:

Honourable audience, I think it best to open unto you the conversation of this man, called Bartlet Green. And because you shall not charge me, that I go about to seek any man's blood, here you shall hear the council's letters, which they sent with him unto me. The effect whereof is; that whereas he had been of long time in the Tower of London for heresy, they have now sent him unto me to be ordered, according to the laws therefore provided. And now to thee, Bartlet Green, I propose these nine articles. Then he read the articles above-mentioned, which were generally objected to all these seven prisoners, to wit, Thomas Whittle, John Tudson, John Went, Thomas Brown, Isabel Foster, Joan Lashford, Bartlet Green.

But when Mr. Green would have answered them particularly, he was put to silence, with promise that he should have time to answer sufficiently, and therefore the bishop proceeding, said, that when Green came first to his house, he desired to have the books of the ancient doctors of the church to read, which he said he granted him.

Whereunto Green answered and said, That if the doctors were with indifferent judgment weighed, they made more a great deal with him, than they did with them.

Upon which words, Dr. Fecknam, dean of Paul's, stood up, and marvelling why he said so, asked him if he would be content to stand to the judgment of the doctors.

Green then said, that he was content to stand to the doctors judgment.

I will then propound unto you (said Fecknam), the doctors, and interpret them yourself. So he alledged a place of Chrysostom, Ad popul. Antioch. which was this: Elias ascendens melotem suum post se reliquit; Christus vero ascendens carnem suam assumpsit, & eandem post se reliquit. "Elias going up, left his cloak behind him: but Christ ascending up took his flesh, and also left it behind him." And he demanded Green, how he understood the place.

Then Green desired him that he would confer the doctors sayings together, and therefore alledged the same doctor again, writing upon 1 Cor. 10. "Is not the bread which we bless the communication of the Lord's body?" Whereby he proved that this doctor called this sacrament but a sign of the Lord's body. Many other words of probation and trial were betwixt them.

At last Fecknam demanded of him, how long he had been of this opinion. For Mr. Green, said he, you confessed once to me, that when you were at Oxford at school, you were called the rankest papist in that house, and being compelled to go to the lecture of Peter Martyr, you were converted from your old doctrine.

And Green confessed the same.

Then Fecknam said, that Green told him the said Peter Martyr was a papist at his first coming to Oxford. Whereupon he made an exclamation, and prayed the people to consider how vain his doctrine was that he professed, which was grounded upon one man, and that upon so inconstant a man as Peter Martyr, who perceiving the wicked intent of the council, was content to please them, and forsake the true and catholic faith.

Green said, that he grounded not his faith upon Peter Martyr nor any other, nor did believe so because Peter Martyr believed the same; but because that he had heard the scriptures, and the doctors of the church truly and wholesomely expounded by him; neither had he any regard of the man, but of the word which he spake. And further he said, that he heard the said Peter Martyr say often, that he had not as yet while he was a papist, read Chrysostom upon the tenth to the Corinthians, nor any other places of the doctors: but when he had read them, and well considered them, he was content to yield to the doctors, having first humbled himself in prayer, desiring God to illuminate him, and bring him to the true understanding of the scripture. Which thing (said Green), if you my lord would do, I do not doubt but God would open your eyes, and shew you his truth, no more than I do doubt his words to be true that saith; "Ask and it shall be given to you; knock and it shall be opened unto you, &c."

Then Fecknam asked him what he thought of this article, The holy catholic church.

And Green answered, that he did believe one holy and universal church throughout all the world.

Then Fecknam said, that he would fain have a sure mark and token, whereby he might know this church: and therefore he prayed Green to define unto him this church.

Green

Green anſwered, that this church did agree in verity of the true doctrine of Chriſt, and was known by the true adminiſtration of his ſacraments.

Whereupon Fecknam ſaid, that he would prove the church whereof he was to be never agreeing in doctrine, but always to have been in controverſy in their religion. For, ſaid he, Luther and Zuinglius could never agree in their writings, or ſayings, Oecolampadius with Caroloſtadius, nor Caroloſtadius with either Zuinglius or Luther, &c. for Luther, writing upon the ſacrament of the altar, ſaid, that in this bread, or under this bread we receive the body of the Lord. Zuinglius controlling him, ſaid, Under the ſign of the bread we receive the body of the Lord. And the other controlled him in like caſe.

Then Mr. Green proved their opinions of the ſacrament to be one in effect, being rightly weighed: and though their words did not ſound all one, yet they meant one thing: and their opinions were all one, as he proved by divers other examples.

Then Fecknam deſired him that he would not ſo wilfully caſt himſelf away, but to be rather conformable to reaſon, and that my lord biſhop there preſent would be good unto him, and would grant him reſpite (if he would demand it) for a fortnight or three weeks, and that he ſhould chooſe any learned man whom he would, and ſhould go with him home to his houſe; and that he whom he would chooſe would willingly take the pains to read and confer the doctors with him, and open the doctors' minds and meanings unto him.

Then biſhop Bonner ſaid, that he was proud, and an obſtinate boy; and therefore he bade Fecknam to hold his peace, and to call him no more Mr. Green; for, ſaid he, you ought not to call an heretic, maſter.

After this, Dr. Pendleton alledged to him this text out of the 22d of Luke, "I will eat no more of this, until it be fulfilled in my Father's kingdom." Here, ſaid he, you muſt confeſs your own opinion to be falſe, elſe you muſt ſay that Chriſt was a lyar: for Chriſt ſaid, "I will eat no more of this, until it be fulfilled in my Father's kingdom." If Chriſt did eat no more of the bread when he ſpake theſe words, then muſt you ſay that he was a lyar: for he did eat bread after with his diſciples, before he aſcended. But if you ſay he did eat his body then, and after but bread, it will not agree with the ſcriptures, nor with good reaſon.

Then Green anſwered and ſaid, that this was ſpoken by an anticipation, as one of their own biſhops (who is now dead) did ſay. [Suppoſed to be the biſhop of Wincheſter].

Then Dr. Pendleton ſaid, that that was no ſufficient diſcharge, nor a ſufficient anſwer for him in this caſe; for, ſaid he, it is well known that the biſhop was of a contrary opinion to you, and that he died a good chriſtian man.

To which words Green ſaid, I do not call him to witneſs in this caſe, as though he were a ſufficient man to prove my ſaying to be true in this matter: but I do alledge him againſt you, as Paul did the ſcripture, which he found graven in the altar of the Athenians, againſt themſelves, To the unknown God.

Theſe with many other words were between them, which I do overpaſs, becauſe it were too long to ſtand upon recital of every thing. Laſt of all the biſhop aſked him if he would recant, He ſaid, nay, he would not. But, my lord, ſaid he, in old time there were no men put to death for their conſcience, until ſuch times as biſhops found the means to make it death to believe contrary to them; but excommunication, my lord, was the greateſt penalty which men had for their conſcience: yea, inſomuch that St. Auguſtine wrote, and commanded that no man ſhould be put to death for his opinion.

Then Bonner ſaid, that when St. Auguſtine ſaw what inconveniences followed of that commandment, he wrote again to the temporal rulers, commanding them to puniſh their bodies alſo.

But, ſaid Green, he bade not to put them to death.

He bade puniſh them, quoth Bonner.

Yea, ſaid Green, but not put them to death.

That they ſhould be puniſhed, quoth Bonner again.

This talk ended, he aſked Green if he would recant, and return to their Romiſh mother. Which when he denied, the biſhop pronounced the ſentence difinitive againſt him, and ſo commanded him to the ſheriffs of London, who cauſed him to be carried to Newgate.

And as he was going thither, there met with him two gentlemen, being both his ſpecial friends, minding belike to comfort this their perſecuted brother: but at their meeting their loving and friendly hearts (not able any longer to hide themſelves) were manifeſted by the abundance of their pitiful tears. To whom when Green ſaw them, he ſaid in theſe or like words, Ah, my dear friends, is this your comfort you are come to give me, in this my occaſion of heavineſs? muſt I, who needed to have comfort miniſtered to me, become now a comforter of you? And thus declaring his moſt quiet and peaceable mind and conſcience, he chearfully ſpake to them and others, until he came unto the priſon door, into which he joyfully entered, and there remained always either in prayer (whereunto he much gave himſelf) or elſe in ſome other godly meditations and exerciſes, until the 27th day of January, when he with his other above-mentioned brethren, went moſt chearfully to the place of their torments, often repeating, both by the way, and at the ſtake, theſe Latin verſes.

Chriſte Deus, ſine te ſpes eſt mihi nulla ſalutis:
Te duce vera ſequor, te duce falſa nego.

In Engliſh thus,

O Chriſt, my God, ſure hope of health,
Beſides thee have I none:
The truth I love and falſhood hate,
By thee my guide alone.

During the time of his impriſonment in Newgate, divers of his friends had acceſs unto him, to whom he gave ſundry godly exhortations, wherewith they were not only well contented, but for better remembrance of his inſtructions, as well as of his good and pious perſon, they deſired him to write ſomewhat in their books, which he readily did.

Theſe verſes he wrote in a book of Mr. Huſſey of the Temple.

Behold thyſelf by me,
Such one was I, as thou:
And thou in time ſhalt be
Even duſt as I am now.

Bartlet Green.

The following verſes were wrote in a book of Mr. William Fleetwood, of the ſame houſe.

My reſting-road is found,
Vain hope and hap adieu;
Love whom you liſt with change,
Death ſhall rid me from you.

Bartlet Green.

Amongſt other divers and ſingular good virtues of this good man, eſpecially in him was to be noted ſuch a modeſt nature, ſo humbly thinking of himſelf, as in few men is to be found, ever dejecting himſelf under that was in him, and ever ſeeming to be leſs than he was, ſo that nothing leſs could he abide, than to hear of his praiſe or commendation, as well declareth not only his letter written to Mr. Philpot, wherein he doth earneſtly expoſtulate with him, for ſlandering him with praiſe of his wit and learning, and other manifold virtues of great excellency; but alſo by his own ſpeech and anſwers in his examination,

wherein he caſteth from him all knowledge of learning and cunning, when notwithſtanding he had more in him, than to any man's eyes did appear.

So great and admirable was this gift of modeſty grafted in the nature of him, ſo far abhorring all pride and arrogancy, that as he could not abide any thing that was ſpoken to his advancement or praiſe; ſo neither did there appear in him any ſhew or brag in thoſe things wherein he might juſtly glory, which were his puniſhments and ſufferings for the cauſe and quarrel of Chriſt. For when he was beaten and ſcourged with rods by biſhop Bonner (which ſcarce any man would believe, nor I neither, but that I heard it of him, who heard it out of his own mouth) and he greatly rejoiced in the ſame, yet his modeſty was ſuch, that he would never mention it, leſt he ſhould ſeem to glory too much in himſelf, except only to one Mr. Cotton, an intimate friend, a little before his death.

To his admirable modeſty may be added his excellent and univerſal compaſſion to mankind; which, however ſlighted by ſome, yet there is nothing in nature that doth more truly reſemble the image of the high Majeſty of Almighty God. As, in reſpect of humanity, man only excelleth a beaſt, ſo this man by his merciful tenderneſs did not only ſeem to be, but really was ſuperior to moſt of his own ſpecies. It was his cuſtom to viſit the poor priſoners (thoſe that were with him in priſon) both with bodily relief and ſpiritual comfort: and finding many of them (I mean ſuch as were there for theft and other naughty facts) very penitent and ſorry for their wicked lives, in hope of their amendment, did not only by word of mouth, but alſo by his letters require, yea, as it were of duty in love, charged his friends to do their utmoſt endeavour to obtain their liberty: ſuch was the pious and charitable diſpoſition of this true member of Chriſt's church, whoſe imitation of divine benignity appeareth in the following letter:

Another Letter of Mr. Green in behalf of poor Priſoners.

To my very loving Friends and Maſters, Mr. Goring, Mr. Fernham, Mr. Fleetwood, Mr. Ruſſwel, Mr. Huſſey, Mr. Calthorp. Mr. Bowyer, and other my Maſters of the Temple, Bartlet Green wiſheth health of body and ſoul.

VERY friends are they who are knit together with the knot of charity; charity doth not decay, but increaſe in them that die faithfully: whereof it followeth, that though we be abſent in body, yet are we preſent in the ſpirit, coupled together with the unity of faith in the bond of peace, which is love. How is he worthy the name of a friend, that meaſureth his friendſhip with the diſtance of a place, or parting of perſons? If thy friend be out of ſight, is thy friendſhip ended? if he be gone into the country, wilt thou ceaſe to love him? if he be paſſed the ſeas, will you forſake him? if he be carried into heaven, is charity hindered thereby?

On the one ſide we have the uſe of the fathers of the primitive church, who gave thanks for their friends that died in the faith, to prove that charity died not with death. On the other ſide, ſaith Horace, They change their country, not their minds, who ſail beyond ſea.

What ſpeak I of Horace; Saith not St. Paul the ſame thing? For we are members of his body, of his fleſh, and of his blood, yea, we are members one of another. Is the hand or arm, foot or leg a member, when it is diſſevered from the body? How can we be members, except we be joined together? What is the line that coupleth us, but love? When all things ſhall fail, love never faileth. Hope hath its end, when we have got that which we hoped for. Faith is finiſhed in heaven; love endureth for ever: Love, I ſay, that proceedeth of charity; for carnal love, when that which he loveth is loſt, doth periſh with the fleſh. Neither was that ever but fleſhly love, which by diſtance of place, or ſevering of bodies is parted aſunder. If love be the end or ſum of the law; if heaven and earth ſhall periſh, yet one jot of God's word ſhall not decay, why ſhould we think that love laſteth not for ever?

I need not write much to you, my friends, neither have I leiſure now the keepers are riſen: but this I ſay, if we keep Chriſt's commandment in loving each other, as he loved us, then ſhould our love be everlaſting. This friendſhip St. Paul felt when it moved him to ſay, That neither length nor breadth (meaning no diſtance of place) neither height nor depth ſhould ſever him from the love of Chriſt. Weigh this place well, and mete it with St. Paul's meaſures; ſo ſhall we find that if our love be untainted, it can never be ended. Now may you ſay, Why writeſt thou this? certainly to the end that if our friendſhip be ſtable, you may accompliſh this the laſt requeſt of your friend, and perform after my death the friendſhip we began in our life, that amity may increaſe until God make it perfect at our next meeting together.

Mr. Fleetwood, I beſeech you remember Wittrance and Cook, two ſingular men amongſt common priſoners. Mr. Fernham and Mr. Bell, with Mr. Huſſey, as I hope, will diſpatch Palmer and Richardſon with his companions. I pray you, Mr. Palmer, think on John Grove, an honeſt poor man, Traiford and Rice Apprice his accomplices; my couſin Thomas Witten (a ſcrivener in Lombard-ſtreet) hath promiſed to further their delivery; at leaſt, he can inſtruct you which way to work, I doubt not but Mr. Bowyer will labour for the good wife Cooper (for ſhe is worthy to be holpen) and Berard the Frenchman. There be alſo other well-diſpoſed men, whoſe deliverance if ye will not labour for, yet I humbly beſeech you to ſeek their relief, as you ſhall ſee cauſe: namely of Henry Apprice, Lancelot, Hobbes, Lother, Homes, Carre, and Bockingham, a young man of goodly gifts in wit and learning, and (ſaving that he is ſomewhat wild) likely to do well hereafter. There be alſo two women, Coningham and Alice Alexander that may prove honeſt. For theſe and all other poor priſoners here I make my humble ſute and prayer to you all my maſters, and eſpecially good friends, beſeeching you of all bonds of amity, for the precious blood of Jeſus Chriſt, in the bowels of mercy, to tender the cauſes of miſerable captives; help to cloath Chriſt, viſit the afflicted, comfort the ſorrowful, and relieve the needy. The very God of peace guide your hearts to have mercy on the poor, and love faithfully together, Amen. This preſent Monday, when I look to die, and live for ever.

Yours as ever.

Bartlet Green.

Another Letter of Mr. Green to Mrs. Elizabeth Clark.

WOULD God, if it were his pleaſure, that with this letter I might ſend you my heart and mind, and whatſoever there is in me elſe, that pertaineth to God. So ſhould I think it the beſt meſſage, and happieſt letter that ever I could write. But though I obtain not my deſire, yet ſhall I not ceaſe with continual prayer to labour for you, deſiring Almighty God to increaſe that which he hath long ſince begun in you, of ſober life, and earneſt zeal towards religion. In faith (as ſaith St. Paul) ſhe that is a true widow and friendleſs putteth her truſt in God, continuing day and night in ſupplication and prayer; but ſhe that liveth in pleaſure is dead while ſhe liveth. And verily a true widow is ſhe that hath married Chriſt, forſaking the vanities of the world, and luſt of the fleſh. For as the married woman careth how to love, pleaſe, and ſerve her huſband; ſo ought the widow to give

give all her heart and ſoul, thoughts and words, ſtudies and labours, faithfully to love God, virtuouſly to bring up her children and houſhold, and diligently to provide for the poor and oppreſſed.

Therefore St. Paul firſt inſtructeth a widow how to behave to herſelf, that is, Not to live in pleaſure; then to watch unto prayer, is the only means to obtain all our deſires, ſtedfaſtly laying up all our truſt in God, as David right well ſaith, Firſt eſchew evil, then do good. Of Anna, the praiſe was written, that ſhe never went out of the temple, but ſerved God with faſting and prayer night and day; ſo well had ſhe eſpouſed Chriſt. Judith wore a ſmock of hair, continuing in faſting, and had good report of all men.

The next care that belongeth to a widow, is, that ſhe bring up her children and houſhold godly, in the nurture and information of the Lord. Whereof St. Paul ſaith, If any have children or nephews, let them learn firſt to rule their own houſe godly, and to recompence their elders. The incontinency and covetouſneſs of Phineas and Hophni, corrected by Eli their father, provoked God's vengeance upon him and all his kindred. The over tender love of Abſalom expelled David from his kingdom. The unrebuked ſins of Amnon encouraged Abſalom to ſlay his brother; moſt manifeſt examples againſt the parents, for the offences of their children.

Contrariwiſe, how greatly might Hannah rejoice over Samuel her ſon, whom ſhe had brought up in the houſe of the Lord? What thanks might Tobias's wife give for her ſon Toby? How happy was Solomon to be taught by the prophet Nathan? But above all widows, thrice bleſſed was the happy mother of the ſeven ſons, that ſo had inſtructed them by the fear of God, that by no torments they would ſhrink from the love of his truth?

Of the laſt part St. Paul ſheweth that a widow ſhould be choſen, if ſhe have nouriſhed her children, if ſhe have been liberal to ſtrangers, if ſhe have waſhed the ſaints' feet, and if ſhe have miniſtered to them in adverſity. Herein it is evident how earneſtly St. Paul would have widows bent towards the poor; for that (as though they only had been therefore meet) he appointed only widows to miniſter to the ſaints, and to gather for the poor. Which uſe alſo continued almoſt throughout the primitive church, that widows had the charge and gathering for the poor men and ſtrangers.

Of your neighbours I need not put you in remembrance, ſeeing you daily feed them with good hoſpitality, by which means alſo many foreigners are by you relieved: but of the poor alms-houſes, and miſerable priſoners here in London, many lacking their liberty without cauſe, ſome under colour of religion, ſome only kept for fees, and ſome on private men's diſpleaſure. Alas! that Chriſt ſo hungereth, and no man feed him; is ſore oppreſſed with thirſt, and no man will give him drink; deſtitute of all lodging, and not relieved; naked, and not cloathed; ſick, and not viſited; impriſoned, and not ſeen.

In times paſt men could beſtow large ſums of money on copes, veſtments, and ornaments of the church. Why rather follow we not the example of St. Ambroſe, who ſold the ſame for the relief of the poor; or the commandment of Chryſoſtom, who willed firſt to deck and garniſh the living temple of God? But, alas, ſuch is the wickedneſs of theſe our laſt days, that nothing moveth us; neither the pure doctrine, the godlineſs of life, nor good examples of ancient fathers. If in any thing they have erred, if they have written any thing that ſerveth for ſects and diſſention, that will their charitable children embrace, publiſh, and maintain with ſword, faggot and fire: But all in vain; they ſtrive againſt the ſtream. For though in deſpite of the truth, by force of the cares of crafty perſuaſion, they may bring themſelves into the haven of hell: yet they cannot make all men believe that the banks move whilſt the ſhip faileth, nor ever ſhall be able to turn the direct courſe of the ſtream of God's truth. Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſtrengthen you in all pure doctrine and upright living, and give you grace virtuouſly to bring up your children and family, and carefully to provide for the poor and oppreſſed, Amen. At Newgate the 20th of January, 1556.

Your aſſured,
Bartlet Green.

Another certain Writing of Mr. Bartlet Green.

BETTER is the day of death, ſaith Solomon, than the day of birth. Man that is born of a woman liveth but a ſhort time, and is repleniſhed with many miſeries; but happy are the dead that die in the Lord. Man of woman is born in travel, to live in miſery; man, through Chriſt, doth die in joy, and live in felicity. He is born to die, and dieth to live. Straight as he cometh into the world, with cries he uttereth his miſerable eſtate; ſtraight as he departeth, with ſongs he praiſeth God for ever. Scarce yet in his cradle, three deadly enemies aſſault him; after death no adverſary can annoy him. Whilſt he is here, he diſpleaſeth God; when he is dead, he fulfilleth his will. In this life here he dieth through ſin; in the life to come he liveth in righteouſneſs. Through many tribulations on earth he is purged; with joy unſpeakable in heaven he is made pure for ever. Here he dieth every hour; there he liveth continually. Here is ſin; there is righteouſneſs. Here is time; there is eternity. Here is hatred; there is love. Here is pain; there is pleaſure. Here is miſery; there is felicity. Here is corruption; there is immortality. Here we ſee vanity; there we ſhall behold the majeſty of God with triumphant and unſpeakable joy in glory everlaſting. Seek therefore the things that are above, where Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father; unto whom, with the Son and the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour and glory, world without end, Amen.

Yours in Chriſt,
Bartlet Green.

There were divers other letters and matters wrote by this ſervant of God, as namely certain notes and extracts in Latin, out of the doctors and others, for his memory, whereby is declared how ſtudious he was in the ſearching and knowledge of the law of God, although his profeſſion was the temporal law. Where I would to God he were not among the lawyers ſuch a phœnix, that he had very few or no fellows to fly with him, or to follow his ſteps. But God is to be praiſed, that although we read of few or none among that ſort that died as he did, yet good witneſſes do daily ſpring up of the ſame profeſſion, to ſuch towardneſs and godly zeal, that ſome hope already appeareth ſhortly to come to paſs, that this godly phœnix ſhall not fly alone. Theſe aforeſaid notes and gatherings of his out of the doctors, were taken from him by biſhop Bonner, being found about him, which was to him no little grief. He among the reſt was firſt apprehended, but laſt of them condemned, which was the fifteenth day of January, and afterward burned with the other martyrs the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame month.

3. Thomas Brown, Martyr.

THomas Brown, born in the pariſh of Hiſton, within the dioceſe of Ely, came afterwards to London, where he dwelt in the pariſh of St. Bride's in Fleet-ſtreet, a married man, of the age of thirty-ſeven years, who becauſe he came not to his pariſh-church, was preſented by the conſtable of the pariſh to biſhop Bonner. The articles on which he was examined, with his anſwers alſo annexed to the ſame, hath been already mentioned in the general proceſs againſt him and his fellow-ſufferers. This Thomas Brown, being had to Fulham with others there to be examined, was required to come into the chapel to hear maſs,

maſs, which refuſing to do, went into the warren, and there kneeled among the trees. For this he was greatly charged by the biſhop as for an heinous matter, becauſe he ſaid it was done in deſpite and contempt of their maſs; which ſeemed to the biſhop and his chaplains no ſmall offence. At length being produced to his laſt examination before the ſaid biſhop, the fifteenth day of January, there to hear the definitive ſentence againſt him; firſt he was required, with many fair words and gloſſing promiſes to revoke his doctrine, to whom the aforeſaid biſhop ſpeaking theſe words, ſaid, Brown, ye have been before me many times and oft, and I have endeavoured to win thee from thine errors; yet thou, and ſuch like, haſt and do report that I go about to ſeek thy blood, &c.

To whom the ſaid Thomas Brown anſwered again, Yea, my lord (ſaid he) indeed ye be a bloodſucker, and I wiſh I had as much blood as is water in the ſea, for you to ſuck.

Bonner then proceeding to the articles, when he had read them unto him again, as he had done divers times before, aſked him whether he was content and willing to relinquiſh thoſe hereſies and erroneous opinions (as he called them) and return again unto the unity of the catholic faith. Whereunto he made anſwer again, ſaying, If they were hereſies, he would forſake them. They be hereſies, ſaid the biſhop. How will you prove it, ſaid Brown? for I will not go from mine anſwer, except you can prove them to be hereſies, which ye ſhall never do. For that which you call hereſy is no hereſy. With that biſhop Bonner, not able, or elſe not diſpoſed to ſupply the part of a ſufficient teacher, in proving that which the other had denied by good authority and doctrine of the ſcripture, went about with words and promiſe of pardon to allure him to renounce thoſe his hereſies, as he called them, and to return unto the unity of his mother the catholic church, &c.

To whom the ſaid Brown inferred again as followeth; Prove it (ſaid he) to be hereſy, that I do hold and maintain, and I will turn to you. But you condemn me, becauſe I will not confeſs and believe the bread in the ſacrament of the altar (as you call it) to be the body of Chriſt, and therefore ye ſpill mine and ſuch like innocents blood, being the queen's true ſubjects, for which you ſhall anſwer, and that ſhortly.

After this being ſpoken, Bonner (as he had done to the others before) read in writing the ſentence definitive againſt him. The copy and form of which ſentence wherewith the papiſts were wont to condemn theſe innocents, is before expreſſed. And this being done, he was committed to the ſheriffs to be had away, and burned the twenty-ſeventh day of the ſaid month of January, conſtantly abiding with the others the cruel torments for the true confeſſion of his chriſtian faith.

4. John Tudſon, Martyr.

ON the ſame day that the aforeſaid Thomas Brown with his fellows were condemned (as is above related) being the fifteenth day of January, John Tudſon was alſo brought forth, with the reſt of the ſaid company, unto the like condemnation. This John Tudſon was born in Ipſwich in the county of Suffolk, after that apprentice in London, dwelling with one George Goodyear of the pariſh of St. Mary Botolph, within the dioceſe of London, who being complained of to Sir Richard Cholmley and Dr. Story, was by them ſent unto Bonner biſhop of London, and was divers times before him in examination.

The articles and interrogatories miniſtered unto him as unto the reſt, are before ſpecified, with his anſwers alſo to the ſame annexed, &c. After this he was brought into the open conſiſtory, where the ſaid John Tudſon appearing before the ſaid biſhop and his accomplices, was moved with ſundry perſuaſions (as their manner is) to go from his opinion (which they named hereſy) and to perſiſt in the unity of the church which they were of; but he, conſtantly perſiſting in that which he received by the preachers in king Edward's time, refuſed ſo to do, ſaying, there was no hereſy in his anſwers. For I, ſaid he, defy all hereſy. The biſhop yet ſtill uſed his old accuſtomed perſuaſions to remove him, promiſing moreover all his offences and errors (as he called them) to be forgiven him, if he would return, &c. Then ſaid Tudſon, Tell me wherein I have offended, and I will return. Then ſaid the biſhop, In your anſwers. No, ſaid Tudſon again, I have not therein offended; and ye, my lord, pretend charity, but nothing thereof appeareth in your works. Thus after a few words, the biſhop did likewiſe pronounce againſt him ſentence of condemnation; which being read, the godly martyr was committed to the ſecular power, and ſo with much patience finiſhed this life with the others before named, the twenty-ſeventh day of January.

5. John Went, Martyr.

JOhn Went, born in Langham in Eſſex, within the dioceſe of London, of the age of twenty-ſeven, and a ſheerman by occupation, was firſt examined (as is partly mentioned before) by Dr. Story upon the ſacrament of the altar; and becauſe the poor man did not accord with him thoroughly in the real preſence of the body and blood of Chriſt, the ſaid Dr. Story ſent him up to Bonner biſhop of London. Who likewiſe, after divers examinations upon the articles aforeſaid in the conſiſtory, attempted the like manner of perſuaſions with him as he did to the others, to recant and return. To whom in few words, the ſaid Went anſwered again, He would not; but that by the leave of God, he would ſtand firm and conſtant in that he had ſaid. And when the biſhop yet notwithſtanding did ſtill urge and call upon him with words and fair gloſſes, to give over himſelf to their opinion, he could have no other anſwer of him but this, No, I ſay as I have ſaid, &c. Wherupon, being condemned by the biſhop's ſentence, he was committed unto the ſheriffs (whom that ſhameleſs ſhaveling at that time abuſed for his ſervile butchers) and ſo brought to his martyrdom, which he with no leſs conſtancy ſuffered to the end, with the reſt of that bleſſed ſociety of martyrs above named.

6. Iſabel Foſter, Martyr.

WITH theſe five perſons above recited and condemned, were alſo two women in the ſaid company condemned the ſame time, and likewiſe burned for the ſame cauſe; the one a wife, called Iſabel Foſter, the other a maid, named Joan Warne, or otherwiſe, Laſhford.

This aforeſaid Iſabel was born in Grafeſtock in the dioceſe of Carliſle, and was afterwards married to one John Foſter, cutler, of the pariſh of St. Bride's in Fleet-ſtreet, being of the age of fifty-five years. She likewiſe, for not coming to their church, was ſent to biſhop Bonner, who put her in priſon, and examined her ſundry times, but ſhe would never be overcome nor removed from the conſtant confeſſion of Chriſt's goſpel.

At length, coming unto her final examination before the biſhop in the conſiſtory the fifteenth day of the ſaid month of January, ſhe was moved again, whether ſhe would yet go from her former anſwers? Whereunto ſhe gave a reſolute anſwer in a few words; I will not, ſaith ſhe, go from them, by God's grace; and therunto did adhere, neither being caſt down by the menacing threats of the biſhop, nor yet yielding through his alluring enticements, promiſing both life and liberty, if ſhe would aſſociate herſelf in the unity of the catholic church. Whereunto ſhe ſaid again in this wiſe, That ſhe truſted ſhe was never

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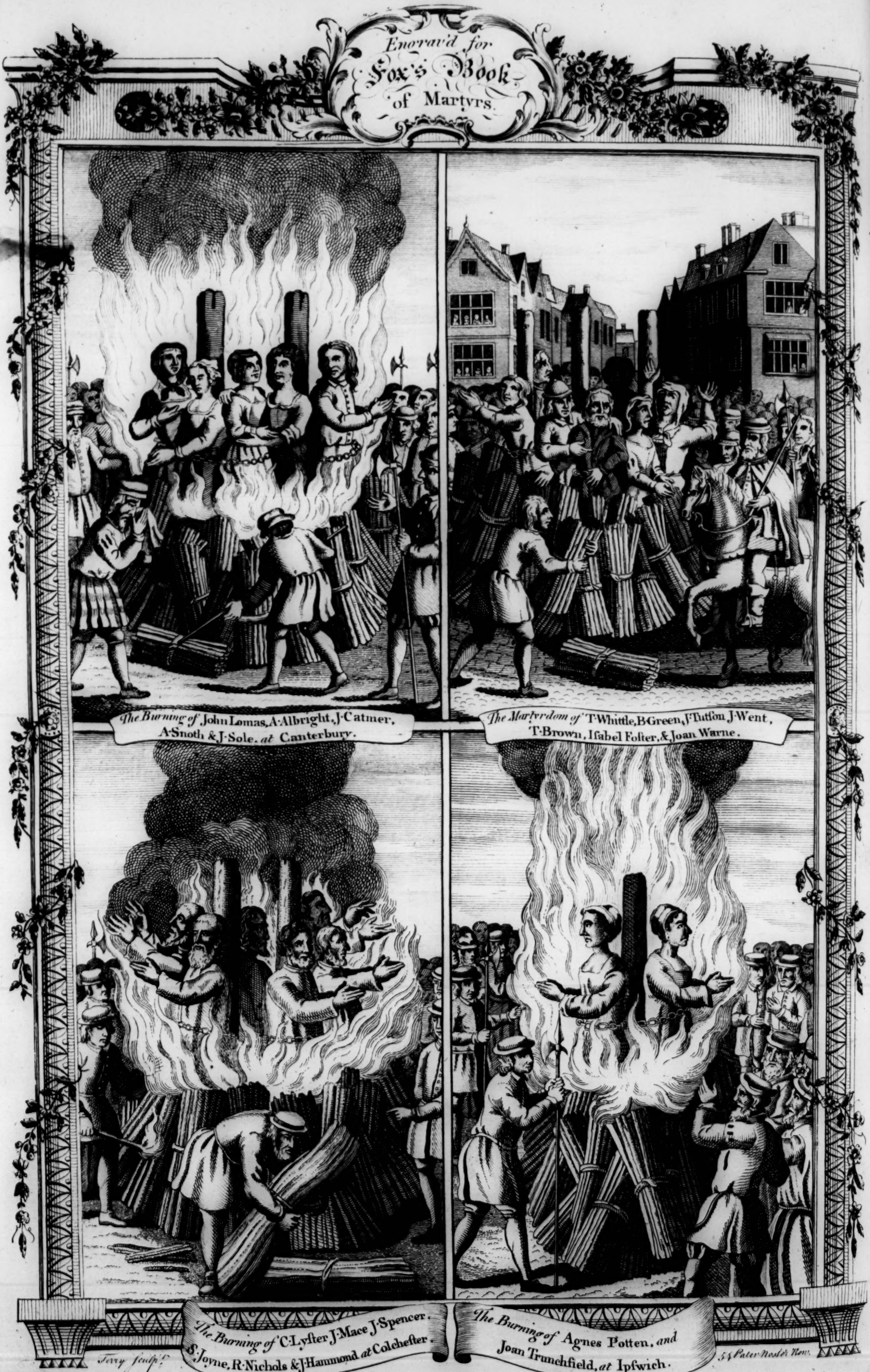

The Burning of John Lomas, A. Albright, J. Catmer, A. Snoth & J. Sole, at Canterbury.

The Martyrdom of T. Whittle, B. Green, J. Tutton, J. Went, T. Brown, Isabel Foster, & Joan Warne.

The Burning of C. Lyster J. Mace J. Spencer. S. Joyne, R. Nichols & J. Hammond at Colchester.

The Burning of Agnes Potten, and Joan Trunchfield, at Ipswich.

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never out of the catholic church, &c. and ſo perſiſting in the ſame, continued conſtant till the ſentence definitive was pronounced, and then ſhe was committed by the commandment of the biſhop to the ſecular power, and ſo brought a few days after to the ſtake, the 27th day of the aforeſaid month; where ſhe like a faithful witneſs of the Lord's truth (with the other five aforeſaid), ended her troubles here, to find a better reſt in the kingdom of Chriſt our Saviour.

7. Joan Laſhford, alias Joan Warne, Martyr.

IN this volume mention hath been made of one Elizabeth Warne, who with her huſband John Warne (as is aforeſaid) in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, was apprehended in Bow-church-yard for being there at a communion; and both ſuffered for the ſame, firſt the man in the month of May, then the wife in July after; and now the daughter, in the month of January, followed her parents in the ſame martyrdom. Furthermore, in the ſame place following mention was made alſo of Dr. Story, who there (we ſaid) was ſomewhat near unto the ſaid parties, either in kindred or alliance; however, as I have heard ſince, there was no kindred between them, but only that ſhe was his ſervant. Yet notwithſtanding, the ſaid Dr. Story (as it is above ſpecified), before he was commiſſioner, made interceſſion for the parties to Dr. Martin, then commiſſioner: but afterwards being placed in commiſſion himſelf, he ſo far forgot himſelf, and his old ſervant, that he became no ſmall procurer of their deaths. I will not here expoſtulate with the hard heart of that man, nor with his inconſtancy: who yet notwithſtanding, after he had brought them to death, was arreſted himſelf for threeſcore pounds, charged with debt in their behalf; which if it be true, it may thereby appear that he was in ſome manner allied to them. But leaving that perſon to the good pleaſure of God, let us return to what we have in hand.

This Joan Laſhford, born in the pariſh of Little Alhallows, in Thames-ſtreet, was the daughter of one Robert Laſhford, cutler, and of the aforeſaid Elizabeth, who afterwards was married to John Warne, upholſter, who (as is before ſaid) was perſecuted for the goſpel of God to the burning fire; and after him his wife; and after her, this Joan Laſhford her daughter; who, about the age of twenty years, miniſtering to her father and mother in priſon, ſuſpected and known to be of the ſame doctrine and religion, was ſent to Bonner biſhop of London, by Dr. Story (as is above in the anſwers to the articles declared), and ſo committed to the Poultry Comptor, where ſhe remained about five weeks, and from thence conveyed to Newgate, where ſhe continued ſome months.

After that, remaining priſoner in the cuſtody of Bonner, and being examined, her confeſſion was, that for above a twelvemoth before, ſhe came not to the popiſh maſs ſervice in the church, neither would, either to receive the ſacrament of the altar, or to be confeſſed, becauſe her conſcience would not ſuffer her ſo to do; confeſſing and proteſting, that in the ſacrament of the altar, there is not the real preſence of Chriſt's body and blood; nor that auricular confeſſion or abſolution, after the popiſh ſort, was neceſſary, nor the maſs to be good, or according to the ſcripture, but ſaid, that both the ſaid ſacrament, confeſſion, abſolution, and the maſs, with all their other ſuperfluous ſacraments, ceremonies, and divine ſervice, as then uſed in this realm of England, were moſt vile, and contrary to Chriſt's word and inſtitution; ſo that neither they were at the beginning, nor ſhall be at the latter end. This godly damſel, feeble and tender of age, yet ſtrong by grace, in this her confeſſion and faith ſtood ſo firm, that neither the flattering promiſes, nor the violent threats of the biſhops could turn her, but being moved and exhorted by the biſhop to return to the catholic unity of the church, boldly ſaid to him again; If ye will leave off your abomination, ſo I will return, and otherwiſe I will not.

Whereupon the biſhop yet again promiſed her pardon of all her errors (as he called them), if ſhe would be conformed. To this ſhe anſwered again, ſaying to the biſhop, Do as it pleaſeth you, and I pray God that you may do that which may pleaſe God.

And thus ſhe conſtantly perſevering in the Lord's holy truth, was by the ſentence definitive condemned and committed to the ſheriffs, by whom the aforeſaid 27th day of January ſhe with the reſt being brought unto the ſtake, there waſhed her cloaths in the blood of the Lamb, dying moſt conſtantly for his word and truth, to whom moſt lovingly ſhe eſpouſed herſelf.

And thus much concerning the life, ſtory, and condemnation of theſe ſeven martyrs, before ſpecified.

The Hiſtory of five Martyrs, who were burned at Canterbury, at two Stakes in one Fire.

THESE five martyrs ſuffered for the truth of the goſpel at Canterbury, on the 31ſt day of January, being one man and four women, whoſe names be theſe;

John Lomas, a young man, Anne Albright, Joan Catmer, Agnes Snoth, widow, Joan Sole, wife.

1. John Lomas, Martyr.

JOHN Lomas, of the pariſh of Tenderden, detected and preſented of that religion which the papiſts call hereſy, and cited upon the ſame to appear at Canterbury, examined there of the firſt article, whether he believed the catholic church or no, anſwered thus; that he believed ſo much as is contained in God's book, and no more.

Then being aſſigned to appear again under the pain of the law the next Wedneſday ſeven-night after, which was the 17th day of January, the ſaid Lomas examined whether he would be confeſſed by a prieſt or no, anſwered and ſaid, that he found it not written that he ſhould be confeſſed to any prieſt in God's book, neither would be confeſſed, unleſs he were accuſed by ſome man of ſin. Again, examined whether he believed the body of Chriſt to be in the ſacrament of the alter really under the forms of bread and wine after the conſecration, or no; he anſwered, that he believed no reality of Chriſt's body to be in the ſacrament; neither found he written, that he is there under form or treſsle, but he believed ſo much as is written. Being then demanded, whether he believed that there is a catholic church or no, and whether he would be content to be a member of the ſame, he anſwered thereto, that he believed ſo much as was written in God's book, and other anſwer than this he refuſed to give, &c. Whereupon the ſentence was given and read againſt him the 18th day of January, and ſo being committed to the ſecular power, he conſtantly ſuffered for the conſcience of a true faith, with the four women here following.

2. Agnes Snoth, Martyr.

AGNES Snoth, widow, of the pariſh of Smarden, likewiſe accuſed and cited for the true profeſſion of Chriſt's religion, was divers times examined before the phariſaical fathers. Who, there compelled to anſwer to ſuch articles and interrogatories as ſhould be adminiſtered unto her, firſt denied to be confeſſed to a prieſt; notwithſtanding ſhe denied not to confeſs her offences as one to another, but not auricularly to any prieſt. And as touching the ſacrament of the alter, ſhe

proteſted that if ſhe or any other did receive the ſacrament ſo as Chriſt and his apoſtles after him did deliver it, then ſhe and they did receive it to their comfort: but as it is now uſed in the church, ſhe ſaid that no man could otherwiſe receive it than to his damnation, as ſhe thought. Afterwards being examined again concerning penance, whether it were a ſacrament or no, ſhe plainly denied the ſame, and that the popiſh manner of their abſolution was not conſonant to the word, nor neceſſary to be taken; with other ſuch like, agreeing with the anſwers and confeſſion of John Lomas before-mentioned. Whereupon the ſentence being likewiſe read, ſhe was committed to the ſheriffs of Canterbury, and ſo ſuffering martyrdom with the reſt, declared herſelf a perfect and conſtant witneſs of Chriſt and of his truth, the 31ſt day of January.

3. Anne Albright, alias Champnes, Martyr.

AGAINST Anne Albright, likewiſe appearing before the judge and his colleagues, it was alſo objected concerning the ſame matter confeſſion. Whereunto ſhe anſwered in theſe words, ſaying, That ſhe would not be confeſſed by a prieſt; and added moreover, ſpeaking unto the prieſts, You prieſts, ſaid ſhe, are the children of perdition, and can do no good by your confeſſion. And likewiſe ſpeaking unto the judge, and his aſſiſtants, ſhe told them, that they were ſubverters of Chriſt's truth.

And concerning the ſacrament of the altar, ſhe ſaid it was a naughty and abominable idol, and ſo utterly denied the ſame ſacrament. Thus perſiſting and perſevering in her former ſayings and anſwers, ſhe was condemned the ſaid 18th day of January, with the others abovementioned; with whom alſo ſhe ſuffered quietly, and with great comfort, for the truth of Chriſt's religion.

4. Joan Sole.

IN like manner Joan Sole, of the pariſh of Horton, was condemned by the ſame phariſees and prieſts for not allowing auricular confeſſion, and for denying the real preſence and ſubſtance of Chriſt to be in the ſacrament. Who, after their phariſaical ſentence being pronounced, was brought by the ſheriffs to the ſtake with the other four, and ſuſtained the like martyrdom with them, through the aſſiſtance of God's holy grace and Spirit, mightily working in her, to the glory of his name, and confirmation of his truth.

5. Joan Catmer.

THE fifth and laſt of theſe heavenly company of martyrs, was Joan Catmer, of the pariſh of Hith, wife (as it ſhould ſeem) of George Catmer burned before. Who being aſked what ſhe ſaid to confeſſion made to a prieſt, denied to be confeſſed to any ſuch prieſt. And moreover, the judge ſpeaking of the ſacrament of the altar, ſhe ſaid and affirmed, That ſhe believed not in that ſacrament, as it was then uſed, for that it was made, ſaid ſhe, a very idol. In this her confeſſion ſhe remaining and perſiſting, was by the like ſentence cruelly by them condemned, and ſo ſuffered with the aforeſaid John Lomas, and the other three martyrs, ratifying and confeſſing with their blood the true knowledge and doctrine of the glorious goſpel of Chriſt Jeſus our Saviour.

Theſe five perſons were burnt at two ſtakes in one fire together at Canterbury, as is before ſaid; who when the fire was flaming about their ears, did ſing pſalms. Whereat the good knight, Sir John Norton, being there preſent, wept bitterly at the ſight thereof.

The judges and other aſſiſtants which ſat upon her, and the other four above-mentioned, were Richard Faucet, John Warren, John Mills, Robert Collins, and John Baker the notary.

The Hiſtory of the Reverend Paſtor and Prelate, Thomas Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Martyr, burnt at Oxford, for the Confeſſion of Chriſt's true Doctrine under Queen Mary, March 21, 1556.

AS concerning the life and eſtate of that moſt reverend father in God, and worthy prelate of godly memory, Thomas Cranmer, late archbiſhop of Canterbury, and of the original cauſe and occaſion of his preferment unto his archiepiſcopal dignity, who by many hath been thought to have procured the ſame by friendſhip only, and of ſome others eſteemed unworthy ſo high a vocation; it is firſt therefore to be noted and conſidered, that the ſame Thomas Cranmer coming of an an ancient parentage, from the conqueſt to be deduced, and continuing ſince in the name and family of a gentleman, was born in a village called Arſelacton, in Nottinghamſhire, of whoſe ſaid name and family there remaineth at theſe days one manor and manſion-houſe, in Lincolnſhire, called Cranmer-Hall, &c. ſometime the heritage of the ſaid ſtock and family. Who being from his infancy kept at ſchool, and carefully brought up, came in proceſs of time unto the univerſity of Cambridge, and there proſpering in good knowledge amongſt the better ſort of ſtudents, was choſen fellow of Jeſus college, in Cambridge. And ſo being maſter of arts, and fellow of the ſame college, it chanced him to marry a gentleman's daughter: by means whereof he loſt and gave over his fellowſhip there, and became the reader in Buckingham college; and becauſe he would with more diligence apply that his office of reading, he placed his ſaid wife in an inn, called the Dolphin, in Cambridge, the wife of the houſe being of affinity unto her. By reaſon whereof, and for that his often reſort unto his wife in that inn, he was much marked by ſome popiſh merchants: whereupon aroſe the ſlanderous noiſe and report againſt him, after he was preferred to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, raiſed up by the malicious diſdain of certain malignant adverſaries to Chriſt and his truth, bruting abroad every where, that he was but an hoſtler, and therefore without all good learning. Of whoſe malicious reports, one of their practices in that behalf ſhall hereafter be declared, as place and time ſhall ſerve.

But in the mean time, to return to the matter preſent: Whilſt this ſaid Mr. Cranmer continued as a reader in Buckingham college, his wife died in childbed. After whoſe death the maſter and fellows of Jeſus college, deſirous again of their old companion, namely, for his towardlineſs in learning, choſe him again fellow of the ſame college. Where he remaining at his ſtudy, became in a few years after the reader of divinity lecture in the ſame college, and in ſuch ſpecial eſtimation and reputation with the whole univerſity, that being doctor of divinity, he was commonly appointed one of the heads (which are two or three of the chiefeſt learned men), to examine ſuch as yearly proceed in commencement, either bachelors or doctors of divinity, by whoſe approbation the whole univerſity licenſed them to proceed unto their degree, and again by whoſe diſallowance the univerſity alſo rejected them for a time to proceed, until they be better furniſhed with more knowledge.

Now Dr. Cranmer, ever much favouring the knowledge of the ſcripture, would never admit any to proceed in divinity, unleſs they were ſubſtantially ſeen in the hiſtory of the bible: by means whereof certain friars, and other religious perſons, who were principally brought up in the ſtudy of ſchool-authors, without regard had to the authority of the ſcripture, were commonly rejected by him;

Engraved for Fox's Book of Martyrs.

THE
Martyrdom of Dr. Thomas Cranmer at Oxford

Published as the Act directs *for H. Trapp, Paternoster Row.*

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him; ſo that he was greatly, for that his ſevere examination, of the religious ſort much hated, and had in great indignation; and yet it came to paſs in the end, that divers of them being compelled to ſtudy the ſcriptures, became afterwards very well learned and well-affected; inſomuch that when they proceeded doctors of divinity, they could not over-extol and commend Dr. Cranmer's goodneſs towards them, who for a time had put them back, to aſpire unto better knowledge and perfection. Among whom Dr. Barret, a white friar, who afterwards dwelt in Norwich, was handled after that manner, giving him no leſs commendation for his happy rejecting of him for a better amendment. Thus much I repeat, that our apiſh and popiſh ſort of ignorant prieſts, may well underſtand, that this his exerciſe, kind of life, and vocation, was not altogether hoſtler-like.

Well, to go forwards; like as he was neither in fame unknown, nor in knowledge obſcure, ſo was he greatly ſolicited by Dr. Capon, to have been one of the fellows in the foundation of cardinal Wolſey's college, in Oxford, which he utterly refuſed, not without danger of indignation. Notwithſtanding, foreſeeing that which after happened, to the utter confuſion of many well-affected learned men there, without conſideration (becauſe man's glory was more ſought for than God's), he ſtood to the danger of the ſaid indignation, which chanced more proſperouſly unto him within a few years after than he looked for. For while he thus continued in Cambridge, the great and weighty cauſe of king Henry the eighth's divorce with the lady Catharine, dowager of Spain, came into queſtion; which being many ways by the ſpace of two or three years amongſt the canoniſts, civilians, and other learned men, diverſly diſputed and debated, it came to paſs that this ſaid Dr. Cranmer, by reaſon that the plague was in Cambridge, reſorted to Waltham-Abbey, to one Mr. Creſſey's houſe there, whoſe wife was of kin to the ſaid Mr. Cranmer. And for that he had two ſons of the ſaid Mr. Creſſey with him at Cambridge as his pupils, he reſted at Waltham-Croſs, at the houſe of the ſaid Mr. Creſſey, with the ſaid two children, during that ſummer-time, while the plague reigned.

In this ſummer-time cardinal Campeus and cardinal Wolſey, being in commiſſion from the pope, to hear and determine that great cauſe in controverſy betwen the king and the queen, his pretended wife, dallied and delayed all the ſummer-time until the month of Auguſt came, in hearing the ſaid cauſe in controverſy debated. When Auguſt was come, the ſaid cardinals little minding to proceed to give ſentence, to occaſion to finiſh their commiſſion, and not further to determine therein, pretending that it was not permitted by the laws to keep courts of eccleſiaſtical matters in harveſt time: which ſudden ſtay and giving over of the ſaid commiſſion by both the cardinals, being unknown to the king, it ſo much moved him, that he taking it as a mock at the cardinals hands, commanded the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to diſpatch forthwith cardinal Campeius home again to Rome; and ſo in haſte removed himſelf from London to Waltham for a night or two, while his houſhold removed to Greenwich: by means whereof it happened that the harbingers lodged Dr. Stephen Gardiner, ſecretary, and Dr. Foxe, almoner (who were the chief furtherers, preferrers, and defenders on the king's behalf of the ſaid cauſe), in the houſe of the ſaid Mr. Creſſey, where the ſaid Dr. Cranmer was alſo lodged and reſident. When ſupper-time came, the three doctors met together; Dr. Stephen Gardiner, and Dr. Foxe, much marvelling at Dr. Cranmer's being there. Who declared to them the cauſe of his being there, namely, becauſe the plague was in Cambridge: and as they were of old acquaintance, ſo the ſecretary and the almoner right well entertained Dr. Cranmer, minding to underſtand his opinion concerning the great buſineſs they had in hand. And ſo as good occaſion ſerved, while they were at ſupper, they conferred with Dr. Cranmer concerning the king's cauſe, requeſting him to give his judgment and opinion what he thought therein.

Whereto Dr. Cranmer anſwered, "That he could ſay little to the matter, for that he had not ſtudied nor looked for it. Notwithſtanding he ſaid to them, that in his opinion, they made more ado in proſecuting the law eccleſiaſtical than needed. It were better, as I ſuppoſe, ſaid Dr. Cranmer, that the queſtion, Whether a man may marry his brother's wife or no? were diſcuſſed by the divines, and by the authority of the word of God, whereby the conſcience of the prince might be better ſatisfied and quieted, than thus from year to year by unneceſſary delays to prolong the time, leaving the very truth of the matter unbolted out by the word of God. There is but one truth in it, which the ſcripture will ſoon declare, make open and manifeſt, being by learned men well handled, and that may be as well done in England in the univerſities here, as at Rome, or elſewhere in any foreign nation, the authority whereof will compel any judge ſoon to come to a definitive ſentence: and therefore, as I take it, you might this way have made an end of this matter long ſince. When Dr. Cranmer had thus ended his tale, the other two liked well his device, and wiſhed they had ſo proceeded before time, and thereupon conceived ſome matter of that device to inſtruct the king withal, who was then minded to ſend to Rome again for a new commiſſion.

Now the next day, when the king removed to Greenwich, like as he took himſelf not well handled by the cardinals in thus deferring his cauſe, ſo his mind being uneaſy, and deſirous to ſee an end of this long tedious ſuit, he called unto him the two principal managers of his cauſe, namely, Dr. Gardiner and Dr. Foxe: What now, my maſters (quoth the king) ſhall we do in this infinite cauſe of mine? I ſee by it there muſt be a new commiſſion procured from Rome, and when we ſhall have an end, God knoweth, and not I.

When the king had declared ſomewhat of his mind herein, Dr. Foxe the almoner ſaid to the king again, We truſt that there ſhall be better ways deviſed for your majeſty, than to make travel ſo far as to Rome any more in your highneſs's cauſe, which by chance was put into our heads the other night at Waltham. The king being very deſirous to underſtand his meaning, ſaid, Who hath taken in hand to inſtruct you by any better or ſhorter way to proceed in our ſaid cauſe? Then ſaid Dr. Foxe, We happened to lodge the other night at one Mr. Creſſey's houſe at Waltham, your highneſs being there, where we met with an old acquaintance of ours, named Dr. Cranmer, with whom having conference concerning your highneſs's cauſe, he thought that the neareſt way was, firſt to inſtruct and quiet your majeſty's conſcience by trying your highneſs's queſtion out by the word of God, and thereupon to proceed to a final ſentence. With this report the ſecretary was diſpleaſed with the almoner, becauſe they did not take the glory of this invention to themſelves. And when the ſecretary would have ſeemed by colouring words to make it appear to the king, that it was a project of their own deviſing, the king immediately cried out, Where is this Dr. Cranmer, is he ſtill at Waltham? They anſwered that they left him there. Marry, ſaid the king, I will ſurely ſpeak with him, and therefore let him be ſent for out of hand. I perceive (quoth the king) that that man hath the ſow by the right ear. And if I had known this device but two years ago, it had been in my way a great piece of money, and alſo rid me out of much diſquietneſs.

Whereupon Dr. Cranmer was ſent for, and being removed from Waltham to Cambridge, and ſo towards his friends in Nottinghamſhire, a poſt went for him. But when he came to London, he began to quarrel with his two acquaintances, that he by their means was thus troubled and brought thither to be encumbered in a matter wherein he had nothing at all travelled in ſtudy; and therefore

therefore moſt inſtantly intreated them, that they would make his excuſe in ſuch a manner, that he might be diſpatched away from coming into the king's preſence. They promiſed, and took the matter upon them ſo to do, if by any means they might compaſs it. But all was in vain; for the more they began to excuſe Dr. Cranmer's abſence, the more the king inſiſted to have him brought into his preſence out of hand; ſo that no excuſe ſerving, he was obliged immediately to wait on the king at court, whom the gentle prince benignly accepting, demanded his name, and ſaid unto him, Were not you at Waltham at ſuch a time, in the company of my ſecretary, and my almoner? Dr. Cranmer confeſſing the ſame; the king ſaid again, Had you not conference with them concerning our matter of divorce now in queſtion after this ſort? repeating the manner and order thereof. That is right true, if it pleaſe your highneſs, quoth Dr. Cranmer. Well (ſaid the king) I well perceive that you have the right ſcope of this matter. You muſt underſtand (quoth the king) that I have been long troubled in conſcience, and now I perceive that by this means I might have been long ago relieved one way or other from the ſame, if we had this way proceeded. And therefore, Mr. Doctor, I pray you, and nevertheleſs becauſe you are a ſubject, I charge and command you (all your other buſineſs and affairs ſet apart), to take ſome pains to ſee this my cauſe to be furthered according to your device, as much as it may lie in you, ſo that I may ſhortly underſtand whereunto I may truſt. For this I proteſt before God and the world, that I ſeek not to be divorced from the queen, if by any means I might juſtly be perſuaded that this our matrimony were inviolable, and not againſt the laws of God; for otherwiſe there was never cauſe to move me to ſeek any ſuch extremity. Neither was there ever prince had a more gentle, a more obedient and loving companion and wife than the queen is, nor did I ever fancy woman in all reſpects better, if this doubt had not riſen; aſſuring you for all the ſingular virtues wherewith ſhe is endowed, beſides the conſideration of her noble ſtock, I could be right well contented ſtill to remain with her, if ſo it would ſtand with the will and pleaſure of Almighty God. And thus greatly commending her many and ſingular qualities, the king further ſaid, I therefore pray you with an indifferent eye, and with as much dexterity as lieth in you, that you for your part do handle the matter for the diſcharging of both our conſciences.

Dr. Cranmer much diſabling himſelf to meddle in ſo weighty a matter, beſought the king's highneſs to commit the trial and examining of this matter by the word of God, unto the beſt learned men of both his univerſities, Cambridge and Oxford. You ſay well, ſaid the king, and I am content therewith. But yet nevertheleſs, I will have you eſpecially to write your mind therein. And ſo calling the earl of Wiltſhire to him, ſaid, I pray you, my lord, let Dr. Cranmer have entertainment in your houſe at Durham Place for a time, to the intent he may be there quiet to accompliſh my requeſt, and let him lack neither books, nor any thing requiſite for his ſtudy. And thus after the king's departure, Dr. Cranmer went with my lord of Wiltſhire unto his houſe, wherein he incontinently wrote his mind concerning the king's queſtion; adding to the ſame, beſides the authority of the ſcriptures, of general councils, and of ancient writers, alſo his opinion, which was this; That the biſhop of Rome had no ſuch authority, as whereby he might diſpenſe with the word of God and the ſcripture. When Dr. Cranmer had wrote this book, and committed it to the king, the king ſaid unto him, Will you ſtand to this that you have here written before the biſhop of Rome? That will I do, by God's grace, quoth Dr. Cranmer, if your majeſty do ſend me thither. Marry, quoth the king, I will ſend you even to him in a ſure ambaſſage.

And thus by the means of Dr. Cranmer's handling of this matter with the king, not only certain learned men were ſent abroad to the moſt part of the univerſities in Chriſtendom, to diſpute the queſtion, but alſo the ſame being by commiſſion diſputed by the divin s in both the univerſities of Cambridge and Oxford, it was there concluded, that no ſuch matrimony was by the word of God lawful.

Whereupon a ſolemn ambaſſage was then prepared and ſent to the biſhop of Rome, then being at Bonony, wherein went the earl of Wiltſhire, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Stokeſley, Dr. Carne, Dr. Bennet, and divers other learned men and gentlemen.

And when the time came that they ſhould come before the biſhop of Rome to declare the cauſe of their ambaſſage, the biſhop ſitting on high in his cloth of ſtate, and in his rich apparel, with his ſandals on his feet, offering, as it were, his foot to be kiſſed by the ambaſſadors; the earl of Wiltſhire diſdaining thereat, ſtood ſtill, and made no countenance thereunto, ſo that all the reſt kept themſelves from that idolatry.

Howbeit, one thing here is not to be omitted, as a prognoſticate of our ſeparation from the ſee of Rome, which then chanced by a ſpaniel of the earl of Wiltſhire. For he having there a great ſpaniel which came with him out of England, ſtood directly between the earl and the biſhop of Rome.

And when the ſaid biſhop, that ſervant of the ſervants of God (as he in great humility ſtyled himſelf) offered his foot to be kiſſed, and, while they ſtood ſtill and declined it, the ſaid ſpaniel ſeeing the foot ſhining with gold and jewels, caught hold of it, as taking it to be ſome kind of repaſt, and bit it. The pope diſdaining the affront, in haſte pulled in that glorious foot, and kicked the dog with the other: and while the Engliſhmen ſmiled in their ſleeves at the omen, the pontifical biſhop, knitting his brows, demanded the cauſe of their ambaſſy. Which being declared, the earl of Wiltſhire delivered Cranmer's book to the pope; telling him withal, That there were learned men come along with him from England, who were to defend what was contained in that book, by the holy ſcriptures, the councils, and the writings of the orthodox fathers, againſt all who ſhould contradict it.

The pope often promiſed the ambaſſador to appoint a day for the diſputation; but it was a promiſe which he never performed; by affected delays ſpinning out the time, as his cardinals had done before in England. So giving the ambaſſadors moſt honourable and court-like entertainment, and having made Cranmer (whom he either knew or ſuppoſed to be the author of that book concerning the king's marriage with Catharine) his penitentiary in England, Ireland and Wales; being mighty timerous, and equally afraid of the emperor, the French king, and ours, he durſt not come to any reſolution in a matter of ſuch moment, but diſmiſſed the aſſembly, without determining, or even propoſing any thing about it.

From hence, while the reſt returned home, Cranmer, by the king's private order, made the emperor and the princes of Germany in his way. At that time the emperor was in an expedition againſt the Turk, who was engaged in the ſiege of Vienna, the capital of Auſtria. Whom when Cranmer attended, and aſked him in the king's name which of his domeſtics or others that he knew would contradict him? Cornelius Agrippa was mentioned; a man better verſed in the ſecrets of philoſophy than in divinity. But he being eaſily brought over to Cranmer's ſide of the queſtion, did readily join in perſuading the other learned men of the emperor's retinue, not to oppoſe Cranmer; who, he ſaid, had brought the truth along with him. Therefore meeting with no oppoſition, he took his leave of the emporer. From whence taking a tour throughout Germany, he brought home

home with him to the king the opinions and judgment of the moſt learned men there, as well in the univerſities, as in the courts of princes, all agreeing with his own.

This matter thus proſpering on Dr. Cranmer's behalf, as well touching the king's queſtion, as concerning the invalidity of the pope's authority, biſhop Warham, then archbiſhop of Canterbury, departed this tranſitory life, whereby that dignity then being in the king's gift, was immediately given to Dr. Cranmer, as worthy, for his good ſervices, of ſuch a promotion. Thus much concerning the preferment of Dr. Cranmer, and by what means he arrived at this dignity: not by flattery, nor by bribes, nor by any other unlawful means; which thing I have more at large diſcourſed, to ſtop the railing mouths of ſuch, who being themſelves obſcure and unlearned, are not aſhamed moſt ſcurrilouſly to detract ſo learned a man with the nick-name of Hoſtler, whom, for his godly zeal to ſincere religion, they ought with much humility to have had in regard and reputation.

Now as concerning his behaviour and method of living towards God, and the world, being now entered into his ſaid dignity, and foraſmuch as the apoſtle St. Paul, writing to two biſhops, Timothy and Titus, ſetteth out unto us a perfect deſcription of a true biſhop, with all the other properties and conditions belonging to the ſame, unto which pattern it is rare, in theſe ſtrange days, to find the image of any biſhop correſpondent; yet, for example ſake, let us take the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and try him by the rule thereof, to ſee either how near he cometh to the deſcription of St. Paul, or elſe how far off he ſwerveth from the common courſe of others, in his time, of his calling. The rule of St. Paul is found, 1 Tim. 3. Alſo in his epiſtle to Titus, chap. 1. in theſe words:

"A biſhop muſt be faultleſs, as becometh the miniſter of God. Not ſtubborn, nor angry, no drunkard, no fighter, not given to filthy lucre; but harborous, one that loveth goodneſs, ſober-minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and ſuch as cleaveth unto the true word and doctrine, that he may be able to exhort, &c.

Unto this rule and touch-ſtone, to lay now the life and converſation of this archbiſhop, we will firſt begin with that which is thus written,

A Biſhop muſt be faultleſs, as becometh the Miniſter of God.

As no man is without ſin, and as every man carrieth about him his peculiar vice or failings; yet nevertheleſs the apoſtle meaneth, that the biſhop and miniſter muſt be faultleſs, in compariſon of the common converſation of men of the world, who ſeem to live more licentiouſly at their own liberties and pleaſures, than a biſhop or miniſter ought to do, having ſmall regard to the giving of good example; which a biſhop and miniſter moſt carefully ought to conſider, leſt by his diſſolute life the word of God be ſlandered and evil ſpoken of: to avoid which, and the better to accompliſh this precept of the apoſtle, this worthy man gave himſelf up to continual ſtudy, ſtrictly obſerving the order that he in the univerſity commonly uſed, that is, to be by five o'clock in the morning at his book, and ſo continuing in prayer and ſtudy till nine; he then applied himſelf (if the prince's affairs did not call him away) until dinner-time, to hear ſuiters, and to diſpatch ſuch matters as appertained to his ſpecial cure and charge, committing his temporal affairs, both of his houſhold and other foreign buſineſs, to his officers: ſo that ſuch things were never impediments either to his ſtudy, or to his paſtoral charge, which principally conſiſted in reformation of corrupt religion, and in ſetting forth of true and ſincere doctrine. For the moſt part always being in commiſſion, he aſſociated himſelf with learned men for ſifting or bolting ſomething or other for the advantage and profit of the church of England. By means whereof, and what for his private ſtudy, he was never idle; beſides that, he accounted it no idle point to beſtow an hour or two of the day in reading over ſuch works and books as daily came from beyond the ſeas.

After dinner, if any ſuitors were attendant, he would very diligently hear them, and diſpatch them in ſuch an obliging manner, that every one admired and commended his lenity and gentleneſs, although the caſe required that ſometimes divers of them were committed by him to priſon. And having no ſuiters after dinner, for an hour, or thereabouts, he would play at cheſs, or behold ſuch as were at play. That done, then again to his ordinary ſtudy, where he commonly ſtood (ſeldom ſat down) till five of the clock, which hour he beſtowed in hearing the Common Prayer, and walking, or uſing ſome innocent recreation till ſupper-time. At ſupper, if he had no appetite (as many times he would not ſup) yet he would ſit down at the table, having his ordinary proviſion of his meſs furniſhed with expedient company, he wearing his gloves on his hands, becauſe he would, as it were, thereby wean himſelf from eating of meat, but yet entertaining the company with ſuch edifying diſcourſe as did much delight the hearers; ſo that by this means hoſpitality was well furniſhed, and the alms-cheſt well maintained for relief of the poor. After ſupper he would ſpend, at leaſt, one hour in walking, or ſome other harmleſs paſtime, and then again till nine of the clock at his ſtudy: ſo that no hour of the day was ſpent in vain, but the ſame was ſo beſtowed, as tended to the glory of God, the ſervice of the prince, or the advantage of the church. By all which he gained a good report among men, ſo that his converſation, in compariſon of other men, ſeemed to be faultleſs, as the miniſter of God.

That a Biſhop ought not to be ſtubborn.

Secondly, it is required, "That a biſhop ought not to be ſtubborn." With which kind of vice, without great wrong, this archbiſhop in no wiſe ought to be charged; whoſe nature was ſuch, as none more gentle, or ſooner won to an honeſt ſuit or purpoſe, eſpecially in ſuch things, wherein by his word, writing, counſel or deed, he might gratify either any gentleman or nobleman, or do good to any mean perſon, or elſe relieve the needy and poor. Only in cauſes pertaining to God or his prince, no man more ſtout, more conſtant, or more hard to be won; as in that part his earneſt defence in the parliament-houſe above three days together, in diſputing againſt the ſix articles of Gardiner's device, can teſtify. And though the king would needs have them upon ſome politic conſideration to go forward, yet he ſo handled himſelf as well in the parliament-houſe, as afterwards by writing, ſo obediently and with ſuch humble behaviour in words towards his prince, proteſting the cauſe not to be his, but Almighty God's, who was the author of all truth, that the king did not only well like his defence (willing him to depart out of the parliament-houſe into the council-chamber, whilſt the act ſhould paſs and be granted, for ſafeguard of his conſcience; which he with humble proteſtation refuſed, hoping that his majeſty, in proceſs of time, would revoke them again) but alſo after the parliament was finiſhed, the king perceiving the zealous affection that the archbiſhop bare towards the defence of his cauſe, which many ways, by ſcriptures and manifold authorities and reaſons he had ſubſtantially confirmed and defended, ſent the lord Cromwell, then vicegerent, with the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and all the lords of the parliament, to dine with him at Lambeth; where it was declared by the vicegerent, and the two dukes, that it was the king's pleaſure, that they all ſhould, in his highneſs's behalf, cheriſh, comfort, and animate him, as one that for his travel in that parliament had ſhewed himſelf both great-

ly learned, and alſo diſcreet and wiſe, and therefore they willed him not to be diſcouraged for any thing that was paſſed contrary to his allegations. He moſt humbly thanked the king's majeſty for his great goodneſs towards him, and them for all their pains, ſaying, I hope in God, that hereafter my allegations and authorities ſhall take place to the glory of God, and the advantage of the realm; in the mean time I will ſatisfy myſelf with the honourable conſent of your honours, and the whole parliament.

Here it is to be noted, that this man's ſtout and godly defence of the truth herein ſo bound the prince's conſcience, that he would not permit the truth in that man to be clean overthrown with authority and power; and therefore this way God working in the prince's mind, a plain token was declared hereby, that all things were not ſo ſincerely handled in the confirmation of the ſaid ſix articles as it ought to have been, for elſe the prince might have had a juſt cauſe to have borne his great indignation towards the archbiſhop. Let us pray that the like ſtoutneſs may be perceived in all eccleſiaſtical and learned men, where the truth ought to be defended, and alſo the like relenting and flexibility may take place in princes and noblemen, when they ſhall have occaſion offered them to maintain the ſame, ſo that they utterly overwhelm not the truth by ſelf will, power and authority. Now in the end, this archbiſhop's conſtancy was ſuch towards God's cauſe, that he confirmed all his doings by bitter death in the fire, without reſpect of any worldly treaſure or pleaſure. And as concerning his ſtoutneſs in his prince's cauſe, the contrary reſiſtance of the duke of Northumberland againſt him proved right well his good mind that way; which chanced by reaſon that he would not conſent unto the diſſolving of chauntries, until the king came of age, to the intent that they might then better ſerve to furniſh his royal eſtate, than to have ſo great treaſure conſumed in his nonage. Which his ſtoutneſs, joined with ſuch ſimplicity, ſurely was thought to divers of the council a thing incredible, eſpecially in ſuch ſort to contend with him, who was ſo accounted in this realm, as few or none would or durſt withſtand him.

So dear to him was the cauſe of God, and of his prince, that for the one he would not keep his conſcience clogged, nor for the other lurk or hide his head. Otherwiſe (as it is ſaid) his very enemies might eaſily intreat him in any cauſe reaſonable; ſo that he was altogether free from the vice of ſtubbornneſs, and rather culpable of over-much facility and gentleneſs.

Not Angry.

Then followeth, "Not angry." Surely if over-much patience may be a vice, this man may ſeem to offend rather on this ſide than on the contrary. Albeit for all his doings I cannot ſay: for the moſt part ſuch was his mortification that way, that few we ſhall find in whom the ſaying of our Saviour Chriſt ſo much prevailed as with him, who would not only have a man to forgive his enemies, but alſo to pray for them; that leſſon never went out of his memory. It was known that he had many cruel enemies, not for his own deſerts, but only for the ſake of his religion: and yet whoſoever he was that ſought his hindrance, either in goods, eſtimation, or life, and upon conference would ſeem never ſo ſlenderly to relent and excuſe himſelf, he would both forget the offence, and ever afterwards immediately entertain the offender: inſomuch that it became a common proverb; "Do unto my lord of Canterbury a diſpleaſure, or a ſhrewd turn, and then you may be ſure to have him your friend whilſt he liveth." Of which his gentle diſpoſition in abſtaining from revenge, amongſt many examples thereof, I ſhall repeat one.

It happened an ignorant prieſt and parſon in the north parts (the town is not now in remembrance, but he was kinſman to one Cherſey a grocer in London; being one of thoſe prieſts that uſed more to ſtudy at the alehouſe, than in his chamber) to ſit on a time with his honeſt neighbours at the alehouſe in his own pariſh, where they were talking in the praiſe of my lord Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury. And the prieſt, envying his name only for religion ſake, ſaid to his neighbours, "What make you of him, he was but an hoſtler, and hath no more learning than the goſlins that go yonder on the green," with ſuch like ſlanderous and uncomely words. His honeſt neighbours, not much liking his irreverend ſpeech, articled againſt him, and ſent their complaint to the lord Cromwell, then vicegerent in cauſes eccleſiaſtical, who ſent for the prieſt, and committed him to the Fleet, intending to have made him recant thoſe ſlanderous words publicly at Paul's croſs. However the lord Cromwell, having great affairs of the prince then in hand, forgot his priſoner in the Fleet: ſo that the ſaid Cherſey the the grocer, underſtanding that his kinſman was in confinement, only for ſpeaking words againſt my lord of Canterbury, conſulted with the prieſt, and between them deviſed to apply rather to the archbiſhop for deliverance, than to the lord Cromwell, before whom he was accuſed; well knowing the difference of their tempers, the one gentle and full of clemency, the other ſomewhat more ſevere and rigid, eſpecially againſt a papiſt: ſo that Cherſey took upon himſelf firſt to try my lord of Canterbury's benignity, inaſmuch as his couſin's offence was only againſt him, and none other. Whereupon the ſaid Cherſey came to one of the archbiſhop's gentlemen (whoſe father bought all his ſpices and fruit of the ſaid Cherſey, and ſo thereby of familiar acquaintance with the gentleman) and acquainted him with the trouble his kinſman was in, deſiring him to be a means to my lord his maſter, to hear his ſuit in the behalf of his kinſman.

The matter was moved. The archbiſhop, like a good-natured man, would never ſhew himſelf ſtrange to the meaneſt petitioner: he immediately ſent for the ſaid Cherſey, who appearing before him, declared, that there was a kinſman of his in the Fleet, a prieſt of the north country, and as I may tell your grace the truth (quoth Cherſey) a man of ſmall civility, and of leſs learning. And yet he hath a parſonage there, which now (by reaſon that the lord Cromwell hath laid him in priſon) being in his cure, is unſerved, and he hath continued in durance above two months, and is called to no anſwer, and knows not when he ſhall come to any end; ſo that this impriſonment conſumeth his ſubſtance, and will utterly undo him, unleſs your grace be his good lord.

I know not the man, ſaid the archbiſhop, nor what he hath done why he ſhould be thus in trouble.

Said Cherſey again, He only hath offended againſt your grace, and againſt no man elſe, as may well be perceived by the articles objected againſt him; the copy whereof the ſaid Cherſey then exhibited to the ſaid archbiſhop of Canterbury; who well peruſing the ſaid articles ſaid, This is the common talk of all the ignorant popiſh prieſts in England againſt me. Surely, ſaid he, I was never made privy to this accuſation, and of his confinement I never heard before this time. Notwithſtanding, if there be nothing elſe to charge him withal againſt the prince or any of the council, I will at your requeſt take order with him, and ſend him home again to his cure to do his duty; and ſo thereupon ſent his ring to the warden of the Fleet, deſiring him to ſend the priſoner unto him, with his keeper in the afternoon.

When the keeper had brought the priſoner at the hour appointed, and Cherſey had well inſtructed his couſin in any wiſe to ſubmit himſelf to the archbiſhop, confeſſing his fault, whereby that way he ſhould moſt eaſily have an end and win his favour: the parſon was carried into the garden at Lambeth, and there the archbiſhop, ſitting under the vine, demanded of the parſon what was the cauſe of his confinement, and who committed him to the Fleet. The parſon anſwered and ſaid, that the lord Cromwell ſent him thither,

thither, and that certain malicious pariſhioners of his pariſh had wrongfully accuſed him of words which he never ſpake nor meant. Cherſey hearing his fooliſh couſin ſo far out of the way from his former inſtruction, ſaid, Thou daſtardly dolt and varlet, is this thy promiſe thou madeſt to me? Are there not a great number of thy honeſt neighbours hands againſt thee, to prove thee a lyar? Surely my lord (quoth Cherſey) it is pity to do him good, I am ſorry that I have troubled your grace thus far with him.

Well, ſaid the archbiſhop unto the parſon, if you have not offended me, I can do you no good: for I am intreated to help one out of trouble that hath offended againſt me, if my lord Cromwell hath committed you to priſon wrongfully, that lieth himſelf to amend, and not in me. If your offence only hath touched me, I will be bold to do ſomewhat for your friend's ſake here. If you have not offended againſt me, then have I nothing to do with you, but that you may go and remain from whence you came.

Lord, what ado his kinſman Cherſey made with him, calling him all kind of opprobrious names: In the end my lord of Canterbury, ſeeming to riſe and go his ways, the prieſt fell on his knees, and ſaid, I beſeech your grace to forgive me this offence, aſſuring your grace that I ſpake thoſe words being drunk and not well adviſed.

Ah, ſaid my lord, this is ſomewhat, and yet it is no good excuſe: for drunkenneſs always uttereth that which lieth hid in the heart of man when he is ſober, alledging a text or two out of the ſcriptures concerning the vice of drunkenneſs, which cometh not now to remembrance.

Now therefore (ſaid the archbiſhop) that you acknowledge ſomewhat your fault, I am content to commune with you, hoping that you are at this preſent of an indifferent ſobriety. Tell me then, quoth he, did you ever ſee me, or were you ever acquainted with me before this day?

The prieſt anſwered and ſaid, that he never ſaw his grace in his life. Why then, ſaid the archbiſhop, what occaſion had you to call me an hoſtler, and that I had not ſo much learning as the goſlins which then went upon the green before your face? If I have no learning you may now try it, and be out of doubt thereof: therefore I pray you poſe me, either in grammar or in other liberal ſciences, for I have at one time or other taſted partly of them. Or elſe if you are a divine, ſay ſomewhat that way.

The prieſt being amazed at my lord's familiar talk, anſwered and ſaid, I beſeech your grace to pardon me. I am altogether unlearned, and underſtand not the Latin tongue, but very ſimply. My only ſtudy hath been to ſay my ſervice and maſs, fair and deliberate, which I can do as well as any prieſt in the country where I dwell, I thank God.

Well, ſaid my lord, if you will not poſe me, I will make bold to poſe you, and yet as eaſily as I can deviſe, and that only in the ſtory of the Bible now in Engliſh, in which I ſuppoſe that you are daily exerciſed. Tell me therefore who was king David's father, ſaid my lord. The prieſt ſtood ſtill, pauſing a while, and ſaid, In good faith, my lord, I have forgotten his name. Then ſaid my lord again to him, If you cannot tell that, I pray you tell me then, who was Solomon's father? The fooliſh prieſt without all conſideration of what was demanded of him before, made anſwer, Good my lord, bear with me, I am no further ſeen in the Bible, than is daily read in our ſervice in the church.

Then the archbiſhop ſaid, This my queſtion may be found well anſwered in your ſervice. But I now well perceive, howſoever you have judged heretofore of my learning, ſure I am that you have none at all. But this is the common practice of all you that be ignorant and ſuperſtitious prieſts, to ſlander, back-bite, and hate all ſuch as are learned and well affected toward God's word and ſincere religion. Common reaſon might have taught you what an unlikely thing it was, and contrary to all manner of reaſon, that a prince having two univerſities within his realm of well learned men, and deſirous to be reſolved of as doubtful a queſtion as in theſe many years the like was not moved within Chriſtendom, ſhould be driven to that neceſſity for the defence of his cauſe, to ſend out of his realm an hoſtler, being a man of no better knowledge than is a goſlin, in an ambaſſy to anſwer all learned men, both in the court of Rome, and the emperor's court, in ſo difficult a queſtion as toucheth the king's matrimony, and the divorce thereof. I ſay, if you were men of any reaſonable conſideration, you might think it both unſeemly and uncomely for a prince ſo to do. But look, where malice reigneth in man, there reaſon can take no place: and therefore I ſee by it, that you are all at a point, that no reaſon or authority can perſuade you to favour my name, who never meant evil to you, but both your advantage and profit, Howbeit, God amend you all, forgive you, and ſend you better minds.

With theſe words the prieſt ſeemed to weep, and deſired his grace to pardon his fault and frailty, ſo that by this means he might return to his cure again, and he would certainly recant thoſe fooliſh words before his pariſhioners ſo ſoon as he came home, and would become a new man. Well, ſaid the archbiſhop, ſo had you need: and giving him a godly admonition to refuſe the haunting of the alehouſe, and to beſtow his time better in the continual reading of the ſcriptures, he diſmiſſed him from the Fleet.

The lord Cromwell, perceiving within a fortnight after that his priſoner was ſent home without any open puniſhment, came to Lambeth to the archbiſhop, and in a great heat ſaid to him; My lord, I underſtand that you have diſpatched the northern prieſt home again, that I of late ſent to the Fleet for railing againſt you, and calling you an hoſtler.

Indeed I have done ſo, ſaid the archbiſhop, for that in his abſence the people of his cure wanted their divine ſervice. It is very devout divine ſervive that he ſaith, quoth the lord Cromwell: It were more meet for him to be an hoſtler than a curate, who ſticked not to call you an hoſtler. But I thought ſo much what you would do, and therefore I would not tell you of his knavery when I ſent him to priſon. Howbeit, henceforth they ſhall cut your throat before that I ſay any thing more to them on your behalf. Why, what would you have done with him? quoth the archbiſhop; there was nothing laid to his charge, other than words ſpoken againſt me; and now the man hath repented, and is well reconciled, and hath been at great charges in priſon: it is time therefore that he were rid out of his trouble. Well, ſaid my lord Cromwell, I meant that he ſhould have preached a recantation at Paul's Croſs before he had gone home. That had been well done, quoth the archbiſhop, for then you would have had all the world to wonder at me as well as at him. Well, well, ſaid the lord Cromwell, we ſhall ſo long bear with theſe popiſh knaves, that at length they will bring us indeed to be wondered at of all the world.

This example among others ſerveth to declare, that there remained ſmall deſire of revenging in the ſaid archbiſhop. But what ſhould I ſay more? His quietneſs and mortification this way was ſuch, that it is reported by all that knew him, that he never raged ſo far with any of his houſhold ſervants, as once to call the meaneſt of them varlet or knave in anger, much leſs to reprove a ſtranger with any reproachful words. Much unlike in this part to the property (as it ſeemeth) of ſome other inferior biſhops of this realm, which have not ſpared to fly in the faces, to pluck off the beards, to burn the hands, to beat and ſcourge with rods the bodies both of gentlemen, married men and others, having almoſt nothing elſe in their mouths, but fools and knaves, &c. and yet after all this,

this, think themſelves good perfect biſhops, after the rule which followeth and ſaith,

No Striker, No Fighter.

From which kind of vice, the nature of this archbiſhop was ſo far off, as was his doctrine which he profeſſed, and death which he ſuffered, far from all condition and example of blind popery. After the prohibition of theſe foreſaid vices, ſucceedeth the mother of all good virtues neceſſarily required by all true chriſtians, but chiefly of a ſpiritual prelate: which is,

Not given to filthy Lucre, but harborous.

The contrary whereof was ſo odious unto St. Paul, that he eſteemed the ſame no leſs than a kind of idolatry, in that it maketh men forget their duty to God ſo far, and inſtead of him to worſhip their treaſure. How little this prelate we ſpeak of was infected with this vice, and how he was no niggard, all kind of people that knew him, as well learned beyond the ſeas and on this ſide, to whom yearly he gave in exhibition great ſums of money, as others, both gentlemen, mean men, and poor men, who in their neceſſity that which he could conveniently ſpare, lend or make, can well teſtify. And albeit, ſuch was his liberality to all ſorts of men, that no man did lack whom he could do for, either in giving or lending; yet nevertheleſs ſuch was again his circumſpection, that when he was apprehended and committed to the Tower by queen Mary, he owed no man living a penny, that could or would demand any duty of him, but ſatisfied every man to the uttermoſt; whereas ſeveral ſums of money were owing him by divers perſons, which by breaking their bills and obligations he freely forgave, and ſuppreſſed before his attainder. Inſomuch that when he perceived the fatal end of king Edward would work to him no good ſucceſs touching his body and goods, he immediatedately called for his officers, his ſteward and others, commanding them in any wiſe to pay where any money was owing, which was out of hand diſpatched. And then he ſaid, Now I thank God I am mine own man, and in conſcience with God's help able elſe to anſwer all the world and worldly adverſaries, which ſome men ſuppoſe he might alſo have avoided: if he would have been counſelled by ſome of his friends. It followeth moreover:

Harborous.

And as touching this word Harborous, whereby is meant the good maintenance of hoſpitality; ſo little was this property lacking in him, that ſome men diſliking the ſame, thought rather a houſe of overmuch laviſhing and unprofitable expence. But as nothing can be ſo well done, which by ſome others ſhall not be maligned and detracted; ſo neither did this man lack his cavillers, ſome finding fault with his overmuch prodigality, ſome on the contrary part repining and complaining of his ſcanty houſe-keeping, and ſtrict order, much beneath his revenues and calling. Of which two, the firſt ſort muſt conſider the cauſes which moved him to that liberal and large kind of expences. Wherein here cometh to be conſidered, the time wherein he ſerved: which was when reformation of religion firſt began to be advanced. In which time the whole weight and care of the ſame chiefly depended upon him. During which ſeaſon almoſt for the ſpace of ſixteen years together, his houſe was never lightly unfurniſhed of a number both of learned men and commiſſioners, from time to time appointed for deciding eccleſiaſtical affairs.

And thus as he ſeemed to ſome to be too laviſh and open-handed, even more than hoſpitality required: ſo on the other ſide, there wanted not ſome, by whom he was much noted and accuſed, yea, and complained of to king Henry the eighth, for too niggardly and ſlender houſe-keeping; as not worthy to be accounted the hoſpitality of a mean gentleman, as by the following doth appear.

After that the ample and great poſſeſſions, revenues, jewels, rich ornaments, and other treaſures of the abbies were diſſolved and brought into the king's hands, in the diſſolving whereof many cormorants were fed and ſatisfied, and yet not ſo fully ſatisfied but that in a few years they began to be hungry again; and becauſe no more could be ſcraped out of the abbies, they began to ſeek ſome other pray to ſatisfy their appetites, which was to tickle the king's ears with the rich revenue of the biſhop's lands. And to bring this device to paſs, they procured Sir Thomas Seymour, night of the privy chamber, to be a promoter of the matter: who not in all points much favouring the archbiſhop, having a convenient opportunity, declared to the king, that my lord of Canterbury did nothing elſe but ſell his woods, and let his leaſes by great and many fines, making havock of all the royalties of the archbiſhopric, and that only to the intent to gather up treaſure, for his wife and children, keeping no manner of hoſpitality, in reſpect of ſo great a revenue; advertiſing the king further, that it was the opinion of many wiſe men, that it were more meet for the biſhops to have a ſufficient yearly ſtipend in money out of the Exchequer, than to be encumbered with thoſe temporal affairs of their royalties, being impediments to their ſtudy and paſtoral charge; and his highneſs to have their lands and royalties converted to his proper uſe, which beſides their honeſt ſtipends would be no ſmall advantage and profit to his majeſty.

When the king had heard his fair tale, he ſaid little thereunto, other than this. Well, quoth he, we will talk more of this matter at another time. Now, within a fortnight after, or thereabouts (whether by chance, or by intention, it is not known) it came to paſs, that one day his highneſs going to dinner, had waſhed, Sir Thomas Seymour holding the baſon, and ſaid to the ſaid Sir Thomas, Go you out of hand to Lambeth unto my lord of Canterbury, and bid him to be with me at two of the clock in the afternoon, and fail not. Sir Thomas immediately went to Lambeth, and as he came to the gate, the porter being in the lodge, came out, and conveyed him to the hall, which was thoroughly furniſhed and ſet, both with the houſhold ſervants and ſtrangers, with four principal head meſſes of officers, as daily was accuſtomed to be. When Sir Thomas Seymour ſaw that ſtately large hall ſo well ſet and furniſhed, being therewith abaſhed, and ſomewhat guilty of an untruth told to the king before, he returned back, and would needs have gone to the archbiſhop by the chapel, and not through the hall. Richard Nevil, gentleman, then ſteward to the houſhold, perceiving him to retire, came to him, and deſired to know whether he would ſpeak with my lord: Sir Thomas anſwered, that he muſt needs do ſo from the king's highneſs, ſaying to him, And this way I am going to my lord's grace. Sir, ſaid the ſteward, you cannot go that way, for the door is ſhut faſt in dinner time; and ſo by gentle means brought him up through the hall into the chamber where my lord was at dinner, with whom he dined after he had done his meſſage, whoſe common fare might always well beſeem a right honourable perſonage. When dinner was ſcarce done, Sir Thomas took his leave of my lord, and went again to the court.

So ſoon as the king ſaw him, he ſaid to him, Have you been with my lord Canterbury? Sir Thomas anſwered, That I have, if it pleaſe your majeſty, and he will be with your highneſs immediately. Dined you not with him, ſaid the king? Yes Sir, ſaid he, that I have done. And with that word, whether he eſpied by the king's countenance, or by his words, any thing tending to diſpleaſure, he preſently without delay kneeled down upon his knee, and ſaid, I beſeech your majeſty to pardon me: I do well now remember and underſtand, that of late I told

told your highneſs a great untruth concerning my lord of Canterbury's houſe-keeping; but from henceforth I intend never to believe that perſon which did put that vain tale into my head: for I aſſure your highneſs that I never ſaw ſo honourable a hall ſet in this realm, except your majeſty's, in all my life, with better order, and ſo well furniſhed in each decree. If I had not ſeen it myſelf, I could never have believed it, and himſelf alſo ſo honourably ſerved.

Ah, Sir, quoth the king, have you now eſpied the truth, I thought you would have told me another tale when you had been there. He was a varlet, quoth the king, that told you that tale; for he ſpendeth (ah good man) all that he hath in houſe keeping. But now I perceive which way the wind bloweth. There are a ſort of you to whom I have liberally given of the poſſeſſions and revenues of the ſuppreſſed monaſteries, which like as you have lightly gotten, ſo have you more unthriftily ſpent, ſome at dice, other ſome in gay apparel, and other ways worſe I fear; and now that all is gone you would fain have me make another cheviſance with the biſhops' lands, to accompliſh your greedy appetites. But let no other biſhops beſtow their revenues worſe than my lord of Canterbury doth, then ſhall you have no cauſe to complain of their keeping of houſe.

And thus the tale being ſhut up, and ended by the king himſelf, neither Sir Thomas Seymour, nor any other on his behalf, ever after durſt renew or revive that ſuit, or any other againſt the archbiſhop in king Henry's days; ſo that it may be evident to all impartial men, the liberality of the archbiſhop in houſe-keeping what it was, which being defended and commended by the prince himſelf, may rather give a good example to his poſterity to follow, than was then to be depraved of any private ſubject, ſuch as knew him not.

In which archbiſhop this moreover is to be noted with a memorandum touching the relief of the poor, impotent, ſick, and ſuch as then came from the wars at Bullen, and other parts beyond the ſeas, lame, wounded, and deſtitute: for whom he provided, beſides his manſion-houſe at Beckiſburn in Kent, the parſonage barn well furniſhed with certain lodgings for the ſick and maimed ſoldiers. To whom were alſo appointed the almoner, a phyſician, and a ſurgeon to attend upon them, and to dreſs and cure ſuch as were not able to reſort to their countries, having daily from the biſhop's kitchen hot broth and meat: for otherwiſe the common alms of the houſhold was beſtowed upon the poor neighbours of the ſhire. And when any of the impotent did recover, and were able to travel, they had convenient money to bear their charges, according to the number of miles from that place diſtant. And this good example of mercy and liberal benignity, I thought here good not in ſilence to be ſuppreſſed, whereby others may be moved according to their vocation, to walk in the ſteps of no leſs liberality, than in him in this behalf appeared.

One that loveth goodneſs, ſober-minded, righteous, holy, and temperate.

As concerning theſe qualities, the buſineſs of his life before joined with his benign and gentle diſpoſition, do teſtify that he could not be void of theſe virtues reigning in him, which was ſo abundantly adorned with the other, which above we have declared.

To cleave faſt unto the true Word of Doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholſome Learning, and to reprove them that ſay againſt it.

Then concludeth St. Paul with the moſt excellent virtue of all others to be wiſhed in a prelate of the church. For if this conſtancy be not in him to this end, that is, "To cleave faſt unto the true word of doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholſome learning and to reprove them that ſay againſt it." If he be void, I ſay, of theſe giſts and graces, he is worthy of no commendation, but ſhall ſeem an idol, and a deceiver of the world. Neither ſhall he deſerve the name of a biſhop, if either for dread or reward, affection or favour, he do at any time, or in any point ſwerve from the truth. As in this behalf the worthy conſtancy of this ſaid archbiſhop never, for the moſt part, ſhrunk for any manner of ſtorm; but was ſo many ways tried, that neither the fear or favour of his prince, nor any other reſpect could alienate or change his purpoſe, grounded upon that infallible doctrine of the goſpel. Notwithſtanding, his conſtant defence of God's truth was ever joined with ſuch meekneſs toward the king, that he never took occaſion of offence againſt him.

At the time of ſetting forth the ſix articles, this archbiſhop was the man, and the only man that oppoſed them, and diſputed with the whole parliament three days together againſt them. Inſomuch that the king, who could not miſlike his reaſons, and yet would needs have the articles paſs, required him to abſent for a time out of the chamber while the act ſhould paſs, and ſo he did: and ſoon after the king ſent all the lords to Lambeth to comfort and chear up his heart, that he might not be diſcouraged.

And this was done during the time of the lord Cromwell's authority; but that the archbiſhop's conſtancy did not decay with the fall of the lord Cromwell, will appear by what followeth.

After the apprehenſion of the lord Cromwell, the adverſaries of the goſpel thought all things ſure and ſafe on their own ſide, it was ſo appointed amongſt them, that ten or twelve biſhops, and other learned men, joined together in commiſſion, ſhould come to the archbiſhop of Canterbury for the eſtabliſhing of certain articles or our religion, which the papiſts then thought to win to their purpoſe againſt the ſaid archbiſhop. For having now the lord Cromwell faſt and ſure, they thought all had been ſafe and ſure for ever: as indeed to all men's reaſonable conſideration, that time appeared ſo dangerous, that there was no manner of hope that religion reformed ſhould ſtand one week longer, ſuch account was then made of the king's untowardneſs thereunto. Inſomuch that of all thoſe commiſſioners there was not one left to ſtay on the archbiſhop's part, but he alone againſt them all ſtood in defence of the truth; and thoſe that he moſt truſted to, namely, biſhop Heath and biſhop Skip, left him in the plain field, who then ſo turned againſt him, that they took upon them to perſuade him to their purpoſe: and having him down from the reſt of the commiſſioners into his gardens of Lambeth, there by all manner of effectual perſuaſions intreated him to leave off his over-much conſtancy, and to incline unto the king's intent, who was fully ſet to have it otherwiſe than he then had penned, or meant to have ſet abroad. When thoſe two his familiars, with one or two of his other friends, had uſed all their eloquence and policy, he little regarding their inconſtancy and remiſſneſs in God's cauſe and quarrel, very notably ſaid unto them;

You make much ado (quoth the archbiſhop) to have me come to your purpoſe, alledging, that it is the king's pleaſure to have the articles, in that ſort you have deviſed them, to proceed; and now that you do perceive his highneſs by ſiniſter information, to be bent that way, you think it a convenient thing to apply unto his highneſs's mind. You be both my friends, eſpecially one of you I did put to his majeſty as of truſt. beware, I ſay, what you do: There is but one truth in our articles to be concluded upon, which if you do hide from his highneſs by conſenting unto a contrary doctrine, and then after in proceſs of time, when the truth cannot be hidden from him, his highneſs ſhall perceive how that you have dealt colourably with him, I know his grace's nature ſo well (quoth the archbiſhop) that he will never after truſt and credit you, or put any good confidence in you. And as

you are both my friends, ſo therefore I will you to beware thereof in time, and diſcharge your conſciences in maintenance of the truth.

But all this would not ſerve, for they ſtill ſwerved; and in diſcharging his conſcience, and declaring the truth unto the king, God ſo wrought with the king, that his highneſs joined with him againſt all the reſt, ſo that the book of articles paſſing on his ſide, he won the prize from them all, contrary to all their expectations, when many wagers would have been laid in London, that he ſhould have been laid up with Cromwell at that time in the Tower for his ſtiff ſtanding to his tackle. After that day there could neither counſellor, biſhop, nor papiſt bring him out of the king's favour.

Notwithſtanding, not long after that, certain of the council, whoſe names need not be mentioned, by the inticement and provocation of his old enemy the biſhop of Wincheſter, and others of the ſame ſect, attempted the king againſt him, declaring plainly, that the realm was ſo infected with hereſies and heretics, that it was dangerous for his highneſs further to permit it unreformed, leſt peradventure by long ſuffering, ſuch contention ſhould riſe and enſue in the realm among his ſubjects, that thereby might ſpring horrible commotions and uproars, like as in ſome parts of Germany it did not long ago; the enormity whereof they could not impute to any ſo much as to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who by his own preaching, and his chaplains had filled the realm with divers and pernicious hereſies. The king would needs know his accuſers. They anſwered foraſmuch as he was a counſellor, no man durſt take upon him to accuſe him; but if it would pleaſe his highneſs to commit him to the Tower for a time, there would be accuſations and proofs enough againſt him: for otherwiſe, juſt teſtimony and witneſs againſt him would not appear, and therefore your highneſs (ſaid they) muſt needs give us the counſel, liberty and leave, to commit him to priſon.

The king perceiving their importunate ſuit againſt the archbiſhop (but yet meaning not to have him wronged and utterly given over into their hands) granted unto them that they ſhould the next day commit him to the Tower for his trial. When night came, the king ſent Sir Anthony Deny about midnight to Lambeth to the archbiſhop, willing him forthwith to reſort unto him at the court. The meſſage done, the archbiſhop ſpeedily addreſſed himſelf at the court, and coming into the gallery where the king walked and tarried from him, his highneſs ſaid, Ah, my lord of Canterbury, I can tell you news. For divers weighty conſiderations it is determined by me and the council, that you to-morrow by nine of the clock, ſhould be committed to the Tower, for that you and your chaplains (as information is given us) have taught and preached, and thereby ſown within the realm ſuch a number of execrable hereſies, that it is feared, the whole realm being infected with them, no ſmall contentions and commotions will ariſe thereby among my ſubjects, as of late days the like was in divers parts of Germany: and therefore the council have requeſted me, for the trial of the matter, to ſuffer them to commit you to the Tower, or elſe no man dare come forth, as witneſs in theſe matters, you being a counſellor.

When the king had ſaid his mind, the archbiſhop kneeled down and ſaid, I am content if it pleaſe your grace, with all my heart to go thither at your highneſs's commandment, and I moſt humbly thank your majeſty that I may come to my trial: for there be thoſe that have many ways ſlandered me, and now by this way I hope to try myſelf not worthy of ſuch report.

The king perceiving the man's uprightneſs joined with ſuch ſimplicity, ſaid; O Lord! what manner of man be you! what ſimplicity is in you? I thought that you would rather have ſued to us to have taken the pains to have heard you and your accuſers together for your trial, without any ſuch impriſonment. Do you not know what ſtate you be in with the whole world, and how many great enemies you have? Do you not conſider what an eaſy thing it is, to procure three or four falſe knaves to witneſs againſt you? Think you to have better luck that way than your maſter Chriſt had? I ſee by it you will run headlong to your own ruin, if I would ſuffer you. Your enemies ſhall not ſo prevail againſt you, for I have otherwiſe deviſed with myſelf to keep you out of their hands. Yet notwithſtanding, to-morrow when the council ſhall ſit, and ſend for you, reſort unto them, and if in charging you with this matter, they do commit you to the Tower, require of them, (becauſe you are one of them, a counſellor) that you may have your accuſers brought before them without any further confinement; and uſe for yourſelf as good arguments that way as you may deviſe; and if no intreaty or reaſonable requeſt will ſerve, then deliver unto them this my ring [which then the king delivered unto the archbiſhop] and ſay unto them, If there be no remedy, my lords, but that I muſt needs go to the Tower, then I revoke my cauſe from you, and appeal to the king's own perſon by this his token unto you all: for (ſaid the king to the archbiſhop) ſo ſoon as they ſhall ſee this my ring, they will know it ſo well, that they ſhall underſtand that I have reſumed the whole cauſe into mine own hands and determination, and that I have diſcharged them thereof.

The archbiſhop perceiving the king's benignity ſo much towards him, had much ado to forbear tears. Well, ſaid the king, go your ways, my lord, and do as I have bidden you. My lord humbling himſelf with thanks, took his leave of his majeſty for that night.

On the morrow about nine of the clock before noon, the council ſent a gentleman uſher for the archbiſhop, who when he came to the council-chamber door, could not be let in, but of purpoſe (as it ſeemed) was compelled there to wait among the pages, lacquies, and ſerving-men. Dr. Butts the king's phyſician reſorting that way, and ſeeing how my lord of Canterbury was uſed, went immediately to the king's highneſs, and ſaid, May it pleaſe your grace, my lord of Canterbury is well promoted: for now he is become a footman: yonder he hath ſtood this half hour at the council-chamber door amongſt them. Sure it is not ſo! (quoth the king) the council hath not ſo little diſcretion as to uſe the metropolitan of all the realm in that manner, eſpecially being one of their own number. But let him alone (ſaid the king) you ſhall hear more by and by.

Anon the archbiſhop was called into the council-chamber, to whom was alledged as before is rehearſed. The archbiſhop anſwered as the king had before adviſed him; and in the end, when he perceived that no manner of perſuaſion or intreaty could ſerve, he delivered the king's ring, revoking his cauſe into the king's hands. At this the whole council were much amazed, and it is an eaſy matter to imagine how fooliſhly they looked upon one another. The earl of Bedford with a loud voice, and rapping out a great oath, When you firſt began the matter, my lords, I told you what would come of it. Do you think that the king will ſuffer this man's finger to ake? much more, I warrant you, will he defend his life againſt brabbling varlets. You do but incumber yourſelves to hear tales and fables againſt him. And ſo immediately upon receipt of the king's token, they all aroſe, and carried the king his ring, ſurrendering the matter, as the order and cuſtom was, into his own hands.

When they were all come into the king's preſence, his highneſs, with a ſevere countenance ſaid unto them, Ah, my lords, I thought I had had wiſer men of my council than now I find you. What diſcretion was this in you, thus to make the primate of all the realm, and one of you in office, to wait at the council-chamber door amongſt footmen? you might have conſidered that he was a counſellor as well as you, and you had no ſuch commiſſion of me ſo to handle him. I was willing that you ſhould try him as a counſellor, and not as a mean ſubject. But now I well perceive that things be done againſt him maliciouſ-

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ly, and if ſome of you might have had your minds, you would have tried him to the uttermoſt. But I would have you all to know, and I do proteſt, that if a prince may be beholden to his ſubject (ſolemnly laying his hand upon his breaſt) by the faith I owe to God, I take this man here, my lord of Canterbury, to be of all other a moſt faithful ſubject unto us, and one to whom we are much beholden: giving him great commendations otherwiſe. And with that one or two of the chief of the council, making their excuſe, declared, that in deſiring his confinement, it was rather meant for his trial, that he might have an opportunity of clearing himſelf of the ſlanderous reports of the world, that for any malice conceived againſt him. Well, well, quoth the king, take him and uſe him well, as he is worthy to be, and make no more ado. And with that every man caught him by the hand, and made fair weather of altogethers, which might eaſily be done with that man.

And it was much to be marvelled, that they would go ſo far with him, thus to ſeek his ruin, when they well knew that the king moſt entirely loved him, and would always ſtand in his defence, whoſoever ſpake againſt him; as many other times the king's patience was by ſiniſter informations againſt him tried; inſomuch that the lord Cromwell was commonly wont to ſay unto him, My lord of Canterbury, you are moſt happy of all men; for you may do and ſpeak what you liſt; and ſay what all men can againſt you, the king will never believe one word to your detriment or hindrance. I am ſure I take more pains than all the council doth, and ſpend more largely in the king's affairs, as well beyond the ſeas as on this ſide: yea I aſſure you, even very ſpies in other foreign realms, at Rome and elſewhere, coſt me above a thouſand marks a year: and do what I can to bring matters to knowledge, for the advantage of the king and the realm, I am every day chidden, and many falſe tales now and then believed againſt me; and therefore you are moſt happy, for in no point can you be diſcredited with the king. To this the archbiſhop anſwered, If the king's majeſty were not good to me that way, I were not able to ſtand and endure one whole week, but your wiſdom and policy is ſuch, that you are able to ſhift well enough for yourſelf.

Now when the king's highneſs had thus benignly and mercifully diſpatched the ſaid archbiſhop from this ſore accuſation by the council laid againſt him, all wiſe men would have thought that it had been mere folly afterwards to have attempted any matter againſt him: but yet look, where malice reigneth, there neither reaſon nor honeſty can take place. Such therefore as had conceived deep rancour and diſpleaſure againſt him, ceaſed not to perſecute him by all poſſible means. Then brought they againſt him a new kind of accuſation, and cauſed Sir John Goſtwike knight, a man of a contrary religion, to accuſe the archbiſhop openly in the parliament-houſe, laying to his charge his ſermons preached at Sandwich, and his lectures read at Canterbury, wherein ſhould be contained manifeſt hereſies againſt the ſacrament of the altar, &c. Which accuſation came to the king's ear. Why (quoth the king) where dwelleth Goſtwike? As I take it, either in Bedfordſhire or Buckinghamſhire; and hath he ſo open an ear that he can hear my lord of Canterbury preaching out of Kent? This is very likely, ſaid the king. If he had been a Kentiſh-man, there had been ſomething worthy of conſideration: but as for Goſtwike, I know him well enough, and what good religion he is of. Go to him and tell him, ſaid the king to one of his privy-chamber, if he go not to my lord of Canterbury, and ſo reconcile himſelf to him, that he may become his good lord, I will pull the goſlin's feathers ſo, that hereafter he ſhall have little luſt to ſlander the metropolitan, or any other learned man. When Sir John Goſtwike heard theſe words, there was no need to bid him to haſten to Lambeth unto the metropolitan, making to him as many friends as poſſibly he might. When he came to the archbiſhop, he was fain to diſcloſe unto him, by what means he was procured to do that which he did, requeſting his clemency to be his good lord, or elſe he took himſelf to be utterly undone, being ſo in the king's indignation, as he underſtood he was by that before declared, which petition was ſoon granted by that good-natured archbiſhop, who not only forgave Sir John all his ingratitude, but alſo went to the king, and procured him his majeſty's favour again. And thus the king made a ſhort end of this accuſation.

Well, here you may perceive that malicious invention went not the wiſeſt way to work, to procure a ſtranger dwelling afar off, to accuſe the archbiſhop of his doctrine preached in his dioceſe: and therefore hath blind malice learned ſome more wiſdom now to accuſe their archbiſhop in ſuch a manner as he ſhall never be able to avoid it. And therefore it was procured by his ancient enemies, that not only the prebendaries of his cathedral church in Canterbury, but alſo the moſt famous juſtices of the peace in the ſhire ſhould accuſe him, and article againſt him; which in very deed was moſt ſubſtantially brought to paſs, and the articles both well written and ſubſcribed, were delivered to the king's highneſs as a thing of ſuch effect, that there muſt needs follow to the ſaid archbiſhop, both indignation of the prince, and condign puniſhment for his grievous offence committed by him and his chaplains in preaching ſuch erroneous doctrine as they did within his dioceſe of Canterbury; whereof they being ſuch witneſſes of credit, no man had cauſe to doubt of their circumſpect doings. This accuſation particularly ſent out was delivered to the king by the means of ſome of the council; when the king had peruſed the book, he wrapt it up and put it in his ſleeve; and finding occaſion to ſolace himſelf upon the Thames, came with his barge furniſhed with his muſicians along by Lambeth-bridge towards Chelſea. The noiſe of the muſicians provoked the archbiſhop to reſort to the bridge to do his duty, and to ſalute his prince. Whom, when the king had perceived to ſtand at the bridge, immediately commanded the waterman to draw towards the ſhore, and ſo came ſtraight to the bridge.

Ah, my chaplain (ſaid the king to the archbiſhop) come into the barge to me. The archbiſhop told his highneſs, that he would take his own barge, and wait on his majeſty. No, ſaid the king, you muſt come into my barge, for I want to talk with you. When the king and the archbiſhop were both together alone in the barge, the king ſaid to the archbiſhop, I have news out of Kent for you, my lord. The archbiſhop anſwered, Good, I hope, if it pleaſe your highneſs. Marry, quoth the king, it is ſo good that I now know the greateſt heretic in Kent; and with that pulled the book of articles out of his ſleeve againſt both the archbiſhop and his preachers, and gave the book to him, deſiring him to peruſe the ſame. When the archbiſhop had read the articles, and ſaw himſelf ſo uncourteouſly handled of his own church whereof he was head, I mean the prebendaries of his cathedral, and of ſuch his neighbours as he had many ways gratified, I mean the juſtices of the peace, it much grieved him. Notwithſtanding he kneeled down to the king, and beſought his majeſty to grant out a commiſſion to whomſoever it pleaſed his highneſs, for them to try out the truth of this accuſation. In very deed, ſaid the king, I do mean ſo to do, and you yourſelf ſhall be chief commiſſioner, to adjoin to you ſuch two or three more as you ſhall think good yourſelf. Then will it be thought, quoth the archbiſhop, that it is not fair and impartial that I ſhould be my own judge and my chaplains alſo. Well, ſaid the king, I will have none other but yourſelf, and ſuch as you will appoint: for I am ſure that you will not halt with me in any thing, although you be driven to accuſe yourſelf, and I know partly how this geer proceedeth, and if you handle the matter wiſely, you ſhall find a pretty conſpiracy deviſed againſt you. Whom will you have with you, ſaid the king? Whomſoever it ſhall

pleaſe

pleaſe your grace to name, quoth the archbiſhop. I will appoint Dr. Belhouſe for one, name you the other, ſaid the king, meet for that purpoſe. My chancellor, Dr. Cox, and Huſſey my regiſter, ſaid the archbiſhop, are men expert to examine ſuch troubleſome matters. Well, ſaid the king, let there be a commiſſion made forth, and out of hand get you into Kent, and advertiſe me of your doings.

They came into Kent, and there they ſat about three weeks to bolt out who was the firſt occaſion of this accuſation, for thereof the king would chiefly be advertiſed. Now the inquiſition being begun by the commiſſioners, every man ſhrunk in his horns, and no man would confeſs any thing to the purpoſe. For Dr. Cox and Huſſey, being friendly to the papiſts, handled the matter ſo, that they would permit nothing material to come to light. This thing being well perceived by the archbiſhop's ſecretary, he wrote immediately to Dr. Buts and Mr. Deny, declaring that if the king did not ſend ſome other to aſſiſt my lord, than thoſe that then were there with him, it were impoſſible that any thing ſhould come to light: and therefore wiſhed that Dr. Lee, or ſome other ſtout man that had been exerciſed in the king's eccleſiaſtical affairs in his viſitations, might be ſent to the archbiſhop. Upon theſe letters Dr. Lee was ſent for to York by the king, and having the king's further mind declared unto him, when he came to the court, he reſorted immediately into Kent, ſo that on All-hallow even he delivered to the archbiſhop the king's ring, with a declaration of his highneſs's farther pleaſure: and by and by upon his meſſage done, he appointed the archbiſhop to name him a dozen or ſixteen of his officers and gentlemen, ſuch as had both diſcretion, wit, and audacity, to whom he gave in commiſſion from the king to ſearch both the purſes, cheſts, and chambers of all thoſe that were deemed or ſuſpected to be of this confederacy, both within the cathedral church and without, and ſuch letters and writings as they could find about them, to bring them to the archbiſhop and him.

Theſe men thus appointed, went in one hour and inſtant to all the houſes and places they were appointed to; and within four hours afterwards the whole conſpiracy was diſcloſed by finding of letters, ſome from the biſhop of Wincheſter, ſome from Dr. London at Oxford, and from juſtices of the ſhire, with others; ſo that the firſt beginning, the proceeding, and what ſhould have been the end of their conſpiracy, was now made manifeſt. Certain chambers and cheſts of gentlemen of the ſhire were alſo ſearched, where likewiſe letters were found tending to this purpoſe. Amongſt other two letters came to my lord's hands, the one wrote by the ſuffragan of Dover, and the other by Dr. Barbar a civilian, whom the archbiſhop continually retained in his houſe for the expedition of matters in ſuit before him, as a counſellor in the law when need required. Theſe two men being well promoted by the archbiſhop, he uſed ever in ſuch familiarity, that when the ſuffragan, being prebendary of Canterbury, came to him, he always ſet him at his own meſs, and the other never from his table, as men in whom he had much delight and comfort, when time of care and penſiveneſs happened. But that which they did was altogether counterfeit, and the devil was turned into the angel of light, for they were both of this confederacy.

When my lord had gotten theſe their letters into his hands, he on a day, when the ſuffragan happened to come to him at his houſe at Beckiſburn, called to him into his ſtudy the ſaid ſuffragan of Dover and Dr. Barbar, ſaying, Come your ways with me, for I muſt have your advice in a matter. When they were both with him in his ſtudy, he ſaid to them, You twain be men in whom I have had much confidence and truſt; you muſt now give me ſome good counſel, for I am ſhamefully abuſed by one or twain to whom I have ſhewed all my ſecrets from time to time, and did truſt them as myſelf. The matter is ſo now fallen out, that they not only have diſcloſed my ſecrets, but alſo have taken upon them to accuſe me of hereſy, and are become witneſſes againſt me. I require you therefore of your good advice how I ſhall behave myſelf towards them. You are both my friends, and ſuch as I always have uſed when I needed counſel. What ſay you to the matter? quoth the archbiſhop.

Marry, quoth Dr. Barbar, ſuch villains and knaves (ſaving your honour), were worthy to be hanged out of hand without any other law. Hanging were too good, quoth the ſuffragan, and if there lacked one to do execution, I would be hangman myſelf.

At theſe words the archbiſhop being aſtoniſh'd, caſt up his hands to heaven, and ſaid, O Lord moſt merciful God, whom may a man truſt now-a-day? It is moſt true which is ſaid, "Curſed is he who putteth his truſt in man, and in his own ſtrength." There was never man handled as I am: but, O Lord, thou haſt evermore defended me, and ſent me one great friend and maſter (meaning the king) without whoſe protection I were not able to ſtand upright one day unoverthrown, I praiſe thy holy name therefore: And with that he pulled out of his boſom their two letters, and ſaid, Know ye theſe letters, my maſters? With that they fell down upon their knees, and deſired forgiveneſs, declaring how they a year before were attempted to do the ſame, and ſo very lamentably weeping and bewailing their doings, beſought his grace to pardon and forgive them. Well, ſaid the gentle archbiſhop, God make you both good men, I never deſerved this at your hands; but aſk God forgiveneſs, againſt whom you have highly offended. If ſuch men as you are not to be truſted, what ſhould I do alive? I perceive now, that there is no fidelity or truſt amongſt men. I am brought to this point now, that I fear my left hand will accuſe my right hand. I need not much marvel hereat, for our Saviour Chriſt truly propheſied of ſuch a world to come in the latter days. I beſeech him of his great mercy to finiſh that time ſhortly; and ſo departing, he diſmiſſed them both with gentle and comfortable words, in ſuch ſort that never after appeared in his countenance or words any remembrance thereof.

Now, when all thoſe letters and accuſations were found they were put into a cheſt, the king's majeſty minding to have peruſed ſome of them, and to have partly punniſhed the principals of it. The cheſt and writings were brought to Lambeth; at which time began the parliament. Lord, what ado there was to procure the king a ſubſidy, to the intent that thereupon might enſue a pardon, which indeed followed, and ſo nothing was done, other than their falſehood known. This was the laſt puſh of the pike that was inferred againſt the archbiſhop in king Henry the eighth's days: for never after durſt any man move matter againſt him in his time.

And thus have ye both the working and diſcloſing of this popiſh conſpiracy againſt this worthy archbiſhop and martyr of Chriſt, Thomas Cranmer. In which conſpiracy, forſomuch as complaint was alſo made to the king of his chaplains and good preachers in Kent, it ſhall not be out of the ſtory ſomething likewiſe to touch thereof, eſpecially of Richard Turner, then preacher in the archbiſhop's dioceſe, and curate to Mr. Morice, the archbiſhop's ſecretary, in the town of Chartham, by whoſe diligent preaching a great part of this heart-burning of the papiſts took its firſt kindling againſt the archbiſhop. Touching the deſcription of which ſtory, becauſe by me nothing ſhall be ſaid, either more or leſs, than is the truth, ye ſhall hear the very certainty thereof truly compiled in a letter ſent the ſame time to Dr. Buts and Sir Anthony Deny, to be ſhewed unto the king, and ſo it was, written by the aforeſaid Mr. Morice, then ſecretary to the archbiſhop, farmer of the ſame benefice of Chartham and patron to Mr. Turner there miniſter and preacher aforeſaid.

A Letter

A Letter of Apology wrote by Mr. Morice to Sir William Butts, and Sir Anthony Deny, defending the cauſe of Mr. Richard Turner preacher, againſt the papiſts.

THE letter firſt beginning in theſe words: I am certain (right worſhipful) that it is not unknown to your diſcreet wiſdom, &c. And after a few lines, coming to the matter, thus the ſaid letter proceedeth.

As your worſhips well know, it was my chance to be brought up under my lord of Canterbury my maſter, in writing of the eccleſiaſtical affairs of this realm, as well concerning reformation of corrupt religion, as concerning the advancement of that pure and ſincere religion received by the doctrine of the goſpel; which I take to be ſo ſubſtantially handled and built upon the doctrine of the prophets and apoſtles, that hell-gates ſhall never prevail againſt it. The conſideration whereof compelled me, being a farmer of the parſonage of Chartham in Kent, to retain with me one named Richard Turner, a man not only learned in the ſcriptures of God, but alſo in converſation of life towards the world irreprehenſible, whom for diſcharging of my conſcience I placed at Chartham aforeſaid, to be curate there.

This man, becauſe he was a ſtranger in the country there, and ſo thereby void of grudge or diſpleaſure of any old rancour in the country, I thought it had been a mean to have gotten him the better credit in his doctrine; but where malice once taketh fire againſt truth, no policy I ſee is able to quench it. Well, this man as he knew what appertained to his office, ſo he ſpared not weekly both Sundays and holidays to open the goſpel and epiſtle unto his audience after ſuch a ſort, when occaſion ſerved, that as well by his vehement inveighing againſt the biſhop of Rome's uſurped power and authority, as in the earneſt ſetting forth and advancing of the king's majeſty's ſupremacy, innumerable of the country reſorting unto his ſermons, changed their opinions, and favoured effectually the religion received. The confluence of the people ſo daily increaſed, that the church being a fair, ample, and large church, was not now and then able to receive the number. The fame of this new inſtruction of the people was ſo blazed abroad, that the popiſh prieſts were wonderfully mazed and diſpleaſed, to ſee their pope ſo to be defaced, and their prince ſo highly advanced.

Now thought they it is high time for us to work, or elſe all will here be utterly loſt by this man's preaching: ſome of them went with capons, ſome with hens, ſome with chickens, ſome with one thing, ſome with another, unto the juſtices, ſuch as then favoured their cauſe and faction, and ſuch as were no ſmall fools, as Sir John Baker, Sir Chriſtopher Hales, Sir Thomas Moile, knights, with other juſtices. The prebendaries of Chriſt-church in Canterbury were made privy hereof, giving their ſuccour and aid thereunto. So that in concluſion poor Turner, and other preachers, were grievouſly complained of unto the king's majeſty. Whereupon my lord of Canterbury, and certain other commiſſioners, were appointed at Lambeth to ſit upon the examination of theſe ſeditious preachers. Howbeit, before Turner went up to his examination, I obtained of Sir Thomas Moile, that he in Eaſter-week was content to hear Turner preach a rehearſal ſermon in his pariſh church at Weſtwell, of all the doctrine of his ſermons preached at his cure in Chartham: which he moſt gently granting, heard Turner both before noon and after noon on the Wedneſday in Eaſter-week laſt, and as it ſeemed, took all things in good part, remitting Turner home to his ſaid cure with gentle and favourable words. I ſuppoſed by this means to have ſtayed Mr. Turner at home from further examination, hoping that Sir Thomas Moile would have anſwered for him at Lambeth before the commiſſioners. Notwithſtanding, after Mr. Moile's coming to London, ſuch information was laid in againſt Turner, that he was ſent for to make anſwer himſelf before the ſaid commiſſioners; and there appearing before them, he made ſuch an honeſt, perfect, and learned anſwer unto the articles objected, that he was with a good exhortation, diſcharged home again, without any manner of recantation or other injunction.

Now when the pope-catholic clergy of Kent underſtood of his coming home without controlment, ſo that he preached as freely as he did before, againſt their blind and dumb ceremonies, ſtraightway by the help of Stephen Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, they found a new means to put him to utter confuſion, deviſing that he came home from examination in ſuch glorious pomp by the high-ways ſide in the woods adjoining, that five hundred perſons met him then with banquetting diſhes to welcome him home, ſtirring the people rather to an uproar and commotion, than to keep them in any quiet obedience: when in very deed, contrary to this ſurmiſe, (as God would) on this ſide Rocheſter a mile or two, for avoiding all ſuch light and glorious talk with any his familiars or acquaintance, he of purpoſe left the high way, and came through the woods all alone above eighteen miles together on foot, ſo wearied and meagered for want of ſuſtenance, that when he came into my houſe at Chartham, he was not well able to ſtand or ſpeak for faintneſs and thirſt.

This malicious tale being reported to the king's highneſs, his majeſty was ſo ſore grieved therewith, that he ſent for the archbiſhop of Canterbury, willing him to cauſe Turner to be whipped out of the country. By means whereof the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſent again for Turner: I hearing thereof immediately made report by my letters, with ſuch vehemency proving it mere malice, that the archbiſhop underſtanding the truth, pacified again the king's wrath. Home cometh Turner once again to his cure without blot: which ſo wrung the papiſts, in that they could not prevail, that they thought it all in vain any further to attempt againſt him concerning any accuſation for matters in Kent, the archbiſhop of Canterbury being his ordinary. Well, yet they would not thus leave him undiſcredited. Then was there one new matter deviſed, how that he had preached erroneus doctrine in other countries before he came into Kent, laying to his charge that he had both tranſlated the maſs into Engliſh, and ſaid or miniſtered the ſame, and that he had preached againſt purgatory, pilgrimage, and praying for the dead, &c. By means whereof, he was now convented before the whole council by the biſhop of Wincheſter, who ſent Syriake Petite, gentleman, for him, who brought him up to London bound (as I heard ſay), and being examined before the ſaid biſhop of Wincheſter and others, he was committed to ward for a ſeaſon.

In the mean time, the archbiſhop of Canterbury being in Kent about the trial of a conſpiracy propoſed againſt himſelf by the juſtices of the ſhire and the prebendaries of Chriſt-church: Turner is now ſent down to the archbiſhop, to the intent he ſhould recant that doctrine which long ago he in other places out of Kent had preached, to the utter ſubverſion and defacing of all that he had moſt godly and earneſtly here in Kent taught, both to the glory of God, and the furtherance and ſetting forth of the king's highneſs's proceedings. If his majeſty will thus permit learned honeſt men thus daily to be over-crowned and trodden under foot with a ſort of tyrannous or rather traiterous papiſts (who cannot abide to hear his majeſty's ſupremacy advanced, nor the ſincere word of God preached), it were better for men to dwell amongſt the infidels and miſcreants than in England.

What reaſon is this, that Turner ſhould recant here in Kent the doctrine which in other countries he hath taught, to the wounding and overthrowing moſt deſperately of five hundred men's conſciences and above, (I

dare ſay), who lately by his ſincere preaching have embraced a right good opinion both of the king's ſupremacy, and alſo of the reformed religion received? All good ſubjects may well lament the king's majeſty's eſtate in this behalf, that no man may dare to be ſo bold to advance his highneſs's title, but that every ignorant and malicious papiſt ſhall ſpurn againſt him, ſeeking his utter undoing, and that by the aid of papiſtical juſtices ſet in authority. I beſeech your worſhips to pardon me of my rude and homely terms. They herein deſerve worſe, if worſe may be deviſed. For what honeſt man can bear with this, that ſo noble a prince's ears ſhall be thus impudently abuſed with manifeſt lyes and fables, as this one is of Turner's coming home in ſuch triumph as they craftily and falſly had deviſed? It is eaſily to be eſpied what they mean and go about, that, the prince being alive, dare take in hand ſo uncourteouſly to abuſe both the gentle nature of the prince, and his godly preacher, the advancer and extoller of his juſt authority.

What think your worſhips they would attempt if his majeſty were at God's mercy (as God foreſend that ever any of us ſhould ſee that day, without better reformation) that can dally with his highneſs, blinding his eyes with miſts, whilſt he liveth and reigneth amongſt us in moſt proſperity? As for my lord of Canterbury, he dare nothing do for the poor man's delivery, he hath done ſo much for him already. And his grace hath told me plainly, that it is put into the king's head, that he is the maintainer and ſupporter of all the heretics within the realm; nor will he permit me or my neighbours to reſort unto the council for his purgation while he is at Chartham, ſaving only I have obtained this at his hand, that I may become a ſuiter in writing to my friends and good maſters in the court for his delivery.

And therefore it is (right worſhipful) that I have now taken pen in hand, thus to diſcourſe and open our miſery unto you concerning the extreme handling of this poor honeſt man, Mr. Turner, that if it may poſſibly be brought to paſs by your godly wiſdom, the poor man may be releaſed and diſcharged of his recantation; you cannot do to God and your prince a more acceptable ſervice in my poor opinion. For otherwiſe if he ſhould be driven to recant (as I am ſure he will ſooner die), both the cauſe of God and the king will ſuffer no ſmall detriment amongſt his poor loving ſubjects here. For if there be no better ſtay for the maintainance of theſe godly preachers, the king's authority concerning his ſupremacy ſhall lie poſt alone hidden in the Act of parliament, and not in the hearts of his ſubjects.

If they can bring to paſs that Turner may recant, to the defacing of his good doctrine preached here, then have they that for which they have thus long travelled. And yet in effect ſhall not Turner recant, but king Henry the eighth in Turner's perſon ſhall moſt odiouſly recant, to the wounding of all men's conſciences here. If the king's majeſty do not eſteem his authority given to his highneſs by God's word and his parliament; it were well done that the preachers had good warning to talk no more to the people thereof, rather than to be toſſed and troubled for doing their duties by the members of Antichriſt.

And now to the intent that they might effectually for ever ſlander Turner's doctrine here, they have indicted him for offending againſt the ſix articles this laſt ſeſſions, by the witneſs of two papiſts of the pariſh of Chartham his utter enemies, Saunders and Brown by name, for a ſermon preached at Chartham on Paſſion-Sunday, which chanced on St. Gregory's even, they both being abſent that day at Wye fair, as it is well proved, namely, for that he preached againſt the maſs: ſaying, that our Saviour Chriſt was the only ſole prieſt, which ſung maſs on the altar of the croſs, there ſacrificing for the ſins of the world once for ever, and that all other maſſes were but remembrances and thankſgiving for that one ſacrifice; or ſuch words in effect.

Wherefore to conclude (right worſhipful) knowing your godly zeals, as well towards the preferment of ſincere religion, as your no leſs affection towards the king's perſon and his godly proceedings, I moſt humbly beſeech you, in the bowels of our Saviour Chriſt, ſo to ponder the weighty conſideration of the premiſes, as by your travels unto the king's majeſty, or to the honourable council, we here in Kent, that have now of late our hearts bent towards the obſervation of the law of God and the prince, through Turner's godly perſuaſions, may receive from your worſhips ſome comfortable words of his deliverance; or certainly many an honeſt and ſimple man, lately embracing the truth, may perhaps fall away deſperately from the ſame, not without danger of their ſouls. In accompliſhing whereof your worſhips ſhall not only do unto Almighty God and the prince moſt true and acceptable ſervice; but alſo the ſaid Mr. Turner, with all others to whom this cauſe doth appertain, both daily to pray for your proſperities, and alſo to be at your commandments during their lives. From Canterbury the ſecond day of November.

Your worſhips evermore at command,

R. M.

And thus much containeth the letter ſent (as is ſaid) by Mr. Morice to Dr. Butts and Sir Anthony Deny. Now, what ſucceſs and ſpeed this letter had, hereafter ſhall be declared. For Dr. Butts, the king's phyſician aforeſaid, after the receipt of theſe letters, conſidering the weighty contents of the ſame, as he was ever a forward friend in the goſpel's cauſe, ſo he thought not to foreſlack this matter to the uttermoſt of his diligence, and ſo watching his opportunity, when the king was in trimming and in waſhing (as his manner was at certain times to call for his barber), Dr. Butts (whoſe manner was at ſuch times ever to be preſent, and with ſome pleaſant conceits to refreſh and ſolace the king's mind), brought with him in his hand this letter. The king aſking what news, Dr. Butts pleaſantly and merrily beginneth to inſinuate to the king the effect of the matter, and ſo at the king's command read out the letter; which when the king had heard, and pauſed a little thereon, commanded the letter to be read again. The hearing and conſideration whereof ſo altered the king's mind, that whereas before he commanded the ſaid Turner to be whipped out of the country, he now commanded him to be retained as a faithful ſubject. And here of that matter an end. Let us now return to the archbiſhop again.

Who although he was encompaſſed about (as is ſaid) with mighty enemies, and by many crafty trains impugned, yet through God's more mighty providence, working in the king's heart ſo to favour him, he rubbed out all king Henry's time without blemiſh or foil, by means of the king's protection; who not only defended the ſaid archbiſhop againſt ſuch conſpired adverſaries, but alſo extended ſuch ſpecial favour in ſuch a manner, that he not being ignorant of his wife, whom he had married before at Norembergege, (being neice to the wife of Oſiander), keeping her alſo during their ſix articles time contrary to law, notwithſtanding he both permitted the ſame, and kept his counſel.

Then after the death of king Henry, immediately ſucceeded his ſon king Edward, under whoſe government and protection the ſtate of this archbiſhop, being his godfather, was not impaired, but rather more advanced.

During all this mean time of king Henry aforeſaid, until the entering in of king Edward, it ſeemed that Cranmer was ſcarcely yet thoroughly perſuaded in the right knowledge of the ſacrament, or at leaſt was not yet fully ripened in the ſame: wherein ſhortly after he being more groundedly confirmed by conference with biſhop Ridley, in proceſs of time did ſo profit in more ripe knowledge, that at laſt he took upon him the defence of that whole doctrine, that is, to refute and throw

down firſt the corporal preſence; ſecondly, the fantaſtical tranſubſtantiation; thirdly, the idolatrous adoration; fourthly, the falſe error of the papiſts, that wicked men do eat the natural body of Chriſt; and laſtly, the blaſphemous ſacrifice of the maſs. Whereupon in the concluſion he wrote five books for the public inſtruction of the church of England, which inſtruction to this day ſtandeth, and is received in the church of England.

Againſt theſe five books of the archbiſhop, Stephen Gardiner, the arch-enemy to Chriſt and his goſpel, being then in the Tower, ſtubbereth up a certain anſwer, ſuch as it was, which he in open court exhibited at Lambeth, being there examined by the archbiſhop aforeſaid, and other the king's commiſſioners in king Edward's days, which book was intitled, "An explication and "aſſertion of the true catholic faith, touching the bleſ-"ſed ſacrament of the altar, with a confutation of a "book written againſt the ſame.

Againſt this explication, or rather cavilling ſophiſtication of Stephen Gardiner doctor of law, the archbiſhop of Canterbury learnedly and copiouſly replied again, which alſo he publiſhed abroad to the eyes and judgments of all men.

The unquiet ſpirit of Stephen Gardiner being not yet contented, after all this thruſteth out another book in Latin of the like popoſh argument, but after another title, named, Marcus Antonius Conſtantinus. Whereunto firſt the archbiſhop again intending a full confutation, had already abſolved three parts of his anſwer lying in priſon. Of which parts two periſhed in Oxford; the other yet remaineth in my hands ready to be ſeen and ſet forth, as the Lord ſhall ſee good. Alſo biſhop Ridley lying likewiſe the ſame time in priſon, having there the ſaid book of Marcus Antonius, for lack of pen and paper, with a lead of a window, in the margin of the book wrote annotations, as ſtraightneſs of time would ſerve him, in refutation of the ſame book. And finally, becauſe theſe worthy martyrs had neither liberty nor leiſure to go through with that travail, that which lacked in them, for accompliſhment of that behalf, was ſupplied ſhortly after by Peter Martyr, who abundantly and ſubſtantially hath overthrown that book in his learned defence of the truth, againſt the falſe ſophiſtication of Marcus Antonius aforeſaid.

Beſides theſe books above cited of this archbiſhop, divers other things there were alſo of his doing, as the book of the reformation, the catechiſm, with the book of homilies, whereof part was by him contrived, part by his procurement approved and publiſhed. Whereunto alſo may be adjoined another writing or confutation of his againſt 88 articles by the convocation deviſed and propounded, but yet not ratified nor received in the reign of king Henry the eighth.

And thus much concerning the actions of this archbiſhop of Canterbury, during the lives of king Henry VIII. and of king Edward his ſon. During whoſe lives this archbiſhop lacked no ſtay of maintenance againſt all his maligners.

After this king Edward, a prince of moſt worthy qualifications, falling ſick, when he perceived that his death was at hand, and the force of his painful diſeaſe would not ſuffer him to live longer, and knowing that his ſiſter Mary was wholly wedded to the popiſh religion, bequeathed the ſucceſſion of this realm to the lady Jane (a lady of great birth, but of greater learning, being neice to king Henry the eighth by his ſiſter), by conſent of the council and lawyers of this realm. To this teſtament of the king's, when all the nobles of the realm, eſtates and judges had ſubſcribed, they ſent for the archbiſhop, and required him that he alſo would ſubſcribe. But he excuſing himſelf on this manner, ſaid, That it was otherwiſe in the teſtament of king Henry his father, and that he had ſworn to the ſucceſſion of Mary, as then the next heir; by which oath he was ſo bound, that without manifeſt perjury he could not go from it.

The council anſwered, that they were not ignorant of that, and that they had conſcience as well as he; and moreover, that they were ſworn to that teſtament, and therefore he ſhould not think there was any danger therein, or that he ſhould be in more peril or perjury than the reſt.

To this the archbiſhop anſwered, that he was judge of no man's conſcience but his own; and therefore as he would not be prejudicial to others, ſo he would not commit his conſcience unto other men's facts, or caſt himſelf into danger, ſeeing that every man ſhould give account of his own conſcience, and not of other men's. And as concerning ſubſcription, before he had ſpoken with the king himſelf, he utterly refuſed to do it.

The king therefore being demanded of the archbiſhop concerning this matter, ſaid, That the nobles and lawyers of this realm counſelled him unto it, and perſuaded him that the bond of the firſt teſtament could nothing hinder, but that this lady Jane might ſucceed him as heir, and the people without danger acknowledge her as their queen. Who then demanding leave of the king that he might firſt talk with certain lawyers that were in the court; when they all agreed, that by the law of the realm it might be ſo, returning to the king, with much ado he ſubſcribed.

Well, not long after this king Edward died, being almoſt ſixteen years old, to the great ſorrow, but greater calamity of the whole realm. After whoſe deceaſe immediately it was commanded that the lady Jane (who was unwilling thereto), ſhould be proclaimed queen. Which thing the common people much miſliked, not that they did ſo much favour the lady Mary, before whom they ſaw the lady Jane preferred, as for the hatred conceived againſt ſome whom they could not favour.

Beſides this, there happened alſo other cauſes of diſcord between the nobles and commons the ſame time: for what injuries of commons and encloſures wrongfully held, with other inordinate pollings and uncharitable dealing between the landlords and tenants, I cannot tell. But, in fine, thus the matter fell out, that the lady Mary hearing of the death of her brother, and ſhifting for herſelf, was ſo aſſiſted by the commons, that ſhe ſoon prevailed. Who being eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of the realm, not long after came to London: and after ſhe had firſt cauſed the two fathers, the duke of Northumberland and the duke of Suffolk to be beheaded (as has been already related), ſhe likewiſe cauſed the lady Jane, being both in age tender, and innocent from this crime, after ſhe could by no means be turned from the conſtancy of her faith, together with her huſband, to be beheaded.

The reſt of the nobles paying fines, were forgiven, the archbiſhop of Canterbury only excepted: who tho' he deſired pardon (by means of his friends) could obtain none; inſomuch that the queen would not once vouchſafe to ſee him. For as yet the old grudge againſt the archbiſhop for the divorcement of her mother, remained hid in the bottom of her heart. Beſides this divorce ſhe remembered the ſtate of religion changed; all which was imputed to the archbiſhop as the cauſe thereof.

While theſe things were in doing, a rumour was in all men's mouths, That the archbiſhop, to curry favour with the queen, had promiſed to ſay a Dirige maſs after the old cuſtom, for the funeral of king Edward her brother. Neither wanted there ſome who reported that he had already ſaid maſs at Canterbury; which maſs indeed was ſaid by Dr. Thornton. This rumour Cranmer thinking ſpeedily to ſtay, gave forth a writing of his purgation; the tenor whereof being before expreſſed, (p. 70.) I need not here again to recite.

This bill being thus written, and lying openly in a window in his chamber, cometh in by chance Mr. Story, then biſhop of Roche ſter, who after he had read and

and peruſed the ſame, required the archbiſhop to have a copy of the bill. The archbiſhop granted the ſame, and Mr. Story lending it to another friend, there were divers copies taken, and the thing publiſhed abroad among the common people, inſomuch that almoſt every ſcrivener's ſhop was occupied in copying out the ſame: and ſo at length ſome of theſe copies coming to the biſhops and ſo brought to the council, and they ſending it to the commiſſioners, the matter was known, and ſo he commanded to appear.

Whereupon Dr. Cranmer appeared at the very day prefixed, before the ſaid commiſſioners, bringing a true inventory, as he was commanded, of all his goods. That done, a biſhop of the queen's privy council, being one of the ſaid commiſſioners, after the inventory was received, bringing in mention of the bill: My lord, ſaid he, there is a bill put forth in your name, wherein you ſeem to be aggrieved with ſetting up the maſs again; we doubt not you are ſorry that it is gone abroad.

To whom the archbiſhop anſwered, As I do not deny myſelf to be the author of that bill or letter, ſo muſt I confeſs here unto you, concerning the ſame bill, that I am ſorry that the ſaid bill went from me in ſuch ſort as it did. For when I had written it, Mr. Story got the copy from me, and it is now come abroad, and as I underſtand, the city is full of it. For which I am ſorry, that it is ſo paſſed my hands: for I intended otherwiſe to have made it in a more large and ample manner, and minded to have ſet it on Paul's church door, and on the doors of all the churches in London, with mine own ſeal joined thereunto.

At which words when they ſaw the conſtancy of the man, they diſmiſſed him, affirming that they had no more at preſent to ſay unto him, but that ſhortly he ſhould hear farther. The ſaid biſhop declared afterwards to one of Dr. Cranmer's friends, that notwithſtanding his attainder of treaſon, the queen's determination at that time was, that Cranmer ſhould only have been deprived of his archbiſhopric, and have had a ſufficient living aſſigned him, upon his exhibiting of a true inventory, with commandment to keep his houſe without meddling in matters of religion. But how true that was I have not to ſay. This is certain, that not long after this, he was ſent to the Tower, and ſoon after condemned for treaſon. Notwithſtanding the queen, when ſhe could not honeſtly deny him his pardon, ſeeing all the reſt were diſcharged, and eſpecially, ſeeing he laſt (of all others) ſubſcribed to king Edward's requeſt, and that againſt his own will, releaſed to him his action of treaſon, and accuſed him only of hereſy, which the archbiſhop liked well, and came to paſs as he wiſhed, becauſe the cauſe was not his own, but Chriſt's; not the queen's, but the church's. Thus ſtood the cauſe of Cranmer, till at length it was determined by the queen and the council, that he ſhould be removed from the Tower, where he was priſoner, to Oxford, there to diſpute with the doctors and divines. And privily word was ſent before to them of Oxford to prepare themſelves, and make them ready to diſpute. And although the queen and the biſhops had concluded before what ſhould become of him, yet it pleaſed them that the matter ſhould be debated with arguments, that under ſome honeſt ſhew of diſputation the murder of the man might be covered. Neither could their haſty ſpeed of revenge abide any long delay; and therefore in all haſte he was carried to Oxford.

What this diſputation was, and how it was handled, what were the queſtions and reaſons on both ſides, and alſo touching his condemnation by the univerſity and the prolocutor, becauſe it hath been ſufficiently declared, we intend now therefore to proceed to his final judgment and order of condemnation, which was the 12th day of September 1555, and ſeven days before the condemnation of biſhop Ridley and Mr. Latimer, as is before mentioned The ſtory whereof here followeth, faithfully corrected by the report and narration (coming by chance to our hands) of one who being both preſent thereat, and alſo a devout favourer of the ſee and faction of Rome, can lack no credit (I think) with ſuch who ſeek what they can to diſcredit whatſoever maketh not with their phantaſied religion of Rome.

After the diſputations done and finiſhed in Oxford between the doctors of both univerſities, and the three worthy biſhops, Dr. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, ye heard then how ſentence condemnatory immediately upon the ſame was adminiſtered againſt them by Dr. Weſton and others of the univerſity; whereby they were judged to be heretics, and ſo committed to the mayor and ſheriffs of Oxford. But foraſmuch as the ſentence given againſt them was void in law (for at that time the authority of the pope was not yet received into the land) therefore a new commiſſion was ſent from Rome, and a new proceſs framed for the conviction of theſe reverend and godly learned men aforeſaid. In which commiſſion, firſt was Dr. James Brooks biſhop of Glouceſter the pope's ſubdelegate, with Dr. Martin and Dr. Story, commiſſioners in the king and queen's behalf for the execution of the ſame. Of which three commiſſioners above-named, as touching Dr. Martin, this by the way is to be underſtood, that although he was uſed for an inſtrument of the pope's ſide to ſerve a turn (whoſe book alſo is extant againſt the lawful marriage of prieſts) yet notwithſtanding neither was he ſo bitter an enemy in this perſecution as other commiſſioners were; and alſo in the time of queen Elizabeth, where divers other doctors of the arches refuſed to be ſworn againſt the pope, he denied not the oath; and yet notwithſtanding not altogether here to be excuſed. But to the purpoſe of this ſtory. Wherefore firſt it ſhall be requiſite to declare the circumſtance, and the whole ſtate of the matter, as in a general deſcription, before we come to their orations, according as in a parcel of a certain letter concerning the ſame it came to our hands.

Imprimis, Here is to be underſtood, that at the coming down of the aforeſaid commiſſioners, which was upon Thurſday the 12th of September 1555. in the church of St. Mary, and in the eaſt end of the ſaid church at the high altar, was erected a ſolemn ſcaffold for biſhop Brooks aforeſaid, repreſenting the pope's perſon, ten foot high. The ſeat was made that he might ſit under the ſacrament of the altar. And on the right hand of the pope's delegate, beneath him ſate Dr. Martin, and on the left hand ſate Dr. Story, the king and queen's commiſſioners, who were both doctors of the civil law; and underneath them other doctors, ſcribes and phariſees alſo, with the pope's collector, and a rabblement of ſuch others.

And thus theſe biſhops being placed in their Pontificalibus, the archbiſhop of Canterbury was ſent for to come before them. He having intelligence of them that were there, thus ordered himſelf. He came forth of the priſon to the church of St. Mary, ſet forth with bills and glieves for fear he ſhould ſtart away, being cloathed in a fair black gown with his hood on both ſhoulders, ſuch as doctors of divinity uſe to wear in the univerſity. Who, after he was come into the church, and did ſee them ſit in their Pontificalibus, he did not put off his cap to any of them, but ſtood ſtill till he was called.

And anon one of the proctors for the pope, or elſe his doctor, called Thomas, archbiſhop of Canterbury, appear here and make anſwer to what ſhall be laid to thy charge; that is to ſay, for blaſphemy, incontinence and hereſy; and make anſwer here to the biſhop of Glouceſter, repreſenting the pope's perſon.

Upon this he being brought nearer unto the ſcaffold where the aforeſaid biſhop ſate, he firſt well viewed the place of judgment, and eſpying where the king and queen's proctors were, putting off his cap, he firſt humbly bowing his knee to the ground, making reverence to the one, and after to the other.

That done, beholding the biſhop in the face, he put on his bonnet again, making no manner of token of obedience towards him at all. Whereat the biſhop being offended, ſaid unto him, that it might beſeem him right well, weighing the authority he did repreſent, to do his duty unto him.

Whereupon Dr. Cranmer anſwered and ſaid, That he had once taken a ſolemn oath, never to conſent to the admitting of the biſhop of Rome's authority into this realm of England again; and that he had done it advisedly, and meant by God's grace to keep it; and therefore would commit nothing, either by ſign or token, which might argue his conſent to the receiving of the ſame; and ſo he deſired the ſaid biſhop to judge of him, and that he did it not for any contempt to his perſon, which he would willingly have honoured as well as any of the others, if his commiſſion had come from as good an authority as theirs. This anſwered he both modeſtly, wiſely, and patiently, with his cap on his head, not once bowing or making any reverence to him that repreſented the pope's perſon, which was wonderfully marked by the people that were there preſent and ſaw it, and marked it as nigh as could be poſſible.

The Oration of Dr. Brooks Biſhop of Glouceſter, unto Dr. Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the Church of St. Mary at Oxford.

WHEN after many means uſed, they perceived that the archbiſhop would not move his bonnet, the biſhop proceeded in theſe words following.

My lord, at this preſent we are come to you as commiſſioners, and for you, not intruding ourſelves by our own authority, but ſent by commiſſion, partly from the pope's holineſs, partly from the king and queen's moſt excellent majeſties, not to your utter diſcomfort, but to your comfort if you will yourſelf. We come, not to judge you, but to put you in remembrance of what you have been, and may be. Neither come we to diſpute with you, but to examine you in certain matters; which being done, to make relation thereof to him that hath power to judge you. The firſt, being well taken, ſhall make the ſecond to be will taken. For if you, of your part be moved to come to a conformity, then ſhall not only we of our ſide take joy of our examination, but alſo they that have ſent us.

And firſt as charity doth move us, I would think good ſomewhat to exhort you, and that by the ſecond chapter of St. John in the Revelations, "Remember from whence thou art fallen, and do the firſt works, or if not," and ſo as ye know what followeth. Remember yourſelf from whence you have fallen. You are fallen from the univerſal and catholic church of Chriſt, from the very true and received faith of all Chriſtendom, and that by open hereſy. You have fallen from your promiſe to God, from your fidelity and allegiance, and that by open preaching, marriage and adultery. You have fallen from your ſovereign prince and queen by open treaſon. Remember therefore from whence you are fallen. Your fall is great, the danger cannot be ſeen. Wherefore, when I ſay, Remember from whence you are fallen, I put you in mind, not only of your fall, but alſo of the ſtate you were in before your fall. You were ſometime, as I and other poor men, in a mean eſtate, God I take to witneſs, I ſpeak it to no reproach or abaſement of you, but to put you in memory, how God hath called you from alow to a high degree, from one degree to another, from better to better, and never gave you over, till he had appointed you an ambaſſador, metropolitan of all England, and paſtor of his own flock: ſuch great truſt did he put you in, in his church; what could he do more? for even as he ordained Moſes to be a ruler over his church of Iſrael, and gave him full authority of the ſame: ſo he did make you over his church of England. And when did he this for you? forſooth, when you gave no occaſion or cauſe of miſtruſt either to him or to his magiſtrates. For although it be conjectured, that in all your time ye were not upright in the honour and faith of Chriſt, but rather ſet up of purpoſe as a fit inſtrument, whereby the church might be ſpoiled and brought into ruin; yet may it appear by many your doings otherwiſe; and I for my part, as it behoveth each one of us, ſhall think the beſt. For who was thought as then more devout? who was more religious in the face of the world? who was thought to have more conſcience of a vow making, and obſerving the order of the church, more earneſt in the defence of the real preſence of Chriſt's body and blood in the ſacrament of the altar than ye were? and then all things proſpered with you; your prince favoured you; yea, God himſelf favoured you; your candleſtick was ſet up in the higheſt place of the church, and the light of your candle was over all the church: I would God it had ſo continued ſtill.

But after ye began to fall by ſchiſm, and would not acknowledge the pope's holineſs, as ſupreme head, but would ſtoutly uphold the unlawful requeſts of king Henry the eighth, and would bear with what ſhould not be borne withal, then began you to fancy unlawful liberty; and when you had exiled a good conſcience, then enſued great ſhipwreck in the ſea, which was out of the true and catholic church caſt into the ſea of deſperation: for, as he ſaith, Without the church there is no ſalvation. When ye had forſaken God, God forſook you, and gave you over to your own will; and ſuffered you to fall from ſchiſm to apoſtacy, from apoſtacy to hereſy, and from hereſy to perjury, from perjury to treaſon, and ſo in concluſion, into the full indignation of our ſovereign prince, which you may think a juſt puniſhment of God for your other abominable opinions.

After that, ye fell lower and lower, and now to the loweſt degree of all, to the end of honour and life. For if the light of your candle be as it hath been hitherto duſky, your candleſtick is like to be removed, and have a great fall, ſo low, and ſo far out of knowledge, that it be quite out of God's favour, and paſt all hope of recovery; for in hell there is no redemption. The danger whereof being ſo great, very pity cauſeth me to ſay, "Remember from whence thou haſt fallen." I add alſo, and whither you fall.

But here peradventure, you will ſay to me, What, Sir, my fall is not ſo great as you make it: I have not yet fallen from the catholic church. For that is not the catholic church that the pope is head of. There is another church. But as touching that I anſwer, You are ſure of that as the Donatiſts were, for they ſaid they had the true church, and that the name of true chriſtians remained only in Africk, where only their ſeditious ſect was preached. And as you think, ſo thought Novatus, That all they that did acknowledge their ſupreme head at the ſee of Rome, were out of the church of Chriſt. But here St. Cyprian defending Cornelius againſt Novatus, Book 2. Epiſt. 6, ſaith on this wiſe, The church is one, which church whereas it is one, it cannot be here and there. So that if Novatus were in the church, then was not Cornelius, who indeed by lawful ſucceſſion ſucceeded pope Fabian. Here St. Cyprian intendeth by the whole proceſs to prove and concludeth thereupon, that the true church was only Rome. Gather you then what will follow of your fall. But you will ſay peradventure, that you fell not by hereſy, and ſo ſaid the Arians, alledging for themſelves that they had ſcripture; and going about to perſuade their ſchiſm by ſcripture; for indeed they had more places by two and forty, which by their torture ſeemed to depend upon ſcripture, than the catholics had.

So did the Marcions provoke their hereſy to ſcripture. But thoſe are no ſcriptures; for they are not truly alledged, nor truly interpreted, but untruly wreſted and wrong, according to their own phantaſies. And there-

fore were they all juſtly condemned for their wrong taking of the ſcriptures; and the church replieth againſt them, ſaying, What make you here in my heritage? from whence came you? the ſcripture is mine inheritance; I am right heir thereof: I hold it by true ſucceſſion of the apoſtles; for as the apoſtles required me to hold, ſo do I hold it. The apoſtles have received me, and put me in my right, and have rejected you as baſtards, having no title thereunto.

Alſo ye will deny that ye have fallen by apoſtacy, by breaking your vow; and ſo Vigilantius ſaid, inſomuch that he would admit none to his miniſtry, but thoſe who had their wives bagged with children. What now? ſhall we ſay Vigilantius did not fall therefore? Did not Donatus and Novatus fall, becauſe they ſaid ſo, and brought ſcripture for their defence? Then let us believe as we liſt, pretending well, and ſay ſo; nay, there is no man ſo blind that will not ſay ſo: for except the church, which condemneth them for their ſay-ſo, do approve us for to do ſo, then will ſhe condemn you alſo. So that your denial will not ſtand. And therefore I tell you, Remember from whence ye are fallen, and how long you ſhall fall, if you hold on as you do begin. But I truſt you will not continue, but revoke yourſelf in time, and the remedy followeth.

Repent, and do thy firſt works, for by ſuch means as ye have fallen, ye muſt riſe again. Firſt, your heart hath fallen, then your tongue and your pen, and beſides your own damage, hath cauſed many more to fall. Therefore, firſt your heart muſt turn, and then ſhall the tongue and the pen be quickly turned; or elſe I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candleſtick out of its place.

I need not to teach you a method to turn; you know the ready way yourſelf. But I would God I could but exhort you to the right and truth, then the way ſhould ſoon be found out. For if ye remember how many ye have brought by abominable hereſy into the way of perdition, I doubt not but very conſcience would move you, as much for them as for yourſelf, to come again. And ſo would you ſpare neither tongue nor pen, if the heart were once reformed: for as touching that point, the Holy Ghoſt toucheth their hearts very near by the mouth of his holy prophet Ezekiel, when he requireth the blood of his flock at the prieſt's hands, for lack of good and wholeſome food. How much more ſhould this touch your guilty heart, having overmuch diligence to teach them the way of perdition, and feeding them with baggage and corrupt food, which is hereſy; "He that ſhall convert a ſinner from his wicked life, ſhall ſave his ſoul from death, and ſhall cover the multitude of ſins." So that if it be true that he who converteth a ſinner, ſaveth a ſoul: then the contrary muſt needs be true, that he that perverteth a ſoul, and teacheth him the way of perdition, muſt needs be damned.

Origen, on the epiſtle of St. Paul to the Romans, ſaith, The damnation of thoſe that preach hereſy doth increaſe to the day of judgment. The more that periſh by heretical doctrine, the more grievous ſhall their torment be, that miniſter ſuch doctrine. Berengarius, who ſeemed to fear that danger, provided for it in his lifetime, but not without a troubled and diſquiet conſcience. He did not only repent, but recant, and not ſo much for himſelf, as for them whom he had with moſt peſtilent hereſies infected. For as he lay in his death-bed upon Epiphany-day, he demanded of them that were preſent, Is this, quoth he, the day of Epiphany, and appearing of the Lord? They anſwered him, Yea. Then, quoth he, this day ſhall the Lord appear to me, either to my comfort, or to my diſcomfort. This remorſe argueth, that he feared the danger of them whom he had taught, and led out of the faith of Chriſt. Origines upon him ſaith in this wiſe, "Although his own blood was upon his head, for that he did repent, and was ſorry for his former errors, yet being converted, he feared the blood of them whom he had infected, and who received his doctrine."

Let this move you even at the laſt point. Inſomuch as your caſe is not unlike to Berengarius, let your repentance be like alſo. And what ſhould ſtay you, tell me, from this godly return? Fear that you have gone ſo far, ye may not return? Nay, then I may ſay as David ſaid, "Ye fear where ye have no cauſe to fear." For if ye repent, and be heartily ſorry for your former hereſy and apoſtacy, ye need not to fear. For as God of his part is merciful and gracious to the repentant ſinner, ſo is the king, ſo is the queen merciful, which ye may well perceive by your own caſe, ſince ye might have ſuffered a great while ago for treaſon committed againſt her highneſs, but that ye have been ſpared and reſerved upon hope of amendment, which ſhe conceived very good of you; but now, as it ſeemeth, is but a very deſperate hope. And what do you thereby? "According to the hardneſs of your heart ye treaſure up to yourſelf anger in the day of wrath."

Well, what is it then, if fear do not hinder you? ſhame, to unſay that that you have ſaid: Nay, it is no ſhame, unleſs you think it ſhame to agree with the true and the catholic church of Chriſt. And if that be a ſhame, then blame St. Paul, who perſecuted the diſciples of Chriſt with the ſword; then blame St. Peter, who denied his maſter Chriſt with an oath, that he never knew him. St. Cyprian before his return being a witch; St. Auſtin being nine years out of the church. They thought it no ſhame after their return of that they had returned. Shall it then be ſhame for you to convert and conſent with the church of Chriſt? No, no.

What is it then that doth hinder you? Glory of the world? nay, as for the vanity of the world, I for my part judge not in you, being a man of learning and knowing your eſtate.

And as for the loſs of your eſtimation, it is ten to one that where you were archbiſhop of Canterbury, and metropolitan of all England, it is ten to one (I ſay) that ye ſhall be as well ſtill, yea, and rather better.

And as for the winning of good men, there is no doubt but all that be here preſent, and the whole congregation of Chriſt's church alſo, will more rejoice of your return, than they were ſorry for your fall. And as for the other, ye need not to doubt, for they ſhall all come after; and to ſay the truth, if you ſhould loſe them for ever, it were no force, ye ſhould have no leſs thereby at all. I do not here touch them which ſhould confirm your eſtimation. For as St. Paul, after his converſion, was received into the church of Chriſt, with wonderful joy to the whole congregation, even ſo ſhall you be. The fame of your return ſhall be ſpread abroad throughout all Chriſtendom, where your face was never known.

But you will ſay, perhaps, your conſcience will not ſuffer you. My lord, there is a good conſcience, and there is a bad conſcience. The good conſcience have not they, as St. Paul declareth to Timothy concerning Hymeneus and Alexander. The evil and bad conſcience is, ſaith St. Cyprian, well to be known by his mark. What mark? This conſcience is marked with the print of hereſy. This conſcience is a naughty, filthy, and a branded conſcience, which I truſt is not in you. I have conceived a better hope of you than ſo, or elſe would I never go about to perſuade or exhort you. But what conſcience ſhould ſtay you to return to the catholic faith and univerſal church of Chriſt? What conſcience doth ſeparate you to that deviliſh and ſeveral church, to a liberty which never had ground in the holy ſcriptures? If you judge your liberty to be good, then judge you all Chriſtendom to do evil beſides you?

O what a preſumptuous perſuaſion is this, upon this utterly to forſake the church of Chriſt? Under what colour or pretence do you this? for the abuſes? as though

in your church were no abuſes: Yes, that there were. And if you forſake the univerſal church for the abuſes, why do you not then forſake your particular church, and ſo be flitting from one to another? That is not the next way, to ſlip from the church for the abuſes; for if you had ſeen abuſes, you would rather have endeavoured for a reformation than for a defection. He is a good chirurgeon, who, for a little pain in the toe, will cut off the whole leg. He helpeth well the tooth-ach, which cutteth away the head by the ſhoulders. It is mere folly to amend abuſes by abuſes. Ye are all like Diogenes; for Diogenes on a time, envying the cleanlineſs of Plato, ſaid on this wiſe, Behold, I tread upon the pride of Plato. Plato anſwered, But with another ſort of pride. So that Diogenes ſeemed more faulty of the two.

But when we have ſaid all that we can, peradventure you will ſay, I will not return. And to that I ſay, I will not anſwer. Nevertheleſs hear what Chriſt ſaith to ſuch obſtinate and ſtiff-necked people in the parable of the ſupper. When he had ſent out his men to call them in that were appointed, and they would not come, he bade his ſervants go into the ways and ſtreets, to Compel men to come in. If then the church will not loſe any member that may be compelled to come in, ye muſt think it good to take the compulſion, leſt you loſe your part of the ſupper which the Lord hath prepared for you, and this compulſion ſtandeth well with charity.

But it may be, perhaps, that ſome hath animated you to ſtick to your tackle, and not to give over, bearing you in hand that your opinion is good, and that ye die in a good quarrel, and God ſhall accept your oblation. But hear what Chriſt ſaith of a meaner gift; If thou come to the altar to offer thy oblation, and knoweſt that thy brother hath ſomewhat to ſay againſt thee, leave there thy gift, and go and be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer up thy gift, or elſe thy brother will make thy offering unſavoury before God. This he ſaid unto all the world, to the end they ſhould know how their offerings ſhould be received, if they were not according.

Remember you therefore, before you offer up your offering, whether your gift be qualified or no. Remember the church of Rome, and alſo of England, where not one only brother, but a number have matter againſt you, ſo juſt, that they will make your burnt-offering to ſtink before God, except you be reconciled. If you muſt needs appoint upon a ſacrifice, make yet a mean firſt to them that have to lay againſt you. I ſay no more than the church hath allowed me to ſay. For the ſacrifice that is offered without the church is not profitable. The premiſes therefore conſidered, for God's ſake, I ſay, "Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do thy firſt works, or elſe I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candleſtick out of his place, except thou repent." Caſt not yourſelf away, ſpare your body, ſpare your ſoul, ſpare them alſo whom you have ſeduced, ſpare the ſhedding of Chriſt's blood for you in vain. Harden not your heart, acknowledge the truth, yield to the preſcript word of God, to the catholic church of Rome, to the received verity of all Chriſtendom. Wed not yourſelf to your own ſelf-will. Stand not too much in your own conceit. Think not yourſelf wiſer than all Chriſtendom is beſides you. Leave off this unjuſt cavil. How? leave what? Leave reaſon, leave wonder, and believe as the catholic church doth believe and teach you. Perſuade with yourſelf, that without the church there is no ſalvation. And thus much have I ſaid of charity.

If this poor ſimple exhortation of mine may ſink into your head, and take effect with you, then have I ſaid as I would have ſaid, otherwiſe not as I would, but as I could for this preſent.

And thus biſhop Brooks, finiſhing his oration, ſat down. After whom, Dr. Martin, taking the matter in hand, beginneth thus.

The Oration of Dr. Martin.

ALBEIT there be two governments, the one ſpiritual, and the other temporal, the one having the keys, and the other the ſword, yet in all ages we read, that for the honour and glory of God, both theſe powers have been adjoined together. For if we read the Old Teſtament, we ſhall find that ſo did Joſias and Ezekias. So did the king of the Ninivites compel a general faſt through all the whole city. So did Darius in breaking the great idol Bell, and delivered godly Daniel out of the den of lions. So did Nebuchadonoſor make and inſtitute laws againſt the blaſphemers of God. But to let paſs theſe examples, with a great number more, and to come to Chriſt's time, it is not unknown what a great travail they took to ſet forth God's honour: and although the rule and government of the church did only appertain to the ſpiritualty, yet for the ſuppreſſion of hereſies and ſchiſms, kings were admitted as aiders thereunto. Firſt, Conſtantine the Great called a council at Nice for the ſuppreſſion of the Arian ſect, where the ſame time was raiſed a great contention among them. And after long diſputation had, when the fathers could not agree upon the putting down the Arians, they referred their judgment to Conſtantine. God forbid, quoth Conſtanſtine; you ought to rule me, and not I you. And as Conſtantine did, ſo did Theodoſius againſt the Neſtorians, ſo did Marcianus againſt Manicheus. Jovinian made a law, that no man ſhould marry with a nun, that had wedded herſelf to the church.

So had king Henry the eighth the title of Defender of the faith, becauſe he wrote againſt Luther and his accomplices. So theſe nine hundred years the king of Spain had the title of Catholic, for the expulſion of the Arians, and to ſay the truth, the king and queen's majeſties do nothing degenerate from their anceſtors, taking upon them to reſtore again the title to be Defender of the faith, to the right heir thereof, the pope's holineſs.

Therefore the two princes, perceiving this noble realm, how it hath been brought from the unity of the true and catholic church, which you and your confederates do and have renounced; perceiving alſo that you do perſiſt in your deteſtable errors, and will by no means be revoked from the ſame, have made their humble requeſt and petition to the pope's holineſs, Paul the fourth, as ſupreme head of the church of Chriſt, declaring to him, that where you were archbiſhop of Canterbury, and metropolitan of England, and at your conſecration took two ſolemn oaths for your due obedience to be given to the ſee of Rome, to become a true preacher or paſtor of his flock; yet contrary to your oath and allegiance, for unity have ſowed diſcord; for chaſtity, marriage and adultery; for obedience, contention; and for faith, ye have been the author of all miſchief. The pope's holineſs, conſidering their requeſt and petition, hath granted them, that according to the cenſure of this realm proceſs ſhould be made againſt you.

And whereas, in this late time, you both excluded charity and juſtice, yet hath his holineſs decreed, that you ſhall have both charity and juſtice ſhewed unto you. He willeth you ſhould have the laws in moſt ample manner to anſwer in your behalf, and that you ſhall here come before my lord of Glouceſter, as high commiſſioner from his holineſs, to the examination of ſuch articles as ſhall be propoſed againſt you, and that we ſhould require the examination of you in the king's and queen's majeſties behalf. The king and queen as touching themſelves, becauſe by the law they cannot appear perſonally [Quia ſunt illuſtriſ. perſonæ] have appointed as their attornies Dr. Story and me. Wherefore here I offer to your good lordſhip our proxy, ſealed with the broad ſeal of England, and offer myſelf to be proctor in the king's majeſty's behalf. I exhibit here alſo certain articles, containing the manifeſt adultery and perjury. Alſo books of hereſy made partly

partly by him, partly ſet forth by his authority. And here I produce him as party principal to anſwer to your good lordſhip.

Thus when Dr. Martin had ended his oration, the archbiſhop began as followeth.

Cranmer. Shall I then make my anſwer?

Martin. As you think good, no man ſhall hinder you.

And here the archbiſhop kneeling down on both knees towards the weſt, ſaid firſt the Lord's-prayer. Then riſing up he recited the articles of the creed. Which done, he entereth with his proteſtation in form as followeth.

The Faith and Profeſſion of Dr. Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury before the Commiſſioners.

THIS I do profeſs as touching my faith, and make my proteſtation, which I deſire you to note. I will never conſent that the biſhop of Rome ſhall have any juriſdiction within this realm.

Story. Take a note thereof.

Martin. Mark, Mr. Cranmer, how you anſwer for yourſelf. You refuſe and deny him, by whoſe laws ye do remain in life, being otherwiſe attainted of high-treaſon, and but a dead man by the laws of the realm.

Cranmer. I proteſt before God I was no traitor, but indeed I confeſſed more, at my arraignment, than was true.

Martin. That is not to be reaſoned at this preſent. Ye know ye were condemned for a traitor, and a cauſe determined is taken for a truth. But proceed to your matter.

Cranmer. I will never conſent to the biſhop of Rome, for then ſhould I give myſelf to the devil; for I have made an oath to the king, and I muſt obey the king by God's laws. By the ſcripture the king is chief, and no foreign perſon in his own realm above him. There is no ſubject but to a king. I am a ſubject. I owe my fidelity to the crown. The pope is contrary to the crown. I cannot obey both; for no man can ſerve two maſters at once, as you in the beginning of your oration declared by the ſword and keys, attributing the keys to the pope, and the ſword to the king. But I ſay the king hath both. Therefore he that is ſubject to Rome, and the laws of Rome, he is perjured; for the popes' and the judges' laws are contrary, they are uncertain and confounded.

A prieſt indebted, by the laws of the realm, ſhall be ſued before a temporal judge; by the pope's laws contrary.

The pope doth the king injury, in that he hath his power from the pope. The king is head in his own realm: but the pope claimeth all biſhops, prieſts, curates, &c. So the pope in every realm hath a realm.

Again, by the laws of Rome the benefice muſt be given by the biſhop; by the laws of the realm, the patron giveth the benefice. Herein the laws be as contrary as fire and water.

No man can, by the laws of Rome, proceed in a premunire, and ſo is the law of the realm expelled, and the king ſtandeth accurſed in maintaining his own lands. Therefore in conſideration that the king and queen take their power of him, as though God ſhould give it to them, there is no true ſubject, unleſs he be abrogate, ſeeing the crown is held of him out of the realm.

The biſhop of Rome is contrary to God, and injurious to his laws; for God commandeth all men to be diligent in the knowledge of his law; and therefore hath appointed one holy day in the week, at the leaſt, for the people to come to the church, and hear the word of God expounded unto them; and that they might the better underſtand it, to hear it in their mother tongue which they know. The pope doth contrary; for he willeth the ſervice to be had in the Latin tongue, which they do not underſtand. God would have it to be perceived; the pope will not. When the prieſt giveth thanks, God would that the people ſhould do ſo too, and God will them to confeſs all together, the pope will not.

Now as concerning the ſacrament, I have taught no falſe doctrine of the ſacrament of the altar: for if it can be proved by any doctor above a thouſand years after Chriſt, that Chriſt's body is there really, I will give over. My book was made ſeven years ago, and no man hath brought any authors againſt it. I believe that whoſo eateth and drinketh that ſacrament, Chriſt is within them, whole Chriſt, his nativity, paſſion, reſurrection, and aſcenſion; but not that corporally that ſitteth in heaven.

Now Chriſt commanded all to drink of the cup: the pope taketh it away from the laymen: and yet one ſaith, that if Chriſt had died for the devil, that he ſhould drink thereof. Chriſt biddeth us to obey the king [etiam diſcolo,] the biſhop of Rome biddeth us to obey him; therefore unleſs he be Antichriſt, I cannot tell what to make of him. Wherefore if I ſhould obey him, I cannot obey Chriſt.

He is like the devil in his doings; for the devil ſaid to Chriſt, If thou wilt fall down and worſhip me, I will give thee all the kingdoms of the world. Thus he took upon him to give that which was not his own. Even ſo the biſhop of Rome giveth princes their crowns, being none of his own; for where princes, either by election, either by ſucceſſion, either by inheritance obtain their crown, he ſaith that they ſhould have it from him.

Chriſt ſaith, that Antichriſt ſhall be. And who ſhall he be? Forſooth he that advanceth himſelf above all other creatures. Now if there be none already that hath advanced himſelf after ſuch ſort beſides the pope, then in the mean time let him be Antichriſt.

Story. Pleaſeth it you to make an end?

Cranmer. For he will be the vicar of Chriſt, he will diſpenſe with the Old and New Teſtament alſo, yea and with apoſtacy.

Now I have declared why I cannot with my conſcience obey the pope. I ſpeak not this for hatred I bear to him that now ſupplieth the room, for I know him not. I pray God give him grace not to follow his anceſtors. Neither ſay I this for my defence, but to declare my conſcience for the zeal that I bear to God's word trodden under foot by the biſhop of Rome. I caſt fear apart, for Chriſt ſaid to his apoſtles, that in the latter days they ſhould ſuffer much ſorrow, and be put to death for his name's ſake: fear them not, ſaith he, but fear him which when he hath killed the body, hath power to caſt the ſoul into fire everlaſting. Alſo Chriſt ſaith, that he that will live ſhall die, and he that loſeth his life for my name's ſake, he ſhall find it again, Matt. 16. Moreover he ſaid, confeſs me before men, and be not afraid; for if you do ſo, I will ſtand with you; if you ſhrink from me, I will ſhrink from you, Matt. 8. This is a comfortable and terrible ſaying, this maketh me to ſet all fear apart. I ſay therefore the biſhop of Rome treadeth under foot God's laws and the king's.

The pope would give biſhoprics, ſo would the king. But at the laſt the king got the upper hand, and ſo are all biſhops perjured, firſt to the pope, and then to the king.

The crown hath nothing to do with the clergy. For if a clerk come before a judge, the judge ſhall make proceſs againſt him, but not to execute any laws. For if the judge ſhould put him to execution, then is the king accurſed in maintaining his own laws. And therefore I ſay, that he is neither true to God, neither to the king, that firſt received the pope. But I ſhall heartily pray for ſuch counſellors as may inform her the truth; for the king and queen, if they be well informed, will do well.

Martin. As you underſtand, then if they maintain the ſupremacy of Rome, they cannot maintain England too.

Cranmer. I require you to declare to the king and queen what I have ſaid, and how their oaths do ſtand with the realm and the pope. St. Gregory ſaith, he that taketh upon him to be head of the univerſal church, is worſe than the Antichriſt. If any man can ſhew me, that it is not againſt God's word to hold his ſtirrop when he taketh his horſe, and kiſs his feet, as kings do, then will I kiſs his feet alſo.

And you for your part, my lord, are perjured; for now ye ſit judge for the pope, and yet you did receive your biſhopric of the king. You have taken an oath to be adverſary to the realm; for the pope's laws are contrary to the laws of the realm.

Glouceſter. You were the cauſe that I did forſake the pope, and did ſwear that he ought not to be the ſupreme head, and gave it to king Henry the eighth, that he ought to be it; and this you made me to do.

Cranmer. To this I anſwer: You report me ill, and ſay not the truth, and I will prove it here before you all. The truth is, that my predeceſſor, archbiſhop Warham, gave the ſupremacy to king Henry the eight, and ſaid, that he ought to have it before the biſhop of Rome, and that God's word would bear him. And upon the ſame was there ſent to both the univerſities, Oxford and Cambridge, to know what the word of God would do touching the ſupremacy, and it was reaſoned upon, and argued at length. So at the laſt both the univerſities agreed, and ſet to their ſeals, and ſent it to Henry the eighth to the court, that he ought to be ſupreme head, and not the pope. Whereupon you were at that time doctor of divinity, and your conſent was thereunto, as by your hand doth appear. Therefore you miſreport me, that I was the cauſe of your falling away from the pope, but it was yourſelf. All this was in archbiſhop Warham's time, and while he was alive, ſo that it was three quarters of a year after ere ever I had the archbiſhopric of Canterbury in my hands, and before I might do any thing. So that here ye have reported of me that which ye cannot prove, which is ill done. All this while his cap was on his head.

Glouceſter. We come to examine you, and you, methinks, examine us.

Dr. Story's Oration.

PLeaſeth it your good lordſhip, becauſe it hath pleaſed the king and the queen's majeſties to appoint my companion and me to hear the examination of this man before your good lordſhip, to give me leave ſomewhat to talk in that behalf. Although I know that in talk with heretics there cometh hurt to all men; for it wearieth the ſtedfaſt, troubleth the doubtful, and taketh in ſnare the weak and ſimple: yet becauſe he ſaith, he is not bound to anſwer your lordſhip ſitting for the pope's holineſs, becauſe of Premunire, and the word of God, as he termeth it; I think good ſomewhat to ſay, that all men may ſee how he runneth out of his race of reaſon into the rage of common talk, ſuch as here I truſt hath done much good. And as the king and queen's majeſties will be glad to hear of your moſt charitable dealing with him; ſo will they be weary to hear the blundering of this ſtubborn heretic. And where he alledgeth divinity, mingling right and wrong together, he ſhould not have been heard. For ſhall it be ſufficient for him to alledge, the judge is not competent? Do we not ſee that in the common law it is not lawful for a man in Weſtminſter-hall to refuſe his judge? and ſhall we diſpute againſt one that denies principals? Although there be here a great company of learned men, that know it unmeet ſo to do, yet have I here a plain canon, wherein he declareth himſelf convicted Ipſo facto. The canon [as we have tranſlated it into Engliſh] is this; "Let it be to their own deſtruction whoſoever acts contrary to the apoſtolic decrees, let them have no place amongſt the prieſts, but be put out from the holy miniſtry, neither be capable of holding any cure, ſeeing they are condemned by the holy apoſtolic church for their diſobedience and preſumption, but let them be caſt out by the greater excommunication, to whom the diſcipline of the holy church being committed, not only ought to obey themſelves, but alſo teach others to do ſo, yet will reſiſt her divine and pontifical ſervices, and ſo diſobey the apoſtolical precepts."

He hath alledged many matters againſt the ſupremacy, but maliciouſly. You ſay the king in his realm is ſupreme head of the church. Well, Sir, you will grant me that there was a perfect catholic church before any king was chriſtened. Then if it were a perfect church, it muſt needs have a head, which muſt needs be before any king was member thereof; for you know Conſtantius the emperor was the firſt chriſtened king that ever was. And although you are bound, as St. Paul ſaith, to obey your rulers, and kings have the rule of the people, yet doth it not follow that they have cure of ſouls: for if you argue from the more powerful, the head may do that the miniſter cannot do; but the prieſt may conſecrate, and the king cannot, therefore the king is not head.

It was licenced by Chriſt to every man to bring into th ſheepfold, and to augment the flock, but not to rule, for that was only given to Peter.

And where the apoſtles do call upon men to obey their princes, to pay tribute to whom tribute is due; cuſtom to whom cuſtom; they perceiving that men were bent to a kind of liberty and diſobedience, were enforced to exhort them to obedience and payment of their tribute, which exhortation extendeth only to temporal matters.

And again, where you ſay that the biſhop of Rome maketh laws contrary to the laws of the realm, that is not true: for this is a maxim in the law, That which is true in a part, cannot be falſe in the whole.

Now as touching that monſtrous talk of your conſcience, that is no conſcience that ye profeſs; it is but private judgment, choice, and opinion. And as yet for all your glorious babble, you have not proved by God's laws that ye ought not to anſwer the pope's holineſs.

The canons which be received of all Chriſtendom compel you to anſwer, therefore you are bound ſo to do. And although this realm of late time, through ſuch ſchiſmatics as you were, hath exiled and baniſhed the canons, yet that cannot make for you, for you know yourſelf, that equal things produce equal things, nor can a part oblige the whole. Wherefore this Iſland, being indeed but a member of the whole, could not determine againſt the whole. That notwithſtanding the ſame laws, being put away by parliament, are now received again by a parliament, and have a full authority now as they had then, and they will now that ye anſwer to the pope's holineſs; therefore by the laws of the realm ye are bound to anſwer him. Wherefore my good lord, all that this Thomas Cranmer (I cannot otherwiſe term him, concerning his diſobedience) hath brought for his defence, ſhall not prevail with you, nor take any effect. Require him therefore to anſwer directly to your lordſhip; command him to ſet aſide his trifles, and to be obedient to the laws and ordinances of this realm. Take witneſs here of his ſtubborn contempt againſt the king and queen's majeſties, and compel him to anſwer directly to ſuch articles as we ſhall here lay againſt him, and in refuſal your good lordſhip is to excommunicate him.

As ſoon as Dr. Story had thus ended his tale, Dr. Martin began again to enter ſpeech with the archbiſhop; which diſcourſe I thought proper here to mention, although the report of the ſame be ſuch, as the author

thereof ſeemeth in his writings very partial; for as he expreſſeth the ſpeech of Dr. Martin at full, and to the uttermoſt of his diligence, leaving out nothing in that part that either was or could be ſaid more; ſo again on the other part, how raw and weak he leaveth the matter, it is eaſy to perceive, who neither comprehendeth all that Dr. Cranmer again anſwered for his defence, nor yet in thoſe ſhort ſpeeches which he expreſſeth, ſeemeth to diſcharge the part of a ſincere and faithful reporter. Notwithſtanding, ſuch as it is I thought good to let the reader underſtand, who in peruſing the ſame may uſe therein his own judgment and conſideration.

Talk between Dr. Martin and Archbiſhop Cranmer.

Martin. MR. Cranmer, ye have told here a long glorious tale, pretending ſome matter of conſcience in appearance, but in verity you have no conſcience at all. You ſay that you have ſworn once to king Henry the eighth againſt the pope's juriſdiction, and therefore you may never forſwear the ſame; and ſo ye make a great matter of conſcience in the breach of the ſaid oath. Here will I aſk you a queſtion or two. What if ye made an oath to an harlot, to live with her in continual adultery, ought you to keep it?

Cranmer. I think no.

Martin. What if you do ſwear never to lend a poor man one penny, ought you to keep it?

Cranmer. I think not.

Martin. Herod did ſwear whatſoever his harlot aſked of him he would give her, and he gave her John Baptiſt's head; did he well in keeping his oath?

Cranmer. I think not.

Martin. Jephtha one of the judges of Iſrael did ſwear unto God, that if he would give him victory over his enemies, he would offer unto God the firſt ſoul that came forth of his houſe; it happened that his own daughter came firſt, and he ſlew her to ſave his oath. Did he well?

Cranmer. I think not.

Martin. So ſaith St. Ambroſe De officiis, "It is a miſerable neceſſity which is paid with parricide." Then Mr. Cranmer, you can no leſs confeſs by the premiſes, but that you ought not to have conſcience of every oath, but if it be juſt, lawful, and adviſedly taken.

Cranmer. So was that oath.

Martin. That is not ſo, for firſt it was unjuſt, for it tended to the taking away of another man's right. It was not lawful, for the laws of God and the church were againſt it. Beſides, it was not voluntary; for every man and woman were compelled to take it.

Cranmer. It pleaſeth you to ſay ſo.

Martin. Let all the world be judge. But Sir, you that pretended to have ſuch a conſcience to break an oath, I pray you did you never ſwear and break the ſame?

Cranmer. I remember not.

Martin. I will help your memory. Did you never ſwear obedience to the ſee of Rome?

Cranmer. Indeed I did once ſwear unto the ſame.

Martin. Yea, that you did twice, as appeareth by records and writings here ready to be ſhewed.

Cranmer. But I remember I ſaved all by proteſtation that I made by the counſel of the beſt learned men I could get at that time.

Martin. Hearken good people what this man ſaith. He made a proteſtation one day, to keep never a whit of that which he would ſwear the next day; was this the part of a chriſtian man? If a chriſtian man would bargain with a Turk, and before he maketh his bargain ſolemnly, before witneſs readeth in his paper that he holdeth ſecretly in his hand, or peradventure proteſteth before one or two, that he mindeth not to perform whatſoever he ſhall promiſe to the Turk; I ſay, if a chriſtian man ſhould ſerve a Turk in this manner, that the chriſtian man were worſe than the Turk. What would you then ſay to this man, that made a ſolemn oath and promiſe unto God and his church, and made a proteſtation before quite contrary?

Cranmer. That which I did, I did by the beſt learned men's advice I could get at that time.

Martin. I proteſt before all the learned men here, that there is no learning will ſave your perjury herein; for there be two rules of the civil law clean contrary againſt you, and ſo brought forth his rules, which being done he proceeded further. But will you have the truth of the matter? King Henry the eighth even then meant the lamentable change which after you ſee came to paſs, and to further his pitiful proceedings from the divorcement of his moſt lawful wife, to the deteſtable departing from the bleſſed unity of Chriſt's church, this man made the aforeſaid proteſtation; and on the other ſide, he letted not to make two ſolemn oaths quite contrary; and why? for otherwiſe by the laws and canons of this realm, he could not aſpire to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury.

Cranmer. I proteſt before you all, there was never man came more unwillingly to a biſhopric, than I did to that. Inſomuch that when king Henry ſent for me in poſt, that I ſhould come over, I prolonged my journey by ſeven weeks at the leaſt, thinking that he would be forgetful of me in the mean time.

Martin. You declare well by the way that the king took you to be a man of good conſcience, who could not find within all his realm any man that would ſet forth his ſtrange attempts, but was inforced to ſend for you in poſt to come out of Germany. What may we conjecture hereby, but that there was a compact between you, being then queen Anne's chaplain, and the king: Give me the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, and I will give you licence to live in adultery.

Cranmer. You ſay not true.

Martin. Let your proteſtation, joined with the reſt of your talk, give judgment. [Hinc prima mali labes.] Of that your execrable perjury, and his coloured and too ſhamefully ſuffered adultery, came hereſy and all miſchief to this realm.

And thus have I ſpoken as touching the conſcience you make for breaking your heretical oath made to the king. But to break your former oath made at two ſundry times both to God and his church, you have no conſcience at all. And now to anſwer another part of your oration, wherein you bring in God's word, that you have it on your ſide and no man elſe, and that the pope hath deviſed a new ſcripture contrary to the ſcripture of God; ye play herein as the phariſees did, which cried always, The word of the Lord, the word of the Lord, when they meant nothing ſo. This bettereth not your cauſe, becauſe you have God's word for you; for Baſilides and Phontinus the heretics ſaid, that they had God's word to maintain their hereſy. So Neſtorius, ſo Macedonius, ſo Pelagius, and briefly, all the heretics that ever were, pretended that they had God's word for them; yea, and ſo the devil being the father of hereſies, alledged God's word for him, ſaying, It is written: So ſaid he to Chriſt, Caſt thyſelf downward, which you applied moſt falſly againſt the pope. But if you mark the devil's language well, it agreed with your proceedings moſt truly. For, Caſt thyſelf downward, ſaid he, and ſo taught you to caſt all things downward. Down with the ſacrament, down with the maſs, down with the altars, down with the arms of Chriſt, and up with a lion and a dog; down with the abbeys, down with chauntries, down with hoſpitals and colleges, down with faſting and prayer, yea, down with all that good and godly is. All your proceedings and preachings tended to no other, but to fulfill the devil's requeſt, Caſt thyſelf downward. And therefore tell not us that you have God's word. For God hath given us by his word a mark to know that your teaching proceeded not of God, but of the

the devil, and that your doctrine came not of Christ but of Antichrist. For Christ foresaid there should come against his church, ravening wolves, and false apostles. But how should we know them? Christ teacheth us, saying, By their fruits ye shall know them. Why, what be their fruits? St. Paul declareth, After the flesh they walk in concupiscence and uncleanness; they contemn powers. Again, In the latter days there shall be perilous times. Then shall there be men loving themselves, covetous, proud, disobedient to parents, treason-workers. Whether these be not the fruits of your gospel, I refer me to this worshipful audience; whether the said gospel began not with perjury, proceeded with adultery, was maintained with heresy, and ended in conspiracy.

Now, Sir, two points more I marked in your raging discourse that you made here: the one against the holy sacrament; the other against the pope's jurisdiction, and the authority of the see apostolic.

Touching the first, ye say you have God's word with you, yea and all the doctors. I would here ask you one question, whether God's word be contrary to itself, and whether the doctors teach doctrine contrary to themselves, or no? for you Mr. Cranmer have taught in this high sacrament of the altar three contrary doctrines, and yet you pretended in every one the word of the Lord.

Cranmer. Nay, I taught but two contrary doctrines in the same.

Martin. What doctrine taught you when you condemned Lambert the sacramentary in the king's presence in Whitehall.

Cranmer. I maintained then the papists doctrine.

Martin. That is to say, the catholic and universal doctrine of Christ's church. And how when King Henry died; did you not translate Justus Jonas's book?

Cranmer. I did so.

Martin. Then there you defended another doctrine touching the sacrament, by the same token, that you sent to Lynn your printer, that whereas in the first print there was an affirmative, that is to say Christ's body really in the sacrament, you sent then to your printer to put in a [not] whereby it came miraculously to pass, that Christ's body was clean conveyed out of the sacrament.

Cranmer. I remember there were two printers of my said book, but where the same [not] was put in, I cannot tell.

Martin. Then from a Lutheran ye became a Zwinglian, which is the vilest heresy of all in the high mystery of the sacrament, and for the same heresy you did help to burn Lambert the sacramentary, which you now call the catholic faith, and God's word.

Cranmer. I grant that then I believed otherwise than I do now, and so I did until my lord of London, Dr. Ridley, did confer with me, and by sundry persuasions and authorities of doctors drew me quite from my opinion.

Martin. Now, Sir, as touching the last part of your oration, you denied that the pope's holiness was supreme head of the church of Christ.

Cranmer. I did so.

Martin. Who say you then is supreme head?

Cranmer. Christ.

Martin. But whom hath Christ left here in earth his vicar and head of his church?

Cranmer. Nobody.

Martin. Ah, why told you not king Henry this when you made him supreme head? and now nobody is. This is treason against his own person, as you then made him.

Cranmer. I mean not but every king in his own realm and dominion is supreme head, and so was he supreme head of the church of Christ in England.

Martin. Is this always true? and was it ever so in Christ's church.

Cranmer. It was so.

Martin. Then what say you by Nero? He was the mightiest prince of the earth after Christ was ascended: Was he head of Christ's church?

Cranmer. Nero was Peter's head.

Martin. I ask whether Nero was head of the church or no? if he were not, it is false that you said before, that all princes be, and ever were heads of the church within their realms.

Cranmer. Nay it is true, for Nero was head of the church: that is, in worldly respect of the temporal bodies of men, of whom the church consisteth; for so he beheaded Peter and the apostles. And the Turk too is head of the church in Turky.

Martin. Then he that beheaded the heads of the church, and crucified the apostles, was head of Christ's church; and he that was never member of the church, is head of the church, by your new-found understanding of God's word.

It is not to be supposed contrary, but much other matter passed in this communication between them, especially on the archbishop's behalf. Whose answers I do not think to be so slender, nor altogether in the same form of words framed, if the truth as it was, might be known: but so it pleased the notary thereof, being too much partially addicted to his mother see of Rome in favour of his faction, to diminish and drive down the other side, either in not shewing all, or in reporting the thing otherwise than it was; as the common guise is of most writers, to what side their affection most weigheth, their oration commonly inclineth. But let us proceed further in the story of this matter.

It followed then (said this reporter), when the archbishop had thus answered, and the standers by began to murmur against him, the judges not content with his answers, willed him to answer directly to the interrogatories; which interrogatories articulated against him in form of law, were these under following.

Interrogatories objected to the Archbishop, with his Answers annexed to the same.

1. INterrog. First was objected, That he the aforesaid Thomas Cranmer, being yet free, and before he entered into holy orders, married one Joan, surnamed Black or Brown, dwelling at the sign of the Dolphin, in Cambridge.

Answer. Whereunto he answered, that whether she was called Black or Brown, he knew not, but that he married there one Joan, that he granted.

2. Interrog. That after the death of the aforesaid wife, he entered into holy orders, and after that was made archbishop by the pope.

Answer. He received (he said) a certain bull of the pope, which he delivered unto the king, and was archbishop by him.

3. Interrog. Item, That he being in holy orders, married another woman as his second wife, named, Anne, and so was twice married.

Answer. To this he granted.

4. Interrog. Item, In the time of king Henry the eighth, he kept the said wife secretly, and had children by her.

Answer. Hereunto he also granted, affirming, that it was better for him to have his own, than to do like other priests, holding and keeping other men's wives.

5. Interrog. Item, In the time of king Edward, he brought out the said wife openly, affirming and professing publicly the same to be his wife.

Answer. He denied not but he did so, and lawfully might do the same, forasmuch as the laws of the realm did so permit him.

6. Interrog.

6. Interrog. Item, That he ſhamed not openly to glory himſelf to have had his wife in ſecret many years.

Anſwer. And though he did ſo (he ſaid) there was no cauſe why he ſhould be aſhamed thereof.

7. Interrog. Item, That the ſaid Thomas Cranmer falling afterward into the deep bottom of errors, did fly and refuſe the authority of the church, did hold and follow the hereſy concerning the ſacrament of the altar, and alſo did compile, and cauſed to be ſet abroad divers books.

Anſwer. Whereunto when the names of the books were recited to him, he denied not ſuch books which he was the author of. As touching the treatiſe of Peter Martyr upon the ſacrament, he denied that he ever ſaw it before it was abroad, yet did approve and well like of the ſame. As for the catechiſm, the book of the articles, with the other book againſt Wincheſter, he granted the ſame to be his doings.

8. Interrog. Item, That he compelled many againſt their wills to ſubſcribe to the ſame articles.

Anſwer. He exhorted (he ſaid) ſuch as were willing to ſubſcribe; but againſt their wills he compelled none.

9. Interrog. Item, Foraſmuch as he ceaſed not to perpetrate enormous and inordinate crimes, he was therefore caſt into the Tower, and from thence was brought to Oxford, at what time it was commonly thought that the parliament there ſhould be held.

Anſwer. To this he ſaid, that he knew no ſuch enormous and inordinate crimes that ever he committed.

10. Interrog. Item, That in the ſaid city of Oxford he did openly maintain his hereſy, and there was convict upon the ſame.

Anſwer. He defended (he ſaid) there the cauſe of the ſacrament; but that he was convicted in the ſame, that he denied.

11. Interrog. Item, When he perſevered ſtill in the ſame, he was by the public cenſure of the univerſity pronounced an heretic, and his books to be heretical.

Anſwer. That he was ſo denounced he denied not, but that he was an heretic, or his books heretical, that he denied.

12. Interrog. Item, That he was and is notoriouſly infamed with the note of ſchiſm, as who not only himſelf receded from the catholic church and ſee of Rome, but alſo moved the king and ſubjects of this realm to the ſame.

Anſwer. As touching the receding, that he well granted; but that receding or departing, ſaid he, was only from the ſee of Rome, and had in it no matter of any ſchiſm.

13. Interrog. Item, That he had been twice ſworn to the pope; and withal Dr. Martin brought out the inſtrument of the public notary, wherein was contained his proteſtation made when he ſhould be conſecrated, aſking if he had any thing elſe proteſted.

Anſwer. Whereunto he anſwered, that he did nothing but by the laws of the realm.

14. Interrog. Item, That he the ſaid archbiſhop of Canterbury did not only offend in the premiſes, but alſo in taking upon him the authority of the ſee of Rome, in that without leave and licence from the ſaid ſee, he conſecrated biſhops and prieſts.

Anſwer. He granted that he did execute ſuch things as were wont to be referred to the pope, at what time it was permitted to him by the public laws and determination of the realm.

15. Interrog. Item, That when the whole realm had ſubſcribed to the authority of the pope, he only ſtill perſiſted in his error.

Anſwer. That he did not admit the pope's authority, he confeſſed to be true. But that he erred in the ſame, that he died.

16. Interrog. Item, That all and ſingular the premiſes be true.

Anſwer. That likewiſe he granted, excepting thoſe things whereunto he had now anſwered.

After he had thus anſwered to the objections aforeſaid, and the public notary had entered the ſame, the judges and commiſſioners, as having now accompliſhed that wherefore they came, were about to ariſe and depart. But the biſhop of Glouceſter thinking it not proper ſo to diſmiſs the people, being ſomewhat ſtirred with the words of the archbiſhop, began his oration in the hearing of the people, thus to declaim.

The Oration of Biſhop Brooks, in cloſing up his Examinations againſt Dr. Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

MR. Cranmer (I cannot otherwiſe term you, conſidering your obſtinacy), I am right ſorry, I am right heartily ſorry to hear ſuch words eſcape your mouth ſo unadviſedly. I had conceived a right good hope of your amendment. I ſuppoſe that this obſtinacy of yours came not of a vain-glory, but rather of a corrupt conſcience, which was the occaſion that I hoped ſo well of your return. But now I perceive by your fooliſh babble that it is far otherwiſe. You are ſo puffed up with vain-glory, there is ſuch a notorious mark of hereſy crept into your conſcience, that I am clean void of hope, and my hope is turned into perdition. Who can ſave that will be loſt? God would have you to be ſaved, and you refuſe it. The perdition is only upon thyſelf, O Iſrael; only in me is thy ſalvation, ſaith the Lord by his prophet. You have uttered ſo erroneous talk, with ſuch open malice againſt the pope's holineſs, with ſuch open lying againſt the church of Rome, with ſuch open blaſphemy againſt the ſacrament of the altar, that no mouth could have expreſſed more maliciouſly, more lyingly, more blaſphemouſly.

To reaſon with you, although I would of myſelf to ſatisfy this audience, yet may I not by our commiſſion, neither can I find how I may do it with the ſcriptures: For the apoſtle doth command, that ſuch a one ſhould not only not be talked withal, but alſo ſhunned and avoided; ſaying, An heretical perſon after once or twice conferring, ſhun, knowing that he is perverſe and ſinneth, being of his own judgment condemned. Ye have been conferred withal not once or twice, but oftentimes, ye have oft been lovingly admoniſhed, ye have been oft ſecretly diſputed with. And the laſt year in the open ſchool, in open diſputations, ye have been openly convict, ye have been openly driven out of the ſchool with hiſſes: your book which ye brag you made ſeven years ago, and no man anſwered it, Marcus Antonius hath ſufficiently detected and confuted, and yet ye perſiſt ſtill in your wonted hereſy.

Wherefore being ſo oft admoniſhed, conferred withal, and convicted, if ye deny you to be the man whom the apoſtle noteth, hear then what Origen ſaith, who wrote above 1300 years ago, and interpreteth the ſaying of the apoſtle in this wiſe, in Apologia Pamphili; "All thoſe ought to be eſteemed heretics, who profeſſing to believe in Chriſt, judge otherwiſe of his truth, than the eccleſiaſtical tradition." Even now ye profeſſed a king of Chriſtianity and holineſs unto us, for at your beginning you fell down upon your knees, and ſaid the Lord's prayer (God knows like an hypocrite), and then ſtanding upon your feet, you rehearſed the articles of your faith, but to what end I pray you elſe, but to cloak that inward hereſy rooted in you, that you might blind the poor, ſimple, and unlearned people's eyes? For what will they ſay or think, if they do not thus ſay? Good Lord, what mean theſe men to ſay that he is an heretic, they are deceived, this is a good chriſtian, he believeth as we believe.

But

But is this ſufficient to eſcape the name of an heretic? To the ſimple and unlearned it is ſufficient, but for you that have profeſſed a greater knowledge and higher doctrine, it is not enough to recite your belief. For unleſs (as Origen ſaith) ye believe all things that the church hath decreed beſides, you are no chriſtian man. In which becauſe you do halt, and will come to no conformity; from henceforth ye are to be taken for an heretic, with whom we ought neither to diſpute, neither to reaſon, whom we ought rather to eſchew and avoid.

Nevertheleſs, although I do not intend to reaſon with you, but to give you up as an abject and an out-caſt from God's favour, yet becauſe ye have uttered, to the annoying of the people, ſuch peſtilent hereſies as may do harm among ſome rude and unlearned, I think meet to ſay ſomewhat herein; not becauſe I hope to have any good at your hands, which I would willingly wiſh, but that I may eſtabliſh the ſimple people which be here preſent, leſt they being ſeduced by your diabolical doctrine, may periſh thereby.

And firſt (as it behoveth every man to purge himſelf firſt before he enter with any other), where you accuſe me of an oath made againſt the biſhop of Rome, I confeſs it, and deny it not; and therefore do ſay with the reſt of this realm, good and catholic men, the ſaying of the prophet, "We have ſinned with our fathers, we have done unjuſtly and wickedly. The ſins of my youth, and my ignorances, O Lord, do not remember." I was then a young man, and as young a ſcholar here in the univerſity.

I knew not then what an oath did mean, and yet to ſay the truth, I did it compulſed, compulſed, I ſay, by you Mr. Cranmer, and here were you the author and cauſe of my perjury; you are to be blamed herein, and not I. Now where you ſay I made two oaths, the one contrary to the other, it is not ſo, for the oath I made to the pope's holineſs appertaineth only to ſpiritual things; the other oath that I made to the king pertaineth only to temporal things; that is to ſay, that I do acknowledge all my temporal livings to proceed only from the king, and from none elſe. But all men may ſee, as you agree in this, ſo ye agree in the reſt of your opinions.

Now, Sir, as concerning the ſupremacy which is only due to the ſee of Rome, a word or two. Although there be a number of places which do confirm that Chriſt appointed Peter head of the church, yet this is a moſt evident place; when Chriſt demanded of his apoſtles whom men called him, they anſwered, Some Elias, ſome a prophet, &c. But Chriſt replied unto Peter and ſaid, Whom ſayeſt thou Peter that I am? Peter anſwered, Thou art Chriſt the Son of God: and Chriſt replied, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church. The doctors interpreting this place, Upon this rock, expound it thus, Not only on the faith of Peter, but upon Peter himſelf. And why did Chriſt change his name from Simon to Peter, which in Latin is a Stone, but only to declare that he was only the foundation and head of the church?

Again, where Chriſt demanded of Peter being amongſt the reſt of his apoſtles, three times a-row, Peter, loveſt thou me, he gave him charge over his ſheep, Feed my ſheep, feed my lambs. Which place Chryſoſtom interpreting, ſaith, Feed, that is, be you in my ſtead, and head of your brethren. To conclude, when they came that required Didrachma of Chriſt, he commanded Peter to caſt his net into the ſea, and to take out of the fiſh's mouth that he took, a piece of money, which was a double Didrachma, and give it, ſays he, for thee and me. Which words do ſignify, that when he had paid for them two, he had paid for all the reſt. For as in the old law there were appointed two heads over the people of Iſrael, Moſes and Aaron; Moſes as chief, and Aaron next head under him; ſo in the new law there were two heads of the church, which were Chriſt and Peter. Chriſt is head of all, and Peter next under him. St. Auſtin, in 75 queſt. Veteris & Novi Teſtamenti, ſaith, "Our Saviour Chriſt commanding the tribute to be given for him and for Peter, meant thereby the ſame to be given for all others, for he appointed him to be head of them." What can be more plain than this? but I will not tarry upon this matter.

Now as touching the pope's laws, where you ſay they be contrary, becauſe the ſervice which ſhould be (as you ſay) in Engliſh, is in Latin; I anſwer, Whoſoever will take the pains to peruſe the fourteenth chapter of the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, ſhall find, that his meaning is concerning preaching, and by the way only of praying.

Again, where you ſay, that the pope's holineſs doth take away one part of the ſacrament from the lay-men, and Chriſt would have it under both, ye can ſay no more but this, Drink ye all of this. And what followeth? And all drank thereof. Now if a man would be ſo froward with you, he might ſay that Chriſt gave it only to his apoſtles, in whoſe places ſucceeded prieſts, and not lay-men.

And admit that Chriſt commanded it to be received under both kinds, yet the church hath authority to change that, as well as others. Ye read, that Chriſt calling his apoſtles together, ſaid unto them, "Go, and preach the goſpel to every nation, baptizing them in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt." But the apoſtles being deſirous to publiſh Chriſt's name every where, did baptize only in Chriſt's name. Again, Chriſt before his laſt ſupper waſhed his apoſtles feet, ſaying, "If I have waſhed your feet, being your Lord and Maſter, alſo you ought to waſh the feet one of another. I have given you example." This was a precept, yet hath the church altered it, that the ſimple people ſhould not think a re-baptization in it. "So becauſe, ſaith the apoſtle, I have received of the Lord the ſame which I have delivered unto you, that our Lord, the ſame night in which he was betrayed, &c." Notwithſtanding that this was a precept that the ſacrament ſhould be adminiſtered after ſupper, the church hath altered it, and commanded it to be received faſting. And where Chriſt did break the bread, we receive the whole hoſt. Chriſt adminiſtered ſitting at the table, we ſtanding at the altar.

It was alſo commanded in Acts 25. that chriſtian men ſhould abſtain from ſtrangled and blood. But the church perceiving it to be a precept but for a time, hath altered it. Chriſt commanded to keep holy the Sabbath-day, and the church hath altered it to Sunday. If then the church may change things that be ſo expreſſed in the ſcriptures, ſhe may alſo change the form of receiving of lay-men under both kinds, for divers occaſions.

Firſt, that in carrying it to the ſick, the blood may not be ſhed, loſt, or miſuſed.

And next, that no occaſion might be given to heretics to think that there is not ſo much under one kind as under both.

But why would you have it under both kinds, I pray you elſe, but only to pervert and contradict the commandment of the church? For when you had it under both kinds, you believed in neither. And we having but one, believe both kinds. Now, Sir, as concerning the ſacrament of the altar, where you ſay, you have a number of doctors on your ſide, and we none of our ſide, that is to ſay, to confirm the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar, indeed one, to ſtop your mouth, I think is not poſſible to find. Nevertheleſs where your requeſt is to have one ſhewed unto you, and then you will recant, I will ſhew you two.

St. Auſtin upon Pſalm 33. He carried himſelf in his own hands: I find not how this is true in David (ſaith he) literally, that he was borne in his own hands; but in Chriſt I find it literally, when he gave his body to his apoſtles at his laſt ſupper.

Again, St. Cyprian de Cœna Domini, ſaith, The bread which our Lord gave to his diſciples, was not a bare likeneſs, but the nature being changed, was made fleſh by his almighty word. What can be more plain than this? yet to your expoſition it is not plain enough. But give me your figurative, ſignificative, and other ſuch like terms, and I will defend that Chriſt hath not yet aſcended; no nor yet that he was incarnate, &c. Wherefore I can do no other but put you in the number of them, whom Chryſoſtom ſpake of in this wiſe, ſaying, Hear, O thou chriſtian man, wilt thou do more than Chriſt could do? Chriſt confuted the phariſees, yet he could not put them to ſilence; and art thou ſtronger than Chriſt? Wilt thou go about to bring them to ſilence that will receive no anſwer? as who ſhould ſay, thou canſt not. Thus much have I ſaid, not for you, Mr. Cranmer, for my hope that I conceived of you, is now gone and paſt; but ſomewhat to ſatisfy the rude and unlearned people, that they, perceiving your arrogant lying, and lying arrogancy, may the better eſchew your deteſtable and abominable ſchiſm.

And thus the prelate ended his worſhipful tale. After whom Dr. Story taketh the matter, and thus inferred in words, as followeth.

Mr. Cranmer, you have made a goodly proceſs concerning your heretical oath made to the king, but you forget your oath made to the ſee apoſtolic. As concerning your oath made to the king, if you made it to him only, it took an end by his death, and ſo it is releaſed; if you made it to his ſucceſſors, well Sir, the true ſucceſſors have the empire, and they will you to diſſolve the ſame, and become a member of Chriſt's church again, and it ſtandeth well with charity.

To this the archbiſhop anſwered again, ſaith the reporter: but what his anſwer was, that he ſuppreſſeth, and returneth to the words of Dr. Story, who imperiouſly turning his ſpeech again to the archbiſhop, ſaid as followeth.

Hold your peace, Sir, and ſo ſhall it right well become you, conſidering that I gave you licence before to ſay your fancy. Your oath was no oath: for it lacked the three points of an oath, that is to ſay, judgment, righteouſneſs, and truth.

Theſe, with the like words to the ſame effect, being uttered by Dr. Story, ſeeking to break up and make an end of that ſeſſion, immediately called for witneſſes to be produced, who ſhould be ſworn upon the book, to utter and declare the next day whatſoever they knew, or could remember to be inferred againſt Dr. Cranmer's hereſy. The names of the witneſſes are theſe following:

Dr. Marſhall, commiſſary, and dean of Chriſt-church.
Dr. Smith, under commiſſary.

Dr. Treſham,	Mr. Curtop,
Dr. Crook,	Mr. Warde,
Mr. London,	Mr. Serles.

After the depoſitions, of which witneſſes being taken, Dr. Story admoniſhed the archbiſhop, permitting him to make his exceptions, if he thought any of the ſaid witneſſes were to be refuſed. The archbiſhop refuſed them all, as being men perjured, and not in chriſtian religion. For if to ſwear, ſaid he, againſt the pope, were unlawful, they ſhould rather have given their lives, than their oath. But if it were lawful, then they are perjured, to defend him whom they forſwore before. Nevertheleſs, this anſwer of the archbiſhop being lightly regarded, as little to the purpoſe appertaining, he was commanded again to the place from whence he came. Who at his departing out, like as at his firſt coming in, ſhewed low obedience to Dr. Martin and Dr. Story, the queen's commiſſioners. Then Dr. Story, pointing him to the biſhop of Glouceſter, ſaid that he ought rather to give reverence unto him. So the moſt reverend archbiſhop, departing without any obeyſance, exhibited to the ſaid biſhop of Glouceſter the pope's delegate, all the others roſe up, and departed every one to his own. And thus brake up the ſeſſion for that day, about two of the clock in the afternoon.

And thus much hitherto concerning the ſummary effect of this action or ſeſſion, with the orations, diſcourſes and articles commenced againſt the archbiſhop of Canterbury; alſo with the reaſons and anſwers of the ſaid archbiſhop to their objections and interrogatories. Touching which his anſwers, foraſmuch as they being recited by report of a papiſt, (as is aforeſaid) ſeem to be partially handled, it ſhall therefore not greatly be out of the matter, as ye have heard the orations of biſhop Brooks, with the reaſons and talk of the other commiſſioners, amplified and ſet forth at large on the one ſide, ſo now repeating the words and anſwers of the other part, to declare and ſet forth ſomewhat more amply and effectually, what ſpeech the ſaid archbiſhop uſed for himſelf in the ſame action, by the faithful relation and teſtimony of certain others, who were likewiſe there preſent, and do thus report the effect of the archbiſhop's words, anſwering to the firſt oration of biſhop Brooks in manner as followeth.

A more full Anſwer of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury to the firſt Oration of Biſhop Brooks.

MY lord, you have very learnedly and eloquently in your oration put me in remembrance of many things touching myſelf, wherein I do not mean to ſpend the time in anſwering of them. I acknowledge God's goodneſs to me in all his gifts, and thank him as heartily for this ſtate wherein I find myſelf now, as ever I did for the time of my proſperity; and it is not the loſs of my promotions that grieveth me. The greateſt grief I have at this time is, and one of the greateſt that ever I had in all my life, to ſee the king and queen's majeſties, by their procters here, to become my accuſers, and that in their own realm and country, before a foreign power. If I have tranſgreſſed the laws of the land, their majeſties have ſufficient authority and power both from God, and by the ordinance of the realm, to puniſh me, whereunto I both have, and at all times ſhall be content to ſubmit myſelf.

Alas! what hath the pope to do in England? whoſe juriſdiction is ſo far different from the juriſdiction of this realm, that it is impoſſible to be true to the one, and true to the other. The laws alſo are ſo diverſe, that whoſoever ſweareth to both, muſt needs incur perjury to the one. Which as often as I remember, even for the love that I bear to her grace, I cannot but be heartily ſorry to think upon it, how that her highneſs the day of her coronation, at which time ſhe took a ſolemn oath to obſerve all the laws and liberties of this realm of England, at the ſame time alſo took an oath to the biſhop of Rome, and promiſed to maintain that ſee. The ſtate of England being ſo repugnant to the ſupremacy of the pope, it was impoſſible but ſhe muſt needs be forſworn in the one. Wherein if her grace had been faithfully advertiſed by her council, then ſurely ſhe would never have done it.

The laws of this realm are, that the king of England is the ſupreme and ſole governor of all his countries and dominions: and that he holdeth his crown and ſceptre of himſelf, by the ancient laws, cuſtoms, and deſcents of the kings of the realm, and of none other. The pope ſaith, that all emperors and kings hold their crowns and regalities of him, and that he may depoſe them when he liſt; which is high treaſon for any man to affirm and think, being born within the king's dominions.

The laws of England are, that all biſhops and prieſts offending in caſes of felony or treaſon, are to be judged and tried by the laws and cuſtoms of the realm. The pope's

pope's laws are, that the ſecular power cannot judge the ſpiritual power, and that they are not under their juriſdiction; which robbeth the king of the one part of his people.

The laws alſo of England are, that whoſoever hindereth the execution or proceeding of the laws of England for any other foreign laws eccleſiaſtical or temporal, incurreth the danger of a premunire. The pope's laws are, that whoſoever hindereth the proceedings or executions of his laws, for any other laws, of any other king or country, both the prince himſelf, his council, all his officers, ſcribes, clerks, and whoſoever give conſent or aid to the making or executing of any ſuch laws, ſtand accurſed. An heavy caſe (if his curſe were any thing worth) that the king and queen cannot uſe their own laws, but they and theirs muſt ſtand accurſed.

Theſe things, and many more examples he alledged, which (he ſaid) ſtirred him, that he could not give his conſent to the receiving of ſuch an enemy into the realm, ſo ſubverting the dignity and ancient liberties of the ſame.

And as for the matter of hereſy and ſchiſm, wherewith he was charged, he proteſted, and called God to witneſs, that he knew none that he maintained. But if that were an hereſy to deny the pope's authority, and the religion which the ſee of Rome hath publiſhed to the world theſe latter years, then all the ancient fathers of the primitive church, the apoſtles and Chriſt himſelf taught hereſy; and he deſired all then preſent to bear him witneſs, that he took the traditions and religion of that uſurping prelate to be moſt erroneous, falſe, and againſt the doctrine of the whole ſcripture; which he had oftentimes well proved by writing, and the author of the ſame to be very Antichriſt, ſo often preached of the apoſtles and prophets, in whom did moſt evidently concur all ſigns and tokens whereby he was painted out to the world to be known.

For it was moſt evident that he had advanced himſelf above all emperors and kings of the world, whom he affirmeth to hold their eſtates and empires of him, as of their chief, and to be at his commandment to depoſe and erect at his good will and pleaſure, and that ſtories make mention of his intolerable and inſolent pride and tyranny, uſed over them in ſuch ſort, as no king would have uſed to his chriſtian ſubjects, nor yet a good maſter to his ſervants, ſetting his feet on the emperor's neck, affirming that to be verified in him, which was ſpoken only of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, in theſe words, "Thou ſhalt go upon the lion and the adder, the young lion and the dragon ſhalt thou tread under thy feet." Other ſome had he made to hold his ſtirrup, others he had diſplaced and removed from their empires and ſeats royal: and not content herewithal, more inſolent than Lucifer, he hath occupied not only the higheſt place in this world, above kings and princes, but hath further preſumed to ſit in the ſeat of Almighty God, which only he reſerved to himſelf, which is the conſcience of man, and to keep the poſſeſſion thereof, he hath promiſed forgiveneſs of ſins Toties Quoties.

He hath brought in gods of his own framing, and invented a new religion, full of gain and lucre, quite contrary to the doctrine of the holy ſcripture, only for the maintaining of his kingdom, diſplacing Chriſt from his glory, and holding his people in a miſerable ſervitude of blindneſs, to the loſs of a great number of ſouls, which God at the latter day ſhall exact at his hand; boaſting many times in his canons and decrees, that he can diſpenſe "againſt Peter, againſt Paul, againſt the Old and New Teſtament: and that he of the fullneſs of power may do as much as God." O Lord! who ever heard ſuch blaſphemy? if there be any man that can advance himſelf above him, let him be judged Antichriſt.

This enemy of God and of our redemption, is ſo evidently painted out in the ſcriptures by ſuch manifeſt ſigns and tokens, which all ſo clearly appear in him, that except a man will ſhut up his eyes and heart againſt the light, he cannot but know him: and therefore, for my part, I will never give my conſent to the receiving of him into this church of England. And you, my lord, and the reſt that ſit here in commiſſion, conſider well and examine in your own conſciences; you have ſworn againſt him, you are learned, and can judge of the truth. I pray God you be not wilfully blind. As for me, I have herein diſcharged mine own conſcience toward the world, and I will write alſo my mind to her grace, touching this matter.

The copy of which letter ſent to the queen, ye ſhall find after in the end of his ſtory. While he thus made his anſwer, ye heard before how Dr. Martin and Dr. Story interrupted him divers times with blaſphemous talk, and would fain have had the biſhop of Glouceſter to put him to ſilence: who notwithſtanding did not, but ſuffered him to end his tale at full. After this ye heard alſo how they proceeded to examine him of divers articles, whereof the chief was, That at the time of being created archbiſhop of Canterbury, he was ſworn to the pope, and had his inſtitution and induction from him, and then promiſed to maintain the authority of that ſee, and therefore was perjured: wherefore he ſhould rather ſtick to his firſt oath, and return to his old fold again, than to continue obſtinate in an oath forced in the time of ſchiſm.

To that he anſwered, ſaving his proteſtation (which term he uſed before all his anſwers) That at ſuch time archbiſhop Warham died he was ambaſſador in Germany for the king, who thereupon ſent for him home, and having intelligence by ſome of his friends (who were near about the king) how he intended to beſtow the archbiſhopric upon him, and therefore counſelled him in that caſe to make haſte home, he feeling in himſelf a great inability to ſuch a promotion, and very ſorry to leave his ſtudy, and eſpecially conſidering by what means he muſt have it, which he could not utter without great peril and danger, deviſed an excuſe to the king of matter of great importance, for which his longer abode there ſhould be moſt neceſſary, thinking by that means in his abſence, that the king would have beſtowed it upon ſome other, and ſo remained there by that device, one half year after the king had written for him to come home. But after that no ſuch matter fell out, as he ſeemed to make ſuſpicion of, the king ſent for him again. Who after his return, underſtanding ſtill the archbiſhopric to be reſerved for him, made means by divers of his beſt friends to ſhift it off, deſiring rather ſome ſmaller living, that he might more quietly follow his book.

To be brief, when the king himſelf ſpake with him, declaring that his full intention, for his ſervice ſake, and for the good opinion he conceived of him, was to beſtow that dignity upon him, after long diſabling of himſelf, perceiving he could by no perſuaſions alter the king's determination, he freely opened his conſcience unto him, moſt humbly craving his grace's pardon, for that he ſhould declare unto his highneſs. Which obtained, he declared, that if he accepted the office, then he muſt receive it at the pope's hand, which he neither would nor could do, for that his highneſs was only the ſupreme governor of this church of England, as well in cauſes eccleſiaſtical as temporal, and that the full right and donation of all manner of biſhoprics and benefices, as well as of any other temporal dignities and promotions, appertained to his grace, and not to any other foreign authority, whatſoever it was, and therefore if he might in that vocation ſerve God, him, and his country, ſeeing it was his pleaſure ſo to have it, and receive it of his majeſty, and of none other ſtranger, who had no authority within this realm, neither in any ſuch gift, nor in any other thing. Whereat the king, ſaid he, ſtaying awhile and muſing, aſked me how I was able to prove it. At which time I alledged many texts out of the ſcriptures, and the fathers alſo, approving the ſupreme and higheſt

authority of kings in their realms and dominions, diſcloſing therewithal the intolerable uſurpation of the pope of Rome.

Afterward it pleaſed his highneſs (quoth the archbiſhop) many and ſundry times to talk with me of it, and perceiving that I could not be brought to acknowledge the authority of the biſhop of Rome, the king himſelf called Dr. Oliver, and other civil lawyers, and deviſed with him how he might beſtow it upon me, inforcing me nothing againſt my conſcience. Who thereupon informed him, that I might do it by the way of proteſtation, and ſo one to be ſent to Rome who might take the oath, and do every thing in my name. Which when I underſtood, I ſaid, he ſhould do it Super animam ſuam: and I indeed Bona fide made my proteſtation, that I did not acknowledge his authority any further than as it agreed with the expreſs word of God, and that it might be lawful for me at all times to ſpeak againſt him, and ſo to impugn his errors, when time and occaſion ſhould ſerve me. And this my proteſtation I did cauſe to be inrolled, and there I think it remaineth.

They objected to him alſo that he was married, which be confeſſed. Whereunto Dr. Martin ſaid, that his children were bondmen to the ſee of Canterbury. At which ſaying the archbiſhop ſmiled, and aſked him if a prieſt at his benefice kept a concubine, and had by her baſtards, whether they were bond-men to the benefice or no, ſaying, I truſt you will make my children's cauſes no worſe.

After this Dr. Martin demanded of him, who was ſupreme head of the church of England? Marry, quoth my lord of Canterbury, Chriſt is head of this member, as he is of the whole body of the univerſal church. Why, quoth Dr. Martin, you made king Henry the eighth ſupreme head of the church. Yea, ſaid the archbiſhop, of all the people of England, as well eccleſiaſtical as temporal. And not of the church, ſaid Dr. Martin? No, ſaid he, for Chriſt is the only head of his church, and of the faith and religion of the ſame. The king is head and governor of his people, which are the viſible church. What, quoth Martin, you never durſt tell the king ſo. Yea, that I durſt, quoth he, and did in the publication of his ſtyle, wherein he was named ſupreme head of the church, there was never other thing meant. A number of other fond and fooliſh objections were made, with repetition whereof I thought not to trouble the reader.

Thus after they had received his anſwers to all their objections, they cited him (as is aforeſaid) to appear at Rome within fourſcore days, to make there his perſonal anſwers: which he ſaid, if the king and queen would ſend him, he would be content to do; and ſo thence was carried to priſon again, where he continually remained, notwithſtanding that he was commanded to appear at Rome.

Wherein all men that have eyes to ſee, may eaſily perceive the crafty practice of theſe prelates, and the vizored face of their juſtice, as though the court of Rome would condemn no man before he anſwered for himſelf, as all law and equity required. But the very ſame inſtant time, the holineſs of that unholy father, contrary to all reaſon and juſtice, ſent his letter executory unto the king and queen to degrade and deprive him of his dignity: which thing he did not only before the four-ſcore days were ended, but before there were twenty days ſpent. Furthermore, whereas the ſaid archbiſhop was firſt detained in ſtrait confinement, ſo that he could not appear (as was notorious both in England and alſo in the Romiſh court) and there had a lawful and moſt juſt excuſe of his abſence by all laws, both popiſh and others: yet in the end of the ſaid fourſcore days, was that worthy martyr decreed Contumax, that is, ſturdily, frowardly, and wilfully abſent, and in pain of the ſame his abſence, condemned and put to death.

Dr. Thirlby and Dr. Bonner coming with a new Commiſſion to ſit upon the Archbiſhop, February 14.

THIS letter or ſentence difinitive of the pope, was dated about the firſt day of January, and was delivered here in England about the midſt of February. Upon the receipt of which letters, another ſeſſion was appointed, for the archbiſhop to appear the 14th day of February, before certain commiſſioners directed down by the queen, the chief whereof was the biſhop of Ely, Dr. Thirlby. Concerning which Dr. Thirlby by the way here is to be noted, that albeit he was not the ſaid archbiſhop's houſhold chaplain, yet he was ſo familiarly acquainted with him, ſo dearly beloved, ſo inwardly accepted and advanced of him (not like a chaplain, but rather like a natural brother) that there was never any thing in the archbiſhop's houſe ſo dear, were it plate, jewels, horſe, maps, books, or any thing elſe, but if Thirlby did never ſo little commend it (a ſubtle kind of begging) the archbiſhop ſoon after either gave it to him, or elſe ſent it after him to his houſe. So greatly was the archbiſhop enamoured with him, that whoſoever would obtain any thing of him, moſt commonly would make their way before by Dr. Thirlby. Which by matter of the ſaid Dr. Thirlby I thought here to recite; not ſo much to upbraid the man with the vice of unthankfulneſs, as chiefly and only for this, to admoniſh him of old benefits received, whereby he may the better remember his old benefactor, and ſo to favour the cauſe and quarrel of him whom he was ſo ſingularly bounden unto.

With the ſaid Dr. Thirlby biſhop of Ely, was alſo aſſigned in the ſame commiſſion Dr. Bonner biſhop of London; which two coming to Oxford upon St. Valentine's day, as the pope's delegates, with a new commiſſion from Rome, by the virtue thereof commanded the archbiſhop aforeſaid to come before them, in the quire of Chriſt-church, before the high altar, where they ſitting (according to their manner, in their Pontificalibus) firſt began, as the faſhion is, to read their commiſſion: wherein was contained, how that in the court of Rome all things being indifferently examined on both parts, and council heard as well on the king and queen's behalf, his accuſers, as on the behalf of Thomas Cranmer; the party guilty, ſo that he wanted nothing appertaining to his neceſſary defence, &c. which foreſaid commiſſion, as it was in reading, O Lord, ſaid the archbiſhop, what lyes be theſe, that I being continually in priſon, and never could be ſuffered to have council or advocate at home, ſhould produce witneſs and appoint my council at Rome! God muſt needs puniſh this open and ſhameleſs lying. They read on the commiſſion which came from the pope, Plenitudine poteſtatis, ſupplying all manner of defects in law or proceſs, committed in dealing with the archbiſhop, and giving them full authority to proceed to deprivation and degradation of him, and ſo upon excommunication to deliver him up to the ſecular power.

When the commiſſion was read thus, they proceeding thereupon to his degradation, firſt cloathed and diſguiſed him, putting on him a ſurplice, and then an albe; after that the veſtment of a ſub-deacon, and every other furniture as a prieſt ready to maſs.

When they had apparelled him ſo far; What, ſaid he, I think I ſhall ſay maſs: Yea, ſaid Coſins, one of Bonner's chaplains, my lord, I truſt to ſee you ſay maſs for all this. Do you ſo, quoth he? that you ſhall never ſee, nor will I ever do it.

Then they inveſted in all manner of robes of a biſhop and archbiſhop, as he is at his inſtallation, ſaving that as every thing then is moſt rich and coſtly, ſo every thing here was of canvas and old rags, with a mitre and a pall of the ſame ſute put upon him in mockery, and then the croſier-ſtaff was put in his hand.

This done after the pope's pontifical form and manner, Bonner, who for the ſpace of many years had borne, as it ſeemed,

ſeemed, no great good will towards him, and now rejoiced to ſee this day wherein he might triumph over him, and take his pleaſure at full, began to ſtretch out his eloquence, making his oration to the aſſembly after this manner of ſort.

This is the man that hath ever deſpiſed the pope's holineſs, and now is to be judged by him. This is the man that hath pulled down ſo many churches, and now is come to be judged in a church. This is the man that contemned the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, and now is come to be condemned before the bleſſed ſacrament hanging over the altar. This is the man that like lucifer ſat in the place of Chriſt upon an altar to judge others, and now is come before an altar to be judged himſelf.

Whereunto the archbiſhop interrupting him ſaid, that in that he belyed him, as he did in many other things. For that which he would now ſeem to charge him withal, was his own fault, if it was any, and none of his. For the thing you mean was in Paul's church, ſaid he, where I came to ſit in commiſſion; and there was a ſcaffold prepared for me and others, by you and your officers, and whether there were any altar under it or not, I could not perceive it, nor once ſuſpected it, wherefore you do wittingly evil to charge me with it.

But Bonner went on ſtill in his rhetorical repetition, lying and railing againſt the archbiſhop, beginning every ſentence with, This is the man, this is the man, till at length every man grew tired of his unmannerly uſage of him in that time and place; inſomuch that the biſhop of Ely divers times pulled him by the ſleeve to make an end, and ſaid to him afterward, when they went to dinner, that he had broken promiſe with him: for he had intreated him earneſtly to uſe him with reverence.

After all this done and finiſhed, they began then to buſtle toward his degrading, and firſt to take from him his croſier-ſtaff out of his hands, which he held faſt, and refuſed to deliver, and withal imitating the example of Martin Luther, pulled an appeal out of his left ſleeve under the wriſt, which he there and then delivered unto them, ſaying, I appeal to the next general council; and herein I have comprehended my cauſe and form of it, which I deſire may be admitted: and prayed divers of the ſtanders by, by name, to be witneſſes, and eſpecially Mr. Curtop, to whom he ſpake twice.

The copy of which appellation, becauſe it was not printed before, I thought here to exhibit, ad rei memoriam, as in form here followeth.

The Tenor of the Appeal of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury from the Pope to the next General Council.

IN the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.

Firſt, my plain proteſtation made, that I intend to ſpeak nothing againſt one holy catholic and apoſtolic church, or the authority thereof (which authority I have in great reverence, and to whom my mind is in all things to obey) and if any thing peradventure, either by ſlipperineſs of tongue, or by indignation of abuſes, or elſe by the provocation of mine adverſaries be ſpoken or done otherwiſe than well, or not with ſuch reverence as becometh me, I am moſt ready to amend it.

Although the biſhop of Rome (whom they call pope) beareth the room of Chriſt in earth, and hath authority of God, yet by that power or authority he is not become unſinnable, neither hath he received that power to deſtroy, but to edify the congregation. Therefore if he ſhall command any thing that is not right to be done, he ought to take it patiently and in good part, in caſe he be not therein obeyed. And he muſt not be obeyed, if he command any thing againſt the precepts of God: no, rather he may lawfully be reſiſted, even as Paul withſtood Peter. And if he being aided by help of princes, deceived perchance by falſe ſuggeſtion, or with evil counſel, cannot be reſiſted, but the remedies of withſtanding him be taken away, there is nevertheleſs one remedy of appealing (which no prince can take away) uttered by the law of nature: foraſmuch as it is a certain defence, which is meet for every body by the law of God, of nature, and of man.

And whereas the laws do permit a man to appeal, not only from the griefs and injuries done, but alſo from ſuch as ſhall be done hereafter, or threatened to be done, inſomuch that the inferior cannot make laws of not appealing to a ſuperior power; and ſince it is openly enough confeſſed, that a holy general council, lawfully gathered together in the Holy Ghoſt, and repreſenting the holy catholic church, is above the pope, eſpecially in matters concerning faith; that he cannot make decrees that men ſhall not appeal from him to a general council: therefore I Thomas Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, or in time paſt ruler of the metropolitical church of Canterbury, doctor in divinity, do ſay and publiſh before you and the public notary, and witneſſes here preſent, with mind and intent to challenge and appeal from the perſons and griefs underneath written, and to proffer myſelf in place and time convenient and meet, to prove the articles that follow. And I openly confeſs, that I would lawfully have publiſhed them before this day, if I might have had either liberty to come abroad myſelf, or licence of a notary and witneſſes. But further than I am able to do, I know well is not required of the laws.

1. Firſt, I ſay, and publiſh that James by the mercy of God, prieſt, called Cardinal of the Pit, and of the title of our lady in the church of Rome, judge and commiſſary ſpecially deputed out of our moſt holy lord the pope (as he affirmed) cauſed me to be cited to Rome, there to appear fourſcore days after the citation ſerved on me, to make anſwer to certain articles touching the peril of my ſtate and life: and whereas I was kept in priſon with moſt ſtrait ward, ſo that I could in no wiſe be ſuffered to go to Rome, nor to come out of priſon (and in ſo grievous cauſes concerning ſtate and life, no man is bound to ſend a proctor) and though I would never ſo fain ſend my proctor, yet by reaſon of poverty I am not able (for all that ever I had, wherewith I ſhould bear my proctor's coſts and charges, is quite taken from me) nevertheleſs the moſt reverend cardinal aforeſaid doth ſore threaten me, that whether I ſhall appear or not, he will nevertheleſs yet proceed in judgment againſt me: wherein I feel myſelf ſo grieved, that nothing can be imagined more miſchievous or further from reaſon.

2. Secondly, The reverend father James Brooks, by the mercy of God biſhop of Glouceſter, judge and under-deputy (as he affirmeth) of the moſt reverend cardinal, cauſed me to be cited at Oxford, where I was then kept in priſon, to anſwer to certain articles, concerning the danger of my ſtate and life. And when I, being unlearned and ignorant in the laws, deſiring counſel of the learned in the law, that thing was moſt unrighteouſly denied me, contrary to the equity of all laws both of God and man. Wherein again I feel me moſt wrongfully grieved.

3. And when I refuſed the ſaid biſhop of Glouceſter to be my judge, for moſt juſt cauſes, which I then declared, he nevertheleſs went on ſtill, and made proceſs againſt me, contrary to the rule of the laws of appealing, which ſay, A judge that is refuſed ought not to proceed in the cauſe, but to leave off. And when he had required of me anſwers to certain articles, I refuſed to make him any anſwer: I ſaid I would yet gladly make anſwer to the moſt renowned king's and queen's deputies or attornies then preſent, with this condition notwithſtanding, that mine anſwer ſhould be extrajudicial, and that was permitted me. And with this my proteſtation made and admitted, I made anſwer; but my anſwer was ſudden and unprovided for: and therefore I deſired to have a copy of mine anſwers, that I might put to, take away,

change and amend them; and this was alſo permitted me. Nevertheleſs, contrary to his promiſe made unto me, no reſpect had to my proteſtation, nor licence given to amend mine anſwer, the ſaid reverend father biſhop of Glouceſter, as I hear, commanded mine anſwers to be enacted contrary to the equity of the law. In which thing again I feel me much grieved.

4. Furthermore, I could not for many cauſes admit the biſhop of Rome's uſurped authority in this realm, nor conſent to it: for my ſolemn oath hindering me, which I made in the time of king Henry the eighth, of moſt famous memory, according to the laws of England. Secondly, becauſe I knew the authority of the biſhop of Rome which he uſurpeth, to be againſt the crown, cuſtoms, and laws of this realm of England, inſomuch, that neither the king can be crowned in this realm, without the moſt grievous crime of perjury; nor may biſhops enjoy their biſhoprics, nor judgments to be uſed according to the laws and cuſtoms of this realm, except by the biſhop of Rome's authority, be accurſed both the king and queen, the judges, writers, and executors of the laws and cuſtoms, with all that conſent to them. Finally, the whole realm ſhall be accurſed.

5. Moreover that heinous and uſurped authority of the biſhop of Rome, through reſervations of the biſhoprics, proviſions, annuates, diſpenſations, pardons, appellations, bulls, and other merchandize of Rome, was wont exceedingly to ſpoil and conſume the riches and ſubſtance of this realm, all which things ſhould follow again by recognizing and receiving of that uſurped authority unto the unmeaſurable loſs of this realm.

6. Finally, it is moſt evident by that uſurped authority, not only the crown of England to be under yoke, the laws and cuſtoms of this realm to be thrown down, and trodden under foot, but alſo the moſt holy decrees of councils, together with the precepts both of the goſpel and of God.

When in times paſt the Sun of righteouſneſs being riſen in the world, chriſtian religion by the preaching of of the apoſtles began to be ſpread very far abroad, and to flouriſh inſomuch that their ſound went out into all the world; innumerable people, which walked in darkneſs ſaw a great light, God's glory every where publiſhed did flouriſh, the only cark and care of the miniſters of the church was purely and ſincerely to preach Chriſt; the people to embrace and follow Chriſt's doctrine. Then the church of Rome, as it were lady of the world, both was, and alſo was counted worthily the mother of other churches, foraſmuch as then ſhe firſt begat to Chriſt, nouriſhed with the food of pure doctrine, did help them with their riches, ſuccoured the oppreſſed, and was a ſanctuary for the miſerable, ſhe rejoiced with them that rejoiced, and wept with them that wept. Then by the examples of the biſhops of Rome, riches were deſpiſed, worldly glory and pomp was trodden under foot, pleaſures and riot nothing regarded. Then this frail and uncertain life, being full of all miſeries, was laughed to ſcorn, whilſt through the example of Romiſh martyrs, men did every where preſs forward to the life to come. But afterward when the ungraciouſneſs of damnable ambition, never-ſatisfied avarice, and the horrible enormity of vices had corrupted and taken the ſee of Rome, there followed every where almoſt the deformities of all churches, growing out of kind into the manners of the church their mother, leaving their former innocency and purity, and ſlipping into foul and heinous uſages.

For the aforeſaid and many other griefs and abuſes (which I intend to prove, and to proffer myſelf in time convenient to prove hereafter) ſince reformation of the abovementioned abuſes is not to be looked for of the biſhop of Rome, neither can I hope by reaſon of his wicked abuſes and uſurped authority, to have him an equal judge in his own cauſe: therefore I do challenge and appeal in theſe writings from the pope, having no good council, and from the abovenamed pretences, commiſſions, and judges, from their citations, proceſſes, and from all other things that have or ſhall follow thereupon, and for every one of them, and from all their ſentences, cenſures, pains, and puniſhments of curſing, ſuſpenſion, and interdicting, and from all others whatſoever their denouncings and declarations (as they pretend) of ſchiſm, of hereſy, adultery, deprivation, degrading by them, or by any of them, in any manner or wiſe attempted, done and ſet forward hereafter (ſaving always their honours and reverences) as unequal and unrighteous, moſt tyrannical and violent, and from every grief to come, which ſhall happen to me, as well for myſelf as for all and every one that cleaveth to me, or will hereafter be on my ſide, unto a free general council, that ſhall hereafter lawfully be, and in a ſure place, to which place I or a proctor, deputed by me, may freely and with ſafety come, and to him or them, to whom a man may by the law, privilege, cuſtom, or otherwiſe challenge and appeal.

And I deſire the firſt, the ſecond and third time, inſtantly, more inſtantly, and moſt inſtantly, that I may have meſſengers, [Letters of protection and defence] if there be any man that will and can give me them. And I make open promiſe of proſecuting this mine appellation, by the way of diſannulling, abuſe, inequality, and unrighteouſneſs, or otherwiſe as I ſhall be better able: choice and liberty reſerved to me, to put to, diminiſh, change, correct, and interpret my ſayings, and to reform all things after a better faſhion, ſaving always to me every other benefit of the law, and to them that either be, or will be on my part.

And touching my doctrine of the ſacrament, and other my doctrine, of what kind ſoever it be, I proteſt that it was never my mind to write, ſpeak, or underſtand any thing contrary to the moſt holy word of God, or elſe againſt the holy catholic church of Chriſt, but purely and ſimply to imitate and teach thoſe things only, which I had learned of the ſacred ſcripture, and of the holy catholic church of Chriſt from the beginning, and alſo according to the expoſition of the moſt holy and learned fathers and martyrs of the church.

And if any thing hath peradventure chanced otherwiſe than I thought, I may err, but heretic I cannot be, foraſmuch as I am ready in all things to follow the judgment of the moſt ſacred word of God, and of the holy catholic church, deſiring none other thing, than meekly and gently to be taught, if any where (which God forbid) I have ſwerved from the truth.

And I proteſt and openly confeſs, that in all my doctrine and preaching, both of the ſacrament, and of other my doctrine whatſoever it be, not only I mean and judge thoſe things, as the catholic church, and the moſt holy fathers of old with one accord have meant and judged, but alſo I would gladly uſe the ſame words that they uſed, and not uſe any other words, but to ſet my hand to all and ſingular their ſpeeches, phraſes, ways and forms of ſpeech, which they do uſe in their treatiſes upon the ſacrament, and to keep ſtill their interpretation. But in this thing I only am accuſed for an heretic, becauſe I allow not the doctrine lately brought in of the ſacrament, and becauſe I conſent not to words not accuſtomed in ſcripture, and unknown to the ancient fathers, but newly invented and brought in by men, and belonging to the deſtruction of ſouls, and overthrowing of pure and old religion. Yea, even, &c.

This appeal being put up to the biſhop of Ely, he ſaid to the archbiſhop, My lord, our commiſſion is to proceed againſt you, Omni appellatione remota, and therefore we cannot admit it.

Why, quoth the archbiſhop, then you do me the more wrong: for my caſe is not as every private man's caſe. The matter is immediately between the pope and me, and none otherwiſe: and I think no man ought to be a judge in his own cauſe.

Well,

Well, quoth Ely, if it may be admitted it ſhall; and ſo received it of him. And then he began earneſtly to perſuade with the archbiſhop to conſider his ſtate, and to weigh it well, while there was time to do him good, promiſing to become a ſuiter to the king and queen for him; and ſo proteſted his great love and friendſhip that had been between them, heartily weeping, ſo that for a time he could not go on with his tale. After going forward, he earneſtly affirmed, that if it had not been the king and queen's commandment, whom he could not deny, elſe no worldly advantage ſhould have made him to have done it, concluding that to be one of the ſorrowfulleſt things that ever happened unto him. The archbiſhop gently ſeeming to comfort him, ſaid, he was very well content withal: and ſo they proceeded to his degradation: the perfect form whereof, with all the rites and ceremonies thereunto appertaining, taken out of the pope's pontifical, we have already deſcribed, (p. 120, 411.)

To be ſhort, when they came to take off his pall (which is a ſolemn veſture only belonging to an archbiſhop), then, ſaid he, Which of you hath a pall, to take off my pall? which imported as much as they being his inferiors, could not degrade him. Whereupon one of them anſwered, confeſſing that as they were but biſhops they were inferior to him, and therefore not competent judges: but as being the pope's delegates, they had authority to take his pall, which accordingly they did; and ſo proceeding took every thing in order from him, as it was put on. Then a barber clipped his hair round about, and the biſhop ſcraped the tops of his fingers where he had been anointed, wherein biſhop Bonner behaved himſelf as roughly and unmannerly, as the other biſhop was to him ſoft and gentle. Whilſt they were thus doing, All this, quoth the archbiſhop, needed not; I had myſelf done with this gear long ago. Laſt of all they ſtripped him out of his gown into his jacket, and put upon him a poor yeoman beadle's gown, full bare and nearly worn, and as ill ſhaped as one might probably ſee, and a townſman's cap on his head, and ſo delivered him to the ſecular power.

After this pageant of degradation, and all was finiſhed, then ſpake lord Bonner, ſaying to him, Now are you no lord any more: and ſo whenſoever he ſpake to the people of him (as he was continually barking againſt him), he ever uſed this term, This gentleman here, &c.

And thus with great compaſſion and pity of every man in this evil-favoured gown was he carried to priſon. Whom there followed a gentleman of Glouceſterſhire, with the archbiſhop's own gown, who ſtanding by, and being thought to be toward one of the biſhops, had it delivered unto him; who by the way talking with him, ſaid, the biſhop of Ely proteſted his friendſhip with tears. Yet, ſaid he, he might have uſed a great deal more friendſhip towards me, and never have been the worſe thought on, for I have well deſerved it: and going up into the priſon with him, aſked him if he would drink. Who anſwered him, ſaying, if he had a piece of ſalt fiſh, that he had a better will to eat; for he had been that day ſomewhat troubled with this matter, and had eaten little, but now that it is paſt, my heart, ſaid he, is well quieted. Whereupon the gentlemen ſaid, he would give him money with all his heart, for he was able to do it. But he being one toward the law, and fearing Mr. Farmer's caſe [who loſt all his lands for relieving a prieſt in the Tower in king Henry's time] durſt therefore give him nothing, but gave money to the bailiffs that ſtood by, and ſaid, that if they were good men they would beſtow it on him (for my lord of Canterbury had not one penny in his purſe to help him) and ſo left him, my lord bidding him earneſtly farewel, commending himſelf to his prayers, and all his friends. That night this gentleman was ſtayed by Bonner and Ely, for giving him this money: and but for the help of his friends, he had been ſent up to the council. Such was the cruelty and iniquity of the time, that men could not do good without puniſhment.

In this mean time while the archbiſhop was thus remaining in durance, whom they had kept now in priſon almoſt the ſpace of three years, the doctors and divines of Oxford buſied themſelves all that ever they could about Dr. Cranmer to perſuade him to recant, endeavouring by all the crafty practices and allurements they could invent to bring their purpoſe to paſs. And to the intent they might win him the more eaſily, they entertained him in the dean's houſe of Chriſt-church in the ſaid univerſity, where lacked no delicate fare, played at bowls, had his pleaſure for walking, and all other things that might bring him from Chriſt. And beſides all this, they ſecretly ſuborned certain men, who when they could not expugn him by arguments and diſputation, ſhould by intreaty and fair promiſes, or any other means allure him to a recantation; perceiving otherwiſe what a great wound they ſhould receive, if the archbiſhop had ſtood ſtedfaſt in his ſentence: and again on the other ſide, how great profit they ſhould get, if he, as the principal ſtandard-bearer, ſhould be overthrown. By reaſon whereof the wily papiſts flocked about him, with threatening, flattering, intreating, and promiſing, and all other means; eſpecially Henry Sydall, and Friar John de Villa Garcina a Spaniard, to the end to drive him, to the uttermoſt of their poſſibility, from his former ſentence to recantation.

Firſt, they ſet forth how acceptable it would be both to the king and queen, and eſpecially how gainful to him, and for his ſoul's health the ſame ſhould be. They added moreover, how the council and the noblemen bare him good will. They put him in hope, that he ſhould not only have his life, but alſo be reſtored to his ancient dignity, ſaying, it was but a ſmall matter, and ſo eaſy that they required him to do, only that he would ſubſcribe to a few words with his own hand; which if he did, there ſhould be nothing in the realm that the queen would not eaſily grant him, whether he would have riches or dignity; or elſe if he had rather live a private life in quiet reſt, in whatſoever place he liſted, without all public miniſtry, only that he would ſet his name in two words to a leaf of paper; but if he refuſed there was no hope of health and pardon: for the queen was ſo purpoſed, that ſhe would have Cranmer a catholic, or elſe no Cranmer at all. Therefore he ſhould chuſe whether he thought it better to end his life ſhortly in the flames and fire-brands now ready to be kindled, than with much honour to prolong his life until the courſe of nature did call him: for there was no middle way.

Moreover, they exhorted him that he would look to his wealth, his eſtimation and quietneſs, ſaying, that he was not ſo old, but that many years yet remained in this his ſo luſty age; and if he would not do it in reſpect of the queen, yet he ſhould do it for reſpect of his life, and not ſuffer that other men ſhould be more careful for his health than he was himſelf; ſaying, that this was agreeable to his learning and notable virtues; which being adjoined with his life would be profitable both to himſelf and to many others; but being extinct by death ſhould be fruitful to no man: that he ſhould take good heed that he went not too far; yet there was time enough to reſtore all things ſafe, and nothing wanted, if he wanted not to himſelf. Therefore they would have him to lay hold upon the occaſion of his health while it was offered, leſt if he ſhould now refuſe it, he might hereafter ſeek it when he could not have it.

Finally, if the deſire of life did nothing move him, yet he ſhould remember that to die is grievous in all ages, and eſpecially in theſe his years and flower of dignity it were more grievous: but to die in the fire and ſuch torments is moſt grievous of all. With theſe and like provocations theſe fair flatterers ceaſed not to ſollicit and urge him, uſing all poſſible means they could to draw him to their

ſide,

ſide; whoſe force his manly conſtancy did a great while reſiſt. But at laſt, when they made no end of calling and crying upon him, the archbiſhop being overcome, whether through their importunity, or by his own imbecility, or of what mind I cannot tell, at length gave his hand.

It might be ſuppoſed that it was done for the hope of life, and better days to come. But as we may ſince perceive, by a letter of his ſent to a lawyer, the greateſt cauſe why he deſired his time to be delayed, was that he would make an end of Marcus Antonius, which he had already begun: but howſoever it was, plain it was to be againſt his conſcience. The form of which recantation, made by the friars and doctors, whereunto he ſubſcribed, was this:

The Copy and Words of Dr. Cranmer's Recantation.

I Thomas Cranmer, late archbiſhop of Canterbury, do renounce, abhor and deteſt all manner of hereſies and errors of Luther and Zuinglius, and all other teachings which be contrary to ſound and true doctrine. And I believe moſt conſtantly in my heart, and with my mouth I confeſs one holy and catholic church viſible, without which there is no ſalvation; and thereof I acknowledge the biſhop of Rome to be ſupreme head in earth, whom I acknowledge to be the higheſt biſhop and pope, and Chriſt's vicar, unto whom all chriſtian people ought to be ſubject.

And as concerning the ſacraments, I believe and worſhip in the ſacrament of the altar the very body and blood of Chriſt, being contained moſt truly under the forms of bread and wine; the bread through the mighty power of God being turned into the body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and the wine into his blood.

And in the other ſix ſacraments alſo, like as in this, I believe and hold as the univerſal church holdeth, and the church of Rome judgeth and determineth.

Furthermore, I believe that there is a place of purgatory, where ſouls departed be puniſhed for a time, for whom the church doth godly and wholeſomely pray, like as it doth honour ſaints, and make prayers to them.

Finally, in all things I profeſs, that I do not otherwiſe believe, than the catholic church and church of Rome holdeth and teacheth. I am ſorry that ever I held or thought otherwiſe. And I beſeech Almighty God, that of his mercy he will vouchſafe to forgive me, whatſoever I have offended againſt God or his church, and alſo I deſire and beſeech all chriſtian people to pray for me.

And all ſuch as have been deceived either by mine example or doctrine, I require them by the blood of Jeſus Chriſt, that they will return to the unity of the church, that we may be all one mind, without ſchiſm or diviſion.

And to conclude, as I ſubmit myſelf to the catholic church of Chriſt, and to the ſupreme head thereof, ſo I ſubmit myſelf unto the moſt excellent majeſties of Philip and Mary, king and queen of this realm of England, &c. and to all other their laws and ordinances, being ready always as a faithful ſubject ever to obey them. And God is my witneſs, that I have not done this for favour or fear of any perſon, but willingly and of mine own mind, as well to the diſcharge of mine own conſcience, as to the inſtruction of others.

This recantation of the archbiſhop was not ſo ſoon conceived, but the doctors and prelates without delay cauſed the ſame to be imprinted, and ſet abroad in all men's hands. Whereunto for better credit, firſt was added the name of Thomas Cranmer, with a ſolemn ſubſcription; then followed the witneſſes of this recantation, Henry Sydall, and friar John de villa Garcina. All this while Cranmer had no certain aſſurance of his life, although the ſame was faithfully promiſed to him by the doctors; but after they had their purpoſe, the reſt they committed to all adventure, as became men of that religion to do. The queen, having now gotten a time to revenge her old grief, received his recantation very gladly: but of her purpoſe to put him to death ſhe would nothing relent.

Now was Dr. Cranmer in a miſerable caſe, having neither inwardly any quietneſs in his own conſcience, nor yet outwardly any help in his adverſaries.

Beſides this, on the one ſide was praiſe, on the other ſide ſcorn, on both ſides danger, ſo that he could neither die honeſtly, nor yet honeſtly live. And whereas he ſought profit, he fell into double diſprofit, that neither with good men he could avoid ſecret ſhame, nor yet with evil men the note of diſſimulation.

In the mean time while theſe things were doing (as I ſaid) in the priſon amongſt the doctors, the queen taking ſecret counſel how to diſpatch Cranmer out of the way (who as yet knew not of her ſecret hate, and not expecting death), appointed Dr. Cole, and ſecretly gave him in commandment, that againſt the 21ſt of March, he ſhould prepare a funeral ſermon for Cranmer's burning, and ſo inſtructing him orderly and diligently of her will and pleaſure in that behalf, ſendeth him away.

Soon after the lord Williams of Tame, and the lord Shandois, Sir Thomas Bridges, and Sir John Brown were ſent for, with other worſhipful men and juſtices, commanded in the queen's name to be at Oxford at the ſame day, with their ſervants and retinue, leſt Cranmer's death ſhould raiſe there any tumult.

Dr. Cole having this leſſon given him before, and charged by her commandment, returned to Oxford, ready to play his part; who as the day of execution drew near, even the day before, came into the priſon to Dr. Cranmer, to try whether he abode in the catholic faith wherein before he had left him. To whom, when Cranmer had anſwered, that by God's grace he would be daily more confirmed in the catholic faith: Cole departing for that time, the next day following repaired to the archbiſhop again, giving no ſignification as yet of his death that was prepared: And therefore in the morning, which was the 21ſt day of March appointed for Cranmer's execution, the ſaid Cole coming to him, aſked him if he had any money, to whom when he had anſwered that he had none, he delivered him fifteen crowns to give to the poor to whom he would: and ſo exhorting him as much as he could to conſtancy in faith, departed thence about his buſineſs, as to his ſermon appertained.

By this partly, and other like arguments, the archbiſhop began more and more to ſurmiſe what they went about. Then becauſe the day was not far paſt, and the lords and knights that were looked for were not yet come, there came to him the Spaniſh friar, witneſs of his recantation, bringing a paper with articles, which Cranmer ſhould openly profeſs in his recantation before the people, earneſtly deſiring him that he would write the ſaid inſtrument with the articles with his own hand, and ſign it with his name: which when he had done, the ſaid friar deſired that he would write another copy thereof which ſhould remain with him, and that he did alſo. But yet the archbiſhop being not ignorant whereunto their ſecret devices tended, and thinking that the time was at hand in which he could no longer diſſemble the profeſſion of his faith with Chriſt's people, he put his prayer and his exhortation written in another paper ſecretly into his boſom, which he intended to recite to the people before he ſhould make the laſt profeſſion of his faith, fearing leſt if they heard the confeſſion of his faith firſt, they would not afterwards have ſuffered him to exhort the people.

Soon after about nine of the clock, the lord Williams, Sir Thomas Bridges, Sir John Brown, and the other juſtices,

juſtices, with certain other noblemen, that were ſent of the queen's council, came to Oxford with a great train of waiting-men. Alſo of the other multitude on every ſide (as is wont in ſuch a matter) was made a great concourſe, and a greater expectation: For firſt of all, they that were of the pope's ſide were in great hope that day to hear ſomething of Cranmer that ſhould eſtabliſh the vanity of their opinion: the other part, who were indued with a better mind, could not yet doubt, that he who by continual ſtudy and labour for ſo many years had ſet forth the doctrine of the goſpel, either would or could now in the laſt act of his life forſake his part. Briefly, as every man's will inclined, either to this part or to that, ſo according to the diverſity of their deſires, every man wiſhed and hoped for. And yet becauſe in an uncertain thing the certainty could be known of none what would be the end; all their minds were hanging between hope and doubt. So that the greater the expectation was in ſo doubtful a matter, the more was the multitude that was gathered thither to hear and behold.

During this great expectation, Dr. Cranmer at length came from the priſon of Bocardo unto St. Mary's church, becauſe it was a foul and rainy day, the chief church in the univerſity, in this order. The mayor went before, next him the aldermen in their place and degree; after them was Cranmer brought between two friars, which mumbling to and fro certain Pſalms in the ſtreets, anſwered one another until they came to the church door, and there they began the Song of Simeon, Nunc dimittis, and entering into the church, the Pſalm-ſaying friars brought him to his ſtanding, and there left him. There was a ſtage ſet over againſt the pulpit, of a mean height from the ground, where Cranmer had his ſtanding, waiting until Dr. Cole made him ready to his ſermon.

The lamentable caſe and ſight of that man gave a ſorrowful ſpectacle to all chriſtian eyes that beheld him. He that late was archbiſhop, metropolitan, and primate of all England, and the king's privy counſellor, being now in a bare and ragged gown, and ill favouredly cloathed, with an old ſquare cap, expoſed to the contempt of all men, did admoniſh men not only of his own calamity, but alſo of their ſtate and fortune. For who would not pity his caſe and bewail his fortune, and might not fear his own chance, to ſee ſuch a prelate, ſo grave a counſellor, and of ſo long continued honour, after ſo many dignities, in his old years to be deprived of his eſtate, adjudged to die, and in ſo painful a death to end his life, and now preſently from ſuch freſh ornaments, to deſcend to ſuch vile and ragged apparel?

In this habit, when he had ſtood a good ſpace upon the ſtage, turning to a pillar near adjoining thereunto, he lifted up his hands to heaven and prayed unto God once or twice; till at length Dr. Cole coming into the pulpit, and beginning his ſermon, entered firſt into mention of Tobias and Zachary; whom after he had praiſed in the beginning of his ſermon for their perſeverance in the true worſhipping of God, he then divided his whole ſermon into three parts, according to the ſolemn cuſtom of the ſchools, intending to ſpeak firſt of the mercy of God: ſecondly, of his juſtice to be ſhewed: and laſt of all, how the prince's ſecrets are not to be opened. And proceeding a little from the beginning, he took occaſion by and by to turn his tale to Cranmer, and with many hot words reproved him, that once he being indued with the ſavour and feeling of wholſome and catholic doctrine, fell into the contrary opinion of pernicious error: which he had not only defended by writings, and all his power, but alſo allured other men to do the like, with great liberality of gifts, as it were appointing rewards for error; and after he had allured them, by all means did cheriſh them.

It were too long to repeat all things, that in long order were pronounced. The ſum of his tripartite declamation was, that he ſaid God's mercy was ſo tempered with his juſtice, that he did not altogether require puniſhment according to the merits of offenders, nor yet ſometimes ſuffered the ſame altogether to go unpuniſhed, yea, though they had repented. As in David, who when he was bidden chuſe of three kinds of puniſhment which he would, and he had choſen peſtilence for three days; the Lord forgave him half the time, but did not releaſe all: and that the ſame thing came to paſs in him alſo, to whom although pardon and reconciliation was due according to the canons, ſeeing he repented him of his errors, yet there were cauſes, why the queen and the council at this time judged him to death; of which, leſt he ſhould marvel too much, he ſhould hear ſome.

Firſt, that being a traitor, he had diſſolved the lawful matrimony between the king her father and mother; beſides the driving out of the pope's authority, while he was metropolitan.

Secondly, that he had been an heretic, from whom as from an author and only fountain, all heretical doctrine and ſchiſmatical opinions, that ſo many years have prevailed in England, did firſt riſe and ſpring: of which he had not been a ſecret favourer only, but alſo a moſt earneſt defender, even to the end of his life, ſowing them abroad by writings and arguments, privately and openly, not without great ruin and decay of the catholic church.

And further, it ſeemed meet, according to the law of equity, that as the death of the duke of Northumberland of late, made even with Tho. Moor, chancellor, that died for the church, ſo there ſhould be one that ſhould make even with Fiſher of Rocheſter: and becauſe that Ridley, Hooper, Farrar, were not able to make even with that man, it ſeemed that Cranmer ſhould be joined to them to fill up their part of equality.

Beſides theſe, there were other juſt and weighty cauſes which ſeemed to the queen and council, which was not meet at that time to be opened to the common people.

After this, turning his tale to the hearers, he bade all men beware by this man's example, that among men nothing is ſo high that can promiſe itſelf ſafety on the earth, and that God's vengeance is equally ſtretched againſt all men, and ſpareth none: therefore they ſhould beware, and learn to fear their prince. And ſeeing the queen's majeſty would not ſpare ſo notable a man as this, much leſs in the like cauſe would ſhe ſpare other men, that no man ſhould think to make thereby any defence of his error, either in riches or any kind of authority. They had now an example to teach them all, by whoſe calamity every man might conſider his own fortune; who from the top of dignity, none being more honourable than he in the whole realm, and next the king, was fallen into ſo great miſery, as they might now ſee, being a man of ſo high degree, ſometime one of the chiefeſt prelates in the church, and an archbiſhop, the chief of the council, the ſecond perſon in the realm of long time, a man thought in greateſt aſſurance, having a king on his ſide; notwithſtanding all his authority and defence, to be debaſed from high eſtate to a low degree, of a counſellor to become a caitiff, and to be ſet in ſo wretched a ſtate, that the pooreſt wretch would not change condition with him; briefly ſo heaped with miſery on all ſides, that neither was left in him any hope of better fortune, nor place for worſe.

The latter part of his ſermon he converted to the archbiſhop, whom he comforted and encouraged to take his death well, by many places of ſcripture, as with theſe and ſuch like; bidding him not to miſtruſt, but he ſhould incontinently receive that the thief did, to whom Chriſt ſaid, "This day thou ſhalt be with me in paradiſe." And out of St. Paul he armed him againſt the terror of the fire by this, "The Lord is faithful, which will not ſuffer you to be tempted above your ſtrength:" By the example of the three children, to whom God made the flame to ſeem like a pleaſant dew; adding alſo the rejoicing of St. Andrew in his croſs, the patience of

St. Laurence on the fire, aſſuring him, that God, if he called on him, and to ſuch as die in his faith, either would abate the fury of the flame, or give him ſtrength to abide it.

He glorified God much in his converſion, becauſe it appeared to be only his work, declaring what travail and conference had been with him to convert him, and all prevailed not, till that it pleaſed God of his mercy to reclaim him, and call him home. In diſcourſing of which place, he much commended Cranmer, and qualified his former doings, thus tempering his judgment and talk of him, that all the time (ſaid he) he flowed in riches and honour, he was unworthy of his life: and now that he might not live, he was unworthy of death. But leſt he ſhould carry with him no comfort, he would diligently labour (he ſaid) and alſo he did promiſe, in the name of all the prieſts that were preſent, that immediately after his death there ſhould be dirges, maſſes and funerals executed for him in all the churches of Oxford for the ſuccour of his ſoul.

Cranmer in all this time with what great grief of mind he ſtood hearing this ſermon, the outward ſhews of his body and countenance did better expreſs, than any man can declare; one while lifting up his hands and eyes unto heaven, and then again for ſhame letting them down to the earth. A man might have ſeen the very image and ſhape of perfect ſorrow lively in him expreſſed. More than twenty ſeveral times the tears guſhed out abundantly, dropping down marvellouſly from his fatherly face. They that were preſent do teſtify, that they never ſaw in any child more tears, than came from him at that time, all the ſermon while; but eſpecially when they recited his prayer before the people. It is marvellous what commiſeration and pity moved all men's hearts, that beheld ſo heavy a countenance, and ſuch abundance of tears in an old man of ſo reverend dignity.

After Cole had ended his ſermon, he called back the people to prayers that were ready to depart. Brethren (ſaid he) leſt any man ſhould doubt of this man's earneſt converſion and repentance, you ſhall hear him ſpeak before you; and therefore I pray you, Mr. Cranmer, to perform that now which you promiſed not long ago; namely, that you would openly expreſs the true and undoubted profeſſion of your faith, that you may take away all ſuſpicion from men, and that all men may underſtand that you are a catholic indeed. I will do it (ſaid the archbiſhop) and that with a good will; who by and by riſing up, and putting off his cap, began to ſpeak thus unto the people.

I deſire you, well beloved brethren in the Lord, that you will pray to God for me, to forgive me my ſins, which above all men, both in number and greatneſs I have committed. But among all the reſt there is one offence which moſt of all at this time doth vex and trouble me, whereof in proceſs of my talk you ſhall hear more in its proper place, and then putting his hand into his boſom he drew forth his prayer, which he recited to the people, beginning in the following manner.

Good chriſtian people, my dearly beloved brethren and ſiſters in Chriſt, I beſeech you moſt heartily to pray for me to Almighty God, that he will forgive me all my ſins and offences, which be many without number, and great above meaſure. But yet one thing grieveth my conſcience more than all the reſt, whereof God willing, I intend to ſpeak more hereafter. But how great and how many ſoever my ſins be, I beſeech you to pray God of his mercy to pardon and forgive them all. And here kneeling down he ſaid the following prayer.

The Prayer of Dr. Cranmer, Archbiſhop.

"O Father of heaven, O Son of God, Redeemer of the world, O Holy Ghoſt, three Perſons and one God, have mercy upon me, moſt wretched caitiff and miſerable ſinner. I have offended both againſt heaven and earth, more than my tongue can expreſs. Whither then may I go, or whither ſhall I flee? To heaven I may be aſhamed to lift up mine eyes, and in earth I find no place of refuge or ſuccour. To thee therefore, O Lord, do I run, to thee do I humble myſelf, ſaying, O Lord my God, my ſins be great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. The great myſtery that God became man, was not wrought for little or few offences. Thou didſt not give thy Son, O heavenly Father, unto death for ſmall ſins only, but for all the greateſt ſins of the world, ſo that the ſinner return to thee with his whole heart, as I do here at this preſent. Wherefore have mercy on me, O God, whoſe property is always to have mercy; have mercy upon me, O Lord, for thy great mercy. I crave nothing for mine own merits, but for thy name's ſake, that it may be hallowed thereby, and for thy dear ſon Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. And now therefore, Our Father of heaven, hallowed be thy name, &c." And then he riſing, ſaid:

Every man (good people) deſireth at the time of his death to give ſome good exhortation, that others may remember the ſame before their death, and be the better thereby: ſo I beſeech God grant me grace, that I may ſpeak ſomething at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified and you edified.

Firſt, it is an heavy cauſe to ſee that ſo many folk ſo much doat upon the love of this falſe world, and be ſo careful for it, that of the love of God, or the world to come, they ſeem to care very little or nothing. Therefore this ſhall be my firſt exhortation: That you ſet not your minds overmuch upon this deceitful world, but upon God, and upon the world to come, and to learn to know what this leſſon meaneth which St. John teacheth, "That the love of this world is hatred againſt God."

The ſecond exhortation is, That next under God you obey your king and queen willingly and gladly, without murmuring or grudging; not for fear of them only, but much more for the fear of God; knowing that they be God's miniſters, appointed by God to rule and govern you: and therefore whoſoever reſiſteth them, reſiſteth the ordinance of God.

The third exhortation is, That you love altogether like brethren and ſiſters. For alas, pity it is to ſee what contention and hatred one chriſtian man beareth to another, not taking each other as brother and ſiſter, but rather as ſtrangers and mortal enemies. But I pray you learn and bear well away this one leſſon, To do good unto all men, as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, no more than you would hurt your own natural loving brother or ſiſter. For this you may be ſure of, that whoſoever hateth any perſon, and goeth about maliciouſly to hinder or hurt him, ſurely, and without all doubt, God is not with that man, although he thinks himſelf never ſo much in God's favour.

The fourth exhortation ſhall be to them that have great ſubſtance and riches of this world, That they will well conſider and weigh three ſayings of the ſcripture: One is of our Saviour himſelf, who ſaith, Luke 18. "It is hard for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven." A ſore ſaying, and yet ſpoken by him who knoweth the truth.

The ſecond is of St. John, 1 John. 3. whoſe ſaying is this, "He that hath the ſubſtance of this world, and ſeeth his brother in neceſſity, and ſhutteth up his mercy from him, how can he ſay that he loveth God?

The third is of St. James, who ſpeaketh to the covetous rich man after this manner, "Weep you and howl for the miſery that ſhall come upon you: your riches do rot, your cloaths be moth-eaten, your gold and ſilver doth canker and ruſt, and their ruſt ſhall bear witneſs againſt you, and conſume you like fire; you gather a hoard or treaſure of God's indignation againſt the laſt day." Let them

them that be rich ponder well theſe three ſentences: for if they ever had occaſion to ſhew their charity, they have it now at this preſent; the poor people being ſo many, and victuals ſo dear.

And now foraſmuch as I am come to the laſt end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life paſt, and all my life to come, either to live with my maſter Chriſt for ever in joy, or elſe to be in pain for ever with wicked devils in hell, and I ſee before mine eyes preſent either heaven ready to receive me, or elſe hell ready to ſwallow me up: I ſhall therefore declare unto you my very faith how I believe: without any colour of diſſimulation: for now is no time to diſſemble, whatſoever I have ſaid or written in times paſt.

Firſt, I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, &c. And I believe every article of the catholic faith, every word and ſentence taught by our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, his apoſtles and prophets, in the New and Old Teſtament.

And now I come to the great thing which ſo much troubleth my conſcience, more than any thing that ever I did or ſaid in my whole life, and that is the ſetting abroad of a writing contrary to the truth; which now here I renounce and refuſe, as things written with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to ſave my life if it might be; and that is, all ſuch bills and papers which I have written or ſigned with my hand ſince my degradation; wherein I have written many things untrue. And foraſmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand ſhall firſt be puniſhed: for may I come to the fire, it ſhall be firſt burned.

And as for the pope, I refuſe him, as Chriſt's enemy and Antichriſt, with all his falſe doctrine.

And as for the ſacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book againſt the biſhop of Wincheſter, which my book teacheth ſo true a doctrine of the ſacrament, that it ſhall ſtand at the laſt day before the judgment of God, where the papiſtical doctrine contrary there ſhall be aſhamed to ſhew her face.

Here the ſtanders by were all aſtoniſhed, marvelled and amazed, and looked one upon another, whoſe expectation he had ſo notably deceived. Some began to admoniſh him of his recantation, and to accuſe him of falſhood.

Briefly, it was a world to ſee the doctors beguiled of ſo great an hope. I think there was never cruelty more notably or better in time deluded and deceived. For it is not to be doubted but they looked for a glorious victory, and a perpetual triumph by this man's retractation.

Who, as ſoon as they heard theſe things, began to let down their ears, to rage, fret and fume; and ſo much the more, becauſe they could not revenge their grief: for they could now no longer threaten or hurt him. For the moſt miſerable man in the world can die but once: and whereas of neceſſity he muſt needs die that day, though the papiſts had been never ſo well pleaſed; now being never ſo much offended with him, yet could he not be twice killed by them. And ſo when they could do nothing elſe unto him, yet leſt they ſhould ſay nothing, they ceaſed not to object unto him his falſhood and diſſimulation.

Unto which accuſation he anſwered, Ah my maſters (quoth he) do you not take it ſo. Always ſince I lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falſhood, and a lover of ſimplicity, and never before this time have I diſſembled; and in ſaying this, all the tears that remained in his body appeared in his eyes. And when he began to ſpeak more of the ſacrament and of the papacy, ſome of them began to cry out, yelp, and baul, and eſpecially Cole cried out upon him, Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away.

And then Cranmer being pulled down from the ſtage was led to the fire, accompanied with thoſe friars, vexing, troubling, and threatening him moſt cruelly. What madneſs (ſay they) hath brought thee again into this error, by which thou wilt draw innumerable ſouls with thee into hell? To whom he anſwered nothing, but directed all his talk to the people, ſaving that to one troubling him in the way he ſpake, and exhorted him to get him home to his ſtudy, and apply his book diligently, ſaying, if he did diligently call upon God, by reading more he ſhould get knowledge.

But the other Spaniſh barker, raging and foaming, was almoſt out of his wits, always having this in his mouth, Non feciſti? Didſt thou it not?

But when he came to the place where the holy biſhops and martyrs of God, biſhop Latimer and biſhop Ridley were burnt before him for the confeſſion of the truth, kneeling down he pray'd to God, and not long tarrying in his prayers, putting off his garments to his ſhirt, he prepared himſelf to death. His ſhirt was made long down to his feet. His feet were bare. Likewiſe his head, when both his caps were off, was ſo bare that one hair could not be ſeen upon it. His beard was ſo long and thick, that it covered his face with marvellous gravity; and his reverend countenance moved the hearts both of his friends and enemies.

Then the Spaniſh friars John and Richard, of whom mention was made before, began to exhort him, and play their parts with him afreſh, but with vain and loſt labour. Cranmer with ſtedfaſt purpoſe abiding in the profeſſion of his doctrine, gave his hand to certain old men, and others that ſtood by, bidding them farewel.

And when he had thought to have done ſo likewiſe to Mr. Ely, the ſaid Ely drew back his hand and refuſed, ſaying, it was not lawful to ſalute heretics, and eſpecially ſuch a one as falſely returned unto the opinions that he had foreſworn. And if he had known before that he would have done ſo, he would never have uſed his company ſo familiarly, and chid thoſe ſergeants and citizens, who had not refuſed to give him their hands. This Mr. Ely was a ſtudent in divinity, and lately made a prieſt, being then one of the fellows in Brazen-noſe college.

Then was an iron chain ty'd about Cranmer, and they commanded the fire to be ſet unto him.

And when the wood was kindled, and the fire began to burn near him, he ſtretched forth his right hand, which had ſigned his recantation, into the flames, and there held ſo ſtedfaſt that all the people might ſee it burnt to a coal before his body was touch'd. In ſhort, he was ſo patient and conſtant in the midſt of theſe extreme tortures, that he ſeemed to move no more than the ſtake to which he was bound; his eyes were liſted up to heaven, and often he repeated his Unworthy right hand, ſo long as his voice would ſuffer him, and as often uſing the words of the bleſſed martyr St. Stephen, "Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit," till the fury of the flames putting him to ſilence, he gave up the ghoſt.

This fortitude of mind, which perchance is rare and not found among the Spaniards, when friar John ſaw, thinking it came not of fortitude, but of deſperation, although ſuch manner of examples which are of like conſtancy have been common here in England, he ran to the lord Williams of Tame, crying that the archbiſhop was vexed in mind, and died in great deſperation. But he, who was not ignorant of the archbiſhop's conſtancy, being unknown to the Spaniards, ſmiled only, and as it were by ſilence rebuked the friar's folly. And this was the end of this learned archbiſhop, whom, leſt by evil ſubſcribing he ſhould have periſhed, by well recanting God preſerved; and leſt he ſhould have lived longer with ſhame and reproof, it pleaſed God rather to take him away to the glory of his name and profit of his church. So good was the Lord both to his church, in fortifying the ſame with the teſtimony and blood of ſuch a martyr; and ſo good alſo to the man with this croſs of tribulation, to purge his offences in this world, not only of his recantation, but alſo of his

his ſtanding againſt John Lambert and Mr. Allen, or if there were any other, with whoſe burning or blood his hand had been any thing before polluted. But eſpecially he had to rejoice, that dying in ſuch a cauſe, he was numbered amongſt the martyrs of Chriſt, and much more worthy of the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury, than he whom the pope falſly before did canonize.

And thus have you the full ſtory concerning the life and death of this reverend archbiſhop and martyr of God, Thomas Cranmer, and alſo of divers others, of whom this archbiſhop was the laſt that ſuffered in the middle of the reign of queen Mary, and almoſt the middle man that was burnt in her time.

Now proceed we to exhibit the letters which this worthy martyr left behind him, beginning firſt with his famous letter to queen Mary, which he wrote immediately after he was cited up to Rome by biſhop Brooks and his fellows, the tenor whereof is as followeth.

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury's Letter to Queen Mary.

MAY it pleaſe your majeſty to pardon my preſumption, that I dare be ſo bold to write to your highneſs. But very neceſſity conſtraineth me, that your majeſty may know my mind, rather by mine own writing than by other men's reports. So it is that upon Wedneſday, being the 12th day of this month, I was cited to appear at Rome the 80th day after, there to make anſwer to ſuch matters as ſhould be objected againſt me upon the behalf of the king and your moſt excellent majeſty, which matters the Thurſday following were objected againſt me by Dr. Martin and Dr. Story, your majeſty's proctors, before the biſhop of Glouceſter, ſitting in judgment by commiſſion from Rome. But (alas) it cannot but grieve the heart of a natural ſubject, to be accuſed of the king and queen of his own realm; and eſpecially before an outward judge, or by authority coming from any perſon out of this realm: where the king and queen, as if they were ſubjects within their own realm, ſhall complain and require juſtice at a ſtranger's hands againſt their own ſubject, being already condemned to death by their own laws. As though the king and queen could not do or have juſtice within their own realms againſt their own ſubjects; but they muſt ſeek it at ſtrangers hands in a ſtrange land: the like whereof (I think) was never ſeen. I would have wiſhed to have had ſome meaner adverſaries: and, I think, that death ſhall not grieve me much more, than to have my moſt dread and moſt gracious ſovereign lord and lady, to whom, under God, I do own all obedience, to be mine accuſers in judgment within their own realm, before any ſtranger and outward power. But foraſmuch as in the time of the prince of moſt famous memory, king Henry the eighth your grace's father, I was ſworn never to conſent, that the biſhop of Rome ſhould have or exerciſe any authority or juriſdiction in this realm of England, therefore leſt I ſhould allow his authority contrary to mine own oath, I refuſed to make anſwer to the biſhop of Glouceſter ſitting here in judgment by the pope's authority, leſt I ſhould run into perjury.

Another cauſe why I refuſed the pope's authority, is this, that his authority, as he claimeth it, repugneth to the crown imperial of this realm, and to the laws of the ſame; which every true ſubject is bound to defend. Firſt, for that the pope ſaith, that all manner of power, as well temporal as ſpiritual, is given firſt to him of God; and that the temporal power he giveth unto emperors and kings, to uſe it under him, but ſo as to be always at his commandment and beck.

But contrary to this claim, the imperial crown and juriſdiction temporal of this realm is taken immediately from God, to be uſed under him only, and is ſubject to none but God alone.

Moreover, to the imperial laws and cuſtoms of this realm the king in his coronation, and all juſtices when they receive their offices, be ſworn, and all the whole realm is bound to defend and maintain. But contrary hereunto, the pope by his authority maketh void, and commandeth to blot out of our books, all laws and cuſtoms being repugnant to his laws, and declareth accurſed all rulers and governors, all the makers, writers, and executioners of all ſuch laws or cuſtoms; as it appeareth by many of the pope's laws, whereof one or two I ſhall rehearſe. In the Decrees, Dict. 10. is written thus, "The conſtitutions or ſtatutes enacted againſt the canons and decrees of the biſhops of Rome or their good cuſtoms, are of none effect." Alſo, "We excommunicate all heretics of both ſexes, what name ſoever they be called by, and their favourers, receptors and defenders; and alſo them that ſhall hereafter cauſe to be obſerved the ſtatutes and cuſtoms made againſt the liberty of the church, except they cauſe the ſame to be put out of their records and chapters within two months after the publication thereof. Alſo we excommunicate the ſtatute-makers and writers of thoſe ſtatutes, and all the poteſtates, conſuls, governors and counſellers of places, where ſuch ſtatutes or cuſtoms ſhall be made or kept; and alſo thoſe that ſhall preſume to give judgment according to them, or ſhall notify in public from the matter ſo adjudged."

Now, by theſe laws, if the biſhop of Rome's authority which he claimeth by God, be lawful, all your grace's laws and cuſtoms of your realm, being contrary to the pope's laws, be naught, and as well your majeſty, as your judges, juſtices, and all other executors of the ſame, ſtand accurſed amongſt heretics, which God forbid. And yet this curſe can never be avoided, if the pope hath ſuch power as he claimeth, until ſuch time as the laws and cuſtoms of this realm being contrary to his laws, be taken away and blotted out of the laws-books. And although there be many laws of this realm, contrary to the laws of Rome, yet I named but a few; as to convict a clerk before any temporal judge of this realm for debt, felony, murder, or for any other crime; which clerks by the pope's laws are ſo exempt from the king's laws, that they can be no where ſued, but before their ordinary.

Alſo the pope by his laws may give all biſhoprics and benefices ſpiritual; which by the laws of this realm can be given but only by the king and other patrons of the ſame, except they fall into the lapſe.

By the pope's laws, Jus patronatus ſhall be ſued only before the eccleſiaſtical judge; but by the laws of the realm it ſhall be ſued before the temporal judge.

And to be ſhort, the laws of this realm do agree with the pope's laws like fire and water. And yet the kings of this realm have provided for their laws by the Præmunire; ſo that if any man have let the execution of the laws of this realm by any authority from the ſee of Rome, he falleth into the Præmunire.

But to meet with this, the popes have provided for their laws by curſing. For whoſoever hindered the pope's laws to have full courſe within this realm, by the pope's power ſtandeth accurſed; ſo that the pope's power treadeth all the laws and cuſtoms of this realm under his feet, curſing all that execute them, until ſuch time as they do give place unto his laws.

But it may be ſaid, that notwithſtanding all the pope's decrees, yet we do ſtill execute the laws and cuſtoms of this realm. Nay, not all quietly without interruption of the pope. And where we do execute them, yet we do it unjuſtly, if the pope's power be of force, and for the ſame we ſtand excommunicate, and ſhall do until we leave the execution of our own laws and cuſtoms. Thus we be well reconciled to Rome allowing ſuch authority, whereby the realm ſtandeth accurſed before God, if the pope have any ſuch authority.

Theſe things, as I ſuppoſe, were not fully opened in the parliament houſe, when the pope's authority was received again within this realm; for if they had, I do not believe that either the king or queen's majeſty, or the nobles of this realm, or the commons of the ſame, would ever have conſented to receive again ſuch a foreign authority, ſo injurious, hurtful and prejudicial, as well to the crown as to the laws and cuſtoms and ſtate of this realm, as whereby they muſt needs acknowledge themſelves to be accurſed. But none could open this matter well, but the clergy, and ſuch of them as had read the pope's laws, whereby the pope had made himſelf as it were a god. Theſe ſeek to maintain the pope, whom they deſired to have their chief head, to the intent they might have as it were a kingdom and laws within themſelves, diſtinct from the laws of the crown, and wherewith the crown may not meddle; and ſo being exempted from the laws of the realm, might live in this realm like lords and kings, without damage or fear of any man, ſo that they pleaſe their high and ſupreme head at Rome. For this conſideration, I think, ſome that knew the truth, held their peace in the parliament, whereas if they had done their duties to the crown and whole realm, they ſhould have opened their mouths, declared the truth, and ſhewed the perils and dangers that might enſue to the crown and realm.

And if I ſhould agree to follow ſuch authority within this realm, whereby I muſt needs confeſs, that your moſt gracious highneſs, and alſo your realm, ſhould ever continue accurſed, until ye ſhall ceaſe from the execution of your own laws and cuſtoms of your realm; I could not think myſelf true either to your highneſs, or to this my natural country, knowing that I do know. Ignorance, I know, may excuſe other men; but he that knoweth how prejudicial and injurious the power and authority which he challengeth every where, is to the crown-laws and cuſtoms of this realm, and yet will allow the ſame, I cannot ſee in any wiſe how he can keep his due allegiance, fidelity, and truth to the crown and ſtate of this realm.

Another cauſe I alledged, why I could not allow the authority of the pope, which is this; That by his authority he ſubverteth not only the laws of this realm, but alſo the laws of God: ſo that whoſoever be under his authority, he ſuffereth them not to be under Chriſt's religion purely, as Chriſt did command.

And for one example I brought forth, that whereas by God's laws all chriſtian people be bounden diligently to learn his word, that they may know how to believe and live accordingly, for that purpoſe he ordained holydays, when they ought, leaving apart all other buſineſs, to give themſelves wholly to know and ſerve God. Therefore God's will and commandment is, that when the people be gathered together, miniſters ſhould uſe ſuch language as the people may underſtand and take profit thereby, or elſe hold their peace. For as an harp or lute, if it give no certain ſound that men may know what is ſtricken, who can dance after it? for all the ſound is in vain. So it is in vain, and profiteth nothing, ſaith almighty God by the mouth of St. Paul, if the prieſt ſpeak to the people in a language which they know not; "For elſe he may profit himſelf, but profiteth not the people," ſaith St. Paul. But herein I was anſwered thus; that St. Paul ſpake only of preaching, that the preacher ſhould preach in a tongue which the people did know, or elſe the preaching availeth nothing: but if the preaching availeth nothing, being ſpoke in a language which the people underſtand not, how ſhould any other ſervice avail them, being ſpoken in the ſame language? And yet that St. Paul meant not only of preaching, it appeareth plainly by his own words. For he ſpeaketh by name expreſly of praying, ſinging, and thanking of God, and of all other things which the prieſts ſay in the churches, whereunto the people ſay Amen; which they uſe not in preaching, but in other divine ſervice; that whether the prieſts rehearſe the wonderful works of God, or the great benefits of God unto mankind above all other creatures, or give thanks unto God, or make open profeſſion of their faith, or humble confeſſion of their ſins, with earneſt requeſt of mercy and forgiveneſs, or make ſuit or requeſt unto God for any thing; then all the people underſtanding what the prieſts ſay, might give their minds and voices with them, and ſay, Amen, that is to ſay, allow what the prieſts ſay; that the rehearſal of God's univerſal works and benefits, the giving of thanks, the profeſſion of faith, the confeſſion of ſins, and the requeſts and petitions of the prieſts and of the people, might aſcend up into the ears of God all together, and be as a ſweet ſavour, odour, and incenſe in his noſe; and thus was it uſed many hundred years after Chriſt's aſcenſion.

But the aforeſaid things cannot be done when the prieſts ſpeak to the people in a language not known, and ſo they (or their clerk in their name) ſay Amen, but they cannot tell whereunto. Whereas St. Paul ſaith, "How can the people ſay Amen to thy well ſaying, when they underſtand not what thou ſayeſt?" And thus was St. Paul underſtood by all interpreters, both the Greeks and Latins, old and new, ſchool authors and others that I have read, until above thirty years paſt. At which time one Eckius with others of his ſort, began to deviſe a new expoſition, underſtanding St. Paul of preaching only.

But when a good number of the beſt learned men reputed within this realm, ſome favouring the old, ſome the new learning, as they term it (where indeed that which they call the new is indeed the old), but when a great number of ſuch learned men of both ſorts were gathered together at Windſor [1549] for the reformation of the ſervice of the church, it was agreed by both, without controverſy (not one ſaying contrary) that the ſervice of the church ought to be in the mother tongue; and that St. Paul in the 14th chapter to the Corinthians was ſo to be underſtood. And ſo is St. Paul to be underſtood in the civil law, more than a thouſand years paſt, where Juſtinian, a moſt godly emperor, in a ſynod writeth on this manner: "We command that all biſhops and prieſts celebrate the holy oblation and prayer uſed in holy baptiſm, not after a ſtill and cloſe manner, but with a clear loud voice, that they may be plainly heard by the faithful people, ſo as the hearers minds may be lifted up thereby with the greater devotion, in uttering the praiſes of the Lord God. For ſo Paul teacheth alſo in the epiſtle to the Corinthians, If the Spirit do only bleſs (or ſay well) how ſhall he that occupieth the place of a private perſon ſay Amen to thy thankſgiving? for he perceiveth not what thou ſayeſt. Thou doſt give thanks well; but the other is not edified." And not only the civil law, and all other writers a thouſand and five hundred years continually together have expounded St. Paul, not of preaching only, but of other ſervice ſaid in the church; but alſo reaſon giveth the ſame, that if men be commanded to hear any thing, it muſt be ſpoken in a language which the hearers underſtand, or elſe, as St. Paul ſaith, what availeth it to hear? So that the pope giving a contrary commandment, that the people coming to the church ſhall hear they know not what, and ſhall anſwer they know not whereto; taketh upon him to command, not only againſt reaſon, but alſo directly againſt God.

And again, I ſaid, whereas our Saviour Chriſt ordained the ſacrament of his moſt precious body and blood to be received by all chriſtian people under the forms of bread and wine, and ſaid of the cup, "Drink ye all of this:" the pope giveth a clean contrary commandment, that no layman ſhall drink of the cup of their ſalvation; as though the cup of ſalvation by the blood of Chriſt pertained not to laymen. And whereas Theophilus Alexandrinus, whoſe works St. Jerome did tranſlate about eleven hundred years paſt, ſaith, That if Chriſt had

had been crucified for the devils, his cup ſhould not be denied them; yet the pope denieth the cup of Chriſt to chriſtian people, for whom Chriſt was crucified. So that if I ſhould obey the pope in theſe things, I muſt needs diſobey my Saviour Chriſt.

But I was anſwered hereunto, as commonly the papiſts do anſwer, that under the form of bread is whole Chriſt's fleſh and blood; ſo that whoſoever receiveth the form of bread, receiveth as well Chriſt's blood as his fleſh. Let it be ſo, yet in the form of bread only, Chriſt's blood is not drunk, but eaten; nor is it received in the cup in the form of wine, as Chriſt commanded, but eaten with the fleſh under the form of bread. And moreover, the bread is not the ſacrament of his blood, but of his fleſh only; nor is the cup of the ſacrament of his fleſh, but of his blood only. And ſo the pope keepeth from all lay-perſons the ſacrament of their redemption by Chriſt's blood, which Chriſt commandeth to be given unto them.

And furthermore, Chriſt ordained the ſacrament in two kinds, the one ſeparated from the other, to be a repreſentation of his death, where his blood was ſeparated from his fleſh, which is not repreſented in one kind alone: So that the lay-people receive not the whole ſacrament whereby Chriſt's death is repreſented as he commanded.

Moreover, as the pope taketh upon him to give the temperal ſword, by royal and imperial power, to kings and princes: ſo doth he likewiſe take upon him to depoſe them from their imperial ſtates, if they be diſobedient to him, and commandeth the ſubjects to diſobey their princes, aſſoyling the ſubjects as well of their obedience, as well as of their lawful oaths made unto their true kings and princes, directly contrary to God's commandment, who commandeth all ſubjects to obey their kings, or their rulers under them.

One John, patriarch of Conſtantinople, in the time of St. Gregory, claimed ſuperiority above all other biſhops. To whom St. Gregory writeth, that therein he did injury to his three brethren, which were equal with him, that is to ſay, the biſhop of Rome, the biſhop of Alexandria, and of Antioch: which three were patriarchal ſees, as well as Conſtantinople, and were brethren one to another. But (ſaith St. Gregory) if any one ſhall exalt himſelf above all the reſt, to be the univerſal biſhop, the ſame paſſeth in pride. But now the biſhop of Rome exalteth himſelf not only above kings and emperors, and above all the whole world, but takes upon him to give and take away, to ſet up and pull down as he ſhall think good. And as the devil having no ſuch authority, yet took upon him to give unto Chriſt all the kingdoms of the world, if he would fall down and worſhip him: in like manner the pope taketh upon him to give empires and kingdoms being none of his, to ſuch as will fall down and worſhip him, and kiſs his feet.

And moreover, his lawyers and gloſſers ſo flatter him, that they feign he may command emperors and kings to hold his ſtirrup when he lighteth from his horſe, and to be his footmen: and that if any emperor or king give him any thing, they give him nothing but what is his own, and that he may diſpenſe againſt God's word, againſt both the Old and New Teſtament, againſt St. Paul's epiſtles, and againſt the goſpel. And furthermore, whatſoever he doth, although he draw innumerable people by heaps with himſelf into hell, yet may not mortal man reprove him, becauſe he being judge of all men, may be judged of no man. And thus he ſitteth in the temple of God as if he were a god, and nameth himſelf God's vicar, and yet he diſpenſeth againſt God. If this be not to play Antichriſt's part, I cannot tell what is Antichriſt, which is no more to ſay, but Chriſt's enemy and adverſary; who ſhall ſit in the temple of God advancing himſelf above all other, yet by hypocriſy and feigned religion ſhall ſubvert the true religion of Chriſt, and under pretence and colour of Chriſt's religion ſhall work againſt Chriſt, and therefore hath the name of Antichriſt. Now if any man lift himſelf higher than the pope hath done, who lifteth himſelf above all the world; or can be more adverſary to Chriſt, than to diſpenſe againſt God's law; and where Chriſt hath given any commandment, to command directly the contrary, that man muſt needs be taken for Antichriſt. But until the time that ſuch a perſon may be found, men may eaſily conjecture where to find Antichriſt.

Wherefore ſeeing the pope thus to overthrow both God's laws and man's laws, taketh upon him to make emperors and kings to be vaſſals and ſubjects unto him, eſpecially the crown of this realm, with the laws and cuſtoms of the ſame; I ſee no mean how I may conſent to admit his uſurped power within this realm, contrary to mine oath, mine obedience to God's laws, mine allegiance and duty to your majeſty, and my love and affection to this realm.

This that I have ſpoken againſt the power and authority of the pope, I have not ſpoken (I take God to record and judge) for any malice I owe to the pope's perſon, whom I know not, but I ſhall pray to God to give him grace, that he may ſeek above all things to promote God's honour and glory, and not to follow the trade of his predeceſſors in theſe latter days.

Nor have I ſpoken it for fear of puniſhment, and to avoid the ſame, thinking it rather an occaſion to aggravate than diminiſh my trouble; but I have ſpoken it for my moſt bounden duty to the crown, liberties, laws, and cuſtoms of this realm of England, but moſt eſpecially to diſcharge my conſcience in uttering the truth to God's glory, caſting away all fear by the comfort which I have in Chriſt, who ſaith, "Fear not them that kill the body, and cannot kill the ſoul, but fear him that can caſt both body and ſoul into hell-fire." He that for fear to loſe this life will forſake the truth, ſhall loſe the life everlaſting: and he that for the truth's ſake will ſpend his life, ſhall find everlaſting life. And Chriſt promiſeth to ſtand faſt with them before his Father, which will ſtand faſt with him here. Which comfort is ſo great, that whoſoever hath his eyes fixed upon Chriſt, cannot greatly paſs on this life, knowing that he may be ſure to have Chriſt ſtand by him in the preſence of his Father in heaven.

And as touching the ſacrament, I ſaid; Foraſmuch as the whole matter ſtandeth in the underſtanding of theſe words of Chriſt, "This is my body, This is my blood;" I ſaid, that Chriſt in theſe words made demonſtration of the bread and wine, and ſpake figuratively, calling bread his body, and wine his blood, becauſe he ordained them to be ſacraments of his body and blood. And where the papiſts ſay in thoſe two points contrary unto me, that Chriſt called not bread his body, but a ſubſtance uncertain, nor ſpake figuratively: Herein I ſaid I would be judged by the old church, and which doctrine could be proved the elder, that I would ſtand unto. And foraſmuch as I have alledged in my book many old authors, both Greeks and Latins, which above a thouſand years after Chriſt continually taught as I do: if they could bring forth but one old author, that ſaith in theſe two points as they ſay, I offered ſix or ſeven years ago, and do offer yet ſtill, that I will give place unto them.

But when I bring forth any author that ſaith in moſt plain terms as I do, yet ſaith the other part, that the authors meant not ſo; as who ſhould ſay, that the authors ſpake one thing, and meant clean contrary. And upon the other part, when they cannot find any one author, that ſaith in the words as they ſay; yet ſay they, that the authors meant as they ſay. Now, whether I or they ſpeak more to the purpoſe herein, I refer me to the judgment of all impartial hearers; yea, the old church of Rome, above a thouſand years together, neither believed

lieved nor uſed the ſacrament, as the Church of Rome hath done of late years.

For in the beginning, the church of Rome taught a pure and a ſound doctrine of the ſacrament. But after that the church of Rome fell into a new doctrine of tranſubſtantiation: with the doctrine they changed the uſe of the ſacrament contrary to that Chriſt commanded, and the old church of Rome uſed above a thouſand years. And yet to deface the old, they ſay that the new is the old: wherein for my part I am content to ſtand to the trial. But their doctrine is ſo fooliſh and uncomfortable, that I marvel that any man would allow it, if he knew what it was. But howſoever they bear the people in hand, that which they write in their books hath neither truth nor comfort.

For by their doctrine, of one body of Chriſt is made two bodies: one natural, having diſtance of members, with form and proportion of man's perfect body, and this body is in heaven: but the body of Chriſt in the ſacrament, by their own doctrine, muſt needs be a monſtrous body, having neither diſtance of members nor form, faſhion or proportion of a man's natural body. And ſuch a body is in the ſacrament (teach they) and goeth into the mouth with the form of bread, and entereth no further than the form of bread goeth, and tarrieth no longer than the form of bread is by natural heat in digeſting. So that when the form of bread is digeſted, that body of Chriſt is gone. And foraſmuch as evil men be as long in digeſting as good men, the body of Chriſt (by their doctrine) entereth as far, and tarrieth as long in wicked men as in godly men. And what comfort can be herein to any Chriſtian man to receive Chriſt's unſhapen body, and it to enter no further than the ſtomach, and to depart by and by as ſoon as the bread is conſumed?

It ſeemeth to me a more ſound and comfortable doctrine, that Chriſt hath but one body, and that hath form and faſhion of a man's true body; which body ſpiritually entereth into the whole man, body and ſoul: and though the ſacrament be conſumed, yet whole Chriſt remaineth, and feedeth the receiver unto eternal life, if he continue in godlineſs, and never departeth until the receiver forſake him. And as for the wicked, they have not Chriſt within them at all, who cannot be where Belial is. And this is my faith, and (as me ſeemeth) a ſound doctrine, according to God's word, and ſufficient for a chriſtian to believe in that matter. And if it can be ſhew'd unto me that the pope's authority is not prejudicial to the things before mentioned, or that my doctrine in the ſacrament is erroneous (which I think cannot be ſhewed) then I never was nor will be ſo perverſe to ſtand wilfully in my own opinion, but I ſhall with all humility ſubmit myſelf unto the pope, not only to kiſs his feet, but another part alſo.

Another cauſe why I refuſed to take the biſhop of Glouceſter for my judge, was the reſpect of his own perſon, being more than once perjured. Firſt, for that he being divers times ſworn never to conſent that the biſhop of Rome ſhould have any juriſdiction within this realm, but to take the king and his ſucceſſors for ſupreme heads of this realm, as by God's laws they be; contrary to that lawful oath, the ſaid biſhop ſat then in judgment by authority from Rome, wherein he was perjured, and not worthy to ſit as judge.

The ſecond perjury was, that he took his biſhopric both of the queen's majeſty and of the pope, making to each of them a ſolemn oath, which oaths be ſo contrary that the one muſt needs be perjured. And furthermore in ſwearing to the pope to maintain his laws, decrees, conſtitutions, ordinances, reſervations, and proviſions, he declareth himſelf an enemy to the imperial crown, and to the laws of this realm, whereby he declareth himſelf not worthy to ſit as a judge within this realm. And for theſe conſiderations I refuſed to take him for my judge.

Part of another Letter to the Queen.

I Learned by Dr. Martin, that at the day of your majeſty's coronation, you took an oath of obedience to the pope of Rome, and the ſame time you took another oath to this realm, to maintain the laws, liberties, and cuſtoms of the ſame. And if your majeſty did make an oath to the pope, I think it was according to the other oaths which he uſeth to adminiſter to princes; which is, to be obedient to him, to defend his perſon, to maintain his authority, honour, laws, lands and privileges. And if it be ſo (which I know not but by report) then I beſeech your majeſty to look upon your oath made to the crown and realm, and to expend and weigh the two oaths together, to ſee how they do agree, and then do as your grace's conſcience ſhall give you: For I am ſurely perſuaded, that willingly your majeſty will not offend, nor do againſt your conſcience for any thing.

But I fear that there be contradictions in your oaths, and that thoſe which ſhould have informed your grace thoroughly, did not their duties therein. And if your majeſty ponder the two oaths diligently, I think you ſhall perceive you were deceived; and then your highneſs may uſe the matters as God ſhall put in your heart. Furthermore, I am kept here from company of learned men, from books, from counſel, from pen and ink, except at this time to write unto your majeſty, which all were neceſſary for a man being in my caſe. Wherefore I beſeech your majeſty, that I may have ſuch of theſe as may ſtand with your majeſty's pleaſure. And as for my appearance at Rome, if your majeſty will give me leave, I will appear there. And I truſt that God ſhall put in my mouth to defend his truth there, as well as here. But I refer it wholly to your majeſty's pleaſure.

Another Letter of the Archbiſhop to Dr. Martin and Dr. Story.

I Have me commended unto you. And as I promiſed, I have ſent my letters unto the queen's majeſty unſigned, praying you to ſign them, and deliver them with all ſpeed. I might have ſent them by the carrier ſooner, but not ſurer. But hearing Mr. Bayliff ſay that he will go to the court on Friday, I thought him a meet meſſenger to ſend my letters by. For better is later and ſurer, than ſooner and never to be delivered. Yet one thing I have written to the queen's majeſty incloſed and ſealed; which I require you may be ſo delivered without delay, and not be opened until it be devered unto her grace's own hands. I have written all that I remember I ſaid, except that which I ſpake againſt the biſhop of Glouceſter's own perſon, which I thought not meet to write. And in ſome places I have written more than I ſaid, which I would have anſwered to the biſhop, if you would have ſuffered me.

You promiſed I ſhould ſee mine anſwers to the ſixteen articles, that I might correct, amend, and change them where I thought good, which your promiſe you kept not. And mine anſwer was not made upon mine oath, nor repeated, nor made in Judicio, but extra Judicium, as I proteſted; nor to the biſhop of Glouceſter as judge, but to you the king's and queen's proctors. I truſt you deal ſincerely with me without fraud or craft, and uſe me as you wiſh to be in like caſe yourſelves. Remember, that what meaſure you mete, the ſame ſhall be meaſured to you again. Thus fare you well, and God ſend you his Spirit to induce you into truth.

Ye heard before how archbiſhop Cranmer in the month of February was cited up to Rome, and in the month of March next following was degraded by the biſhop of

Ely and biſhop Bonner. In time of which his degradation he put up his appellation.

In this his appellation, becauſe he needed the help of ſome good lawyer; he writeth to a friend of his about the ſame: the copy of which letter I thought good here to inſert as followeth.

A Letter of Archbiſhop Cranmer to a lawyer, for the drawing out of his Appeal.

THE law of nature requireth of all men, that ſo far forth as it may be done without offence to God, every one ſhould ſeek to defend and preſerve his own life. Which thing when I, about three days ago, bethought myſelf of, and therewithal remembered how that Martin Luther appealed in his time from pope Leo the tenth, to a general council (leſt I ſhould ſeem raſhly and unadviſedly to caſt away myſelf), I determined to appeal in like ſort to ſome lawful and free general council. But ſeeing the order and form of an appeal pertaineth to the lawyers, whereof I myſelf am ignorant, and ſeeing that Luther's appeal cometh not to my hand, I purpoſed to break my mind in this matter to ſome faithful friend, and ſkilful in the law, whoſe help I might uſe in this behalf, and you only among others came to my remembrance, as a man moſt meet in this univerſity for my purpoſe. But this is a matter that requireth great ſilence, ſo that no man know of it before it be done. It is ſo that I am ſummoned to make mine anſwer at Rome, the 16th day of this month, before which day I think it good, after ſentence pronounced, to make mine appeal. But whether I ſhould firſt appeal from the judge delegate to the pope, and ſo afterward to the general council, or elſe leaving the pope, I ſhould appeal immediately to the council, herein I ſtand in need of your counſel.

Many cauſes there be for which I think good to appeal. Firſt, becauſe I am by an oath bound never to conſent to the receiving of the biſhop of Rome's authority into this realm. Beſides this, whereas I utterly refuſed to make anſwer to the articles objected unto me by the biſhop of Glouceſter, appointed by the pope to be my judge, yet I was content to anſwer Martin and Story with this proteſtation, that mine anſwer ſhould not be taken as made before a judge, nor yet in place of judgment, but as pertaining nothing to judgment at all: moreover, after I had made mine anſwer, I required to have a copy of the ſame, that I might either by adding thereunto, or by altering or taking from it, correct and amend it as I thought good. Which, though both the biſhop of Glouceſter, and alſo the king and the queen's proctors promiſed me, yet have they altogether broken promiſe with me, and have not permitted me to correct my ſaid anſwers according to my requeſt; and yet notwithſtanding have, as I underſtand, regiſtered the ſame as acts formally done in place of judgment.

Finally, foraſmuch as all this my trouble cometh upon my departing from the biſhop of Rome, and from the popiſh religion, ſo that now the quarrel is betwixt the pope himſelf and me, and no man can be a lawful and indifferent judge in his own cauſe, it ſeemeth, methinks, good reaſon, that I ſhould be ſuffered to appeal to ſome general council in this matter; eſpecially ſeeing the law of nature (as they ſay) denieth no man the remedy of appeal in ſuch caſes.

Now, ſince it is very requiſite that this matter ſhould be kept as cloſe as may be, if perhaps for lack of ſkill herein you ſhall have need of further advice, then I beſeech you even for the fidelity and love you bear to me in Chriſt, that you will open to no creature alive whoſe the caſe is. And foraſmuch as the time is now at hand, and the matter requireth great expedition, let me obtain thus much of you, I beſeech you, that laying aſide all other your ſtudies and buſineſs for the time, you will apply this my matter only, till you have brought it to paſs. The chiefeſt cauſe in every deed, to tell you the truth, of this mine appeal is, that I might gain time (as it ſhall ſo pleaſe God) to live until I have finiſhed mine anſwer againſt Marcus Antonius Conſtantius, [S. Gardiner] which I have now in hand. But if the adverſaries of the truth will not admit mine appeal, as I fear they will not, God's will be done; I paſs not upon it, ſo that God may therein be glorified, be it by my life, or by my death. For it is much better for me to die in Chriſt's quarrel, and to reign with him, than here to be ſhut up and kept in the priſon of this body, unleſs it were to continue yet ſtill a while in this warfare, for the advantage and profit of my brethren, and to the further advancing of God's glory. To whom be all glory for evermore, Amen.

There is alſo yet another cauſe why I think good to appeal, that whereas I am cited to go to Rome to anſwer there for myſelf, I am notwithſtanding kept here faſt in priſon, that I cannot there appear at the time appointed: and moreover, foraſmuch as the ſtate I ſtand in is a matter of life and death, ſo that I have great need of learned counſel for my defence in this behalf; yet when I made my earneſt requeſt for the ſame, all manner of counſel, and help of proctors, advocates and lawyers, was utterly denied me.

Your loving friend, Thomas Cranmer.

Another Letter of Archbiſhop Cranmer, to Mrs. Wilkinſon, exhorting her to fly in the Time of Perſecution.

THE true Comforter in all diſtreſs is only God, through his Son Jeſus Chriſt; and whoſoever hath him, hath company enough, if he were in a wilderneſs all alone: and he that hath twenty thouſand in his company, if God be abſent, is in a miſerable wilderneſs and deſolation. In him is all comfort, and without him is none. Wherefore I beſeech you ſeek your dwelling there where you may truly and rightly ſerve God, and dwell in him, and have him ever dwelling in you. What can be ſo heavy a burden as an unquiet conſcience, to be in ſuch a place as a man cannot be ſuffered to ſerve God in Chriſt's religion? If you be loth to depart from your kindred and friends, remember that Chriſt calleth them his mother, ſiſters, and brothers, that do his Father's will. Where we find therefore God truly honoured according to his will, there we can lack neither friend nor kindred.

If you be loth to depart for the ſlander of God's word, remember that Chriſt, when his hour was not yet come, departed out of his country into Samaria, to avoid the malice of the ſcribes and phariſees; and commanded his apoſtles that if they were purſued in one place they ſhould fly to another. And was not Paul let down by a baſket out at a window, to avoid the perſecution of Aretas? And what wiſdom and policy he uſed from time to time to eſcape the malice of his enemies, the Acts of the apoſtles do declare. And after the ſame ſort did the other apoſtles, albeit, when it came to ſuch a point, that they could no longer eſcape danger of the perſecutors of God's true religion, then they ſhewed themſelves, that they flying before came not of fear, but of godly wiſdom to do more good; and that they would not raſhly, without urgent neceſſity, offer themſelves to death, which had been but a temptation of God. Yea, when they were apprehended, and could no longer avoid, then they ſtood boldly to the profeſſion of Chriſt; then they ſhewed how little they paſſed of death; how much they feared God more than men; how much they loved and preferred the eternal life to come above this ſhort and miſerable life.

Wherefore I exhort you as well by Chriſt's commandment, as by the example of him and his apoſtles, to withdraw yourſelf from the malice of yours and God's enemies, into ſome place where God is moſt purely ſerved; which

which is no ſlandering of the truth, but a preſerving of yourſelf to God, and the truth, and to the ſociety, and comfort of Chriſt's little flock. And that you will do, do it with ſpeed, leſt by your own folly you fall into the perſecutor's hand. And the Lord ſend his Holy Spirit to lead and guide you whereſoever you go, and all that be godly will ſay, Amen.

Unto theſe former letters of Dr. Cranmer, archbiſhop, written by him unto others, it ſeemeth to me not much out of place to annex withal a certain letter alſo of Dr. Taylor, written to him and his fellow-priſoners: the tenor of which letter here followeth.

To my dear Fathers and Brethren, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, and Mr. Latimer, Priſoners in Oxford, for the faithful Teſtimony of God's holy Word.

RIGHT reverend fathers in the Lord, I wiſh you to enjoy continually God's grace and peace, through Jeſus Chriſt; and God be praiſed again for this your moſt excellent promotion which ye are called unto at this preſent, that is, that ye are counted worthy to be allowed amongſt the number of Chriſt's records and witneſſes. England hath but a few learned biſhops, that would ſtick to Chriſt ad ignem incluſivè. Once again I thank God heartily in Chriſt for your moſt happy onſet, moſt valiant proceeding, moſt conſtant ſuffering of all ſuch infamies, hiſſings, clappings, taunts, open rebukes, loſs of living and liberty, for the defence of God's cauſe, truth and glory. I cannot utter with pen how I rejoice in my heart for you three ſuch captains in the foreward under Chriſt's croſs, banner or ſtandard, in ſuch a cauſe and ſkirmiſh; when not only one or two of our dear Redeemer's ſtrong holds are beſieged, but all his chief caſtles ordained for our ſafeguard, are traiterouſly impugned. This your enterprize in the ſight of all that be in heaven, and of all God's people in earth, is moſt pleaſant to behold. This is another manner of nobility than to be in the fore-front in worldly warfares. For God's ſake pray for us, for we fail not daily to pray for you. We are ſtronger and ſtronger in the Lord, his name be praiſed, and we doubt not but ye be ſo in Chriſt's own ſweet ſchool. Heaven is all and wholly of our ſide; therefore rejoice always in the Lord: and again, rejoice and be glad.

Your aſſured in Chriſt,
Rowland Taylor.

On the Recantation of Archbiſhop Cranmer, while in Priſon.

HOW near, great Cranmer, had thy footſteps fail'd,
But thou'rt recover'd with a ſteadier pace:
Thy fall to thy ſure goings much avail'd,
And brought thee more into thy Saviour's grace.
Denying makes thee bolder own thy cauſe;
So good from evil oft th' Almighty draws.

Beſides, 'tis lawful fraud 'gainſt fraud to uſe,
Since the falſe popiſh tribe (we always find)
Endeavour ſtrongly others to abuſe.
They're now but juſtly ſerv'd in their own kind.
This pious fraud then let us boldly own,
And give the glory unto God alone.

On his Death.

UNhappy's he wh' offends his God, howe'er
His outward bleſſings to the world appear;
But he who ſerves him's happy, tho' forlorn,
Tho' doom'd to death and univerſal ſcorn.
This, Cranmer, was thy fate, unhappy made,
By thee too flatt'ring love of life betray'd.
But, to that trifle, when you death preferr'd,
Eternal happineſs was your reward.

Agnes Potten, and Joan Trunchfield, Martyrs, perſecuted in Suffolk.

IN the ſtory of Robert Samuel, (p. 332.) mention was made before of two godly women of the ſame town of Ipſwich, who ſhortly after him ſuffered likewiſe, and obtained the crown of martyrdom: the names of whom were, Agnes, the wife of Robert Potten; and another, wife of Michael Trunchfield, a ſhoemaker, both dwelling in one town: who about the ſame time that the archbiſhop aforeſaid was burnt at Oxford, ſuffered likewiſe in the aforeſaid town of Ipſwich, either in the ſame month of March, or as ſome ſay, in the end of February before.

Their opinion or perſuaſion was this, that in the ſacrament was the memorial only of Chriſt's death and paſſion: for, ſaid they, Jeſus Chriſt is aſcended up into heaven, and is on the right hand of God the Father, according to the ſcriptures, and not in the ſacrament, as he was born of the virgin Mary.

For this they were burnt. In whoſe ſuffering their conſtancy worthily was to be wondered at, who being ſo ſimple women, ſo manfully ſtood to the confeſſion and teſtimony of God's word and verity: inſomuch, that when they had prepared and undreſſed themſelves ready to the fire, with comfortable words of the ſcripture they earneſtly required the people to credit and to lay hold on the word of God, and not upon man's devices and inventions, deſpiſing the ordinances and inſtitutions of the Romiſh Antichriſt, with all his ſuperſtitions and rotten religion; and ſo continuing in the torment of fire, they held up their hands and called unto God conſtantly ſo long as life did endure.

This Potten's wife, one night, a little before her death, being aſleep in her bed, ſaw a burning fire, right up as a pole, and on the ſide of the fire ſhe thought there ſtood a number of queen Mary's friends looking on. Then being aſleep, ſhe ſeemed to muſe with herſelf whether her fire ſhould burn ſo bright or no: and indeed her ſuffering was not far unlike to her dream.

This alſo I thought further to note, how theſe two, being always together in priſon, the one which was Michael's wife, ſeemed to be nothing ſo ardent and zealous as Potten's wife was, although God be thanked they did both ſtoutly ſtand to the confeſſion of the truth; but when the ſaid Michael's wife came to the ſtake, and ſaw nothing but preſent death before her, ſhe much exceeded the other in joy and comfort; albeit both of them did ſo joyfully ſuffer, as it was marvelled at of thoſe who knew them, and did behold their end. And thus theſe two martyrs ended their lives with great triumph: the Lord grant we may do the like, Amen.

The Hiſtory of John Maundrel, William Coberley, and John Spicer, Martyrs, perſecuted in the Dioceſe of Saliſbury.

JOHN MAUNDREL, was the ſon of Robert Maundrel, of Rowd, in the county of Wilts, farmer; he was from his childhood brought up in huſbandry, and when he came to man's eſtate, he dwelt in a village called Buchampten, in the pariſh of Kevel, in the county aforeſaid, where he lived in good repute with his wife and children. After the ſcripture was tranſlated into Engliſh by William Tindall, this John Maundrel became a diligent hearer thereof, and a fervent embracer of God's true religion, ſo that he delighted in nothing ſo much, as to hear and ſpeak of God's word, never be-

ing without the New Teſtament about him, although he could not read himſelf. But when he came into any company that could read, his book was always ready, having a good memory, ſo that he could recite by heart moſt places of the New Teſtament; his life and converſation being very honeſt and charitable, as his neighbours are able to teſtify.

So it was, that in the days of king Henry the eighth, at which time Dr. Trigonion and Dr. Lee did viſit abbeys, the ſaid John Maundrel was brought before Dr. Trigonion at an abbey called Edyngton in Wiltſhire; where he was accuſed that he had ſpoken againſt the holy water and holy bread, and ſuch like ceremonies, and for the ſame did wear a white ſheet, bearing a candle in his hand about the market, in the town of the Devizes, which is in the ſaid county. Nevertheleſs his fervency did not abate, but by God's merciful aſſiſtance he took better hold, as the ſequel thereof did declare.

For in the days of queen Mary, when popery was reſtored again, and God's true religion put to ſilence, the ſaid John Maundrel left his own houſe and went into Glouceſterſhire, and into the north part of Wiltſhire, wandering from one to another to ſuch men as he knew feared God, with whom, as a ſervant to keep their cattle, he there did remain with one John Bridges, or ſome other at Kingſwood; but after a time he returned to his country, and there coming to the Devizes to a friend of his, named Anthony Clee, had talk and conference with him in a garden, of returning home to his houſe.

And when the other exhorted him by the words of ſcripture, to fly from one city to another, he replied again by the words of the Revelations 21. of them that be fearful, &c. ſaid, that he muſt needs go home, and ſo did. Where he with Spicer and Coberley uſed at times to reſort and confer together.

At length upon the Sunday following they agreed together to go to the pariſh church, called Kevel, where the ſaid Maundrel and the other two ſeeing the pariſhioners in the proceſſion to follow and worſhip the idol there carried, advertiſed them to leave the ſame, and to return to the living God, namely ſpeaking to one Robert Barkſdale, head-man of the pariſh, but he took no regard to their words.

After this the vicar came into the pulpit, who there being about to read his bead-roll, and to pray for the ſouls in purgatory, the ſaid John Maundrel, ſpeaking with an audible voice, ſaid, that was the pope's pinfold, the other two affirming the ſame. After which words, by command of the prieſt, they were had to the ſtocks, where they remained till their ſervice was done, and then were brought before a juſtice of peace, and the next day were all three carried to Saliſbury, and preſented before biſhop Capon, and W. Geffrey being chancellor of the dioceſe. By whom they were impriſoned, and oftentimes examined of their faith in their houſes, but ſeldom openly. And at the laſt examination theſe were the articles which the chancellor alledged againſt them, being accompanied with the ſheriff of the ſhire, Mr. St. Johns, and other popiſh prieſts in the pariſh church of Fiſherton Anger, demanding how they did believe.

They anſwered, as chriſtian men ſhould and ought to believe: and firſt they ſaid, they believed in God the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghoſt, the twelve articles of the creed, the holy ſcriptures from the firſt of Geneſis to the laſt of the Revelations.

But that faith the chancellor would not allow. Wherefore he poſed them in particular articles: Firſt, whether they did not believe, that in the ſacrament of the altar (as he termed it) after the words of conſecration ſpoken by the prieſt at maſs, there remained no ſubſtance of bread nor wine, but Chriſt's body, fleſh and blood, as he was born of the virgin Mary. Whereunto they anſwered negatively, ſaying, that the popiſh maſs was abominable idolatry, and injurious to the blood of Chriſt; but confeſſing that in a faithful congregation, receiving the ſacrament of Chriſt's body and blood, being duly adminiſtered according to Chriſt's inſtitution, Chriſt's body and blood is ſpiritually received of the faithful believer.

Alſo, being aſked whether the pope was ſupreme head of the church, and Chriſt's vicar on earth; they anſwered negatively, ſaying, that the biſhop of Rome doth uſurp over emperors and kings, being antichriſt, and God's enemy.

The chancellor ſaid, Will you have the church without head? They anſwered, Chriſt was head of the church, and under Chriſt the queen's majeſty.

What, ſaid the chancellor, a woman head of the church? Yea, ſaid they, within her grace's dominions.

Alſo, whether the ſouls in purgatory were delivered by the pope's pardon, and the ſuffrages of the church?

They ſaid, they believed faithfully that the blood of Chriſt had purged their ſins, and the ſins of them that were ſaved, unto the end of the world, ſo that they feared nothing the pope's purgatory, or eſteemed his pardons.

Alſo, whether images were neceſſary to be in the churches, as lay-men's books, and ſaints to be prayed unto and worſhipped.

They anſwered negatively; John Maundrel adding, that wooden images were good to roaſt a ſhoulder of mutton, but evil in the church: whereby idolatry was committed.

Thoſe articles thus anſwered (for their articles were one, and their anſwers in manner alike), the chancellor read their condemnation, and ſo delivered them to the ſheriff. Then ſpake John Spicer, ſaying, O maſter ſheriff, now muſt you be their butcher, that you may be guilty alſo with them of innocent blood before the Lord. This was the 23d day of March 1556, and the 24th day of the ſame month they were carried out of the common gaol to a place betwixt Saliſbury and Wilton, where were two poſts ſet for them to be burnt at. Which men coming to the place, kneeled down, and made their prayers ſecretly together, and then being uncloathed to their ſhirts, John Maundrel ſpake with a loud voice, Not for all Saliſbury. Which words men judged to be an anſwer to the ſheriff, who offered him the queen's pardon if he would recant. And after that in like manner ſpake John Spicer, ſaying, This is the joyfulleſt day that ever I ſaw. Thus were they three burnt at two ſtakes: where moſt conſtantly they gave their bodies to the fire, and their ſouls to the Lord, for teſtimony of his truth.

As touching William Coberley, this moreover is to be noted, that his wife alſo, called Alice, being apprehended, was detained in the keeper's houſe at the ſame time that her huſband was in priſon. Where the keeper's wife, named Agnes Penicote, had ſecretly heated a key fire-hot, and laid it in the graſs in the backſide. So ſpeaking to Alice Coberley to fetch her the key in all haſte, the ſaid Alice went with ſpeed to bring the key, and ſo taking up the key in haſte did piteouſly burn her hand. Whereupon ſhe crying out at the ſudden burning of her hand, Ah thou drab, quoth the other, thou that canſt not abide the burning of the key, how wilt thou be able to abide burning thy whole body? and ſo ſhe afterward revoked.

But to return again to the ſtory of Coberley, who being at the ſtake, was ſomewhat long a burning as the wind ſtood: after his body was ſcorched with the fire, and his left arm drawn and taken from him by the violence of the fire, that the fleſh being burnt to the white bone, at length he ſtooped over the chain, and with the right-hand, being ſomewhat ſtarkned, knocked upon his breaſt ſoftly, the blood and matter iſſuing out of his mouth. Afterward when they all thought he had been dead, ſuddenly he roſe upright with his body again. And thus much concerning theſe three Saliſbury martyrs.

A Diſcourſe of the Death of Six other Martyrs ſuffering at London, whoſe Names follow.

ABOUT the 23d day of April, 1556, were burned in Smithfield at one fire, theſe ſix conſtant martyrs of Chriſt, ſuffering for the profeſſion of the goſpel, viz.

Robert Drakes, Miniſter.	Thomas Spurge, Fuller.
William Tyms, Curate.	John Cavel, Weaver.
Richard Spurge, Sheerman.	George Ambroſe, Fuller.

They were all of Eſſex, and ſo of the dioceſe of London, and were ſent up, ſome by the lord Rich, and ſome by others at ſundry times, unto Stephen Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, then lord chancellor of England, about the 22d day of March, 1555; who after ſmall examination, ſent them, ſome unto the King's-bench, and others unto the Marſhalſea, where they remained almoſt all the whole year, until the death of the ſaid biſhop of Wincheſter, and had during that time nothing ſaid unto them. Whereupon after that Dr. Heath, archbiſhop of York, was choſen to the office of lord chancellor, four of theſe perſecuted brethren now weary of this their long impriſonment, made their ſupplication unto the ſaid Dr. Heath, requiring his favour and aid for their deliverance: the copy whereof enſueth.

To the Moſt Reverend Father in God, Thomas, Archbiſhop of York, Lord Chancellor of England.

MAY it pleaſe your honourable good lordſhip, for the love of God to tender the humble ſuit of your lordſhip's poor orators, whoſe names are ſubſcribed, who have lain in great miſery in the Marſhalſea, for the ſpace of ten months and more, at the commandment of the late lord chancellor, to their utter ruin, with their wives and children. In conſideration whereof your lordſhip's ſaid orators do moſt humbly pray and beſeech your good lordſhip, to ſuffer them to be brought before your honour; and there, if any man of good conſcience can lay any thing to our charge, we truſt either to declare our innocency againſt their accuſation, or if otherwiſe their accuſations can be proved true and we faulty, we are ready (God helping us) with our condign puniſhments to ſatisfy the law according to your wiſe judgment, as we hope, full of fatherly mercy towards us and all men, according to your godly office, and in which we pray for your godly ſucceſs to the good pleaſure of God, Amen.

This ſupplication was ſent (as is ſaid) and ſubſcribed with the names of theſe four underwritten:

Richarge Spurge.	George Ambroſe.
Thomas Spurge.	John Cavel.

Richard Spurge.

UPON the receipt hereof, it was not long after, but Sir Richard Read, knight, then one of the officers of the court of Chancery, the 16th day of January, was ſent unto the Marſhalſea to examine the ſaid four priſoners; and therefore beginning firſt with Richard Spurge upon certain demands, received his anſwers thereunto: the effect whereof was, that he with others were complained upon by the parſon of Bocking, unto the lord Rich, for not coming to their pariſh church of Bocking, where they had inhabited; thereupon was by the ſaid lord Rich ſent unto the late lord chancellor, about the 22d of March laſt, Anno 1555.

And farther, he ſaid, that he came not to the church ſince the firſt alteration of the Engliſh ſervice into Latin (Chriſtmas-day then a twelvemonth only excepted), and that becauſe he miſliked both the ſame and the maſs alſo, as not conſonant and agreeing with God's holy word.

Moreover, he required that he might not be any more examined upon the matter, unleſs it pleaſed the lord chancellor that then was, to know his fault therein, which to him he would willingly utter.

Thomas Spurge.

THOMAS Spurge being then next examined, made the ſame anſwer in effect that the other had done; confeſſing, that he abſented himſelf from the church, becauſe the word of God was not there truly taught, nor the ſacraments of Chriſt duly adminiſtered in ſuch ſort as was preſcribed by the ſame word. And being farther examined of his belief concerning the ſacrament of the altar, he ſaid, That if any could accuſe him thereof, he would then make anſwer as God had given him knowledge therein.

George Ambroſe.

THE like anſwer made George Ambroſe, adding moreover, that after he had read the late biſhop of Wincheſter's book; intituled, De vera Obedientia, with Bonner's preface thereunto annexed, inveighing both againſt the authority of the biſhop of Rome, he did ſet much leſs by their doings than before.

John Cavel.

JOHN Cavel agreeing in other matters with them, anſwered, that the cauſe why he did forbear coming to church, was, that the parſon there had preached two contrary doctrines. For firſt, in a ſermon that he made at the queen's firſt entry to the crown, he did exhort the people to believe the goſpel; for it was the truth, and if they did not believe it, they ſhould be damned. But in a ſecond ſermon, he preached that the Teſtament was falſe in forty places, which contrariety in him was a cauſe, amongſt others, of his abſenting from the church.

Robert Drakes.

ABOUT the fourth day of March next after, Robert Drakes was alſo examined, who was parſon of Thunderſley, in Eſſex, and had there remained for the ſpace of three years. He was firſt made deacon by Dr. Taylor of Hadley, at the commandment of Dr. Cranmer, late archbiſhop of Canterbury. And within one year after (which was the third year after king Edward), he was by the ſaid archbiſhop, and Dr. Ridley, biſhop of London, admitted miniſter of God's holy word and ſacraments, not after the order then in force, but after ſuch order as was after eſtabliſhed; and was preſented unto the ſaid benefice of Thunderſley, by the lord Rich, at the ſuit of Mr. Cauſton and Mr. Treheron; and now notwithſtanding was ſent up by the ſaid lord Rich, with the others before-mentioned: and at his coming to the biſhop of Wincheſter, was by him demanded whether he could conform himſelf like a ſubject to the laws of this realm then in force. To whom he ſaid, he would abide all laws that ſtood with the laws of God; and thereupon was committed to priſon, where he, and the reſt above-named, did reman ever ſince.

The

The Hiſtory of William Tyms, Deacon, and Curate of Hockley in Eſſex.

IN the days of queen Mary there were two ſermons preached in the woods at Hockley, which woods belonged to one Mr. Tyrel; one was called Plumborough-wood, and other Beches-wood, and there was at the ſame ſermons an honeſt man and his wife, whoſe name was John Gye, and ſervant to Mr. Tyrel at the farm called Plumborough. Shortly after it was known to Mr. Tyrel that his woods were polluted with ſermons, which he took very ill, and much matter did ariſe about it as an unlawful aſſembly, which was laid to John Gye's charge, becauſe he did not diſcloſe that unlawful act to his maſter, being then in the commiſſion of the peace, appointed at that time to keep down the goſpel, which he did to the utmoſt, as it may appear by many of his acts. Good God give him repentance if it be thy will.

Soon after Mr. Tyrel came to Hockley to ſift out this matter, and to know who was at theſe preachings. Well, there were found many faulty; for it is ſuppoſed there were an hundred perſons at the leaſt. So it pleaſed Mr. Tyrel to begin firſt with John Gye, and aſked where that naughty fellow was that ſerved their pariſh, one Tyms; for it is told me, ſaid he, that he is the cauſe to bring theſe naughty fellows into the country. Therefore I charge thee, Gye, to fetch me this naughty fellow Tyms; for thou knoweſt where he is. No, ſaid Gye, I do not know. So in no wiſe could he make him fetch him.

Then ſtepped forth another of Mr. Tyrel's men, willing to pleaſe his maſter, whoſe name was Richard Sheriff, and ſaid to him; Sir, I know where he is. Well, ſaid his maſter, go to the conſtables, and charge them to bring him unto me.

So the ſaid Richard Sheriff being very diligent, made ſure work, and had him brought by the conſtables (whoſe names were Edward Hedge and John James) before his maſter.

Then Mr. Tyrel commanded all the reſt to depart; and it was wiſely done, for he was not able to open his mouth againſt Tyms without reproach; and there he kept him about three hours. But there was ſome that liſtened at the walls, and heard Mr. Tyrel ſay thus to Tyms.

Methinketh, ſaid he, when I ſee the bleſſed rood, it maketh me think of God.

Why, Sir, ſaid Tyms, if an idol that is made with man's hands doth make you remember God, how much more ought the creatures of God, as man being his workmanſhip, or the graſs, or the trees that bring forth fruit, make you remember God?

So Mr. Tyrel ended his talk with Tyms, as it were in a heat, calling him a traitorly knave.

Why, Sir, ſaid Tyms, in king Edward's days you affirmed the truth that I do now.

Affirm! quoth Tyrel, nay, by God's body I never thought it with my heart.

Well, ſaid Tyms, I pray you Mr. Tyrel, bear with me, for I have been a traitor but a while, but you have been a traitor ſix years.

After this Tyms was ſent to London to the biſhop, and from him to the biſhop of Wincheſter, and ſo from him to the King's-bench, and then was Mr. Tyrel's rage ceaſed with them that were in the woods at the ſermons. So Mr. Tyrel took away Gye's coat, and gave it to John Trayford, and ſent him to St. Toſies to ſee good rule kept there.

When Tyms came before the biſhop of London, there was at that time the biſhop of Bath, and William Tyms was examined of his faith before them both. So mightily God wrought with this true-hearted man, that he had wherewith to anſwer them both; for the conſtables ſaid that brought him before the biſhop that they never heard the like. Then the biſhop (as though he would have had Tyms to turn from the truth) ſaid to the conſtables, I pray you give him good counſel, that he may turn from his error. My lord, ſaid the conſtables, he is at a point, for he will not turn.

Then both the biſhops began to grow weary of him, for he had troubled them about ſix or ſeven hours. Then the biſhops began to pity Tyms's caſe, and to flatter him, ſaying, Ah, good fellow (ſaid they) thou art bold, and thou haſt a good freſh ſpirit, we would thou hadſt learning to thy ſpirit. I thank you, my lords, ſaid Tyms, and both you be learned, and I would you had a good ſpirit to your learning.

So thus they broke up, and ſent Tyms to the biſhop of Wincheſter, and there were Edward Hedge and John James the conſtables aforenamed diſcharged, and Tyms commanded to the King's-bench, where he was mightily ſtrengthened with the good men that he found there.

And thus hitherto ye heard, firſt upon what occaſion this William Tyms was apprehended, how he was treated by Mr. Tyrel the juſtice, and by him ſent up to the ordinary of the dioceſe, which was biſhop Bonner; who after ſome talk and debating with the ſaid Tyms, at length directed him to the biſhop of Wincheſter, being then lord chancellor, and was commanded by him upon the ſame to the King's-bench.

Here by the way is to be underſtood, that Tyms as he was but a deacon, ſo he was but ſimply, or at leaſt not prieſtly apparelled, foraſmuch as he went not in a gown, but in a coat; and his hoſe were of two colours, the upper part white, and the nether ſtocks of ſheeps ruſſet. Whereupon the prelate ſending for him to come before him, and ſeeing his ample attire, began to mock him, ſaying, Ah, ſirrah, are you a deacon? Yes, my lord, that I am, quoth Tyms. So methinketh, ſaid the biſhop, ye are decked like a deacon. My lord, ſaid Tyms, my veſture doth not ſo much vary from a deacon; but methinketh your apparel doth as much vary from an apoſtle.

So then there ſpake one of the biſhop's gentlemen, My lord (ſaid he in mockery) give him a chair, a toaſt and drink, and he will be luſty. But the biſhop bade to have him away, and commanded him to come before him again the next day at an hour appointed.

But Wincheſter, for lack of leiſure, or becauſe of ſickneſs growing upon him, or for what cauſe elſe I know not, either would not, or could not attend unto him, but returned him again to his ordinary biſhop from whence he came. So William Tyms being put off again to biſhop Bonner, was placed together and coupled with the other five martyrs above named, and with them brought together to public examination before the biſhop the 21ſt day of March, firſt in the biſhop's palace of London, where the ſaid biſhop after his accuſtomed manner proceeding againſt them, enquired of them their faith upon the ſacrament of the altar. To whom they anſwered, that the body of Chriſt was not in the ſacrament of the altar really and corporally, after the words of conſecration ſpoken by the prieſt; of which opinion they had been of long time, ſome later, ſome ſooner, even as God of his mercy did call upon them unto the knowledge of his goſpel.

Then the biſhop's chaplains began to reaſon with them, but with no great authorities either of the ſcripture or of the ancient fathers, as other their large conferences with the learned do declare.

Another Examination of Tyms and Drakes, &c. before the Biſhop of London.

THE 23d day of the ſame month of March, the biſhop ſent again for Tyms and Drakes, and Ex Officio, did object to them certain articles, the ſum and manner

manner whereof were the ſame which before were objected to Whittle, Green, Tudſon, &c. And the 26th day of the ſame month he ſent for the other four, adminiſtering to them alſo the ſame general articles. Unto which they all in effect anſwered in matters touching their faith, as did the ſame Bartlet Green and the reſt. Other appearances they had, as the biſhop's common manner of proceeding was more (as I have often ſaid for order and common law) than for any zeal of juſtice.

But in concluſion, the 28th day of the ſaid month, William Tyms and Robert Drakes, with the other four above named, were brought to the open conſiſtory in Paul's before the ſaid biſhop of London to be condemned for hereſy.

The biſhop firſt began in this manner: Tyms, ſaid he, I will begin with thee firſt, for thou art and haſt been the ringleader of theſe thy companions; thou haſt taught them hereſies, and confirmed them in their erroneous opinions, and haſt endeavoured as much as in thee lieth, to make them like unto thyſelf. If thy fault had not tended to the hurt of others, I would then have uſed thee more charitably, and not have brought thee to open rebuke. I would, according to the rule of Chriſt in the 18th of Matthew, have told thee thy fault between me and thee; if thou wouldeſt not have heard me, I would not ſo have left thee, but I with two or three others would have exhorted thee; if that would not have ſerved, then would I have told the church, &c. But for that thy fault is open and manifeſt to the world, and thou thyſelf remaineſt ſtout in thine error, this charitable dealing is not to be extended towards thee: I have therefore thought good to proceed by another rule, whereof St. Paul ſpeaketh, 1 Tim. 5. "Such as ſin, rebuke them openly, that others may fear." For this cauſe art thou brought before me in the face of this people, to receive judgment according to thy deſerts. Let me ſee what thou canſt ſay, why I ſhould not proceed againſt thee as thine ordinary.

My lord, quoth Tyms, will you now give me leave to ſpeak? Yea, quoth the biſhop. Then ſaid Tyms, My lord, I marvel that you will begin with a lye. You call me the ringleader and teacher of this company, but how untruly you have ſaid ſhall ſhortly appear: for there is none of all theſe my brethren, which are brought hither as priſoners, but when they were at liberty and out of priſon, they diſſented from you and your doings, as much as they do at this preſent; and for that cauſe they are now priſoners.

So it is evident, that they learned not their religion in priſon. And as for me, I never knew them, until ſuch time as I by your commandment was priſoner with them; how could I then be their ringleader and teacher? So that all the world may ſee how untruly you have ſpoken. And as for my fault which you make ſo grievous, whatſoever you judge of me, I am well aſſured that I hold none other religion than Chriſt preached, the apoſtles witneſſed, the primitive church received, and now of late the apoſtolical and evangelical preachers of this realm have faithfully taught; for which you have cruelly burnt them, and now you ſeek our blood alſo. Proceed on hardly by what rule you will, I force not, I do not refuſe you for mine ordinary.

Then, ſaid the biſhop, I perceive thou wilt not be counted their ringleader. How ſayeſt thou, wilt thou ſubmit thyſelf to the catholic church as an obedient child? In ſo doing thou ſhalt be received and do well enough, otherwiſe thou ſhalt have judgment as an heretic.

Then one of the priſoners (whoſe name is not certainly known) ſaid, My lord, you are no upright judge, for you judge after your own luſt. But if you will judge us according to the holy Teſtament of Chriſt, which is the word of truth, we will, according to your judgment; for unto that word we wholly ſubmit ourſelves. But as for your judgment without the truth, God ſhall condemn. This was very earneſtly expreſſed, inſiſting that they might be judged by the word of God.

At this the biſhop was offended, calling him buſy knave, and commanded him to hold his tongue, or elſe he ſhould be had away to a place of ſmaller eaſe.

Then Tyms anſwered and ſaid, My lord, I doubt not but I am of the catholic church, whatſoever you judge of me. But as for your church, you have before this day renounced it, and by corporal oath promiſed never to conſent to the ſame. Contrary to which you have received into this realm the pope's authority, and therefore you are falſly perjured and forſworn all the ſort of you. Beſides this, you have both ſpoken and written very earneſty againſt that uſurped power, and now you burn men that will not acknowledge the pope to be ſupreme head.

Have I? quoth the biſhop. Where have I written any thing againſt the church of Rome?

My lord, quoth Tyms, the biſhop of Wincheſter wrote a very learned oration, intituled, De vera Obedientia, which containeth worthy matter againſt the Romiſh authority: unto which book you made a preface inveighing againſt the biſhop of Rome, reproving his tyranny and falſhood, calling his power falſe and pretenſed. The book is extant, and you cannot deny it.

Then was the biſhop ſomewhat aſhamed, and looking upon thoſe that were preſent, ſpake very gently ſaying, Lo, here is a good matter indeed. My lord of Wincheſter being a great learned man, did write a book againſt the ſupremacy of the pope's holineſs, and I alſo did write a preface before the ſaid book, tending to the ſame effect. And thus did we becauſe of the perilous world that then was. For then it was made treaſon by the laws of this realm to maintain the pope's authority, and great danger it was to be ſuſpected a favourer of the ſea of Rome; and therefore fear compelled us to comply with the time, for otherwiſe there had been no way but one. You know when any uttered his conſcience in maintaining the pope's authority, he ſuffered death for it.

And then turning his tale unto Tyms, he ſaid, But ſince that time, even ſince the coming in of the queen's majeſty, when we might be bold to ſpeak our conſcience, we have acknowledged our faults, and my lord of Wincheſter ſhamed not to recant the ſame at Paul's Croſs. And alſo thou thyſelf ſeeſt that I ſtand not in it, but willingly have ſubmitted myſelf. Do thou alſo as we have done.

My lord, quoth Tyms, that which you have written againſt the ſupremacy of the pope, may be well approved by the ſcriptures. But that which you now do, is againſt the word of God, as I can well prove.

Then another, I ſuppoſe it was Dr. Cooke, ſaid; Tyms, I pray thee to let me talk with thee a little, for I think we two are learned alike. Thou ſpeakeſt much of the ſcripture, and yet underſtandeth it not. I will tell thee to whom thou mayſt be compared: Thou art like to one which intendeth to go on hunting, riſeth up early in the morning, taketh his hounds, and forth he goeth, up to the hills, and down into the valleys; he paſſeth over the fields, over hedge and ditch, he ſearcheth the woods and thickets; thus laboureth he all the whole day, without finding any game. At night home he cometh, weary of his travel, not having caught any thing at all; and thus fareth it by thee. Thou laboureſt in reading of the ſcriptures, thou takeſt the letter, but the meaning thou knoweſt not, and thus thy reading is as unprofitable unto thee, as hunting was unto the man I ſpeak of even now.

Sir, quoth Tyms, you have not well applied your ſimilitude: for I praiſe God, I have not read the ſcriptures unprofitably: but God, I thank him, hath revealed unto me ſo much as I doubt not is ſufficient for my ſalvation.

Then ſaid the biſhop, You brag much of knowledge, and yet you know nothing: you ſpeak much of ſcripture, and you know not what ſcripture is. I pray thee

tell me; How knoweſt thou that thing to be the word of God, which thou calleſt ſcripture?

To this anſwered Robert Drakes, that he knew it to be the word of God, becauſe it ſhewed unto men their ſalvation in Chriſt, and doth revoke and call back all men from wicked life, unto a pure and undefiled converſation.

The biſhop replied, That the heathen writers have taught precepts of good living, as well as the ſcripture, and yet their writings are not eſteemed to be God's word.

Then ſaid Tyms, the Old Teſtament beareth witneſs of thoſe things which are written in the New; for (quoth he) there is nothing taught in the New Teſtament but it was foreſhewed in the law and the prophets.

I will deny all, quoth the biſhop, I will deny all; what ſayeſt thou then? Then Robert Drakes alledged a ſentence in Latin out of the 59th chapter of Iſaiah's prophecy; Spiritus meus qui eſt in te, &c. that is, "My Spirit which is in thee, and my words which I put in thy mouth, ſhall not depart out of the mouth of thy ſeed, nor out of the mouth of the ſeed of thy ſeed from henceforth even for ever;" meaning hereby to prove, that he who had the Spirit of God, could thereby diſcern and judge truly which was God's word. But before he could explicate his mind, he was interrupted by the biſhop, who ſpake unto Dr. Pendleton, ſaying,

Mr. Doctor, I pray you ſay ſomewhat unto theſe folks that may do them ſome good. Then Dr. Pendleton leaning near the biſhop, covered his face with both his hands, to the end he might the more quietly deviſe what to ſay; but other talk was preſently miniſtered, ſo that for that time he ſaid nothing.

And thus much William Alſbury, witneſs hereof, being preſent thereat, ſo far as he heard, hath faithfully recorded and reported. What more was ſpoken and there ſaid (for they made not yet an end a good while after) becauſe he departed then out of the houſe, he doth not know, nor did hear.

Then the biſhop, after this, and ſuch like communication, proceeded at length in form of law, cauſing both the articles, and his anſwers to the ſame, to be then and there openly read: the ſum of which his confeſſion recorded and left by his own hand-writing, tendeth to this effect as followeth.

The Articles for which William Tyms, of Hockley, in Eſſex, was condemned in the Conſiſtory of St. Paul's, the 28th of March, with his Anſwers and Confeſſion upon the ſame.

FIRST, I did truly confeſs and believe that I was baptized in the true catholic church of Chriſt; for when I was baptized, there was the element and the word of God, according to Chriſt's inſtitution. And my godfathers and godmothers did promiſe for me, that I ſhould forſake the devil, and all his works, and that I ſhould keep God's commandments, and believe all the articles of the chriſtian faith; all which I do believe at this day, and with God's help I truſt to do while I live; for it was not the wickedneſs of the miniſter that made the ſacrament of none effect, &c.

Item, I confeſſed two ſacraments, and but two in Chriſt's true church; that is, the ſacrament of baptiſm, and the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, and that Chriſt is preſent with his ſacraments, as it pleaſeth him.

Item, I confeſſed, that Chriſt hath a viſible church, wherein the word of God is truly preached, and the ſacraments truly adminiſtered.

Item, I confeſſed the ſee of Rome to be as the late biſhip of Wincheſter hath written in his book, De vera Obedientia, to which I ſaid unto the biſhop of London, that he had made a godly preface; and alſo John Bale hath plainly declared in his book, called The image of both churches, even ſo much as I believe thereof.

Item, I confeſſed the maſs to be blaſphemy to Chriſt's death and paſſion.

Item, I confeſſed that in the ſacrament of the altar Chriſt is not preſent either ſpiritually or corporally; but as they uſe it, it is an abominable idol.

Laſt of all, I confeſſed the biſhop of London to be mine ordinary.

After this the biſhop fell to intreaty and perſuaſions, earneſtly exhorted him to revoke his hereſies (as he termed them) and to reform himſelf unto the church of Rome, and not to ſtick ſo much to the literal ſenſe of the ſcriptures, but to uſe the interpretation of the old fathers.

To which Tyms anſwered, I will not reform myſelf thereunto. And I thank God for this day; for I truſt he will turn your curſings into bleſſings.

And furthermore, aſking this queſtion, he ſaid; And what have you to maintain the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, but only the bare letter?

We have (quoth the biſhop) the catholic church.

No, ſaid Tyms, you have the popiſh church of Rome for you, for which you be perjured and forſworn. And the ſee of Rome is the ſee of Antichriſt; and therefore to that church I will not conform myſelf, nor once conſent unto it.

Then the biſhop ſeeing his conſtant boldneſs to be unmoveable, proceeding to his condemnation, pronounced the ſentence definitive upon him, and gave him over to the ſecular power.

Afterwards calling for Robert Drakes, he uſed towards him the like manner of exhortation that he did before.

To whom Drakes ſaid, As for your church of Rome, I utterly defy and deny it, with all the works thereof, even as I deny the devil and all his works.

The biſhop then uſing his accuſtomed order of law, with his like exhortations, at laſt gave him the like bleſſing that Tyms had, and ſo charged the ſheriff with him.

Thomas Spurge being next demanded if he would return to the catholic church, ſaid as followeth; As for your church of Rome I do utterly deny it: but to the true catholic church I am content to return, and continue in the ſame, whereof I believe the church of Rome to be no part or member.

Then in fine, calling the reſt in their turns, and upon the like demands receiving the like anſwers, the ſaid biſhop gave unto each of them their ſeveral judgments; and ſo ridding his bloody hands, committed them unto the cuſtody of the ſheriffs of London, who ſent them unto Newgate, whither they all went moſt joyfully, abiding there the Lord's good time, wherein they ſhould ſeal this their faith with the ſhedding of their blood; which they moſt ſtoutly and willingly performed, in the month of April.

A Letter of William Tyms to his faithful Siſter in the Lord, Agnes Glaſcock, Pariſhioner in the Town of Hockley.

THE grace, mercy, and peace of God our Father through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord and Saviour, with the ſweet comfort of his Holy and mighty Spirit, to the performance of his will, to your everlaſting comfort, be with you my dear ſiſter Glaſcock, both now and evermore, Amen.

My moſt dear and entirely beloved ſiſter, yea mother I might rightly well call you, for the motherly care which you have always had for me, I have me moſt heartily commended unto you, giving God moſt hearty thanks for you, that he hath given you ſo loving a heart to Chriſt's poor goſpel, and his poor afflicted flock for the ſame: and as you have full godly begun, ſo I beſeech God to give you power to go forward in the ſame, and never

never more to look back, fearing neither fire nor ſword; and then I warrant you, you have not far to run.

And now (my dear heart) remember well what I have taught you when I was preſent with you, and alſo written being abſent, and no doubt we ſhall ſhortly meet again with a moſt joyful meeting. I go on Friday next to the biſhop of London's coal-houſe, which is the 20th day of March, where I think it will be hard for any of my friends to ſpeak with me. Howbeit I truſt I ſhall not long tarry there, but ſhortly after be carried up after my dear brethren and ſiſters, which are gone before me into heaven in a fiery chariot: therefore now I take my leave of you till we meet in heaven; and haſten you after.

I have tarried a great while for you, and ſeeing you are ſo long making ready, I will tarry no longer for you. You ſhall find me merrily ſinging, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabbath, at my journey's end. Therefore now (my dear heart) make good haſte, and loiter not by the way, leſt night take you, and ſo ye be ſhut out of the gate with the fooliſh virgins. And now (my ſiſter) in witneſs that I have taught you nothing but the truth, here I write my name with my blood for a teſtimonial unto you, that I will ſeal the ſimple doctrine which I have taught you, with the reſt. And thus fare you well: And God defend you from Antichriſt, and all his miniſters, the falſe prieſts, Amen.

Theſe words following were written with his own blood.

Continue in prayer.
Aſk in faith.
And obtain your deſire.

By me W. Tyms in the King's-bench for the goſpel of Chriſt.

Another Letter of the ſaid William Tyms, wherein he comforteth his Siſter Glaſcock, being in great Sorrow and Repentance for going to the Maſs.

GOD be merciful unto you, pardon and forgive all your ſins, and ſend you faith to believe the ſame, that you may be partaker of his heavenly kingdom, Amen.

My dear ſiſter, I have me moſt heartily commended unto you; and as I have lamented your falling from God, by being partaker with that idolatrous prieſt; ſo have I, ſince I heard of your earneſt repentance, very much rejoiced, and alſo praiſed Almighty God for his mercy ſhewed unto you, in that he hath not left you to yourſelf, but ſince your denial he hath ſhewed his mercy on you, by looking back on you as he did on Peter, and ſo cauſed you to repent as Peter did, and bitterly to weep for your ſins: whereas if God had left you to yourſelf, you had run forward from one evil to another, till at length your heart ſhould either have been hardened, or elſe you ſhould have deſpaired of the mercy of God. And ſeeing that God hath been ſo merciful unto you as he hath been, be you not unthankful unto him for the ſame. For I certify you that your ſorrowful heart that you have had, doth declare unto me that God hath pardoned and forgiven all your ſins for the blood-ſhedding of that immaculate Lamb, Jeſus Chriſt our Lord and Saviour.

Therefore as Peter, after the time that Chriſt had forgiven him his ſin, did boldly confeſs Chriſt before all his enemies; even ſo my dear heart in the Lord, ſeeing that God hath ſo mercifully pardoned and forgiven you your ſins, now cleave unto him, and be at defiance with his enemies the papiſts: and as they do bear witneſs with their father the devil, by going to the church, and ſhedding the innocent blood of all thoſe that will not go with them; even ſo do you bear witneſs with Chriſt, by not coming here: for all thoſe that do go thither ſhall be partakers of their brethren's blood, that is ſhed for the teſtimony of Chriſt, except they repent and amend; which grace that they may ſo do, I beſeech the eternal God for his Chriſt's ſake, if it be his good will, to give them in his good time. And the ſame good God that hath been ſo merciful unto you to call you to repentance, him I beſeech to keep you in his fear and love, that you may have always affiance in him, and evermore ſeek his honour and glory to your everlaſting comfort in Chriſt, Amen. Thus fare you well. From the King's-bench, this 28th of Auguſt. By me,

William Tyms.

Another Letter of William Tyms to certain godly Women of his Pariſh, Followers of the Goſpel.

GRACE, mercy, and peace from God the Father, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, be with you both now and evermore, Amen.

Dear ſiſters, I have me moſt heartily recommended unto you, thanking you for the great kindneſs ſhewed unto me in this time of mine impriſonment, and not only unto me, but alſo unto my poor wife and children; and alſo for the great kindneſs that you ſhew unto all the living ſaints that be diſperſed abroad, and are fain to hide their heads for fear of this cruel perſecution.

Dear ſiſters, when I do remember your conſtancy in Chriſt, I call to remembrance the conſtancy of divers godly women, as Suſannah, Judith, Heſter, and the good wife of Nabal, that through her godly conditions ſaved both her huſband's life, and all her houſhold, when David had thought to have ſlain him for his churliſh anſwer that he ſent him. Alſo I do remember Rahab that lodged the Lord's ſpies, how God preſerved her and her whole houſhold for her faithfulneſs that ſhe bare to God's people. So I do believe that when the Lord ſhall ſend his angel to deſtroy theſe idolatrous Egyptians here in England, and ſhall find the blood of the Lamb ſprinkled on the door-poſt of your hearts, he will go by and not hurt you, but ſpare your whole houſholds for your ſakes. Alſo I do remember Mary Magdalen, how faithful ſhe was; for ſhe was the firſt that preached the reſurrection of Chriſt. Remember the bleſſed martyr Anne Aſkew in our time, and follow her example of conſtancy. And for the love of God take heed that in no caſe you do conſent to idolatry, but ſtand faſt to the Lord, as the good woman did that had her ſeven ſons put to death before her face, and ſhe always comforting them, yea and laſt of all ſuffered death herſelf, for the teſtimony of her God, which is the living God. Thus I beſeech God to ſend you grace and ſtrength to ſtand faſt to the Lord, as ſhe did, and then you ſhall be ſure of the ſame kingdom that ſhe is ſure of; to which kingdom I pray God bring both you and me, Amen.

By me, William Tyms, priſoner in the King's-bench.

Another Letter of William Tyms to his Friends in Hockley.

THE grace of God the Father, through the merits of his dear Son Jeſus, our Lord and only Saviour, with the continual aid of his Holy and mighty Spirit, to the performance of his will, to our everlaſting comfort, be with you my dear brethren, both now and evermore, Amen.

My dearly beloved, I beſeech God to reward the great goodneſs that you have ſhewed unto me, ſeven fold into your boſoms; and as you have always had a moſt godly love unto his word, even ſo I beſeech him to give you grace to love your own ſouls, and then I truſt you will flee from all thoſe things that ſhould diſpleaſe our good and merciful God, and hate and abhor all the company of thoſe that would have you to worſhip God any otherwiſe

wiſe than is contained in his holy word. And beware of thoſe maſters of idolatry; that is, theſe papiſtical prieſts. My dear brethren, for the tender mercy of God, remember well what I have ſaid unto you, and alſo written, which I am now ready to ſeal with my blood. I praiſe God that ever I lived to ſee the day, and bleſſed be my good and merciful God, that ever he gave me a body to glorify his name. And, dear hearts, I do now write unto you for none other cauſe, but to put you in remembrance that I have not forgotten you, to the end that I would not have you forget me, but to remember well what I have ſimply by word of mouth and writing taught you. Which although it were moſt ſimply done, yet truly, as your own conſcience beareth me record: and therefore in any caſe take good heed that you do not that thing which your own conſcience doth condemn. Therefore come out of Sodom, and go to heaven-ward with the ſervants and martyrs of God, leſt you be partakers of the vengeance of God that is coming upon this wicked nation, from which the Lord God defend you, and ſend us a joyful meeting in the kingdom of heaven: unto which God bring you all, Amen. Thus now I take my leave of you for ever in this world, except I be burned amongſt you, which thing is uncertain unto me as yet.

By me your pooreſt and moſt unworthy brother in Chriſt, W. Tims, in Newgate, April 12.

Another Letter of William Tyms, giving Thanks to his Pariſhioners, for their Charity ſhewed to his Wife, being brought to-Bed of a Child in his Captivity.

THE everlaſting peace of our dear Lord and only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, with the ſweet comfort of his Holy and mighty Spirit, to the increaſe of your faith, to the performance of his will, and to your eternal comfort in the everlaſting kingdom of heaven, be with you my dear brethren and ſiſters both now and ever, Amen.

My moſt dear brethren and ſiſters in our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, I have me moſt heartily commended unto you, with hearty thanks for all the great liberality that you have ſhewed unto me, and eſpecially now in the time of my neceſſity, when that God hath ſent my poor wife a child in my captivity; which is no little care to me, ſo to provide, that I might keep both the child and my wife from the antichriſtian church: which thing I thank my God, through his moſt gracious providence, I have yet done, though it be (as ye know) great charge, not to me, but to the congregation of God, and it grieveth me that I have been ſo chargeable to them as I have been, and eſpecially you my dear brethren, I being ſo unworthy a member as I have been, and alſo of ſo ſmall acquaintance; but ſuch is the merciful goodneſs of God, ſo to move your hearts with charity towards me. And as he hath moved your hearts ſo to do, even ſo I beſeech God to give you power to forſake and refuſe all things which be diſpleaſant in his ſight, and to do all things which are requiſite to a chriſtian; and ſend you grace to go forwards in the ſame as you have godly begun, neither fearing fire nor ſword. And, my moſt dear hearts, remember well the ſimple plain doctrine which I have taught you, and alſo written unto you, which was the truth, and for a teſtimony of the ſame I truſt that you ſhall ſhortly hear, or elſe ſee that I will ſeal the ſame with my blood. And in the mean time I deſire you all to remember me in your prayers, as I know you do, and as with God's help I will do for you, that God, for his dear Son Chriſt's ſake, will ſo finiſh the days of our pilgrimage, that we may reſt together with Abraham, Iſaac and Jacob, in the everlaſting kingdom of heaven, to which I beſeech the eternal God for his Chriſt's ſake to bring both you and all yours, Amen.

By me, William Tyms.

Another Letter of William Tyms to his Siſter Colfox and Agnes Glaſcock.

GRACE and peace from God the Father of all mercy, through the merits of our dear Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, be perceived and felt in the hearts of you, my dearly beloved ſiſters in the Lord, by the mighty working of the Holy Ghoſt the Comforter, both now and evermore, Amen.

My moſt dear and entirely beloved ſiſters in the Lord, after my moſt hearty commendations, according to my moſt bounden duty, I do as I am accuſtomed, or at leaſt bound to do, that is, I give you warning of your enemies, which be the papiſts, and take good heed to them, for they ſerve a crafty maſter; yea, and as St. Peter ſaith, He ſleepeth not, but goeth about like a roaring lion, ſeeking whom he may devour. For your old familiar friends, or worldly companions, when they ſee that you will not run into the idol's temple with them, it will ſeem a ſtrange thing unto them, that ye run not to the ſame exceſs of riot, as St. Peter ſaith, And therefore they will ſpeak evil of you, rail on you, and perſecute you.

But, my dear ſiſters, let it not trouble you, for it is but to try you, and let it not ſeem a ſtrange thing unto you. But when they do ſo, remember wherefore it is, and for whoſe ſake, even becauſe you will not forſake God as they do. For the hatred they bear you, is for the word of God, and then it is God's cauſe, and I tell you he will revenge it. And therefore if ye be railed on, and troubled for his ſake, think yourſelves moſt happy. For if you ſuffer with the patriarchs, prophets, and apoſtles, then ſhall ye be ſure to be partakers of the ſame joy that they are in. Yea, you have heard by the word of God, how cruelly the tyrants always have perſecuted the true members of Chriſt, as he himſelf hath promiſed that they ſhall do unto the end of the world.

By the way I will bring to your remembrance the holy martyr St. Stephen, who for favouring, maintaining, and defending the ſame doctrine that now we ſuffer for, was called a blaſphemer, and ſtoned to death at Jeruſalem. And Chriſt's apoſtles were diverſly afflicted all the world over for the ſame by this viperous generation. Antipas the faithful witneſs of Chriſt was ſlain at Pergamus. Jaſon for receiving Paul and Silas, with other diſciples and teachers of the goſpel, was brought before the council at Theſſalonica, and accuſed for a ſeditious traitor againſt Cæſar. No marvel therefore though at this day we be vexed on the ſame ſort, maintaining the ſame cauſe, and favouring the teachers thereof. Is there any other reward following the true ſervants of God now, than hath been aforetimes? No ſurely, for ſo hath Chriſt promiſed. And if they have perſecuted him, needs muſt they perſecute his members; if they have called the Maſter of the houſe Beelzebub ſo will they do his houſhold; "You ſhall be hated of all men, (ſaith Chriſt) for my name's ſake."

It is no new thing, my dear hearts, to ſee the true members of Chriſt handled as in our days they be, as it is not unknown to you how they be cruelly entreated, and blaſphemed without any reaſonable cauſe. For heretics muſt they be taken, who follow not their traditions. And then they may as well call Chriſt an heretic, for he never allowed their dirty ceremonies. He never went a proceſſion with a cope, croſs, or candleſtick. He never cenſed image, nor ſang Latin ſervice. He never ſate in confeſſion. He never preached of purgatory nor of the pope's pardons. He never honoured ſaints nor prayed for the dead. He never ſaid maſs, matins, nor even-ſong. He never commanded to faſt Friday nor vigil, Lent nor Advent. He never hallowed church nor chalice, aſhes nor palms, candles nor bells. He never made holy water nor holy bread, with ſuch like. But ſuch dumb ceremonies, not having the expreſs commandment of God, he calleth the leaven of the phariſees, and

and damnable hypocriſy; admoniſhing his diſciples to beware of them. He curſeth all thoſe that add to his ſuch beggarly ſhadows, wiping their names clean out of the book of life. St. Paul ſaith, they have no portion with Chriſt, which warp themſelves again with ſuch yokes of bondage.

Therefore my dear hearts, ſeeing that our good God hath by the light of his holy word, delivered us from all ſuch dark, blind, dumb, beggarly traditions of men, ſtand faſt in the liberty wherewith Chriſt hath made you free, wrap not yourſelves again in the yoke of bondage. But let us always be ready, looking for the coming of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, which as St. Peter ſaith, will come as a thief in the night." And our captain Chriſt ſaith, "If the good man of the houſe knew what hour the thief would come, he would ſurely watch."

Therefore, my dear hearts, be of good comfort, although the world rage never ſo ſore againſt you. And for your comfort mark well the great mercy of God, who according to his promiſe for the weakneſs of our nature hath ſo aſſwaged the heat of the fire, that our dear brethren that have gone before us, to the ſight of all men, have found it rather to be joy than pain. And think you ſurely God will be as merciful unto you, as he hath been unto them; and ſay with St. Paul, Rom. 8. "Who ſhall ſeparate us from the love of God? Shall tribulation, or anguiſh, or perſecution, either hunger, either nakedneſs, either peril, either ſword? As it is written, for thy ſake are we killed all the day long, &c."

Therefore (my dear ſiſters) if to ſave your lives, any diſſembling goſpellers would have you to go to the idols temple with them, ſay unto them, No, for my Maſter Chriſt ſaith, Matth. 10. "He that would ſave his life ſhall loſe it." And in another place to comfort us he ſaith, "There ſhall not one hair fall from your head, without it be your heavenly Father's will." And therefore ſay you will not be of that ſort, that be neither hot nor cold, leſt God ſhould ſpue you out of his mouth. But make them this anſwer, ſaying, St. Paul ſaith, 2 Cor. 6. "Bear no ſtrange yoke with the unbelievers: for what fellowſhip hath righteouſneſs with unrighteouſneſs? what company hath light with darkneſs? what concord hath Chriſt with Belial; either what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? how agreeth the temple of God with images?" And ye are the temple of God; as God ſaith, I will dwell among them, walk among them, and will be their God, and they ſhall be my people. Wherefore come out from among them and ſeparate yourſelves, ſaith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing: ſo will I receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye ſhall be my ſons and daughters ſaith the Lord."

Thus mine own bowels in the Lord, as I began, ſo make I an end, bidding you beware of your enemies, and take up your croſs, and follow your captain Chriſt in at the narrow gate here by perſecution, and then you ſhall be ſure to reign and rejoice with him in his everlaſting kingdom, which he himſelf hath purchaſed with his own moſt precious blood: to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour both now and for ever, Amen.

By me, William Tyms.

Another Letter of William Tyms, with an Exhortation to all God's faithful Servants, to eſchew the Society of Idolaters, and God's Enemies.

GRACE be with you, and peace from the Father, and from the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

I thank my God with all remembrance of you always in my prayers for you, and pray with gladneſs, becauſe of the fellowſhip which ye have in the goſpel, from the firſt day that I knew you, until this day; and I am ſurely certified of this, that he who hath begun a good work in you, ſhall go forth with it, until the day of Jeſus Chriſt, as it becometh me to judge of you; whom I have in my heart, and as companions of grace with me, even in my bonds. And thus I pray, that your love may increaſe more and more in knowledge. Good brethren, I moſt heartily deſire God, that as you have a willing mind to comfort my vile earthly body in this time of perſecution, ſo he will ſtrengthen you with his Holy Spirit, that my impriſonment do not diſcomfort, but rather ſtrengthen and comfort you, to ſee the goodneſs of God ſhewed unto me, in that being a man without learning, and brought before three ſuch biſhops concerning worldly wiſdom, he gave me both mouth and wiſdom; inſomuch that the biſhop of London went away in a great haſte from me, and after that he ſent his man with a Bible, turning to the ninth chapter to the Hebrews, and the biſhop of Bath looking on it, ſaid, What meaneth my lord? this maketh nothing for his purpoſe. Then I looked on it, and ſaid, My lord ſeeth that I was weak, and therefore he hath holpen me; for here he hath condemned the ſacrifice of your maſs: for you ſay that you offer a daily ſacrifice in your maſs, both for the quick and the dead; and here St. Paul ſaith, "Without blood-ſhedding there is no forgiveneſs of ſins;" therefore that is here condemned. He anſwered, Yea, ſaith he ſo? So ſay all ſuch heretics, and ſo forth, with many like arguments, which my neighbours that heard them can declare, therefore I leave them. This have I written that you ſhould not be afraid, but call upon God as he hath commanded us to aſk and we ſhall have; ſeek and you ſhall find, knock and it ſhall be opened unto you. Alſo he hath commanded us to call on him in the day of trouble, and he hath promiſed to hear us. Therefore if we have not both mouth and wiſdom at his hand, the fault is in us, that either we will not repent us of our wickedneſs, and amend our lives, or elſe we be unfaithful, and believe not the promiſes of God; and ſo we ourſelves are the cauſe that this wiſdom is lacking in us. Therefore let us repent and amend our lives, and God is merciful. And in any caſe, as I have always ſaid unto you, ſince I firſt knew you, ſo ſay I now: Beware of idolatry, and of your good intents; if not, mark what hath followed upon them that have left God's commandments, and done their own good intents. Remember when the children of Iſrael had made them a golden calf, did not God ſay they had marred all, and would have deſtroyed them, had not Moſes earneſtly prayed for them? I let many other places alone that prove the wrath of God to come upon the people for idolatry; therefore as we will avoid the wrath of God, let us keep us unſtained from it. You have example out of the Old Teſtament, how loth the godly fathers were to be partakers with the wicked; and yet to ſee how little we regarded it, it would make any chriſtian man's heart to weep. God ſend us more grace.

Firſt look in the 11th and 12th of Geneſis; Abraham, becauſe he would not be partaker of their idolatry, fled from the people of Chaldea, being his native country. And in the 19th of Geneſis, Lot at the commandment of the angels departed from Sodom, leſt he tarrying with the Sodomites ſhould have been conſumed with them. In the 21ſt of Geneſis, Sarah would not ſuffer Iſhmael, who was given to mocking, to keep company with her ſon Iſaac, leſt he ſhould alſo become a mocker. Look in the 16th of Numbers, Moſes at God's appointment commanded the people to depart from the dwelling-places of Korah, Dathan and Abiram, leſt they alſo ſhould be all wrapped in their ſins, and ſo periſh among them. So do I, even as Moſes commanded them that they ſhould not keep company with thoſe wicked people, leſt the vengeance of God ſhould light on them; ſo do I (I ſay) give you warning, that you ſhould not keep company with the

the idolaters, in their idolatrous temples, leſt the wrath of God come upon you to deſtroy you.

Look what St. Paul ſaith in the ſecond epiſtle, and the ſixth chapter to the Corinthians: "Set yourſelves (ſaith he) therefore at large, and bear no ſtrange yoke with the unbelievers: for what fellowſhip hath righteouſneſs with unrighteouſneſs? what company hath light with darkneſs? what concord hath Chriſt with Belial? either what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? how agreeth the temple of God with images? And ye are the temple of God; as ſaith God, I will dwell among them, and walk among them, and will be their God, and they ſhall be my people. Wherefore come out from among them, and ſeparate yourſelves, ſaith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing."

Good brethren, mark what cometh of keeping company with the wicked. Syrach ſaith, "He that toucheth pitch, ſhall be defiled therewith; and he that keepeth company with the proud, ſhall cloath himſelf with pride." Even ſo he that is familiar with idolaters, cannot be unſtained from idolatry, except he do it to win them to Chriſt, as there be but a few that do: Yea, it may not be where idolatry is openly committed, as for an example: Peter, ſo long as he continued with Chriſt and Chriſt's diſciples, he continued in the truth, preached the truth, confeſſed openly Chriſt to be the Son of the living God, and promiſed that he would not only go to priſon, but alſo to very death with him: but when he came once into the court into the biſhop's houſe, he ſtraitway was ſtricken with ſure fear, that a poor maiden, and ſimple ruffian (ſuch a one as my lord of London hath, that ſaid, By God's blood, if I meet with any of theſe vile heretics, I will thruſt an arrow in him), when Peter, I ſay, was amongſt them, he denied his maſter, and ſwore that he never knew him, whom he, before he came there, boldly confeſſed before all men: and again, after that he had repented him of his wicked deed, he boldly preached to the believing Jews, commanding them, among other his godly exhortations, to ſave themſelves from that untoward generation. How many of our prieſts before this ſtorm of perſecution, when the goſpel was truly preached, were bold, and could ſay, They would die rather then deny their maſter? but when they come once into the biſhops houſes, they preach no more Chriſt, but utterly deny him: therefore I pray God keep them from thence, or elſe ſend them more grace and ſtrength. It is needful to pray; therefore watch in prayer.

Paul, all the while he was among the biſhops, was a cruel perſecutor; but after he was called by God from the biſhops, he became a true preacher: therefore God keep all chriſtian men out of the hands of our biſhops. St. Paul in the fifteenth to the Romans, ſaith, I dare not ſpeak any of thoſe things that Chriſt hath not wrought by me. He ſaith alſo, Rom. 16. "I beſeech you brethren, mark them that make diviſion, and give occaſion of evil, contrary to the doctrine that ye have learned, and them avoid: for they that are ſuch ſerve not the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but their own bellies, and with ſweet and flattering words deceive the hearts of the ſimple." Our maſter Chriſt himſelf hath given us warning which they be; for he hath ſet the plain mark on them, in the 24th of Matthew, "If they ſay here is Chriſt, or there is Chriſt, believe them not. If they ſay, he is in the deſert, go not forth. If they ſay, he is in the ſecret place, believe them not." And I pray you, where can he be more ſecret, than in ſo ſmall a piece of bread? For my lord of London, like a lyar, ſaid to me, that after the words be ſpoken, there remaineth neither bread nor wine. Then I aſked him what he ſaid to David, where he ſaith, "Thou ſhalt not ſuffer thy holy One to ſee corruption." How ſay you to that? Will not the ſacrament of the altar putrify or corrupt? He anſwered, Yes. I aſked him, what it was that did corrupt, if there were neither bread nor wine. He anſwered, and ſaid the accidents. I ſaid unto him, It was a mad accident without ſubſtance: for you ſay, there is neither bread nor wine, and then there is nothing to corrupt: with many ſuch like arguments.

Therefore beware of them, for they go about to deceive you with ſuch arguments. Say not but ye be warned, and a great deal the more worthy of your damnation, if they deceive you, becauſe you have had ſo much warning. Repent you betimes of your ſinful lives, and amend, and then no doubt but God will either turn their hearts, or elſe take them away, or elſe he will give us that which he promiſed to his diſciples, if we be contented to take the ſame reward that they had. And if we diſdain the one, let us not look for the other. For he that will be his Father's heir, muſt be contented to receive his Father's correction. For St. Paul ſaith in the 12th to the Hebrews, "If we be not under correction, whereof all are partakers, then are we baſtards and not ſons."

And you know what belongeth to a baſtard; he ſhall not be his father's heir. And if we remember ourſelves well, how negligent we have been to our Father's commandment, we ſhall find ourſelves worthy to be corrected at his hand. If we refuſe his correction, he will refuſe us to be his ſons. I pray you look what he promiſed to his diſciples, and I pray you alſo look how willingly they received it: and ſo muſt we do if we will be partakers with them. Firſt let us ſee what Chriſt promiſed to his diſciples. Look in the tenth chapter of St. Matthew, and there ſhall you ſee theſe words, "Behold, I ſend you forth as ſheep among wolves. Be wiſe therefore as ſerpents and innocent as doves. Beware of men, for they ſhall deliver you up to the councils, and ſhall ſcourge you in their ſynagogues: ye ſhall be brought before the head-rulers and kings for my name's ſake. But when they put you up, take ye no thought how or what ye ſhall ſpeak: for it ſhall be given you in the ſame hour what you ſhall ſpeak. For it is not you that ſpeak, but the Spirit of my Father," &c. Read the whole chapter, for it is very comfortable to a chriſtian man; and mark it well, and you ſhall find what we ought to do in the time of perſecution. Alſo look into the fourth chapter of the ſecond epiſtle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, where it is ſaid, "For we which live are always delivered unto death for Jeſus's ſake, that the life alſo of Jeſus might appear in our mortal fleſh." Thus have you heard that St. Paul doth boaſt of perſecution; even ſo ſhould we, for it is the way to bring us to reſt.

Therefore let us ſtrive to enter in at the narrow gate, and let us remember the ſaying of St. Paul in the 21ſt chapter of the Acts of the Apoſtles, when he was going to Jeruſalem. When he was in the houſe of Philip the Evangeliſt, there came in a prophet, and took off his girdle, and bound his hands and his feet, ſaying, "Thus ſhall they do with the man that owneth this girdle when he cometh to Jeruſalem." When the diſciples heard that, they would have perſuaded him that he ſhould not go thither. Here you ſhall ſee what anſwer this paſtor made them; he was a faithful ſhepherd; "What do ye weeping and breaking of my heart? I am not ready to be bound only, but alſo to die at Jeruſalem, for the name of the Lord Jeſus."

Yet I think there be ſome that will ſay, that I needed not to have been taken, if I would have kept me out of the way. But I ſay unto them, that the ſhrinking away of ſo many of our ſhepherds as be gone, maketh ſo many of the flock to ſcatter; which will be required at their hands, of the maſter of the ſheep. What will he ſay to them at the day of account, when they ſhall come to receive their wages? He ſhall ſay to them, Depart from me ye wicked hirelings, for when ye ſaw the wolf come, ye ran away, and left my ſheep in the wilderneſs. If you had been good ſhepherds you would rather have loſt your lives than have loſt one ſheep committed to your charge, thro' your fault. And I pray you, what caſe be the ſheep in,

in, when the ſhepherd runneth away from them? I need not tell you, you know the danger that followeth ſo well.

Therefore let us pray to God to ſend us faithful ſhepherds, as alſo obedient ſheep, that will not hear a ſtranger's voice. I would all men would mark well the ſaying of St. Paul in the eighth chapter of his epiſtle to the Romans, where he thus ſaith, "Who ſhall ſeparate us from the love of God? Shall tribulation, or anguiſh, or perſecution, or nakedneſs, or peril, or ſword? As it is written, for thy ſake are we killed all the day long, and are counted as ſheep appointed to be ſlain: nevertheleſs we overcome ſtrongly through his help that loved us. Yea, I am ſure, that neither death nor life; neither angels nor rule; neither power; neither things preſent nor things to come, neither height nor depth, nor any other creature ſhall be able to ſeparate us from the love of God, &c." Alſo he hath in another place, "All that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus muſt ſuffer perſecution, 2 Tim. 3. Thus I prove it to be our heavenly Father's rod: therefore let us thankfully receive it like obedient children, and then our Father will love us,

Yet hear what St. Peter ſaith in his firſt epiſtle, and the fourth chapter, "Dearly beloved (ſaith he) be not troubled in this heat which is now come among you to try you, as though ſome ſtrange thing had happened unto you: but rejoice inaſmuch as ye are partakers of Chriſt's paſſions, that when his glory appeareth you may be merry and glad. If ye are railed on for the name of Chriſt, happy are ye, for the ſpirit of glory, and the ſpirit of God reſteth upon you. On their part he is evil ſpoken of, but on your part he is glorified." Here St. Peter ſaith, it is no ſtrange thing; and that I have partly proved before, becauſe we have nothing elſe promiſed us in this world.

Therefore let us call on God for grace. Be ye ſure that they can do nothing to us, till God permit it. As for example, look in the firſt book of Samuel, chap. 19. you ſhall ſee how Saul perſecuted David, purpoſing to kill him: but his labour was in vain.

Alſo in the 19th chapter of the firſt book of Kings, Jezabel threatened and ſware to ſlay Elias, but the Lord preſerved him. Alſo in the ſecond chapter of Job, you ſee that Satan could do nothing to Job till God ſuffered him, neither exerciſe his cruelty any further than God appointed him. The godly woman Suſannah, through the falſe accuſation of the wicked judges, was even at a point to die, yet God wonderfully delivered her. Theſe have I written to put you in remembrance, that man can do no more than is the will of God: therefore let us not reſiſt his will, but refer all to him: and let us be doing that thing that God hath commanded us in his holy word.

Dear brethren, for the blood of Chriſt refuſe not the croſs of Chriſt, but remember the ſaying of the godly man David in his 119 Pſalm, where he ſaith, "It is good for me that I have been in trouble; that I may learn thy ſtatutes." In the ſame place he ſaith, "Before I was in trouble I went wrong, but now I have kept thy word." Even ſo it is in trouble with us, for the word of God was never ſo ſweet and comfortable as it is now that we be in trouble. Alſo St. Paul ſaith in the fifth chapter to the Romans, "We rejoice in tribulation: for we know that tribulation bringeth patience, patience bringeth experience, experience bringeth hope, and hope maketh not aſhamed."

Alſo I pray you remember the ſaying of St. Paul in the firſt chapter of the ſecond epiſtle to Timothy, where he ſaith, "Be not aſhamed to teſtify the Lord: neither be aſhamed of me." Even ſo I ſay unto you, dear brethren, be not aſhamed of my impriſonment, neither ſorry, but rejoice with me, that it hath pleaſed God of his goodneſs to call me to ſuch a dignity as this ſhall be unto me, if I may have his grace to loſe my life (which I regard as moſt vile) for his name's ſake: for then I ſhall be ſure to find it again with advantage. Therefore I deſire you all that you will pray with me unto Almighty God, that he of his merciful goodneſs will ſend me his grace and ſtrength, that I may continue unto the end; as I will pray for you, that God will preſerve you from all the wicked ways of Antichriſt, and ſtrengthen and comfort you, if it be his good pleaſure, that you ſhall ſuffer any thing for his name ſake, as he hath faithfully promiſed to do.

And I certify you, that if all men knew the comfort that they ſhould receive at the hand of God being in priſon, I think there would come more to priſon than there do. For ſurely we find ſuch comfort at the hand of God ſince we have been in priſon, that we had rather die than be abroad to ſee the idolatry that is committed among them that be abroad; beſide the ſeeking one another's blood, with other wickedneſs too much; God ſend me more grace. But I truſt, among you there be none ſuch: and if there be, repent and amend, leſt it be verefied on you that was ſpoken by the prophet Jeremy, the ſecond chapter, where he ſaith, "My people hath committed two great evils: they have forſaken me the fountain of living waters, and digged them pits: pits (I ſay) that are broken, and can hold no water." Alſo in the ſeventh chapter, he ſaith, "Hear not the words of the prophets that preach their own dreams." Good brethren, beware of thoſe falſe prophets that I have given you warning of.

Dearly beloved, here I make an end for this time, deſiring the ſame health both of body and ſoul unto you all that I would have myſelf, and I end with the ſame that St. Peter ſaith in the fifth chapter of his firſt epiſtle: "Submit yourſelves therefore under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you when the time is come. Caſt all your care on him, for he careth for you. Be ſober and watch, for your adverſary the devil, like a roaring lion, walketh about ſeeking whom he may devour, whom reſiſt ſtedfaſt in faith:" remembering that ye do but fulfil the ſame afflictions, that are appointed to your brethren that are in the world. The God of all grace that called you unto his eternal glory by Chriſt Jeſus, ſhall, his own ſelf, after you have ſuffered a little affliction, make you perfect, ſhall ſettle, ſtrengthen and eſtabliſh you. To him be glory and dominion for ever, and while the world endureth. Amen.

Greet one another with an holy kiſs of love. Peace be with you all which are in Chriſt Jeſus. I pray you all ſay, Amen.

Theſe be in the ſame priſon where I am; the biſhop of St. David's, Dr. Taylor of Hadley, Mr. Philpot, and my ſingular good father Mr. Bradford, with five others, laymen of Suſſex.

I deſire ſome good brother to write this anew, for I wrote it (as I do many times) with fear. For if the keepers had found me, they would have taken it from me, and my pen and ink alſo.

Good brethren, I am kept alone, and yet I thank God he comforteth me paſt all the comfort of any man: for I thank him, I was never merrier in Chriſt.

By me, William Tyms, priſoner in the King's bench.

ABOUT this time certain commiſſioners aſſigned by the queen and council, came to Norfolk, (as they did to other countries) to enquire after matters of religion: unto which commiſſioners there was a ſupplication then exhibited by ſome well-diſpoſed men dwelling about thoſe parts. Which ſupplication, for the worthy matter contained in it, I thought proper here to inſert.

The Supplication exhibited by certain Inhabitants of the County of Norfolk, fruitful to be read and obſerved by all Men.

IN moſt humble and lowly wiſe, we beſeech your honours, right honourable commiſſioners, to tender and

and pity the humble ſuit of us poor men, and true, faithful, and obedient ſubjects, who as we have ever heretofore, ſo intend we, with God's grace, to continue in chriſtian obedience unto the end, and (according to the word of God) with all reverend fear of God, to do our bounden duty to all thoſe ſuperior powers, whom God hath appointed over us, doing as St. Paul ſaith, Rom. 13. "Let every ſoul be ſubject to the ſuperior powers. For there is no power but of God: but thoſe powers that are, are ordained of God. Wherefore whoſoever reſiſteth the powers, the ſame reſiſteth God, and they that reſiſt get themſelves judgment." Theſe leſſons (right honourable commiſſioners) we have learned of the holy word of God, in our mother tongue.

Firſt, That the authority of a king, queen, lord, and other their officers under them, is no tyrannical uſurpation, but a juſt, holy, lawful, and neceſſary eſtate for a man to be governed by, and that the ſame is of God, the fountain and author of righteouſneſs.

Secondly, That to obey the ſame in all things not againſt God, is to obey God, and to reſiſt them, is to reſiſt God. Therefore, as to obey God in his miniſters and magiſtrates bringeth life; ſo to reſiſt God in them, bringeth puniſhment and death. The ſame leſſon have we learned of St. Peter, 1 Pet. 2. ſaying, "Be ye ſubject to all human ordinances for the Lord's ſake, whether it be to the king, as ſupreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are ſent by him, for the puniſhment of evil doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well. For ſo is the will of God, that with well-doing ye may put to ſilence the ignorance of fooliſh men. As free, and not uſing your liberty for a cloak of maliciouſneſs, but as the ſervants of God."

Wherefore conſidering with ourſelves, both that the magiſtrates power is of God, and that for the Lord's ſake we be bound to chriſtian obedience unto them, having now preſently a commandment, as though it were from the queen's majeſty; with all humble obedience due to the regal power and authority ordained of God (which we acknowledge to ſtand wholly and perfectly in her grace) and with due reverence unto you her grace's commiſſioners, we humbly beſeech you with patience and pity to receive this our anſwer unto this commandment, given unto us.

Firſt, right honourable commiſſioners, we have conſidered ourſelves to be not only Engliſhmen, but alſo chriſtians, and therefore bound by the holy vow made to God in our baptiſm, to prefer God's honour in all things, and that all obedience (not only of us mortal men, but even of the very angels and heavenly ſpirits) is due unto God's word; inſomuch that no obedience can be true and perfect, either before God or man, that fully and wholly agreeth not with God's word.

Then have we weighed the commandment concerning the reſtitution of the late aboliſhed Latin ſervice, given unto us to diſſent and diſagree from God's word, and to command manifeſt impiety, and the overthrow of godlineſs and true religion, and to import a ſubverſion of the regal power of this our native country and realm of England, with the bringing in of the Romiſh biſhop's ſupremacy, with all errors, ſuperſtitions, and idolatry, waſting of our goods and bodies, deſtroying of our ſouls, bringing with it nothing but the ſevere wrath of God, which we already feel, and fear leaſt the ſame ſhall be more fiercely kindled upon us. Wherefore we humbly proteſt, that we cannot be perſuaded, that the ſame wicked commandment ſhould come from the queen's majeſty, but rather from ſome other, abuſing the queen's goodneſs and favour, and ſtudying to work ſome feat againſt the queen, her crown, and the realm, to pleaſe with it the Romiſh biſhop, at whoſe hands the ſame thinketh hereafter to be advanced.

As the Agagite Haman wrought maliciouſly againſt the noble king Ahaſuerus, and as the princes of Babel wrought againſt the good king Darius; ſo think we the queen's moſt gentle heart to be abuſed by ſome, who ſeeking themſelves and their own vain-glory, procure ſuch commandments as are againſt the glory of God. For we cannot have ſo evil an opinion in her majeſty, that ſhe ſhould ſubvert the moſt godly and holy religion (ſo according to God's word ſet forth by the moſt noble, virtuous, and innocent king, our late moſt dear king Edward, her grace's brother) except ſhe were wonderfully abuſed; who, as hating reformation, will rather the deſtruction of all others, than acknowledge their errors, and to be according to God's word, reformed. For truly, the religion lately ſet forth by king Edward, is ſuch in our conſciences, as every chriſtian man is bound to confeſs to be the truth of God, and every member of Chriſt's church here in England muſt needs embarce the ſame in heart, and confeſs it with mouth, and (if need require) loſe and forſake, not only houſe, land and poſſeſſions, riches, wife, children, and friends; but alſo (if God will ſo call them) gladly to ſuffer all manner of perſecution, and to loſe their lives in the defence of God's word and truth ſet out amongſt us. For our Saviour Chriſt requireth the ſame of us, ſaying, "Whoſoever ſhall be aſhamed of me and my word before this adulterous and ſinful generation, the Son of man will alſo be aſhamed of him, when he ſhall come in the glory of his Father with the holy angels." And again ſaith he, "Whoſoever will confeſs me before men, I will confeſs him before my Father which is in heaven. And whoſoever will deny me before men, I will alſo deny him before my Father that is in heaven. And whoſoever ſhall ſpeak a word againſt the Son of man, it ſhall be forgiven him, but whoſoever ſhall rail againſt the Holy Ghoſt, it ſhall not be forgiven him."

We humbly beſeech the queen's majeſty, and you her honourable commiſſioners, be not offended with us, and for confeſſing this truth of God, ſo ſtraitly given us in charge of Chriſt; neither bring upon us that great ſin that never ſhall be forgiven, and ſhall cauſe our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt in the great day of judgment, before his heavenly Father, and all his angels, to deny us, and to take from us the bleſſed price and ranſom of his bloodſhed, wherewith we are redeemed.

For in that day, neither the queen's highneſs, neither you, nor any man ſhall be able to excuſe us, nor to purchaſe a pardon of Chriſt for this horrible ſin and blaſphemy of caſting aſide and condemning his word. We cannot agree nor conſent to this ſo horrible a ſin; but we beſeech God for his mercy to give us, and all men, grace, moſt earneſtly to flee from it, and rather (if the will of God be ſo) to ſuffer all extremity and puniſhment in this world, than to incur ſuch damnation before God.

Manaſſes, who reſtored again the wickedneſs of idolatrous religion (before put down by Ezechias his father) brought the wrath of God upon the people: ſo that the ſcripture ſaith, 2 Kings 23. "Notwithſtanding the reformation made by Joſias, the Lord turned not from the fierceneſs of his great wrath wherewith he was angry againſt Judah, becauſe of the provocation with which Manaſſes provoked him. And the Lord ſaid, Even Judah will I take away from my preſence, as I caſt away Iſrael: and I will caſt away this city of Jeruſalem, and the houſe whereof I ſaid, My name ſhall be there." Jeroboam, who at Bethel and Dan erected up a new-found ſervice of God, and not only ſinned himſelf, but alſo made all Iſrael to ſin with him, ſo that not only he was damned for commanding, but the wrath of God came upon all Iſrael, for obeying that his ungodly commandment; yet was it not ſo heinous an offence to bring in an idolatry never yet heard of, as after reformation made by the godly kings and princes, by the holy and virtuous biſhops, by the prophets and ſervants of God, to reject and caſt off the word and true religion of God, and to receive again a damned impiety.

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This moſt heinous offence is now offered unto us, although the ſame be painted and coloured with the name of reformatian, reſtoring of religion, ancient faith, with the name of the catholic church, of unity, catholic truth, and with the cloak of feigned holineſs. Theſe are ſheep-ſkins, under which (as Chriſt ſaith) ravening wolves hide themſelves. But Chriſt willeth us to look upon their fruits, whereby we may know them; and truly that is no good fruit to caſt aſide God's word, and to baniſh the Engliſh ſervice out of the churches, and in the place of it to bring in a Latin tongue unknown to the people. Which as it edifieth no man, ſo it hath been occaſion of all blindneſs and error among the people. For afore the bleſſed reformation begun by the moſt noble prince of godly memory, the queen's good father; and by our late holy and innocent king, her good brother, finiſhed; it is not unknown what blindneſs and error we were all in, when not one man in all this realm unlearned in the Latin, could ſay in Engliſh the Lord's Prayer, or knew any one of his Belief, or rehearſe any one of the Ten Commandments. And that ignorance mother of miſchief, was the very root and well-ſpring of all idolatry, Sodomitical monkery, and whoriſh chaſtity of unmarried prieſts, of all whoredom, drunkenneſs, covetouſneſs, ſwearing, and blaſphemy, with all other wicked ſinful living. Theſe brought in the ſevere wrath and vengeance of God plaguing ſin, with famine and peſtilence; and at laſt the ſword conſumed and avenged all their impiety and wicked living. As it is greatly to be feared the ſame or more grievous plagues ſhall now again follow.

We cannot therefore conſent nor agree that the word of God and prayers in our Engliſh tongue, which we underſtand, ſhould be taken away from us, and for it a Latin ſervice, we know not what, (for none of us underſtand it) to be again brought in amongſt us, eſpecially ſeeing that Chriſt hath ſaid, "My ſheep hear my voice, and follow me, and I give to them everlaſting life." The ſervice in Engliſh teacheth us, that we are the Lord's people, and the ſheep of his paſture; and commandeth that we harden not our hearts, as when they provoked the Lord's wrath in the wilderneſs, leſt he ſwear unto us, as he did ſwear unto them, that they ſhould not enter into his reſt.

The ſervice in Latin is a confuſed noiſe; which if it be good (as they ſay it is) yet unto us that lack underſtanding, what goodneſs can it bring? St. Paul commandeth, that in the churches all things ſhall be done to edifying, which we are ſure is God's commandment. But in the Latin ſervice nothing is done to edifying, but contrarily all to deſtroy thoſe that are already edified, and to drive us from God's word and truth, and from believing of the ſame, and ſo to bring us to believe lyes and fables, that tempting and provoking God, we ſhould be brought into that judgment that bleſſed Paul ſpeaketh of, ſaying, "Antichriſt ſhall come according to the working of Satan, with all manner of power and ſigns, and lying wonders in all deceiveableneſs of unrighteouſneſs in thoſe that periſh: becauſe they have not received the love of the truth, that they might be ſaved. And therefore God will ſend them ſtrong deluſion, that they ſhould believe lyes and be damned, as many as have not believed the truth, but have approved unrighteouſneſs.

Thus, altogether drawn from God, we ſhall fall into his wrath through unbelief, till he ſwear unto us as he did unto the unfaithful Jews, that ſuch infidels ſhould not enter into his reſt.

In the adminiſtration of the Lord's ſupper, which we confeſs to be the holy communion, and partaking with Chriſt and his holy congregation, we have learned God's holy commandments, and at the rehearſal of every one of them to aſk God mercy for our moſt grievous tranſgreſſions againſt them, and to aſk grace of God, to keep them in time to come, that the ſame may not only outwardly ſound in our ears, but alſo inwardly by the Holy Ghoſt be written in our hearts.

We have learned alſo the holy prayer made for the queen's majeſty; wherein we learn that her power and authority is of God, therefore we pray to God for her, that ſhe and all magiſtrates under her, may rule according to God's word, and we her ſubjects obey according to the ſame.

Truly (moſt honourable commiſſioners) we cannot think theſe things evil, but think them moſt worthy to be retained in our churches, and we ſhould think ourſelves not to have true ſubjects hearts, if we ſhould go about to put away ſuch godly prayers, as puts us perpetually in memory of our bounden obedience and duty to God and our rulers. For, as we think, at this preſent the unquiet multitude had more need to have theſe things more often and earneſtly beaten and driven into them (eſpecially given in many places to ſtir and trouble) than to take from them that bleſſed doctrine, whereby only they may to their ſalvation be kept in quiet.

Furthermore, we cannot forſake that bleſſed partaking of the body and blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's inſtitution, miniſtered with ſuch godly prayers, exhortations and admonitions teaching us the knowledge of God, the exceeding love and charity of our loving Redeemer Chriſt, breaking his body upon the croſs for our ſins, and ſhedding his moſt precious blood for our redemption: which we in eating of that bleſſed bread, and drinking of the bleſſed cup, aſſuredly believe that we receive, and be perfectly joined with Chriſt and his holy catholic church into one body, and into one unity and brotherly love, whereby every member faithfully embraceth each other. We muſt needs confeſs this inſtitution of Chriſt to be moſt holy and godly, whereof we have the only comfort in conſcience againſt ſin and damnation with the aſſurance of ſalvation, and whereof hath enſued reformation of many heinous ſins, much lawing, ſtrife and contention is ended; drunkenneſs, whoredom, and other vices in ſome reformed goodneſs and virtue increaſed and nouriſhed.

In the Latin maſs we never had any ſuch edifying, but only we ſaw a great many ceremonies and ſtrange geſtures; as turning of the prieſt, croſſings, bleſſings, breathings, waſhing of hands, and ſpreading abroad of his arms, with like ceremonies that we underſtand not. And concerning the Latin tongue, wherein the prieſt prayeth, we know not whether he bleſſeth or curſeth us. We are not partakers of the ſacrament, as Chriſt's inſtitution appointeth we ſhould be.

In the miniſtering of the ſacrament the prieſts alter the inſtitution of Chriſt, committing theft and ſacrilege, robbing us of the cup of Chriſt's blood, contrary to Chriſt's commandment, ſaying, Drink ye all of this.

They rob us alſo of God's word, ſpeaking all things in Latin, which nothing edifieth us either in faith or manners. Chriſt commandeth not that his ſupper ſhould be adminiſtred in an unknown tongue: but foraſmuch as faith cometh by hearing, and hearing cometh of God's word, how can we believe Chriſt's word and promiſe made unto us in this holy ſacrament, ſaying, "This is my body broken for you, and this is my blood of the New Teſtament, which is ſhed for you, for the remiſſion of ſins;" if the ſame promiſes of Chriſt either be not at all recited, or elſe ſo recited in Latin, that the congregation underſtandeth not, nor heareth not what is ſpoken? St. Paul ſaith thus, reciting the ſaying of Iſaiah, "As truly as I live, ſaith the Lord, all knees ſhall bow unto me, all tongues ſhall give praiſe unto God." Alſo he ſaith, "All tongues muſt confeſs that Jeſus Chriſt is the Lord, unto the glory of God the Father." The Holy Ghoſt came upon the apoſtles in fiery tongues, ſo that they ſpake the tongues of all nations under heaven. St. Paul miniſtered to the Corinthians, and preached to them in their own mother-tongue, and rebuked the bringing in of ſtrange tongues into the congregations. We cannot

not think that to be well which ſo holy an apoſtle rebuked. And whatſoever virtue the Latin tongue hath to ſuch as underſtand it, to us Engliſhmen not underſtanding it, it is altogether without virtue and edifying, and therefore unmeet for our churches.

The prieſts complain that we laymen love them not, nor have them in honours, but it is their own fault: for how ſhould we love them that only ſeek to keep us in blindneſs and ignorance, to damn our ſouls, to deſtroy our bodies, to rob and ſpoil our goods and ſubſtance under a colour of pretenſed holineſs? We know (right honourable commiſſioners) what honour is due to ſuch wolves, and how by the authority of God's word ſuch are to be fled, as peſtilences to the Lord's lambs, whom they miſerably daily murder.

But we have rather choſe by this our meek ſupplication, humbly to deſire the queen's majeſty, and you her honourable commiſſioners, to render God's word again unto the churches, and to permit us freely to enjoy the ſame. For we certainly know, that the whole religion lately ſet out by the holy ſaint of God, our late moſt dear king Edward, is Chriſt's true religion written in the holy ſcripture of God, and by Chriſt and his apoſtles taught unto his church. Wherefore we cannot allow with ſafe conſciences this refuſal of it, and caſting of it out of our churches; foraſmuch as to refuſe, caſt off, and to reject it, is to caſt off Chriſt himſelf, and to refuſe our part in his bleſſed body broken for our ſins, and his blood ſhed for our redemption. Which thing whoſo doth, the ſame without repentance can look for no ſacrifice for his ſins, but muſt fearfully wait for the judgment, and for that vehement fire that ſhall deſtroy Chriſt's adverſaries. For if he that deſpiſeth the law of Moſes, is without mercy put to death under two or three witneſſes, how much more grievous torments ſhall he ſuffer that treadeth under foot the Son of God, and eſteemeth the blood of the Teſtament (whereby he was ſanctified), as a profane thing, and contumelioufly uſeth the Spirit of grace?

Wherefore we moſt humbly pray and beſeech the queen's gracious majeſty, to have mercy and pity upon us her poor and faithful ſubjects, and not to compel us to do the thing that is againſt our conſciences, and ſhall ſo incurably wound us in heart, by bringing into the church the Latin maſs and ſervice that nothing edifieth us, and caſting out of Chriſt's holy communion and Engliſh ſervice, ſo cauſing us to ſin againſt our redemption. For ſuch as wittingly and willingly againſt their conſciences ſhall ſo do (as it is to be feared many a one doth), they are in a miſerable eſtate, until the mercy of God turn them; which if he do not, we certainly believe that they ſhall eternally be damned: and as in this world they deny Chriſt's holy word and communion before men, ſo ſhall Chriſt deny them before his heavenly Father and his angels.

And whereas it is very earneſtly required, that we ſhould go in proceſſion (as they call it) at which time the prieſts ſay in Latin ſuch things as we are ignorant of, the ſame edifieth nothing at all unto godlineſs, and we have learned that to follow Chriſt's croſs is another matter, namely, to take up our croſs, and to follow Chriſt in patient ſuffering for his love, tribulations, ſickneſs, poverty, priſon, or any other adverſity, whenſoever God's holy will and pleaſure is to lay the ſame upon us. The triumphant paſſion and death of Chriſt, whereby in his own perſon he conquered death, ſin, hell, and damnation, hath moſt lively been preached unto us, and the glory of Chriſt's croſs declared by our preachers; whereby we have learned the cauſes and effects of the ſame more lively in one ſermon, than in all the proceſſions that ever we went in, or ever ſhall go in.

When we worſhipped the Divine Trinity kneeling, and in the Litany invocating the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, aſking mercy for our ſins, and deſiring ſuch petitions as the need of our frail eſtate and this mortal life required, we were edified, both to know unto whom all chriſtian prayers ſhould be directed, and alſo to know that of God's hand we receive all things, as well to the ſalvation of our ſouls, as to the relief of our mortal neceſſities. And we humbly beſeech the queen's majeſty, that the ſame moſt holy prayers may be continued amongſt us; that our miniſters praying in our mother-tongue, and we underſtanding their prayers and petitions, may anſwer, Amen, unto them. At evening-ſervice we underſtood our miniſters prayers, we were taught and admoniſhed by the ſcriptures then read; which in the Latin Even-ſong is all gone.

At the miniſtration of holy baptiſm, we learned what league and covenant God hath made with us, and what vows and promiſes we upon our part had made, namely, to believe in him, to forſake Satan and his works, and to walk in the way of God's holy word and commandments.

The chriſtian catechiſm continually taught and called to remembrance the ſame, whereas before no man knew any thing at all. And many good men of forty years, that had been godfathers to thirty children, knew no more of the godfather's office, but to waſh their hands ere they departed the church, or elſe to faſt five Fridays with bread and water.

O merciful God, have pity upon us. Shall we be altogether caſt from thy preſence? We may well lament our miſerable eſtate, to receive ſuch a commandment, to reject and caſt out of our churches all theſe moſt godly prayers, inſtructions, admonitions and doctrines, and thus to be compelled to deny God, and Chriſt our Saviour, his holy word, and all his doctrine of our ſalvation, the candle to our feet, and the light to our ſteps, the bread coming down from heaven that giveth life, which whoſo eateth, it ſhall be in him a well-ſpring ſtreaming unto eternal life; whereby we have learned all righteouſneſs, all true religion, all true obedience towards our governors, all charity one towards another, all good works that God would have us to walk in, what puniſhment abideth the wicked, and what heavenly reward God will give to thoſe that reverently walk in his ways and commandments.

Wherefore, right honourable commiſſioners, we cannot without impiety refuſe and caſt from us the holy word of God which we have received, or condemn any thing ſet forth by our moſt godly late king Edward and his virtuous proceedings, ſo agreeable to God's word. And our moſt humble ſuit is, that the commandment may be revoked, ſo that we be not conſtrained thereunto. For we proteſt before God, we think if the holy word of God had not taken ſome root amongſt us, we could not in times paſt have done that poor duty of ours, which we did in aſſiſting the queen, our moſt dear ſovereign, againſt her grace's mortal foe, that then ſought her deſtruction. It was our bounden duty, and we thank God for the knowledge of his word and grace, that we then did ſome part of our bounden ſervice.

And we meekly pray and beſeech the queen's majeſty for the dear paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt, that the ſame word may not be taken away out of our churches, nor from us her loving, faithful, and true ſubjects; leſt if the like neceſſity ſhould hereafter chance (which God for his mercy ſake forbid, and ever ſave and defend her grace, and us all) the want of knowledge and due remembrance of God's word may be occaſion of great ruin to an infinite number of her grace's true ſubjects. And truly we judge this to be one ſubtil part of the devil (enemy to all godly peace and quietneſs), that by taking God's word from among us, and planting ignorance, he may make a way to all miſchief and wickedneſs; and by baniſhing the holy goſpel of peace he may bring upon us the heavy wrath of God, with all manner of plagues; as death, ſtrange ſickneſs, peſtilence, murrain, moſt terrible uproars, commotions and ſeditions. Theſe things did the Lord threaten unto the Jews for refuſing his word, ſaying,

ing, "Go, and thou ſhalt ſay unto this people: Ye ſhall hear indeed, but ye ſhall not underſtand, ye ſhall plainly ſee, and not perceive. Harden the heart of this people, ſtop their ears, and ſhut their eyes, that they ſee not with their eyes, hear not with their ears, underſtand not with their hearts, and convert and be healed. And I ſaid, How long Lord? And he anſwered, Until the cities be deſtroyed, utterly waſted without inhabitants, and the houſes without men, till the land alſo be deſolate, and lie unbuilded." And the prophet Micah in the ſeventh chapter, conſidering the contempt of God's word among the Iſraelites, threatened them thus, "When the day that thy preachers warned thee of, cometh, thou ſhalt be waſted away. And let no man believe his friend, or put confidence in his brother. Keep the door of thy mouth from her that lieth in thy boſom: for the ſon ſhall put his father to diſhonour, and the daughter ſhall riſe againſt her mother, the daughter-in-law againſt the mother-in-law; and a man's foes ſhall be even they of his own houſhold." The ſame plague Chriſt threatened unto the Jews, for refuſing his peace proffered them in the goſpel, and he wept on the city of Jeruſalem which murdered the prophets, and ſtoned ſuch as were ſent unto her.

The ſame plagues, we are afraid, will alſo fall upon us. For whereas heretofore with the receiving of Chriſt's word and peaceable goſpel, we had great benedictions of God, eſpecially this chriſtian concord and holy peace, ſo that all were at a full and perfect ſtay in religion, and no man offended with another, but as the ſons of peace, each of us with chriſtian charity embraced other. Now, alas, for pity, the devil, riding upon the red horſe, ſhewed unto St. John in the revelation, is come forth, and power is given unto him to take peace from the earth. For now a man can go to no place, but malicious buſy-bodies curiouſly ſearch out his deeds, mark his words, and if he agree not with them in deſpiſing God's word, then will they ſpitefully and hatefully rail againſt him and it, calling it error and hereſy, and the profeſſors thereof heretics and ſchiſmatics, with other odious and ſpiteful names, as traitors, and not the queen's friends, nor favourers of the queen's proceedings; as if to love God's word were hereſy, and as though to talk of Chriſt were to be ſchiſmatic; as though none could be true to the queen that were not falſe to God; as though none were the queen's friends, but ſuch as deſpitefully rail on her grace's father and brother, and on God's word that they ſet forth; as though none favoured the queen's majeſty, but ſuch as hate all godly knowledge.

And in very deed theſe things that all this turmoil is made for, as mere inventions of popes, brought into the church of their own imaginations without commandment or enſample either of Chriſt or his apoſtles; and there is not one word in the Bible, that being truly alledged, maintained them, nor any doctor of antiquity before St. Auguſtine's days, as it hath been divers times ſufficiently proved before all the whole parliament and convocation of this realm. Yet theſe being mere traditions of biſhops, are ſet out for God's commandments, and the queen's authority (given to her of God to maintain his word) muſt be abuſed to put down God's word. And you, right honourable juſtices, and keepers of laws and righteouſneſs, are alſo abuſed and made the biſhops apparators, to ſet forth ſuch Romiſh traſh as is to Chriſt's diſhonour, and againſt the ſupreme authority of the regal ſtate of this realm. And we poor ſubjects, for ſpeaking of that which is truth, and our bounden allegiance, are daily puniſhed, railed upon, and noted for ſeditious, and not the queen's friends.

But God (who is bleſſed forever) knoweth that they ſlander us, and pull the thorn out of their own foot, and put it in ours: for the ſearcher of hearts knoweth, that we bear a faithful and true heart unto her grace, and unto all her proceedings, that are not againſt God and his holy word. And we daily pray unto the heavenly Father, to enlighten her grace's royal heart with the glorious light of the goſpel, that ſhe may eſtabliſh and confirm that religion, that her grace's brother, our moſt dear king, did ſet out among us; and ſo governing and ruling this her realm in the fear and true way of God, ſhe may long live, and with proſperity, peace, and honour, reign over us.

But we cannot think that thoſe men do ſeek either God's honour, or her graces proſperity, or wealth of the realm, that take from her grace's faithful ſubjects God's word, which only is the root of all love and faithful obedience under her grace, and of all honeſty, good life, and virtuous concord among her commons. And this we fear, leſt the root being taken away, the branches will ſoon whither and be fruitleſs. And when the Philiſtines have ſtopped up the well-ſpring, the fair ſtreams that ſhould flow, ſhall ſoon be dried up. All our watchmen, our true preachers, have taught us, that as long as we retained God's word, we ſhall have God our gracious merciful Father: but if we refuſed and caſt off the Lord's yoke of his doctrine, then ſhall we look for the Lord's wrath and ſevere viſitation to plague us as he did the Jews for the like offences. And Paul ſaith, Rom. 2. "God gave to them the ſpirit of unquietneſs and uproar, eyes wherewith they ſhould not ſee, and ears wherewith they ſhould not hear, unto this day." And as David ſaid, Pſalm 69. "Let their table be made a ſnare to take themſelves withal, a trap to catch them, and a ſtumbling-block to fall at. Let their eyes be blinded that they ſee not, and bow thou down their backs always."

O merciful God, all this is now come upon us, and daily more and more increaſed, and we fear at laſt it will ſo bow down our backs, that we ſhall utterly be deſtroyed; the troubleſome ſpirit of uproars and unquietneſs daily troubleth men's hearts, and worketh ſuch unquietneſs in all places, that no man that loveth quietneſs can tell where to place himſelf. Men have eyes and ſee not how grievous an offence it is to caſt off the yoke of God's doctrine, and to bear the heavy burden that unfaithful hypocrites lay upon us. We have ears and hear not the warning of God's word, calling us to true repentance, nor his threats againſt our impiety. Our moſt ſweet table of Chriſt's word and moſt holy communion is taken away, and turned to a moſt perilous ſnare, thro' the brawling diſputations of men. And as the idol of abomination betokened final ſubverſion unto the Jewiſh nation; ſo we fear, this ſetting aſide of the goſpel and holy communion of Chriſt, and the placing in of a Romiſh religion, betokeneth deſolation of the noble realm of England to be at hand.

For the plagues of hunger, peſtilence and ſword, cannot long tarry; but except we repent, and turn again to the Lord, our backs ſhall be ſo bowed, that the like horrible plagues were never ſeen. And no marvel, for the like offence was never committed, as to reject and caſt off Chriſt and his word, and in plain Engliſh to ſay, We will not have him to reign over us. O Lord how terrible is that which followeth in the goſpel? "Thoſe mine enemies that would not have me to reign over them, bring them hither and ſlay them before me," Luke 19. God be merciful to us, and move the heart of the queen's majeſty, and the hearts of her honourable council, and your hearts (right worſhipful commiſſioners) to weigh theſe dangers in due time; and to call God's word into your council, and then you ſhall ſee how it agreeth with this unreaſonable commandment; and to be as wary to avoid the contempt of the eternal God, and dangers of the ſame, as you are prudent and wiſe in matters of this world, leſt if the Almighty be contemned, he ſtretch forth his arm which no man can turn, and kindling his wrath, which no man can quench.

We have humbly opened to you our conſciences, doubtleſs ſore wounded and grieved by this commandment: and we meekly pray and beſeech the queen's majeſty,

jeſty, for the precious death and blood-ſhedding of Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour, to have mercy and pity upon us her grace's poor commons, faithful and true ſubjects, members of the ſame body politic, whereof her grace is ſupreme head. All our bodies, lands, goods, and lives, are ready to do her grace faithful obedience, and true ſervice of all commandments that are not againſt God and his word: but in things that import a denial of Chriſt, and refuſal of his word and holy communion, we cannot conſent nor agree unto it. For we have bound ourſelves in baptiſm to be Chriſt's diſciples, and to keep his holy word and ordinances. And if we deny him before men, he will deny us before his heavenly Father and his holy angels in the day of judgment: which we truſt her benign grace will not require of us.

And we humbly beſeech her majeſty, that we be not enforced unto it; but as we ſerve her grace with body and goods, and due obedience, according to God's commandments; ſo we may be permitted freely to ſerve God and Chriſt our Saviour, and keep unto him our ſouls, which he hath with his precious blood redeemed, that ſo (as Chriſt teacheth) we may render to Cæſar that which is due to Cæſar, and to God that which is due to God.

For we think it no true obedience unto the queen's majeſty, or to any other magiſtrate ordained of God under her, to obey in the things contrary to God's word, although the ſame be never ſo ſtraightly charged in her grace's name. The biſhop of Wincheſter hath truly taught in this point, in his book of True Obedience, that true obedience is in the Lord, and not againſt the Lord: as the apoſtle anſwered before the council at Jeruſalem, commanding them no more to preach in the name of the Lord Jeſus: "Judge you (ſaid they) whether it be right in the ſight of God, to hear you rather than God." And again they ſaid, "We muſt obey God rather than man." Wherefore we learn, that true obedience is to obey God, King of all Kings, and Lord of all Lords, and for him, in him, and not againſt him and his word, to obey the princes and magiſtrates of this world, who are not truly obeyed when God is diſobeyed, nor yet diſobeyed when God is faithfully obeyed.

Tobias diſobeyed not his king, although contrary to his commandment, and contrary to the uſage of all others, when they went to Dan and Bethel he went unto Jeruſalem, and worſhipped in the temple of the Lord. The three young men in Babylon, refuſing Nebuchadnezzar's commandment, pleaſed God more than the whole multitude that obeyed. And Daniel that prayed to the God of heaven, contrary to king Darius's commandment, bare a more true and faithful heart to the king, than thoſe wicked counſellors that procured that wicked law, or thoſe that for fear or flattery obeyed it. Which two peſtilences (fear and flattery) have ever deſtroyed true obedience to God and man; when wicked men (that care not if the devil were worſhipped, ſo they might get and obtain riches, promotions, dignity and worldly glory), turn to and fro as every wind bloweth; and weak and frail men fearing loſs of goods, puniſhment, or death, do outwardly in body that thing, that their hearts and conſciences inwardly abhorreth, and ſo outwardly diſobey God, and in heart diſſemble with man, which diſſimulation we think worthy the hate of all men and moſt uncomely for chriſtian men.

Wherefore we humbly beſeech the queen's majeſty, with pity and mercy to tender the lamentable ſuit of us her poor ſubjects, which be by this commandment ſore hurt, and wounded in our conſciences, and driven to many miſeries, and by the malicious attempts of wicked men ſuffer great wrongs and injuries, ſlanders, loſs of goods, and bodily vexations. We think not good, by any unlawful ſtir or commotion to ſeek remedy; but intend, by God's grace, to obey her majeſty in all things not againſt God, and his holy word. But unto ſuch ungodly commandments as are againſt God, we anſwer with the apoſtle, "God muſt be obeyed rather than man." If perſecution ſhall enſue, which ſome threaten us with, we deſire the heavenly Father, according to his promiſe, to look from heaven, to hear our cry, to judge between us and our adverſaries, and to give us faith, ſtrength and patience to continue faithful unto the end, and to ſhorten theſe evil days for his choſen's ſake: and ſo we faithfully believe he will.

Notwithſtanding, we truſt the queen's gracious and merciful heart will not ſuffer ſuch tyranny to be done againſt her poor, innocent, faithful and obedient ſubjects, that daily pray unto God for her; which have no remedy in this world but to ſue unto her highneſs, our moſt gracious and benign ſovereign: whom we pray and beſeech, for the dear blood of Chriſt, to pity our lamentable caſe and hurt of conſcience, and to call back all ſuch commandments as are againſt God's honour, as the good king Darius, Ahaſuerus, Trajan, Theodoſius, and divers others have done, and permit the holy word of God and true religion (ſet forth by our moſt holy and innocent king Edward), to be reſtored again unto our churches, to be ſo frequented amongſt us. So ſhall we grow and increaſe in the knowledge of God and of Chriſt, in true repentance and amendment of life: ſo ſhall we exhibit true obedience to our lawful magiſtrates, and all ſuperiors ordained of God: ſo ſhall love and charity (of late through this commandment ſo decayed), be again reſtored, the honour of her regal eſtate the more confirmed and eſtabliſhed, and godlineſs and virtuous life among her loving ſubjects increaſed and maintained.

And we moſt heartily pray you (right honourable commiſſioners), to be means unto the queen's highneſs, and to her honourable council, that this our humble ſuit may be favourably tendered, and graciouſly heard and granted. And we ſhall not ceaſe day and night to pray unto the heavenly Father long to preſerve her grace and all other magiſtrates in his fear and love, and in proſperous peace and wealth, with long life and honour, Amen.

Your poor ſuppliants, the lovers of Chriſt's true religion in Norfolk and Suffolk.

The Hiſtory of John Harpole of Rocheſter, and Joan Beach, Widow, of Tunbridge, Martyrs.

TOuching the examination of Joan Beach, widow, and of John Harpole, within the dioceſe of Rocheſter, by Maurice, biſhop of the ſaid dioceſe, mention was made before in the ſtory of Nicholas Hall, [p. 306.] wherein was declared the four articles conſiſtorial of the biſhop, objected and laid, as unto the ſaid Nicholas Hall and his company, ſo alſo to this Joan Beach, widow: whereof the firſt was this;

1. That ſhe was of the pariſh of Tunbridge, in the dioceſe of Rocheſter.

2. Item, That all perſons which preach, teach, believe or ſay otherwiſe or contrary to that their mother holy catholic church of Chriſt, are excommunicate perſons and heretics.

3. Item, That the ſaid Joan Beach hath, and yet doth affirm, maintain, and believe contrary to the ſaid mother church of Chriſt, namely, that in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, under form of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour in ſubſtance, but only a token and memorial thereof; that the very body and blood of Chriſt is in heaven, and not in the ſacrament.

4. Item, That ſhe hath been, and yet is, amongſt the pariſhioners of Tunbridge, openly noted, and vehemently ſuſpected to be a ſacramentary, and heretic.

To which aforeſaid articles her anſwers were theſe:

1. That

1. That ſhe was and is of the ſaid pariſh of Tunbridge in the dioceſe of Rocheſter.

2. That all perſons which do preach and hold otherwiſe and contrary to that which the holy catholic church of Chriſt doth, are to be reputed for excommunicate and heretics; adding withal, that nevertheleſs ſhe believeth not the holy catholic church to be her mother, but believeth only the Father of heaven to be her Father.

3. Thirdly, that ſhe hath, and yet doth verily believe, hold and affirm, in the ſacrament of the altar under forms of bread and wine, not to be the very body and blood of our Saviour in ſubſtance, but only a token and remembrance of his death to the faithful receiver, and this his body and ſubſtance is only in heaven, and not in the ſacrament.

Laſtly, as touching how ſhe hath been or is noted and reputed among the pariſhioners of Tunbridge, ſhe could not tell; however ſhe believed ſhe was not ſo taken and reputed.

The like matter, and the ſame four articles were alſo the ſame preſent time and place miniſtered to John Harpole, by the aforeſaid biſhop Maurice; who after the like anſwers received of him, as of the other before, adjudged and condemned them both together to death, by one form of ſentence, according to the tenor and courſe of their ſeveral ſentence, which may be read before in the ſtory of Mr. Rogers.

John Hullier, Miniſter and Martyr.

JOHN Hullier, miniſter, was firſt brought up in Eton ſchool, from whence he went to King's-college, in Cambridge. He ſuffered under Dr. Thirlby, biſhop of Ely, and his chancellor, for the ſincere preaching of the goſpel. In whoſe behalf it is much to be lamented, that among ſo many freſh wits and ſtirring pens in that univerſity, ſo little matter is left unto us concerning the proceſs of his judgment, and order of his ſuffering, who ſo innocently gave his life in ſuch a cauſe among the midſt of them. By certain letters which he himſelf left behind, it appeared that he was zealous and earneſt in that doctrine of truth, which every true chriſtian man ought to embrace. His martyrdom was about the ſecond day of April.

A Letter of John Hullier to the Chriſtian Congregation, exhorting them faithfully to abide in the Doctrine of the Lord.

IT ſtandeth now moſt in hand (O dear chriſtians) all them that look to be accounted of Chriſt's flock at the great and terrible day, when a ſeparation ſhall be made of the ſort that ſhall be received, from the other which ſhall be refuſed faithfully, in this time of great afflictions to hear our maſter Chriſt's voice, the only true ſhepherd of our ſouls, who ſaith, "Whoſoever ſhall endure to the end ſhall be ſafe." For even now is that great trouble in hand (as here in England we may well ſee), that our Saviour Chriſt ſpake of long before, which ſhould follow the true and ſincere preaching of his goſpel. Therefore in this time we muſt needs either ſhew that we be his faithful ſoldiers, and continue in his battle unto the end, putting on the armour of God, the buckler of faith, the breaſt-plate of love, the helmet of hope and ſalvation, and the ſword of his holy word (which we have heard plentifully) with all inſtance of ſupplication and prayer; or elſe if we do not work and labour with theſe, we are apoſtates and falſe ſoldiers, ſhrinking moſt unthankfully from our gracious and ſovereign lord and captain Chriſt, and leaning to Belial. For as he ſaith plainly, Luke 14. "Whoſoever beareth not my croſs, and followeth me, he cannot be my diſciple." And Matt. 6. "No man can ſerve two maſters: for either he muſt hate the one, or love the other, or elſe he ſhall lean to the one, and deſpiſe the other." Which thing the faithful prophet Elias ſignified when he came to the people, and ſaid, "Why halt ye between two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him, or if Baal be he, then follow him." 1 Kings 18.

Now let us not think, but that the ſame was recorded in writing for our inſtruction, whom the ends of the world are come upon, as the apoſtle St. Paul ſaith, Rom. 15. "Whatſoever things are written aforehand, they are written for our learning." If Chriſt be that only good and true ſhepherd that gave his life for us, then let us that bear his mark, and have our conſciences ſprinkled with his blood, follow altogether, for our ſalvation, his heavenly voice and calling, according to our profeſſion and firſt promiſe. But if we ſhall not ſo do, certainly (ſay what we can) although we bear the name of Chriſt, yet we be none of his ſheep indeed. For he ſaith very manifeſtly, John 10. "My ſheep hear my voice, and follow me: a ſtranger they will not follow, but will flee from him, for they know not the voice of a ſtranger.

Therefore let every man take heed in theſe perilous days (whereof we have had ſo much warning aforehand) that he be not beguiled by the goodly outward ſhew and appearance, as Eve was of our old ſubtle enemy, whoſe craft and wileneſs is ſo manifold and divers, and ſo full of cloſe windings, that if he cannot bring him directly and the plain ſtraitway to conſent to his ſuggeſtions, then he will allure him in by ſome other falſe ways (as it were by a train) that he ſhall not preceive it, to deceive withal, and to ſteal from him that goodly victory of the incorruptible and eternal crown of glory, which no man elſe can have, but he that fighteth lawfully; as at this preſent day, if he cannot induce him thoroughly, as others do, to favour his deviliſh religion, and of good will and free heart to help to uphold the ſame, yet he will inveigle him to reſort to his wicked and whoriſh ſchool-houſe, and at the leaſt-wiſe to be conſervant and keep company with his congregation there, and to hold his peace and ſay nothing, whatſoever he think, ſo that he be not a diligent ſoldier and a good labourer on Chriſt's ſide, to further his kingdom; by that ſubtle means flattering him that he ſhall both ſave his life, and alſo his goods, and live in quiet. But if we look well on Chriſt's holy will and teſtament, we ſhall perceive that he came not to make any ſuch peace upon earth, nor yet that he gave any ſuch peace to his diſciples; "I leave peace with you (ſaith he) my peace I give you, not as the world giveth it, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, nor fearful. Theſe things have I ſpoken unto you, that in me ye ſhould have peace. In the world ye ſhall have affliction, but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world. The ſervant is not greater than his lord and maſter; if they have perſecuted me, they ſhall alſo perſecute you. If any man come to me, and hateth not his own father and mother, wife, children, ſiſters, yea, and moreover his own life, it is not poſſible for him to be my diſciple. Bleſſed be ye that now weep, for ye ſhall laugh: and wo be unto you that now laugh, for ye ſhall mourn and weep. He that will find his life, ſhall loſe it."

Therefore the God of that true peace and comfort, preſerve and keep us, that we never obey ſuch a falſe flattering, which at length will pay us home once for all, bringing for temporal peace and quietneſs, everlaſting trouble, vexation, and diſquietneſs; for theſe vain and tranſitory goods, extreme loſs and utter damage of the eternal treaſure and inheritance; for this mortal life, deprivation of the moſt joyful life immortal; finally, the entrance into endleſs death moſt miſerable, unmeaſurable pain and torment both of body and ſoul.

Now concerning theſe two ſchoolmaſters together, let us conſider the thing well, and determine with ourſelves which way we ought to take, and not to take the

common broad way which ſeemeth here moſt pleaſant, and that the moſt part of the people take. Surely I judge it to be better to go to ſchool with our maſter Chriſt, and to be under his ferula and rod (although it ſeemeth ſharp and grievous for a time) that at the length we may be inheritors with him of everlaſting joy, rather than to keep company with the devil's ſcholars, the adulterous generation, in his ſchool that is all full of pleaſure for a while, and at the end to be paid with the wages of continual burning in the moſt horrible lake which burneth evermore with fire and brimſtone without any end. What ſhall then theſe vain goods and temporal pleaſures avail? Who ſhall then help when we cry inceſſantly, Wo, wo, alas, and weal away, for unmeaſurable pain, grief, and ſorrow? O let us therefore take heed betime, and rather be content to take pains in this world for a time, that we may pleaſe God. Our Saviour Chriſt the true teacher ſaith, "Every branch that bringeth forth not fruit in me, my Father will take away," John 16.

It is alſo not written in vain, Ecclus. 41. "The children of the ungodly are abominable children, and ſo are they that keep company with the ungodly." What doth he elſe, I pray you, that reſorteth to the adminiſtration and ſervice that is moſt repugnant and contrary to Chriſt's Holy Teſtament, there keeping ſtill ſilence, and nothing reproving the ſame, but in the face of the world, by his very deed itſelf, declare himſelf to be of a falſe, fearful, diſſembling, feigned, and unfaithful heart, and to have laid away from him the armour of light, diſcouraging as much as lieth in him all the reſidue of Chriſt's hoſt, and giving a manifeſt offence to the weak, and alſo confirming, encouraging and rejoicing, the hearts the adverſaries in all their evil doing. By which example he doth ſhew himſelf neither to love God, whom he ſeeth to be diſhonoured and blaſphemed of an Antichriſtian miniſter, nor yet his neighbour before whom he ſhould rebuke the evil, as it is expreſly commanded in God's holy law, where it is ſaid, "Thou ſhalt in any wiſe rebuke thy neighbour, that thou bear not ſin for his ſake," Lev. 18. Wherefore let ſuch a one never fancy to deceive himſelf, that his name is regiſter'd in the book of life, to have the ſtipend of Chriſt's ſoldier, except he do the duty, and perform the part of a faithful and right true ſoldier, as others have done before. For ſuch fearfulneſs cometh not from God, as teſtifieth St. Paul, 2 Tim. 1. ſaying, "God hath not given us the ſpirit of fear, but of power and love. Be not aſhamed, ſaith he, to teſtify our Lord, but ſuffer adverſity alſo with the goſpel, through the power of God, which ſaved us, and called us with an holy calling."

To be now fearful, when moſt need is that we ſhould be of ſtrong hearts, is utterly the rejecting of the fear of God, and plain unfaithfulneſs and diſobedience to the expreſs command of our Saviour Chriſt, who ſaith in his holy goſpel, Matt. 10. "Fear not them that kill the body," &c. For what faithfulneſs do we expreſs towards him, when he ſaith thus to us, and yet we declare in our doings the very contrary, being ever fearful, even as the unbelieving Iſraelites, who unfaithfully feared God's enemies the Canaanites, whereas he had oftentimes given them commandment by his true prophet Moſes, to the contrary? For which cauſe all the whole number of that ſect were deſtroyed in proceſs of time in the wilderneſs, and enjoyed not the pleaſant land of promiſe. Which was a bodily figure ſhewed before, and now agreeing to the promiſe of the heavenly inheritance, which ſhall be given to none other, but only to ſuch as with love unfeigned be wholly bent without any fear of man, to fulfil God's holy will and pleaſure. But all they that pertain to the lively faith, to the winning of the ſoul, will faithfully ſtick to the commandment, truſting moſt firmly and faithfully that he that gave the ſame, will alſo give ſtrength plentifully to perform it, even in the weakeſt veſſels of all, even as we have heard and ſeen by divers examples; he only therefore be praiſed.

St. Peter ſaith, 1 Pet. 3. "Fear not, though they ſeem terrible unto you, neither be troubled, but ſanctify the Lord God in your hearts. Only (ſaith St. Paul, Phil. 1.) let your converſation be as becometh the goſpel of Chriſt. Continue in one ſpirit, and in one ſoul, labouring as we do, to maintain the faith of the goſpel, and in nothing fearing your adverſaries, which is to them a token of damnation, and to you of ſalvation, and that of God: for unto you it is given that not only ye ſhould believe in Chriſt, but alſo ſuffer for his ſake." Wherefore let us be right well aſſured, that we ſhall yield a moſt ſtrict account, if we tranſgreſs the ſaid moſt wholeſome precepts given us of our maſter Chriſt, and of his apoſtles, and now in this troubleſome time wherein the goſpel is perſecuted, ſhew ourſelves fearful ſoldiers; as it is manifeſtly declared in the Revelation of St. John, chap. 21. where it is written, "That the fearful ſhall have their part with the unbelieving and abominable, in the lake that burneth with fire and brimſtone, which is the ſecond death." Again, it is written in the ſame book for our warning, chap. 3. "Becauſe thou art betwixt both, and neither cold nor hot, I will ſpew thee out of my mouth."

Now therefore, good chriſtians, theſe true teſtimonies of God's lively word deeply conſidered and weighed, let us chiefly ſtand in awe of his moſt terrible judgments, and be not as they that preſumptuouſly tempt him. Let him always be our fear and dread. He now chaſteneth, he now nurtureth us for our profit, delighteth in us even as a loving father in his beloved child, to make us perfect, and to have us to be partakers of his holineſs. He now judgeth us (not utterly taking away his everlaſting love and mercy from us, as he doth from the malignant and wicked) that we ſhould not be condemned with the wicked world: but if we now refuſe his moſt loving chaſtiſing, and follow the world, we muſt needs have our portion with the world. Wide is the gate, and broad is the way that leadeth to deſtruction, and many there be which go in thereat: but ſtrait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it. O how much better is it to go this narrow way with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleaſures of ſin for a time?

In conſideration whereof, let us without any more ſlacking and further delays in this great warning by God's loving viſitation, ſubmit ourſelves betime under his mighty hand, that he may exalt us when the time is come. And thus I wholly commit you to him, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build farther, beſeeching you moſt heartily to pray for me, that I may be ſtrong through the power of his might, and ſtand perfect in all things, being always prepared and ready, looking for the mercy of our Lord unto eternal reſt; and I will pray for you as I am moſt bound. So I truſt he will graciouſly hear us for his promiſe ſake made unto all the faithful in his dearly beloved Son Chriſt our alone Saviour, whoſe grace be with your ſpirit, moſt dear chriſtians, for ever. So be it.

By your chriſtian brother John Hullier,
a priſoner of the Lord.

John Hullier's Letter to the Congregation of Chriſt's faithful Followers.

John Hullier being of a long time priſoner, and now openly judged to die for the teſtimony of the Lord Jeſus, wiſheth heartily to the whole congregation of God, the ſtrength of his Holy Spirit, to their everlaſting health both of body and ſoul.

I Now, moſt dear chriſtians, having the ſweet comfort of God's ſaving health, and being comfirmed with his free Spirit (he only therefore be praiſed) am conſtrained in my

my conſcience, thinking it my very duty to admoniſh you, as ye tender the ſalvation of your ſouls, by all manner of means to ſeparate yourſelves from the company of the pope's hirelings, conſidering what is ſaid in the Revelation of St. John, by the angel of God touching all men: the words be theſe; Rev. 14. "If any man worſhip the beaſt and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the ſame ſhall drink the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured into the cup of his wrath, and he ſhall be puniſhed with fire and brimſtone before the holy angels, and before the Lamb, and the ſmoke of their torment aſcendeth up evermore."

Mark well here, good chriſtians, who is this beaſt and worſhippers that ſhall be partakers of that unſpeakable torment. The beaſt is none other but the carnal and fleſhly kingdom of antichriſt, the pope with his rabble of falſe prophets and miniſters, as it is moſt manifeſt: which to maintain their high titles, worldly promotions and dignities, do with much cruelty, daily more and more ſet forth and eſtabliſh their own traditions, decrees, decretals, contrary to God's holy ordinances, ſtatutes, laws, and commandments, and wholly repugnant to his ſincere and pure religion and true worſhipping.

Now what do they elſe but worſhip this beaſt and his image, who after they had once already eſcaped from the filthineſs of the world, through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, are yet again intangled therein and overcome, uſing diſſimulation unfaithfully for fear of their diſpleaſure, doing one thing outwardly, and thinking inwardly another; ſo having them in reverence under a cloak or colour, to whom they ought not ſo much as to ſay, God ſpeed; and adjoining themſelves to the malignant congregation, which they ought to abhor as a den of thieves and murderers, and as the brothel-houſe of moſt blaſphemous fornicators: whoſe voices being contrary to Chriſt's voice, if they were of his flock, they would not know, but would flee from them; as he himſelf being the good ſhepherd of our ſouls doth full well in his holy goſpel teſtify. Again, what do they elſe I pray you, but receive the beaſt's mark in their foreheads and in their hands, which do bear a fair face and countenance outwardly in ſupporting them as others do, being aſhamed openly to confeſs Chriſt and his holy goſpel? but this feignedneſs and diſſimulation Chriſt and his goſpel will in no wiſe allow. Of whom it is ſaid, Luke 9. "Whoſoever ſhall be aſhamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and ſinful generation, of him alſo ſhall the Son of man be aſhamed, when he ſhall come in the glory of his Father with his holy angels." Therefore ſaith Almighty God by his prophet Malachi, Mal. 1. "Curſed be the diſſemblers." Ye were once enlightened, and taſted of the heavenly gift, and were become partakers of the holy Ghoſt, and taſted of the word of God, and of the power of the world to come. And our Saviour ſaith, Luke 6. "No man that putteth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is fit for the kingdom of God." Therefore St John the apoſtle uſeth this for a manifeſt token, that the backſliding of the true preachers of God's word declare evidently, that they be not of the number of them. For ſaith he, 1 John 2. "They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, no doubt they would have continued with us." Surely ſo long as we uſe diſſimulation, and to play on both hands, we are not in the light. For whatſoever is manifeſt, the ſame is light, as the elect veſſel of God St. Paul witneſſeth in the fourth chapter to the Epheſians.

Wherefore (good chriſtians) for God's moſt dear love, deceive not yourſelves through your own wiſdom, and through the wiſdom of the world, which is fooliſhneſs before God; but certify and ſtay your own conſcience with the ſure truth and faithful word of God, and with the infallible teſtimonies of holy ſcripture. For although God's mercy is over all his works; yet it doth not extend but only to them that hold faſt the confidence and rejoicing of hope unto the end, not being weary in well-doing, but rather waxing every day ſtronger and ſtronger in the inward man. Therefore in the Revelation of St. John, where it is entreated of the beaſt and his image, it is alſo ſaid, "Here is the ſufferance of the ſaints, and here are they that keep the commandments, and the faith of Jeſus Chriſt," Rev. 13. Whereby Almighty God doth ſhew plainly, that he doth uſe thoſe wicked men as inſtruments for a time, to try the patience and faith of his peculiar people, without the performance whereof we can have no part among the living; but as it is ſaid in the ſame Revelation, "The fearful ſhall have their part in the lake that burneth with fire and brimſtone, which is the ſecond death."

But peradventure ye will object and ſay unto me; What ſhall we do? ſhall we caſt ourſelves headlong to death? I ſay not ſo. But this I ſay, that we are all bound (if ever we look to receive ſalvation at God's hand) in this caſe wholly to be obedient to his determinate counſel and fore-knowledge, expreſſed by the gift of the Spirit in holy ſcripture; and then to caſt all our care upon him, who worketh all in all for the beſt unto them that love him; and thus he giveth commandment, ſaying, "Come away from her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her ſins, and that ye receive not of her plagues," Rev. 18. Now who hearing this terrible voice of God, which muſt needs be fulfilled, will not with all ſpeed and diligence apply himſelf to do thereafter, except ſuch as will preſumptuouſly tempt him? and as touching ſuch, the wiſe man ſaith, Eccleſ. 3. "He that loveth peril and danger ſhall periſh therein." But they that be of the faith of Abraham, even as he did, ſo will they in all aſſays and trials be obedient to the heavenly voice, howſoever it ſeemeth contrary to their own natural will and carnal reaſon, according to the ſure word of faith, which ſaith, "Hope thou in the Lord, and keep his way: hold thee ſtill in the Lord, and abide patiently upon him." Let not thy jealouſy alſo move thee to do evil. Come out from among them, and join not yourſelves to their unlawful aſſemblies; yea, do not once ſhew yourſelves with the leaſt part of your body to favour their wicked doings, but glorify God (as moſt right is) as well in your whole body outwardly, as inwardly in your ſpirit, or elſe you can do neither of both well; for your body doth belong to God as well as your ſpirit. At the dreadful day of judgment we ſhall all receive the works of our bodies, according to that we have done, whether it be good or bad.

Therefore whatſoever we do, we may not bring the ſpirit in bondage to the body, but contrariwiſe muſt ſubdue the body and the will of the fleſh to the ſpirit, that the ſpirit may freely accompliſh the will of God in all things; for otherwiſe we ſhall never be partakers of his promiſe, with the true children of Abraham. For, as St. Paul ſaith, "They which are the children of the fleſh, are not the children of God. If we ſhall live according to the fleſh we ſhall die. For to be carnally-minded is death; but to be ſpiritually minded, is life and peace; becauſe that the fleſhly mind is enmity to God: for it is not obedient to the law of God, neither can be. So then they that are in the fleſh cannot pleaſe God." Now chuſe you which way you will take; either the narrow way that leadeth unto life, which Chriſt himſelf, and his faithful followers have gone through before; or elſe the broad path-way that leadeth to deſtruction, which the wicked worldlings take their pleaſure in for a while. I for my part have now written this ſhort admonition unto you of good will (as God is my witneſs) to exhort you to that way, which at length you yourſelves ſhall prove and find to be beſt, yea and rejoice

rejoice thereof. And I do not only write this, but I will alſo (with the aſſiſtance of God's grace) ratify and confirm, and ſeal the ſame with the effuſion of my blood, when the full time ſhall be expired that he hath appointed; which (ſo far forth as I may judge) muſt needs be within theſe few days. Therefore I now bid you all moſt heartily farewel in the Lord, whoſe grace be with your ſpirit, Amen. Watch and pray, watch and pray, pray, pray, So be it.

John Hullier.

The martyrdom of ſix conſtant Profeſſors of Chriſt, burned at Colcheſter for the Teſtimony of the Goſpel, the 28th Day of April.

NOT long after the death of Robert Drakes, William Tyms, and the other Eſſex martyrs, who ſuffered in Smithfield, as is before ſpecified, followed in the ſame order likewiſe of martydom, at one fire in the town of Colcheſter, where moſt of them inhabited, ſix other martyrs, whoſe names be theſe:

Chriſtopher Lyſter of Dagneham, Huſbandman. John Mace of Colcheſter, Apothecary. John Spencer of Colcheſter, Weaver. Simon Joyne, Sawyer. Richard Nichols of Colcheſter, Weaver. John Hammond of Colcheſter, Tanner.

With theſe ſix was alſo joined another, whoſe name was Roger Graſbroke, but he afterward ſubmitted himſelf. Of theſe above named, the biſhop, becauſe he (as it ſeemed by the ſhort progreſs recorded by his regiſter) waxed now weary, made a very quick diſpatch. For ſoon after that they were delivered unto one John Kingſtone, bachelor of the civil law, and then commiſſary to the biſhop, by the earl of Oxford and other commiſſioners (as appeareth by a bill indented made between the commiſſioners and the ſaid commiſſary, for the receipt of the ſaid priſoners, dated March the 28th, in the ſecond and third years of the reign of king Philip and queen Mary, which was in the year of our Lord 1556) and by him ſent up unto his lord and maſter, the biſhop cauſed them to be brought unto his houſe of Fulham: where in the open church, judicially were miniſtred unto them the ſame articles that were propounded unto Bartlet Green and others, mentioned before. To which they made their ſeveral anſwers, agreeing altogether in one truth, as by the ſum and effect thereof here enſuing more plainly appeareth.

1. To the firſt article they all conſented and agreed; John Spencer adding further thereto, that the church malignant which is the church of Rome, is no part of Chriſt's catholic church; and that he neither hath nor doth believe the doctrine and religion taught and ſet forth in the ſaid Romiſh and malignant church.

2. To the ſecond they anſwered, That they believed that in the true catholic church of Chriſt there be but two ſacraments; that is to ſay, the ſacrament of baptiſm, and the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt.

3. To the third article they all agreed, confeſſing that they were beptized in the faith and belief of the catholic church, and that their godfathers and godmothers had profeſſed and promiſed for them, as is contained in the ſame article.

4. To the fourth they anſwered, That they always were and yet then did continue in the faith and profeſſion wherein they were baptized; Richard Nichols adding alſo, that he had more plainly learned the truth of his profeſſion by the doctrine ſet forth in king Edward the ſixth's days, and thereupon he had built his faith, and would continue in the ſame to his life's end, God aſſiſting him.

5. To the fifth they anſwered, that they neither ſwerved nor went away from the catholic faith of Chriſt. Howbeit they confeſſed, that within the time articulate (and before) they had miſliked, and earneſtly ſpoken againſt the ſacrifice of the maſs, and againſt the ſacrament of the altar, affirming that they would not come to hear or be partakers thereof, becauſe they had, and then did believe, that they were ſet forth and uſed contrary to God's word and glory. And moreover they did grant, that they had ſpoken againſt the uſurped authority of the biſhop of Rome, as an oppreſſor of Chriſt's church and goſpel, and that he ought not to have any authority in England. For all which ſayings they were no whit ſorry, but rather rejoiced and were glad.

6. To the ſixth they anſwered, that they never refuſed, nor yet then preſently did refuſe to be reconciled to the unity of Chriſt's catholic church: but they ſaid they had, and then did, and ſo ever would hereafter utterly refuſe to come to the church of Rome, or to acknowledge the authority of the ſeat thereof, but did utterly abhor the ſame, for putting down the book of God, the Bible, and ſetting up the Babylonical maſs, with all other of Antichriſt's merchandize.

7. To the ſeventh article, the effect thereof they all granted. And Simon Joyne declared further, that the cauſe of his refuſing to be partaker of their trumpery was, for that the commandments of God were there broken, and Chriſt's ordinances changed and put out, and the biſhop of Rome's ordinances inſtead thereof put in. Moreover, as touching the ſacrament of Chriſt's body, Chriſtopher Lyſter affirmed, that in the ſaid ſacrament there is the ſubſtance of bread and wine, as well after the words of conſecration as before, and that there is not in the ſame the very body and blood of Chriſt really, ſubſtantially and truly, but only ſacramentally and ſpiritually by faith in the faithful receivers; and that the maſs is not propitiatory for the quick or for the dead, but mere idolatry and abomination.

8. To the eighth they ſaid, that they were ſent to Colcheſter priſon by the king and queen's commiſſioners, becauſe they would not come to their pariſh churches, and by them ſent unto the biſhop of London to be thereof further examined.

9. To the ninth they all generally agreed, that that which they had ſaid in the premiſes was true, and that they were of the dioceſe of London.

Theſe anſwers thus made, the biſhop diſmiſſed them for that preſent until the afternoon. At which time having firſt their articles and anſwers read unto them again, and they ſtanding moſt firmly unto their chriſtian profeſſion, they were by divers ways and means eſſayed and tried if they would revoke the ſame their profeſſed faith, and return to the unity of Antichriſt's church.

Which, when they refuſed, the biſhop ſtoutly pronounced the ſentence of condemnation againſt them, committing them unto the ſecular power. Who, upon the receipt of the king and queen's writ, ſent them unto Colcheſter, where the 28th day of April, moſt cheerfully they ended their lives, to the glory of God's holy name, and the great encouragement of others.

Hugh Laverock, an old Man, John Apprice, a blind Man, Martyrs, burned at Stratford the Bow.

IN the diſcourſe of this parcel or part of hiſtory, I know not whether more to marvel at the great and unſearchable mercies of God (with whom there is no reſpect in degrees of perſons, but he chooſeth as well the poor, lame and blind, as the rich, mighty and healthful, to ſet forth his glory) or elſe to note the unreaſonable, or rather unnatural doing of thoſe unmerciful catholics, I mean biſhop Bonner and his accomplices, in whom was ſo

ſo little favour or mercy to all ſorts and kinds of men, that they ſpared neither impotent age, neither lame nor blind, as may well appear by theſe poor creatures whoſe names and ſtories here under follow.

Hugh Laverock, of the pariſh of Barking, painter, of the age of 68, a cripple. John Apprice, a blind man.

Theſe two poor and ſimple creatures being belike accuſed by ſome promoting neighbours of theirs, unto the biſhop and other of the king and queen's commiſſioners, were ſent for by their officer; and ſo being brought and delivered into the hands of the ſaid biſhop, were the firſt day of May examined before him in his palace at London; where he firſt propounded and objected againſt them thoſe nine articles, whereof mention is made before, miniſtred as well unto Bartlet Green, as alſo unto many others. To which they anſwered in effect as Chriſtopher Lyſter, John Mace, and others before mentioned had done.

Whereupon they were again ſent to priſon, and beſide other times, the ninth day of the ſame month, in the conſiſtory of St. Paul's were again openly produced, and there (after the old order) travelled withal to recant their opinions againſt the ſacrament of the altar.

Whereunto Hugh Laverock firſt ſaid, I will ſtand to mine anſwers, and to that I have confeſſed; and I cannot find in the ſcriptures, that the prieſts ſhould lift up over their head a cake of bread.

The biſhop then turned unto John Apprice, and aſked what he would ſay.

To whom he anſwered, Your doctrine that ye ſet forth and teach, is ſo agreeable with the world, and embraced of the ſame, that it cannot be agreeable with the ſcripture of God. And ye are not of the catholic church; for ye make laws to kill men, and make the queen your hangman.

At which words the biſhop belike ſomewhat tickled, and therefore very loth to delay their condemnation any longer (ſuch was now his hot burning charity) commanded that they ſhould be brought after him unto Fulham, whither he went before dinner, and there in the afternoon, after his ſolemn manner, in the open church, he pronounced the definitive ſentence of condemnation againſt them, and ſo delivering them into the hands of the temporal officer, thought to diſpatch his hands of them, but could not ſo diſpatch his conſcience before the judgment of God, from the guiltineſs of innocent blood.

The poor men, being now in the temporal officer's hands, might not be ſuffered long to remain there, and therefore the fifteenth day of May, very early in the morning, they were carried in a cart from Newgate to Stratford the Bow, and moſt quietly in the fire praiſing God, yielded up their ſouls into his hands, through a lively faith in Jeſus Chriſt, whom unto the end they did moſt conſtantly confeſs.

At their death, Hugh Laverock, after he was chained, caſt away his crutch, and comforting John Apprice, his fellow-martyr, ſaid unto him: Be of good comfort, my brother, for my lord of London is our good phyſician. He will heal us both ſhortly, thee of thy blindneſs, and me of my lameneſs. And ſo patiently they ſuffered together.

The Martyrdom of Katharine Hut, Elizabeth Thackvel, and Joan Horns, in Smithfield.

THE next day after the martyrdom of this lame and blind man above ſpecified, in the ſaid month of May, were brought to the fire three women, with whom alſo was adjoined another, who being in the ſame conſtancy with them, was likewiſe partaker of the ſame condemnation. Their names were;

Katherine Hut of Bocking, widow. Joan Horns of Billerica, maid. Elizabeth Thackvel of great Burſted, maid. Margaret Ellis of Billerica, maid.

How theſe with divers others were perſecuted and ſent up, eſpecially by Sir John Mordaunt, and Edmund Tyrel, Eſquire, juſtices of peace, the following letter will declare.

A Letter ſent unto Bonner Biſhop of London, from Sir John Mordaunt, Knight, and Edmund Tyrel, Eſq; Juſtices of peace for the County of Eſſex.

OUR humble commendations to your lordſhip: theſe ſhall be to advertiſe you, that we have ſent unto your good lordſhip Joan Potter, the wife of Hugh Potter, James Harris, ſervant of William Harris of Bromhill, and Margaret Ellis, for that they be not formable to the orders of the church, nor to the real preſence of Chriſt's body and blood in the ſacrament of the altar, to uſe your lordſhip's pleaſure with them, as you think good; not doubting, with the puniſhment of theſe and others before ſent to your lordſhip, but that the pariſh of great Burſted and Billerica ſhall be brought to good conformity. Thus, committing your good lordſhip to the tuition of the Almighty God, we take our leave. From great Burſted, this preſent ſecond day of March, 1556.

Your lordſhip's to command,
John Mordaunt, Edmund Tyrel.

After the receipt of theſe letters, Biſhop Bonner entering to examination of theſe four women above named, laid and objected the like articles to them, as after his uſual form he was uſed to adminiſter, and are before expreſſed: whereunto the ſaid women likewiſe agreeing, in the ſame unity of the ſpirit and doctrine, accorded in their anſwers, much agreeing unto the other before them.

1. As firſt, to the article in the firſt place objected, they conſented and granted, believing the ſaid article to be true in every part thereof.

2. To the ſecond, partly they anſwered, they could not tell what a ſacrament is; Elizabeth Thackvel, and Katherine Hut adding moreover, that matrimony, and baptiſm, and the Lord's Supper, were ſacraments ordained in the church: but whether the other ſpecified in this article be ſacraments (as they heard them called) ordained by God or not, they could not tell. Margaret Ellis being examined ſeverally, as the others were, upon the ſame, how many ſacraments there were, anſwered (as a young maid, unſkilled, in her ſimple ignorance) that ſhe could not tell. However ſhe had heard (ſhe ſaid) that there was one ſacrament, but what it was ſhe could not tell, &c.

3. To the third likewiſe they granted, that they were baptized by their godfathers and godmothers, which godfathers and godmothers (ſaid Margaret Ellis) did not then know ſo much as ſhe doth now know: Katherine Hut adding withal, and ſaying, that ſhe was baptized; but what her Godfathers and Godmothers did then promiſe for her in her name, ſhe could not tell, &c.

4. To the fourth article Margaret Ellis and Elizabeth Thackvel did grant thereunto: Katherine Hut ſaid moreover, that ſhe, being of the age of fourteen years, was of the faith wherein ſhe was chriſtened; and yet nevertheleſs the ſaid faith in that age (ſhe ſaid) was but a dead faith, becauſe ſhe did not then underſtand what ſhe did believe. Joan Horns added, that ſhe being eleven years of age, began to learn the faith ſet forth in King Edward's days, in which faith and religion (ſhe ſaid)

ſhe had hitherto, and yet doth, and ſo will hereafter continue, God ſo aſſiſting her.

5. To the fifth article they anſwered and confeſſed, according all in this effect, that as touching the maſs, they knew no goodneſs in it; and as touching the ſacrament of the altar, they believed that Chriſt's natural body is in heaven, and not in the ſacrament of the altar: and as concerning the ſee of Rome, they acknowledged no ſuch ſupremacy in that ſee, neither have they any thing to do therewith.

6. In anſwering the ſixth article, they did all generally refuſe to be reconciled or united to the church of Rome, or any other church, contrary to that wherein they now ſtood and did profeſs.

7. To the ſeventh article they anſwered likewiſe, that they had ſo done and ſaid in all things, as it is in this article contained: Katherine Hut adding moreover the reaſon why; for that (ſaid ſhe) neither the ſervice in Latin, maſs, matins, and even-ſong, nor the ſacraments were uſed and miniſtred according to God's word: and furthermore, that the maſs is an idol, neither is the true body and blood of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar, as they make men believe.

8. The anſwer of the eighth article declared, that they were all and every one ſent up to Bonner by Sir John Mordaunt, knight, and juſtice of peace for Eſſex (the Lord of his mercy ſend us better juſtices I beſeech him) for that they could not affirm the preſence of Chriſt's body and blood to be truly and really in the ſacrament, and for that they came not to their popiſh pariſh church.

9. To the ninth article, they anſwered and confeſſed the premiſes thereof to be true, and denied not the ſame; ſave that Katherine Hut ſaid, that ſhe was of Bocking in Eſſex, of the peculiar juriſdiction of Canterbury, and not of the dioceſe and juriſdiction of London.

After theſe their anſwers received, they were produced again about the thirteenth of April to further examination, and ſo at length to their final judgment; where Katherine Hut, widow, ſtanding before the biſhop, boldly and conſtantly ſtood to that which ſhe had ſaid before, neither yielding to his fair promiſes, nor overthrown with his terror. Who being required to declare her mind concerning the ſacrament, and to revoke herſelf into the fellowſhip of the catholic faith, openly proteſted, ſaying, I deny it to be God, becauſe it is a dumb god, and made with mens hands. Wherein the good and faithful martyr of Chriſt firmly perſiſting, ſo received her ſentence, being condemned to the fire by biſhop Bonner; which ſhe with great conſtancy ſuſtained by the grace and ſtrength of the Lord, and did abide for the cauſe and love of Chriſt.

Joan Horns, maid, produced likewiſe to her judgment and condemnation, with like firmneſs and chriſtian fortitude declared herſelf a true martyr and follower of Chriſt's teſtament, giving no place to the adverſary; but being charged that ſhe did not believe the ſacrament of Chriſt's body and blood to be Chriſt himſelf, of which ſacrament (contrary to the nature of a ſacrament) the adverſaries are wont to make an idol ſervice; to this ſhe proteſting openly her mind, ſaid as followeth; If you can make your god to ſhed blood, or to ſhew any condition of a true lively body, then will I believe you: but it is but bread (as touching the ſubſtance thereof) meaning the matter whereof the ſacrament conſiſteth; and that which you call hereſy, I truſt to ſerve my Lord God in, &c.

And as concerning the Romiſh ſee, ſhe ſaid, My lord (ſpeaking to Bonner) I forſake all his abominations, and from them good Lord deliver us. From this her ſtable and conſtant aſſertion, when the biſhop was too weak to remove her, and too ignorant to convince her, he knocked her down with the butcherly axe of his ſentence. And ſo the holy virgin and martyr committed to the ſhambles of the ſecular ſword, was offered up with her other fellows a burnt ſacrifice to the Lord, in the ſavour of a ſweet and pleaſant ſmell.

As touching Margaret Ellis, ſhe likewiſe perſevering in her foreſaid confeſſion, and reſiſting the falſe catholic errors of the papiſts, was by the ſaid Bonner adjudged and condemned; but before the time of her burning came, prevented by death in Newgate, departed and ſlept in the Lord.

No leſs ſtrength in the grace of the Lord appeared in the other maid, Elizabeth Thackvell, whoſe heart and mind the Lord had ſo confirmed in his truth, ſo armed with patience, that as her adverſaries could by no ſufficient knowledge of ſcripture convince her affirmation, ſo by no forcible attempts they could remove her confeſſion. Whereupon ſhe ſtanding to the death, being in like ſort condemned, by the ſaid unbiſhoplike perſecutor, gave her life willingly and mildly for the confirmation and ſealing up of the ſincere truth of God's word.

Theſe three innocent and godly women, thus faſly and wrongfully by men condemned for the juſt quarrel and cauſe of God's goſpel, were had to Smithfield, and there cruelly bound to the ſtake, gave their bodies to the tormenters, their ſpirits they commended to God. For whoſe glory they were willing and ready to ſuffer whatſoever the cruel hands of their enemies ſhould work againſt them, dying more joyfully in the flaming fire, then ſome of them that burned them did peradventure in their beds. Such a Lord is God, glorious and wonderful in all his ſaints. The martyrdom of theſe ſaints of God was the 16th day of May.

Thomas Drowry, a blind Boy, and Thomas Croker, Bricklayer, Martyrs.

A Little before ye have heard of two men, the one blind and the other lame, which ſuffered about the 15th of May. And here is not to be forgotten another as godly a couple, who ſuffered the like paſſion and martyrdom for the ſame cauſe of religion at Glouceſter: of which two, the one was a blind boy, named Thomas Drowry, mentioned before in the hiſtory of biſhop Hooper, [page 121.] whom the ſaid virtuous biſhop confirmed then in the Lord, and in the doctrine of his word.

How long this blind boy was in priſon, and in what year he ſuffered, I am not certain. Of this credible intelligence I have received by the teſtimony of the regiſter then of Glouceſter, named John Taylor, alias Barker, that the ſaid blind boy at his laſt examination and final condemnation, was brought (by the officers, under whoſe cuſtody he had remained) before Dr. Williams then chancellor of Glouceſter, ſitting judicially with the ſaid regiſter in the conſiſtory, near unto the ſouth-door, in the nether end of the church of Glouceſter. Where the ſaid chancellor then miniſtred unto the boy ſuch uſual articles as are accuſtomed in ſuch caſes, and are ſundry times mentioned in this book. Amongſt which, he chiefly urged the article of tranſubſtantiation, ſaying in effect as followeth.

Chancellor. Doſt thou not believe, that after the words of conſecration ſpoken by the prieſt, there remaineth the very real body of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar?

To whom Thomas Drowry anſwered, No, that I do ot.

Chancellor. Then thou art an heretic, and ſhalt be burned. But who hath taught thee this hereſy?

Drowry. You maſter Chancellor.

Chancellor. Where I pray thee?

Drowry. Even in yonder place; pointing with his hand, and turning towards the pulpit, ſtanding upon the north ſide of the church.

Chancellor. When did I teach thee ſo?

Drowry. When you preached there (naming the day) a ſer-

a ſermon to all men as well as to me, upon the ſacrament. You ſaid the ſacrament was to be received ſpiritually by faith, and not carnally and really, as the papiſts have heretofore taught.

Chancellor. Then do as I have done, and thou ſhalt live as I do, and eſcape burning.

Drowry. Though you can ſo eaſily diſpenſe with yourſelf, and mock with God, the world, and your own conſcience, yet will not I ſo do.

Chancellor. Then God have mercy upon thee, for I will read the condemnation ſentence againſt thee.

Drowry. God's will be fulfilled.

The regiſter being herewith ſomewhat moved, ſtood up and ſaid to the chancellor.

Fie for ſhame, man, will you read the ſentence againſt him, and condemn yourſelf? Away, away, and ſubſtitute ſome to give ſentence and judgment.

Chancellor. No, regiſter, I will obey the law, and give ſentence myſelf according to mine office.

And ſo he read the ſentence condemnatory againſt the boy (with an unhappy tongue, and a more unhappy conſcience) delivering him over to the ſecular power. Who the ſaid 15th day of May, brought the ſaid blind boy to the place of execution at Glouceſter; together with one Thomas Croker a bricklayer, condemned alſo for the like teſtimony of the truth. Where both together in one fire moſt conſtantly and joyfully yielded their ſouls into the hands of the Lord Jeſus.

Perſecution in Suffolk.

AFTER the death of theſe above rehearſed, were three men burnt at Beckles in Suffolk, in one fire, about the 21ſt day of May, Anno 1556. Whoſe names are here ſpecified.

Thomas Spicer of Winſton, labourer: John Denny and Edmund Poole.

This Thomas Spicer was a ſingle man, of the age of nineteen years, and by vocation a labourer, dwelling in Winſton in the county of Suffolk, and there taken in his maſter's houſe in ſummer, about, or ſoon after ſun-riſing (being in his bed) by James Ling and John Keretch of the ſame town, and William Davies of Debnam in the ſaid county.

He was apprehended for not coming to hear maſs, and becauſe he would not receive their idol at the commandment of Sir John Tyrrel, knight, of Gipping-hall in Suffolk, and certain other juſtices there, who ſent both him and them to the dungeon in the town of Eye in Suffolk, from whence they were all three together brought before Dunning, then chancellor of Norwich, and Mr. Mings the regiſter ſitting at the town of Beckles, to be examined.

And there the chancellor endeavoured, but to no purpoſe, to perſuade them from the truth. Wherefore minding in the end to give ſentence on them, he burſt out into tears, intreating them to remember themſelves, and to turn again to the holy mother-church, for that they were deceived and out of the truth, and that they ought not wilfully to caſt themſelves away, with ſuch like words.

As he was thus labouring with them, and ſeemed very loth to read the ſentence (for they were the firſt that he condemned in that dioceſe) the regiſter there ſitting by, being weary belike of tarrying, or elſe perceiving the conſtant martyrs to be at a point, called upon the chancellor in haſte to rid them out of the way, and to make an end. At which words the chancellor read the condemnation over them with tears, and delivered them to the ſecular power.

The articles objected to theſe, and commonly to all others condemned in that dioceſe by Dr. Hopton, biſhop of Norwich, and by Dunning his chancellor were theſe:

1. Firſt, it was articulate againſt them, that they believed not the pope of Rome to be ſupreme head immediately under Chriſt in earth of the univerſal catholic church.

2. Item, That they believed not holy bread and holy water, aſhes, palms, and all other like ceremonies uſed in the church, to be good and laudable for ſtirring up the people to devotion.

3. Item, That they believed not, after the words of conſecration ſpoken by the prieſt, the very natural body of Chriſt, and no other ſubſtance of bread and wine to be in the ſacrament of the altar.

4. That they believed it to be idolatry to worſhip Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar.

5. Item, That they took bread and wine in remembrance of Chriſt's paſſion.

6. Item, That they would not follow the croſs in proceſſion, nor be confeſſed to a prieſt.

7. Item, That they affirmed no mortal man to have in himſelf free-will to do good or evil.

For this doctrine and theſe articles they were all three condemned by Dr. Dunning, and committed to the ſecular power, Sir John Silliard being high ſheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk at the ſame time.

And the next day following they were all burnt together in the town of Beckles. Whereupon it is to be thought, that the writ De Comburendo, was not yet come down, nor could be, the lord chancellor Heath being at London the ſame time. Which, if it be true, then it is plain that both they went beyond their commiſſion, that were the executioners, and alſo the clergy which were the inſtigators thereof, cannot make good what they now pretend: ſaying, that they did nothing but by law. But this let the Lord find out when he ſeeth his time.

In the mean time while theſe good men were at the ſtake, they prayed, and ſaid their belief; and when they mentioned the catholic church, Sir John Silliard ſpake to them; That is well ſaid, Sirs, quoth he, I am glad to hear you ſay, you do believe the catholic church. That is the beſt word I have heard of you yet.

To which his ſayings Edmund Poole anſwered, That though they believe the catholic church, yet do they not believe in their popiſh church, which is no part of Chriſt's catholic church, and therefore no part of their belief.

When they roſe from prayer, they went all joyfully to the ſtake, and being bound thereto and the fire burning about them, they praiſed God in ſuch an audible voice, that it was wonderful to all thoſe that ſtood by and heard them.

Then one Robert Bacon, dwelling in the ſaid Beckles, a very enemy of God's truth, and a perſecutor of his people, being there preſent within hearing thereof, willed the tormentors to throw one faggot to ſtop the breath of the knaves, as he termed them; ſo hot was his burning charity. But theſe good men not regarding their malice, confeſſed the truth, and yielded their lives to death for the teſtimony of the ſame, very gloriouſly and joyfully. Which conſtancy the Lord grant we may imitate, whether it be by death or by life, to glorify the name of Chriſt, Amen.

And foraſmuch as we have here entered into the perſecution of Norfolk and Suffolk, it cometh therefore to mind, by occaſion hereof, briefly to touch by the way, ſome part (for the whole matter cannot be ſo expreſt as it was done) touching the troubles of the towns of Winſon and Mendleſam in Suffolk, raiſed and ſtirred by the ſaid Sir John Tyrrel and other juſtices there of the like affinity. The ſum and effect of which briefly is thus ſignified to me by writing.

The

The Perſecution in the Towns of Winſon and Mendleſam in Suffolk.

BY the procurement of Sir John Tyrrel, knight, and others of his colleagues, there were perſecuted out of the town of Winſon in Suffolk, theſe perſons hereafter following.

Mrs. Alice Twaites, gentlewoman, of the age of threeſcore years and more, and two of her ſervants.
Humphrey Smith and his wife.
William Catchpoole and his wife.
John Mauling and his wife.
Nicholas Burlingham and his wife.
And one Rought and his wife.

Such as were perſecuted and driven out of the town of Mendleſam in the county of Suffolk,

Symon Harlſtone and Katharine his wife, with his five children.
William Whitting, and Katherine his wife.
Thomas Dobſon and his wife.
Thomas Hubbard and his wife.
John Doncon and his wife and maid.
William Doncon.
Thomas Woodward the elder.
—— Konnold's wife.
A poor widow.
One mother Semon's maid.

Beſides thoſe that were conſtrained to do againſt their conſcience by the help of the pariſh prieſt.

Theſe be the chiefeſt cauſes why thoſe above-named were perſecuted.

Firſt, they held and believed the holy word of God to be the ſufficient doctrine unto their ſalvation.

Secondly, they denied the pope's uſurped authority, and did hold all that church of Antichriſt to be Chriſt's adverſaries. And further they refuſed the abuſed ſacraments, defied the maſs and all popiſh ſervice and ceremonies, ſaying, they robbed God of his honour, and Chriſt of his death and glory, and would not come at the church, without it were to the defacing of that they did there.

Thirdly, they did hold that the miniſters of the church by God's word might lawfully marry.

Fourthly, they held the queen to be as chief head, and wicked rulers to be a great plague ſent of God for ſin, &c.

Fifthly, they denied man's free-will, and held that the pope's church did err, and many other in that point with them, rebuking their falſe confidence in works, and their falſe truſt in man's righteouſneſs. Alſo when any rebuked thoſe perſecuted for going ſo openly, and talking ſo freely; their anſwer was, they acknowledged, confeſſed, and believed, and therefore they muſt ſpeak: and that their tribulation was God's good will and providence, and that his judgments were right, to puniſh them with others for their ſins; and that of very faithfulneſs and mercy God had cauſed them to be troubled, ſo that one hair of their heads ſhould not periſh before the time, but all things ſhould work unto the beſt to them that love God, and that Chriſt Jeſus was their life and only righteouſneſs, and that only by faith in him, and for his ſake all good things were freely given them, alſo forgiveneſs of ſins, and life everlaſting.

Many of theſe perſecuted were of great ſubſtance, and had poſſeſſions of their own.

Give God the praiſe.

Foraſmuch as we are now in the month of May, before we overpaſs the ſame, and becauſe the ſtory is not long, and not unworthy peradventure of noting, it ſhall not grieve the ſtudious reader, a little to give the hearing thereof, whereby to learn to marvel and muſe at the great works of the Lord. "They that go down (ſaith the pſalmiſt) into the ſea, labouring upon water, have ſeen the works of the Lord, and his mighty wonders upon the deep." Pſal. 106. The truth whereof may well appear in this following ſtory; which, as it was written to me by the very perſon, himſelf one Thomas Morſe, who was the doer thereof, ſo I thought proper to inſert the ſame in the following manner.

A Story of one Gregory Crow, who was miraculouſly preſerved with his New Teſtament upon the Seas, May 26.

UPON Tueſday in Whitſun-Week, May 26, 1556. (or elſe, as he rather thinketh, in the year immediately before) a certain poor man, named Gregory Crow, dwelling in Maulden, went to Sea, intending to have gone into Kent for fuller's earth, but by the way, being bad weather, was driven upon a ſand, where preſently the boat ſunk, and was full of water, ſo that the men were forced to hold by the maſt of the boat, and all things that would ſwim, did ſwim out of her. Amongſt which Crow ſaw his Teſtament in the water, and caught it, and put it into his boſom. Now it was ebbing water, ſo that within one hour the boat was dry, but ſo broken that they could not ſave her; but they went themſelves upon the ſand (being at leaſt ten miles from the land) and there made their prayers together, that God would ſend ſome ſhip to their aſſiſtance (being in all two men and one boy) for they could ſtay there but half an hour longer before it would be flood. In which time they found their cheſt, wherein was five pounds, ſix ſhillings and eight pence, belonging to the ſaid Crow; which money the other man (whoſe name I know not) took up, and gave it to the owner, who caſt it into the ſea, ſaying, If the Lord will ſave our lives, he will provide us a living, and ſo got upon the maſt, and there hung by the arms and legs for the ſpace of ten hours, in which time the poor boy was ſo weary, and beaten with the ſea, that he fell off and was drowned.

And when the water was gone again, and the ſand dry, Crow ſaid to the other man, It were beſt for us to take down our maſts, and when the flood cometh we will ſit upon them, and ſo it may pleaſe God to bring us to ſome ſhip that may take us up. Which accordingly they did, and ſo at ten of the clock in the night of the ſame Tueſday, the flood did bear up the maſt whereon they ſat.

And upon the Wedneſday in the night the man died, being overcome with hunger and watching. So that there was none left but Crow, who driving up and down in the ſea, called upon God as he could, and might not ſleep for fear that the ſea would have beaten him off.

So at length I myſelf (ſaid Thomas Morſe) being laden to Antwerp with my crayer, going from Lee upon Friday, having within my veſſel, of mariners and merchants, to the number of 46 perſons, and ſo coming to the Foreland, the wind was not very good, ſo that I was conſtrained to go ſomewhat out of my way, being in the afternoon about ſix of the clock, where at the laſt we ſaw a thing afar off, appearing unto us like a ſmall buoy, that fiſhermen do uſe to lay with their hooks.

When we ſaw it, ſome ſaid, let us have ſome fiſh. And I ſaid to him that was at the helm, Keep your courſe away, for we ſhall but hinder the fiſherman, and have no fiſh neither: and ſo at my commandment he did. But at length he at the helm ſtanding higher than all we did, ſaid, Methink, maſter, it is a man. But yet they, being in doubt that it was but a fiſherman's buoy, turned the ſhip from him again to keep their courſe.

Crow beholding the ſhip to turn from him, being then it utter deſpair, and ready now to periſh with watching, famine, and moreover miſerably beaten with the ſeas, at laſt took his mariner's cap from his head, and holding up the

the ſame with his arm as high as he could, thought by ſhaking it as well as he might, to give them ſome token of better ſight.

Whereupon the ſteerman more ſenſibly perceiving a thing to move, advertiſed us again, declaring how he did plainly ſee a man's arm; and with that we all beheld him well, and ſo came to him and took him up. And as ſoon as we had him in our ſhip, he began to put his hand in his boſom; and one aſked him if he had money there. No, ſaid he, I have a book here, I think it be wet; and ſo drew out his Teſtament, which we then dried. But the ſea had ſo beaten him, that his eyes, noſe and mouth were almoſt cloſed with ſalt, that the heat of his face and the weather had made. So we made a fire and ſhifted him with dry cloaths, and gave him Aqua compoſita to drink, and ſuch meat as was in the ſhip, and then let him ſleep.

The next day we awaked him about eight of the clock in the morning, and his blood began ſomewhat to appear in his fleſh (for when we took him up, his fleſh was even as though it had been ſodden, or as a drowned man's is) and then we talked with him of all the matter before rehearſed. And ſo ſailed to Antwerp, the merchants which ſaw the thing, publiſhed the ſame in Antwerp; and becauſe it was wonderful, many of the people there, both men and women, came to the ſhip to ſee him. Some gave him a petticoat, and ſome a ſhirt, ſome hoſe, and ſome money (always noting how he caſt away his money and kept his book.)

And many of the women wept when they heard and ſaw him. And maſter governor of the Engliſh nation there had him before him, and talked with him of all the matter: and pitying his caſe, commanded the officer of the Engliſh houſe to go with him to the free Oſte-houſes amongſt the Engliſh merchants, and I with them, and at three houſes there was given him ſix pounds ten ſhillings. And ſo from thence he went with me to Roan, where the people alſo came to him to ſee him, marvelling at the great works of God.

And thus much concerning this poor man with his New Teſtament preſerved in the ſea (which Teſtament the pope's clergy condemneth on the land) ye have heard (as I received by the relation of the party above-named) who was the doer thereof, and yet alive dwelling in Lee, well known to all merchants of London. In which ſtory this by the way underſtand, good reader, (which rightly may be ſuppoſed) that if this poor man thus found and preſerved in the ſea with a New Teſtament in his boſom, had had inſtead of that a Pix with a conſecrated hoſt about him, no doubt it had been rung ere this time all Chriſtendom over for a miracle, ſo far as the pope hath any land.

But to let the pope with his falſe miracles go, let us return again and adjoin another hiſtory of much like condition, teſtified likewiſe by the information of the ſaid Thomas Morſe above-mentioned, to the intent to make known the worthy acts of the Almighty; that he may be magnified in all his wondrous works. The ſtory is thus declared, which happened Anno 1559, about Michaelmas.

Another Story of God's Providence in the Preſervation of three Men at Sea.

THERE was a ſhip (ſaith the ſaid Thomas Morſer whereof I had a part, going toward the Bay ſo ſalt, with two ſhips of Brickleley, which were all together going for ſalt, as before is ſaid. At what time we were within ten miles of the North Foreland, otherwiſe called Tenet, the wind did come ſo contrary to our ſhip, that we were forced to go clean out of the way, and the other two ſhips kept their courſe ſtill, until our ſhip was almoſt out of ſight of them. And then they ſaw a thing driving upon the ſea, and hoiſted up their boat and went unto it; and it was three men ſitting upon a piece of their ſhip which had ſitten ſo two days and two night.

There had been in their ſhip eight men more, which were drowned, being all Frenchmen, dwelling in a place in France, called Olloronne. They had been at Danſwick, and loſt their ſhip about Oxford Nas, as might be learned by their words. They were men that feared God, the one of them was owner of the ſhip. Their exerciſe, while they were in our ſhip, was, that after their coming in, they gave thanks for their deliverance: both morning and evening they exerciſed prayer, and alſo before and after meat; and when they came into France, our ſhips went to the ſame place where theſe men dwelt, and one of them did ſell unto our men their ſhips lading of ſalt, and did uſe them very courteouſly and friendly, and not at that time only, but always whenſoever that ſhip cometh thither, (as ſhe hath been there twice ſince) he always doth for them, ſo that they can lack nothing. I ſhould have noted, that our ſhip had taken up thoſe three men out of the ſea, they had the wind fair preſently, and came and overtook the other two ſhips again, and ſo they proceeded in their voyage together.

For the more credit of this ſtory above recited, to ſatisfy either the doubtful, or to prevent the quarreller, I have not only alledged the name of the party which was the doer thereof, but alſo expreſſed the matter in his own words, as I of him received it; the party and reporter himſelf being yet alive, and dwelling at Lee, a man ſo well known amongſt the merchants of London, that whoſoever heareth the name of Thomas Morſe will never doubt thereof. And again, the matter itſelf being ſo notoriouſly known to merchants as well here as at Antwerp, that though his name were not expreſſed, the ſtory can lack no witneſſes.

The laſt day of the ſaid month of May, in the year aforeſaid, William Slech being in priſon for the ſaid doctrine of the Lord's goſpel, and the confeſſion of his truth, died in the King's-bench, and was buried on the back-ſide of the ſaid priſon, for that the Romiſh catholic ſpiritualty thought him not worthy to come within their pope-holy church-yards, neither in any other chriſtian burial, as they call it.

The Hiſtory of four Men condemned at Lewes, June 6.

IN June next following, about the ſixth day of the ſame month, four martyrs ſuffered together at Lewes, whoſe names are theſe:

Thomas Harland of Woodmancote, carpenter.
John Oſwald of Woodmancote, huſbandman.
Thomas Avington of Ardingly, turner.
Thomas Read.

To Thomas Harland I find in the biſhop of London's regiſters, to be objected for not coming to church. Whereunto he anſwered, That after the maſs was reſtored he never had will to hear the ſame, becauſe (ſaid he) it was in Latin, which he did not underſtand, therefore as good, quoth he, never a whit, as never the better.

John Oſwald denied to anſwer any thing, until his accuſers ſhould be brought face to face before him; and nevertheleſs ſaid, That fire and faggots could not make him afraid: but as the good preachers which were in king Edward's time have ſuffered and gone before, ſo was he ready to ſuffer and come after, and would be glad thereof.

These four, after long impriſonment in the King's-bench, were burned together at Lewes in Suſſex, in one fire.

In the ſame town of Lewes, and in the ſame month likewiſe, were burned Thomas Whood, miniſter, and Thomas Miles, about the three and twentieth day of the ſame month, for reſiſting the erroneous and heretical doctrine of the pretenſed catholic church of Rome.

On the the 24th day of the ſame month likewiſe William Adherall, miniſter, died in the priſon of the King's-bench, and was buried in the back-ſide: Alſo John Clement, wheel-wright, who dying in the ſaid priſon, was buried in like manner upon the dunghill in the back-ſide the day after, viz. the 25th day of June.

The next day following of the ſaid month, we read of a certain young man, a merchant's ſervant, who for the like godlineſs ſuffered cruel perſecution of the papiſts, and was burnt at Leiceſter the 26th day of June.

Thirteen Martyrs burned at Stratford the Bow.

NOT long after the death of the merchant's ſervant before-mentioned, there followed in this bleſſed order of martyrs, burned in one fire at Stratford the Bow by London, eleven men and two women, whoſe dwellings were in ſundry places in Eſſex, and whoſe names hereafter follow.

Henry Adlington.	Lyon Cawch.
Laurence Pernam.	Ralph Jackſon.
Henry Wye.	John Derifall.
William Halliwel.	John Routh.
Thomas Bowyer.	Elizabeth Pepper.
George Searles.	Agnes George.
Edmund Hurſt.	

Unto whom the ſixth of June, 1556, Dr. Darbyſhire, biſhop Bonner's chancellor, in form of law miniſtered the ſame articles that were pronounced unto Thomas Whittle and his company, mentioned before [p. 500.] to which they made their ſeveral anſwers, in ſimplicity and in a good conſcience. The ſum and effect whereof enſueth.

To the firſt, they all anſwered affirmatively: but Lyon Cawch added further, that he believed that the true faith and religion of Chriſt is whereſoever the word of God is truly preached.

To the ſecond article they all anſwered in effect, denying that there be ſeven ſacraments: ſome affirming, that in the church of Chriſt there be but two ſacraments, that is to ſay, baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper: Others refering themſelves to believe as the ſcripture teacheth them: And others refuſed to make anſwer becauſe of their ſimplicity.

To the third article they all anſwered affirmatively.

To the fourth article they all anſwered affirmatively, except John Routh, who ſaid he would make no anſwer thereunto. But Lyon Cawch added, that he believed the article to be true: but it was becauſe he had no better knowledge. And Agnes George added, that in the time of king Edward VI. ſhe went from her old faith and religion, and believed in the faith and religion that was then taught and ſet forth.

To the fifth, they all anſwered in effect affirmatively, except John Routh, whoſe anſwer was, That the maſs is ſuch a thing, which neither can nor will enter into his conſcience. And Henry Adlington anſwered, That for nine or ten years before, he miſliked the maſs, and alſo the ſacrament of the altar, becauſe they cannot be proved by the ſcriptures. And as touching the authority of the ſee of Rome, he being but fourteen years of age, took an oath againſt the ſame, which oath, he ſaid, he intended to keep by the grace of God.

To the ſixth they all anſwered affirmatively, except John Routh and William Halliwel, who both refuſed to anſwer, becauſe they knew not what they meant by this article. But the two women added, That they refuſed to be reconciled to the faith and religion that was then uſed in the realm of England. And Laurence Pernam added, that he never refuſed to be reconciled and brought to the unity of the catholic church of Chriſt.

To the ſeventh article they all anſwered affirmatively; but William Halliwel denied that ever he called the maſs idolatry and abomination. And Henry Wye affirming the article to be true; yet he confeſſed his infirmity, that he went to his pariſh church, and received, before he was put in priſon.

To the eighth article Edmund Hurſt, Ralph Jackſon, and George Searles, anſwered affirmatively: Henry Wye ſaid, he was brought before certain juſtices of peace in Eſſex, concerning one Higbed his late maſter, and thereupon he was committed to Colcheſter caſtle, and from thence ſent to London to the biſhop to be further examined. William Halliwel affirmed the like confeſſion as Henry Wye did, only Higbed excepted. John Derifall ſaid he was called before the Lord Rich and Mr. Mildmay of Chelmsford, and was by them ſent to Bonner, biſhop of London, to be further examined by him. Thomas Bowyer ſaid he was brought before Mr. Wiſeman of Felſed, and by him was ſent to Colcheſter caſtle, and from thence was carried to Bonner biſhop of London, to be by him further examined. Lyon Cawch ſaid, that he was ſent to come before the king and queen's commiſſioners, and appearing before them three times, was ſent to biſhop Bonner, to be by him further examined. Henry Adlington ſaid, That he coming to Newgate to ſpeak with one Gratwike, there being priſoner for the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, was apprehended and brought before Dr. Story, and by him ſent to biſhop Bonner, to be by him further examined. John Routh ſaid, that he was convened before the Earl of Oxford, and by him ſent to the caſtle of Colcheſter, and from thence conveyed to biſhop Bonner, to be by him further examined. Laurence Pernam ſaid, That he was committed to Hertford Priſon, becauſe he would not go to church, and from thence ſent to biſhop Bonner, to be by him further examined. Agnes George ſaid, That ſhe was committed to priſon in Colcheſter at the commandment of one Mr. Maynard, an alderman of the town, becauſe ſhe would not go to church, and from thence was ſent to biſhop Bonner, to be by him further examined. Elizabeth Pepper ſaid, ſhe was apprehended by two conſtables and an alderman, for that ſhe would not come to church, and by them was ſent to Bonner biſhop of London, to be by him further examined.

To the ninth article, they all believed the premiſes to be true above by them confeſſed, and that they were of the dioceſe and juriſdiction of London. But Elizabeth Pepper added, That ſhe was of the town of Colcheſter.

And Agnes George added, That ſhe was of the Pariſh of Barefold. And Lyon Cawch added, That he was then of the City of London, by reaſon that he was at that preſent a merchant there.

Henry Wye, Brewer, was of the pariſh of Stratford le Hore, and of 52 years of age.

William Halliwel was a ſmith, of the pariſh of Waltham Holy-Croſs, and of the age of 24 years, or thereabouts.

Ralph Jackſon was a ſerving man of Chipping Ongar, and of the age of 24 years.

Lawrence Pernam was a ſmith of Hodſdon, within the pariſh of Amwell, in the county of Hertford, and of the age of 22 years.

John Derifall was a labourer, of the pariſh of Rettington in Eſſex, and of the age of 50 years and above.

Edmund

Engraved
for Fox's Book of
Martyrs.

The Martyrdom of H: Adlington, I. Parnam, H. Wye, W: Halkywell, T. Bowyer,
G. Searles, E. Hurst, I. Lawch, R. Jackson, J. Derifall, J. Routh,
Eliz: Pepper, and Agnes George, at Stratford, Bow.

G. Terry Sculp.

Published as the Act directs, for H. Trapp Pater-noster Row.

Pater noster Row.

PARIS
7 SEPT
ACADEMIE

Edmund Hurſt, labourer, of St. James in Colcheſter, was 50 years of age.

Thomas Bowyer was a weaver of Much Dunmow, and of the age of 36 years.

George Searles was a taylor, between 20 and 21 years of age, of the pariſh of White Nottle, where he was taken and carried to the lord Rich, who ſent him to Colcheſter caſtle, with a commandment that no friend he had in the world ſhould ſpeak with him. There he lay ſix weeks, and was ſent up to London, where he was ſome time in the biſhop's coal-houſe, ſome time in Lollard's tower, and laſt of all in Newgate. He was apprehended in Lent, about a fortnight before Eaſter, in the place aforeſaid.

Lyon Cawch was a broker, born in Flanders, but when he was apprehended he reſided in the city of London, and of the age of 26 years.

Henry Adlington was a ſawyer, and of Greenſted, in the county of Suſſex, and of the age of 30 years.

John Routh was a labourer, and of the pariſh of Wiekes in Eſſex, and of the age of 26 years.

Elizabeth Pepper was the wife of Thomas Pepper, weaver, of the pariſh of St. James, in the town of Colcheſter, and of the age of 20 years, or thereabouts, who when ſhe was burnt at Stratford, was eleven weeks gone with child, as ſhe then teſtified to one Boſom's wife, who then unlooſed her neckerchief, ſaying moreover when ſhe was aſked why ſhe did not tell them; Why, quoth ſhe, they knew it well enough. O! ſuch be the bloody hearts of this cruel generation, that no occaſion can ſtay them from their miſchievous murdering of the ſaints of the Lord, who truly profeſs Chriſt crucified only and alone for the ſatisfaction of their ſins.

Agnes George was the wife of Richard George, huſbandman, of Weſt-Barefold, in the county of Eſſex, and of the age of 26 years. This Richard George had another wife before her, who was burnt in the poſtern at Colcheſter, and himſelf lay in priſon till queen Elizabeth came to the crown, and then he was releaſed.

When theſe thirteen were condemned, and the day appointed they ſhould ſuffer, which was the 27th of June, 1556, they were carried from Newgate in London the ſame day, to Stratford Bow (the place appointed for their martyrdom) and there divided into two parts, in two ſeveral chambers. Afterwards the ſheriff, who there attended upon them, came to the one part, and told them that the other had recanted, and their lives therefore ſhould be ſaved, willing and exhorting them to do the like, and not to caſt themſelves away.

Unto whom they anſwered, that their faith was not built upon man, but on Chriſt crucified. Then the ſheriff perceiving no good to be done with them, went to the other part and ſaid (like a lyar) the like to them, that they with whom he had been before had recanted, and ſhould therefore not ſuffer death, counſelling them to do the like, and not wilfully to kill themſelves, but to play the wiſe men, &c.

Unto whom they anſwered as their brethren had done before, that their faith was not built on man, but on Chriſt and his word, &c.

Now when he ſaw it needleſs to perſuade (for they were, God be praiſed, ſurely grounded on the Rock Jeſus Chriſt) he then led them to the place where they ſhould ſuffer, and being all there together, moſt earneſtly prayed unto God, and joyfully went to the ſtake, and kiſſed it, and embraced it very heartily.

The eleven men were tied to three ſtakes, and the two women looſe in the midſt without any ſtake, and ſo they ſhere all burnt in one fire, with ſuch love to each other, and conſtancy in our Saviour Chriſt, that it made all the lookers on to marvel. The Lord grant us the like grace in the like need, according to the good pleaſure of his will, Amen.

In the company of theſe aforeſaid thirteen, were three more condemned to die, whoſe names are hereunder ſpecified;

Thomas Freeman.
William Stannard.
William Adams.

Theſe three anſwered to the ſame articles that were propounded to the aforeſaid thirteen, in effect as they did. And being thus in the hands of the ſecular power, Cardinal Pool ſent his diſpenſation for their lives, by what occaſion I cannot ſafely ſay, but by means thereof they then eſcaped.

The Sunday after theſe aforeſaid ſixteen were condemned, Fecknam dean of Paul's, preached at Paul's Croſs, where he declared, that they had as many ſundry opinions as they were ſundry perſons. At the hearing whereof they drew out their faith, and ſet to their hands as hereafter followeth, and directed the ſame to their friends, and the faithful congregation, as followeth.

Unto all our dearly beloved Friends, and the holy Congregation of Jeſus Chriſt, even ſo many as love God, Grace be with you, and Peace from God our Father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. So be it.

BE it manifeſt to all unto whom this our certificate ſhall be ſeen, that where upon Saturday, being the thirteenth day of June, at Fulham, before the biſhop of London, ſixteen of us (whoſe names hereunder are ſubſcribed) were condemned to die for the moſt pure and ſincere truth of Chriſt's verity; which moſt godly truth hath been from the beginning with the wicked adverſaries thereof continually defaced, and is by the devil and his imps even at this preſent likewiſe daily ſlandered: Upon this occaſion, dearly beloved brethren, we are moved, yea conſtrained, in the ears of all men to manifeſt our belief, and alſo briefly the articles whereof we are condemned, for the avoiding of falſe reports and ſlanderous tongues, which might happen by the moſt ungodly and uncharitable ſermon lately preached at Paul's Croſs, the fourteenth of the ſaid month, being Sunday, by Mr. Fecknam, now dean of the ſame church; where he in that moſt worthy audience defamed us to be in ſixteen ſundry opinions, which were a thing prejudicial to chriſtian verity; and for a teſtimonial thereof, this hereunder written ſhall anſwer our cauſe, and therefore we pray you that are of God to judge.

The firſt, We believe we were baptized into the faith of Chriſt's church, and incorporate unto him, and made members of his church, in which faith we continue. And although we have erred for a certain time, yet the root of faith was preſerved in us by the Holy Ghoſt, which hath reduced us into a full certainty of the ſame, and we do perſiſt, and will by God's aſſiſtance to the end. Now mark, that although the miniſter were of the church malignant, yet his wickedneſs did not hurt us, for that he baptized us in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.

There was both the word and the element, and our godfathers and godmothers renouncing for us the devil and all his works, and confeſſing the articles of the chriſtian faith for us, and alſo witneſſes that we are baptized, not in the faith of the church of Rome, but in the faith of Chriſt's church.

1. Item, There are but two ſacraments in Chriſt's church, that is, the ſacrament of baptiſm, and the Lord's ſupper. For in theſe are contained the faith of Chriſt his church; that is, the two teſtaments, the law and the goſpel. The effect of the law is repentance, and the effect of the goſpel remiſſion of ſins.

2. Item, We believe there is a viſible church, wherein the word of God is preached, and the holy ſacraments

truly adminiſtered, viſible to the wicked world, although it be not credited, and by the death of ſaints confirmed, as it was in the time of Elias the prophet, as well as now.

3. Item, The ſee of Rome is the ſee of Antichriſt, the congregation of the wicked, &c. whereof the pope is head under the devil.

4. Item, The maſs is not only a profanation of the Lord's ſupper, but alſo a blaſphemous idol.

5. Item, God is neither ſpiritually nor corporally in the ſacrament of the altar, and there remaineth no ſubſtance in the ſame, but only the ſubſtance of bread and wine.

For theſe the articles of our belief, we being condemned to die, do willingly offer our corruptible bodies to be diſſolved in the fire, all with one voice aſſenting and conſenting thereunto, and in no point diſſenting or diſagreeing from any of our former articles.

Apparent alſo let it be known, that being examined of the former articles before the bloody biſhop, the ſaid day and time, we affirmed to believe all that he or they would prove by the ſcriptures. But he ſaid that he would not ſtand to prove it with heretics, but ſaid they themſelves were the holy church, and that we ought to believe them, or elſe to be cut off like withered branches.

Ralph Jackſon.	Edmund Hurſt.
Henry Adlington.	Laurence Pernman.
Lyon Cawch.	Thomas Bowyer.
William Halliwell.	Elizabeth Pepper.
George Searles.	Agnes George,
John Routh.	Thomas Freeman.
John Derifall.	William Stannard.
Henry Wye.	William Adams.

About the 14th of June, in the ſame year, John Colſtock, who was lately come from London, and now dwelling at Welington, though he did not ſuffer martyrdom, yet ſuſtained ſome trouble, being examined by the biſhop, named Ralph Bane, for his religion, eſpecially for two points, in holding againſt the reality of Chriſt in the ſacrament, and againſt auricular confeſſion to be made to the prieſt. For which cauſe, being compelled to recant, he was enjoined in the church of St. Cedde, to bear a faggot before the croſs bareheaded, having in the one hand a taper, and in the other a pair of beads, &c.

Amongſt divers others which in the ſame dioceſe, and the ſame time were ſuſpected and troubled for the like, was Thomas Flier of Uttoxater, ſhoemaker, Nic. Ball of Uttoxater, Thomas Pyot of Chedull.

Item, Henry Crimes for marrying his wife on Palm-Sunday eve, &c. Some others alſo there were which had the like penance enjoined them, as Thomas Johnſon about the 26th day of this month of June, becauſe he ſware by the holy maſs before the biſhop ſitting in judgment, who for the ſame was driven to go before the croſs with his taper and beads, &c.

In the ſame month of June one Thomas Parret died in the priſon of the King-bench in Southwark, and was buried in the back-ſide the 27th day of the ſaid month.

Alſo Martin Hunt (as is reported) was famiſhed in the ſame priſon the 29th day. At which time likewiſe died in the ſame priſon, as I find recorded, one John Norris, and after the ſame ſort as the other was buried on the back-ſide of the ſaid priſon.

The Martyrdom of Roger Bernard, Adam Foſter, and Robert Lawſon.

WHEN Roger Bernard came before the biſhop, firſt he was aſked whether he had been with the prieſt at Eaſter to be ſhriven, and whether he had received the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, or no? Unto whom Roger Bernard anſwered, No: I have not been with the prieſt, nor confeſſed myſelf unto him, but I have confeſſed my ſins to Almighty God, and I truſt he hath forgiven me: whereof I ſhall not need to go to the prieſt for ſuch matters, who cannot help himſelf.

Biſhop. Surely, Bernard, thou muſt needs go, and confeſs thyſelf unto him.

Bernard. That ſhall I not do, by God's grace, while I live.

Biſhop. What a ſtout boyly heretic is this? How malapertly he anſwereth?

Bernard. My Lord, it grieveth me no whit, I thank God, to be called heretic at your hands: for ſo your forefathers called the prophets and confeſſors of Chriſt long before this time.

At theſe words the biſhop roſe up in a great heat, and bade Bernard follow him. Then the biſhop went and kneeled before what they call the ſacrament of the altar, and as he was in his prayers kneeling, he looked back, and aſked Bernard why he came not and did as he did. Unto whom Bernard anſwered, I cannot tell why I ſhould do ſo. Why, quoth the biſhop, thou lewd fellow, whom ſeeſt thou yonder, pointing to the Pyx over the altar?

Bernard. I ſee nobody there. Do you, my lord?

Biſhop. Why, naughty man, doſt thou not ſee thy maker?

Bernard. My maker? No, I ſee nothing but a few clouts hanging together on a heap.

With that the biſhop roſe up ſore diſpleaſed, and commanded the goaler to take him away, and to lay irons enough on him. For, ſaid he, I will tame him ere he go from me, I think ſo: and ſo he was carried away.

The next day Bernard was brought again before the biſhop, who aſked him if he did not remember himſelf ſince the day before that he was before him.

Bernard. Yes, my lord, I have remembered myſelf very well, for the ſame man I was yeſterday, I am this day, and I hope ſhall be all the days of my life, concerning the matter you talked with me of.

Then one of the guard ſtanding by, ſaid, My lord, I pray you trouble not yourſelf any more with him, but let me have the examining of him, I ſhall handle him after another ſort, I think, and make him a fair child ere he go, you ſhall ſee.

So he was committed to him, and brought by him to an inn, where were a great many prieſts aſſembled together, and there they all fell to flatter him, and perſuaded him with gay enticing words what they could: but when they could not prevail therein, then they began to threaten him with whipping, ſtocking, burning, and ſuch like. Unto whom Bernard ſaid, Friends, I am not better than my maſter Chriſt, and the prophets, which your fathers ſerved after ſuch ſort; and for his name's ſake am content to ſuffer the like at your hands, if God ſo permit, truſting that he will ſtrengthen me in the ſame according to his promiſe, in the ſpite of the devil, and all his miniſters. So when they could not make him to relent or yield, they ſaid, Behold a right ſcholar of John Fortune, whom they had then in priſon. Then they carried him to the biſhop, who immediately condemned him as an heretic, and delivered him to the ſecular power.

This Roger Bernard was a ſingle man, and by his vocation a labourer, dwelling in Framſden in Suffolk, who was taken in the night by Mr. Tamage's men, becauſe he would not go to church to hear their unſavoury ſervice, and ſo by them carried to priſon.

Adam

Adam Foſter.

ADAM FOSTER, of the age of ſix and twenty years, huſbandman, being married, dwelling in Mendleſam, in the county of Suffolk, was taken at home in his houſe, a little before the ſun going down, by the conſtables of the ſaid town, George Revet and Thomas Rouſe, at the commandment of Sir John Tyrrel, of Gipping-hall, in Suffolk, knight, becauſe he would not go to church and hear maſs, and receive at Eaſter, except he might have it after Chriſt's holy ordinance. When they came for him, they told him he muſt go with them unto the juſtice. Unto whom Adam Foſter ſaid, for Chriſt's cauſe, and to ſave his conſcience, he was well contented; and ſo they led him to Sir John Tyrrel, and he ſent him to Eye-dungeon, in Suffolk, from whence at length he was ſent to Norwich, and there condemned by biſhop Hopton.

Now after his apprehenſion, the ſaid Thomas Rouſe and George Revet, were ſtricken with a great fear and ſickneſs, whereby Rouſe pined and conſumed away even unto death, although he was a luſty young man. But George Revet who was the ſaid Rouſe's fellow, and a great reader of the ſcripture, or (as a man may term it), a talkative goſpeller, would not be premoniſhed by the works of God, but ſet his ſon to help the prieſt at maſs, and to be clerk of the ſame town of Mendleſam for lucre ſake; yet was there a fair warning given him of God, although he had not the grace ſo to conſider it, which thing was this:

A young man of the ſame pariſh newly married, called Robert Edgore, being of a ripe wit and ſound, was clerk in the ſaid church before the ſaid Revet ſent his ſon in that room, and executed the office a little, yea alas too long, againſt his own conſcience; whereby at length the Lord ſo took away his wits, that many years after, his poor and woful wife, good woman, was compelled to keep him chained, and bound continually, leſt he ſhould unawares do himſelf or ſome other ſome miſchief, as many times (the more pity) he was ready enough to do.

This (as I ſaid) would not admoniſh Revet, but needs he muſt perſiſt in his wicked purpoſe. Notwithſtanding at the length, as many men were offended with him in the pariſh, ſo honeſt women eſpecially (being mightily grieved at his ungodly doings), came to him and ſaid, Neighbour Revet, are ye not afraid to let your ſon help the naughty prieſt to ſay maſs, and to ſerve that abominable idol? And he ſaid, No.

Then ſaid they, We fear not to go to church and hear maſs, ſeeing you, being a man that ſo much profeſs chriſtianity, will let your ſon help the prieſt to ſay maſs, &c.

At which words Revet waxed angry, and in his rage immediately made his prayer unto God after this manner, or with ſuch like words, ſaying, "O Lord, if it be not thy will, that my ſon ſhould ſo do, then I beſeech thee ſend ſome ſtrange token, to let me underſtand what thy good pleaſure is therein," &c. So according to his petition, within ſhort ſpace after his neighbour's bull came into his paſture, and there he having a very proper gelding, which was his felicity above any thing he had, the bull running upon him, did ſo wound and gore him, that immediately thereof his gelding died, and he thereby nothing amended. For although he knew and confeſſed, that it was the Lord's hand upon him for the ſufferance of his ſon in that wicked vocation; yet would he not take him from it, but permitted him ſtill to uſe and frequent the ſame againſt his own conſcience.

At the laſt the Lord ſent upon him a great ſwelling in his legs, which did ſo grievouſly vex and trouble him by reaſon it ſwelled upward, that at length having thereby brought upon him a very ſtrange ſickneſs, he died moſt miſerably, in ſo impatient manner, that it terrified all good hearts to hear thereof. The Lord grant for Chriſt's ſake, that we may obſerve his judgments better to his glory and our comfort, Amen.

Robert Lawſon.

ROBERT LAWSON was a ſingle man, of the age of thirty years, and by vocation a linen-weaver, who was apprehended in the night by one Robert Kereth, at the command of Sir John Tyrrel of Gipping-hall, in Suffolk, knight, and ſo was immediately carried to the Eye-dungeon in Suffolk, where he remained a certain time, and after was led to Bury. The cauſe of his being taken, was for that he would not go to church to hear maſs, and receive their popiſh idol.

When theſe three aforeſaid martyrs were carried to their death, namely, Roger Bernard, Adam Foſter, and Robert Lawſon, at Bury, after they had made their prayer, being at the ſtake, and the tormentors attending the fire, they moſt triumphantly ended their lives, in ſuch a happy and bleſſed condition, as did notably ſet forth their conſtancy and joyful end, to the great praiſe of God, and their commendation in him, and alſo to the encouragement of others in the ſame quarrel to do the like. The Lord of ſtrength fortify us to ſtand as his true ſoldiers in what ſtanding ſoever he ſhall think it good to place us, Amen.

In the examination of Roger Bernard, ye heard a little before, how he was compared by the prieſts there, to John Fortune, and called his ſcholar. This John Fortune, otherwiſe called Cutler, of Hintleſham in Suffolk, was by his occupation a black-ſmith, whom they had before them in examination a little before, on the 20th day of April. In ſpirit he was zealous and ardent, in the ſcriptures ready, in Chriſt's cauſe ſtout and valiant, in his anſwers marvelous, and no leſs patient in his wrongful ſuffering than conſtant in his doctrine. Whether he was burnt or died in priſon, I cannot certainly find; but rather I ſuppoſe that he was burnt. Certain it is, howſoever he was made away, he never yielded. What his anſwers and examinations were before Dr. Parker and the biſhop, ye ſhall hear him, although not with his own mouth ſpeaking, yet with his own hand written what he did ſay, as followeth.

The Examination of John Fortune before Dr. Parker and Mr. Foſter.

FIRST Dr. Parker aſked me how I believed in the catholic faith.

And I aſked him which faith he meant: whether the faith that Stephen had, or the faith of them that put Stephen to death.

Dr. Parker being moved, ſaid, What a naughty fellow is this? you ſhall ſee anon he will deny the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar.

Then ſaid Mr. Foſter, I know you well enough. You are a buſy merchant. How ſayſt thou by the bleſſed maſs?

And I ſtood ſtill and made no anſwer.

Then, ſaid Foſter, Why ſpeakeſt thou not, and makeſt the gentleman an anſwer?

And I ſaid, Silence is a good anſwer to a fooliſh queſtion.

Then ſaid Dr. Parker, I am ſure he will deny the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar alſo.

And I ſaid, I know none ſuch, but only the ſacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

Then ſaid Dr. Parker, You deny the order of the ſeven ſacraments. And why doſt not thou believe in the ſacrament of the altar?

And I ſaid, Becauſe it is not written in God's book.

Then, ſaid he, you will not believe unwritten verities.

And I ſaid, I will believe that thoſe unwritten verities that agree with the written verities be true: but thoſe unwritten verities that be of your own making, and invented of your own brain, I do not believe.

Well, ſaid Mr. Foſter, you ſhall be whipped and burnt for this gear, I trow.

Then ſaid I, If you knew how theſe words do rejoice my heart, you would not have ſpoken them.

Then ſaid Mr. Foſter, Away thou fool, doſt thou rejoice in whipping?

Yes, ſaid I, for it is written in the ſcriptures, and Chriſt ſaith, Thou ſhalt be whipped for my name's ſake: and ſince the time that the ſword of tyranny came into your hands, I heard of none that were whipped. Happy were I, if I had the maiden-head of this perſecution.

Away with him then, ſaid he, for he is ten times worſe than Samuel: and ſo he was carried to priſon again.

The ſecond Examination of John Fortune, before the Biſhop of Norwich.

WHEN I came before the biſhop, he aſked me if I did not believe in the catholic church.

I ſaid, I believe that church whereof Chriſt is the head.

Then ſaid the biſhop, Doſt thou not believe that the pope is ſupreme head of the church?

And I ſaid, No, Chriſt is the head of the true church.

Biſhop. So do I believe alſo: but the pope is God's vicar upon earth, and the head of the church, and I believe that he hath power to forgive ſins alſo.

Fortune. The pope is but a man, and the prophet David ſaith, "That no man can deliver his brother, nor make agreement unto God for him; for it coſt more to redeem their ſouls, ſo that he muſt let that alone for ever."

And the biſhop again fetching about a great circumſtance, ſaid, Like as the belwether weareth the bell, and is the head of the flock of ſheep: ſo is the pope our head. And as the hives of bees have a maſter-bee that bringeth the bees to the hive again: ſo doth our head bring us home again to our true church.

Then I aſked him, whether the pope were a ſpiritual man. And he ſaid, Yea. And I ſaid again, They are ſpiteful men; for in 17 months there were three popes, and one poiſoned another for that preſumptuous ſeat of Antichriſt.

Biſhop. It is maliciouſly ſpoken, for thou muſt obey the power and not the man. And thus was the pope denied to be ſupreme head. Well, what ſayeſt thou to the ceremonies of the church?

And I ſaid, "All things that are not planted by my heavenly Father, ſhall be plucked up by the roots," ſaith our Saviour: for they are not from the beginning, neither ſhall they continue to the end.

Biſhop. They are good and godly, and neceſſary to be uſed.

Fortune. St. Paul called them weak and beggarly.

Biſhop. No, that is a lye.

I hearing that, ſaid, that St. Paul writeth thus in the fourth chapter to the Galatians, "You fooliſh Galations (ſaith he) who hath bewitched you, that ye ſeek to be in bondage to theſe weak and beggarly ceremonies?" Now which of you do lye, you or St. Paul? And alſo it is ſaid, That works inſtituted, and injoined without the commandment of God, pertain not to the worſhip of God, according to the text, Matt. 15. "In vain do men worſhip me with men's traditions and commandments." And St. Paul ſaith, "Wherefore do ye carry us away from the grace of Chriſt to another kind of doctrine?" And Chriſt openly rebuked the ſcribes, lawyers, phariſees, doctors, prieſts, biſhops, and hypocrites, for making God's commandments of none effect, to ſupport their own tradition.

Biſhop. Thou lyeſt, there is not ſuch a word in all the ſcriptures, thou naughty heretic. Thou art worſe than all other heretics: for Hooper and Bradford allow them to be good, and thou doſt not. Away with him.

Here you may perceive how that the catholic church cannot err, but whatſoever they ſay muſt needs be true. And ſo my lord biſhop cannot lye, as it may appear to all men plainly in the text.

The third Examination of John Fortune, before the Biſhop of Norwich.

THE next day I was brought before the ſaid biſhop again, where he made a ſermon upon the ſixth chapter of St. John's goſpel, of Chriſt's words, "I am the bread that came down from heaven," &c. And thereupon had a great bibble babble to no purpoſe. So in the end I was called before him, and he ſaid to me:

Biſhop. How believeſt thou in the ſacrament of the altar? Doſt thou not believe, that after the conſecration, there is the real ſubſtance of the body of Chriſt?

Fortune. That is the greateſt plague that ever came into England.

Biſhop. Why ſo?

Fortune. If I were a biſhop, and you a poor man as I am, I would be aſhamed to aſk ſuch a queſtion: for a biſhop ſhould be apt to teach and not to learn.

Biſhop. I am appointed by the law to teach, ſo are not you.

Fortune. Your law breaketh out very well: for you have burned up the true biſhops and preachers, and maintained lyars to be in their ſtead.

Biſhop. Now you may underſtand that he is a traitor: for he denieth the higher powers.

Fortune. I am no traitor: for St. Paul ſaith, "All ſouls muſt obey the higher powers," and I reſiſt not the higher powers concerning my body, but I muſt reſiſt your evil doctrine wherewith you would infect my ſoul.

Then ſaid a doctor, My lord, you do not well; let him anſwer ſhortly to his articles.

Biſhop. How ſayeſt thou? make an anſwer quickly to theſe articles.

Fortune. St. Paul ſaith, Heb. 10. "Chriſt did one ſacrifice once for all, and ſat him down on the right-hand of his Father," triumphing over hell and death, making interceſſion for ſins.

Biſhop. I aſk thee no ſuch queſtion, but make anſwer to this article.

Fortune. If it be not God before the conſecration, it is not God after: for God is without beginning and without ending.

Biſhop. Lo, what a ſtiff heretic is this! He hath denied all together: how ſayeſt thou? Is it idolatry to worſhip the bleſſed ſacrament or no?

Fortune. God is a Spirit, and will be worſhipped in ſpirit and truth.

Biſhop. I aſk thee no ſuch queſtion, anſwer me directly.

Fortune. I anſwer that this is the God Mauzzim, that robbeth God of his honour.

Biſhop. It is pity that the ground beareth thee, or that thou haſt a tongue to ſpeak.

Then ſaid the ſcribe, Here are a great many more articles.

Then ſaid the biſhop, Away with him: for he hath ſpoken too much.

Another Examination of J. Fortune.

WHEN I came to mine examination again, the biſhop aſked me if I ſhould ſtand unto mine anſwer that I had made before: and I ſaid, yea: for I had ſpoken

ſpoken nothing but the truth. And after that he made a great circumſtance upon the ſacrament.

Then I deſired him to ſtand to the text, and he read the goſpel on Corpus Chriſti day, which ſaid, "I am the bread which came down from heaven:" believeſt thou not this? And I ſaid, Yea truly.

And he ſaid, Why doſt thou deny the ſacrament?

Becauſe your doctrine is falſe, ſaid I.

Then ſaid he, how can that be falſe which is ſpoken in the ſcripture? And I ſaid, Chriſt ſaid, "I am the bread;" and you ſay the bread is he. Therefore your doctrine is falſe, ſaid I.

Then, ſaid he, Doſt thou not believe that the bread is he? And I ſaid, No.

Biſhop. I will bring thee to it by the ſcriptures.

Fortune. Hold that faſt, my lord: for that is the beſt argument that you have yet.

Biſhop. Thou ſhalt be burned like an heretic.

Fortune. Who ſhall give judgment upon me?

Biſhop. I will judge an hundred ſuch as thou art, and never be ſhriven upon it.

Fortune. Is there not law for the ſpiritualty, as well as for the temporalty?

And Sir Clement Higham ſaid, Yes, what meaneſt thou by that?

Fortune. When a man is perjured by the law, he is caſt over the bar, and ſitteth no more in judgment. And the biſhop is a perjured man, and ought to ſit in judgment of no man.

Biſhop. How proveſt thou that?

Fortune. Becauſe you took an oath in King Henry's days to reſiſt the pope. So both ſpiritual and temporal are perjured, that here can be no true judgment.

Biſhop. Thinkeſt thou to eſcape judgment by that? No: for my chancellor ſhall judge thee. He took no oath, for he was then out of the realm.

C. Higham. It is time to weed out ſuch fellows as you be, indeed.

Biſhop. Good fellow, why believeſt not thou in the ſacrament of the altar?

Fortune. Becauſe I find it not in God's book, nor yet in the doctors. If it were there I would believe it with all my heart.

Biſhop. How knoweſt thou it is not there?

Fortune. Becauſe it is contrary to the ſecond commandment: and ſeeing it is not written in God's book, why do you then rob me of my life?

Then the biſhop having no more to ſay, commanded the bailiff to take him away.

And thus much touching the examinations of this man. Now whether he died in fire, or was otherwiſe prevented with death, as I ſaid before, I am uncertain.

In the regiſter of Norwich this I do find, that his ſentence of condemnation was drawn and regiſtered; but whether it was pronounced, it is not expreſſed in the ſaid regiſter, according as the uſual manner of the notary is ſo to declare, in the end of the ſentence. Nevertheleſs this is moſt certain, that he never abjured nor recanted, howſoever it pleaſed the Lord by death to call him out of the world.

The Death of John Careleſs in the King's-Bench.

ABOUT the firſt of July, John Careleſs of Coventry, weaver, died in the priſon of the King's-bench: who though he were by the ſecret judgment of Almighty God prevented by death, ſo that he came not to the full martyrdom of his body, yet he is no leſs worthy to be counted in honour and place of Chriſt's martyrs, than others that ſuffered moſt cruel torments; as well becauſe he was for the ſame truth's ſake a long time impriſoned, as alſo for his willing mind and zealous affection he had thereunto, if the Lord had ſo determined it, as may well appear by his examination before Dr. Martin. Which examination, becauſe it contained nothing almoſt but wrangling interrogations, and matters of contention, wherein Dr. Martin would enter into no communication about the articles of his accuſation, but only urged him to detect his fellows, it is not therefore greatly material to expreſs the whole, but only to inſert ſo much as, pertaining to the queſtion of predeſtination, may bring ſome fruit to the reader.

The Effect of John Careleſs's Examination before Dr. Martin, briefly declared.

FIRST, Dr. Martin calling John Careleſs to him in his chamber, demanded what was his name? To whom when the other had anſwered, that his name was John Careleſs, then began Dr. Martin to deſcant at his pleaſure upon that name, ſaying, that it would appear by his condition, by that time he had done with him, that he would be a true Careleſs man indeed. And ſo after other by-talk there ſpent about much needleſs matter, then he aſked him where he was born.

Forſooth, ſaith Careleſs, at Coventry.

Martin. At Coventry? what ſo far, man? How cameſt thou hither? Who ſent thee to the King's-bench priſon?

Careleſs. I was brought hither by a writ, I think, what he was I cannot tell. I ſuppoſe maſter Marſhal can tell you.

Marſhal. In good faith I cannot tell what the matter is; but indeed my lord chief juſtice ſent him from the bar.

Martin. Well, Careleſs, I would thou ſhouldſt play the wiſe man's part. Thou art a handſome man, and it is pity but thou ſhouldſt do well, and ſave that which God hath bought.

Careleſs. I thank your good maſterſhip moſt heartily: and I put you out of doubt, that I am moſt ſure and certain of my ſalvation by Jeſus Chriſt; ſo that my ſoul is ſafe already, whatſoever pains my body ſuffer here for a little time.

Martin. Yea marry, you ſay truth. For thou art ſo predeſtinate to life, that thou canſt not periſh in whatſoever opinion thou doſt die.

Careleſs. That God hath predeſtinated me to eternal life in Jeſus Chriſt, I am moſt certain, and even ſo am I ſure that his Holy Spirit (wherewith I am ſealed) will ſo preſerve me from all hereſies and evil opinions, that I ſhall die in none at all.

Martin. Go to, let me hear thy faith in predeſtination. For that ſhall be written alſo.

Careleſs. Your maſterſhip ſhall pardon me herein. For you ſaid yourſelf ere while, that you had no commiſſion to examine my conſcience. I will trouble myſelf with anſwering no more matters than I needs muſt, until I come before them that ſhall have more authority further to examine me.

Martin. I tell thee then I have commiſſion, yea, and commandment from the council to examine thee: for they delivered me thy articles.

Careleſs. Yea, I think indeed that your maſterſhip is appointed to examine me of my articles, which you have there in writing, and I have told you the truth. I do confeſs them to be mine own fact and deed: but you do now examine me of predeſtination, whereof my articles ſpeak nothing at all.

Martin, I tell thee yet again, that I muſt alſo examine thee of ſuch things as be in controverſy between thee and thy fellows in the King's-bench, whereof predeſtination is a part, as thy fellow N— hath confeſſed, and thyſelf doſt not deny.

Careleſs. I do not deny it. But he that firſt told you that, might have found himſelf much better occupied.

Martin. Why, what if he had not told me, thinkeſt thou

thou that I would not have known it? Yes, or elſe thou ſhould have withſtood my commiſſion. For I tell thee the truth, I may now examine thee of the bleſſed ſacrament, or any other thing that I liſt, but that I would ſhew the favour, and not be too haſty with thee at the firſt.

Marſhal. Yea, indeed, Careleſs, Mr. Doctor hath commiſſion to examine you or any other of your fellows.

Martin. Yea, marry have I, I tell thee the truth of it.

Careleſs. Then let your ſcribe ſet his pen to the paper, and you ſhall have it roundly, even as the truth is. I believe that Almighty God our moſt dear loving Father, of his great mercy and infinite goodneſs, did elect in Chriſt.

Martin. Tuſh, What need all that long circumſtance? [I believe God elected] and make no more ado.

Careleſs. No, not ſo, Mr. Doctor: it is an high myſtery, and ought reverently to be ſpoken of. And if my words may not he written as I do utter them, I will not ſpeak at all.

Martin. Go to, go to, write what he will. Here is more buſineſs than needeth.

Careleſs. I believe that Almighty God our moſt dear and loving Father, of his great mercy and infinite goodneſs (through Jeſus Chriſt) did elect and appoint in him before the foundation of the earth was laid, a church or congregation, which he doth continually guide and govern by his grace and Holy Spirit, ſo that not one of them ſhall ever finally periſh.

When this was written, Mr. Doctor took it in his hand and read it, ſaying,

Why, who will deny this?

Careleſs. If your maſterſhip do allow it, and other learned men when they ſhall ſee it, I have my heart's deſire.

Martin. And do you hold none otherwiſe, than is there written?

Careleſs. No verily, nor ever did.

Martin. Write what he ſaith, Otherwiſe he holdeth not. So that was written.

Martin. It was told me alſo, that thou doſt affirm, That Chriſt did not die effectually for all men.

Careleſs. Whatſoever hath been told you, it is not much material unto me. Let the tellers of ſuch tales come before my face, and I truſt to make them anſwer. For indeed I do believe that Chriſt did effectually die for all thoſe that do effectually repent and believe, and for no other. So that was written alſo.

Martin. Now, Sir, what is Trew's faith of predeſtination? He believeth that all men be predeſtinate, and that none ſhall be damned, doth he not.

Careleſs. No forſooth, that he doth not.

Martin. How then?

Careleſs. Truly I think he doth believe as your maſterſhip and the reſt of the clergy do believe of predeſtination, that we be elected in reſpect of our good works, and ſo long elected, as we do them, and no longer.

Martin. Write what he ſaith, That his fellow Trew believeth of predeſtination as the papiſts do believe,

Careleſs. Ah maſter Doctor, did I ſo term you? Seeing that this my confeſſion ſhall come before the council, I pray you place my terms as reverently as I ſpeak them.

Martin. Well, well, write that Trew is of the ſame faith as the catholics be.

Careleſs. I did not ſo call you neither, I wonder what you mean.

Martin. You ſaid the clergy, did you not, Careleſs?

Careleſs. Yes, forfooth did I. So then it was written of the clergy.

Martin. Now, Sir, what ſay you more?

Careleſs. Forſooth I have no further to ſay in this matter.

Martin. Well, Careleſs, I pray thee prove thyſelf a wiſe man, and do not caſt away thy life wilfully.

Careleſs. Now the Lord he knoweth, good Mr. Doctor. I would gladly live, ſo that I might do the ſame with a ſafe conſcience. And your maſterſhip ſhall right well perceive that I will be no wilful man, but in all things that I ſtand upon I will have ſure ground.

Martin. Now the Lord knoweth, good Careleſs, that I would gladly make ſome means to preſerve thy life. But thou ſpeakeſt ſo much of the Lord, the Lord; wilt thou be content to go with my Lord Fitzwater into Ireland? methinks thou art a goodly tall fellow to do the queen ſervice there. How ſay'ſt thou?

Careleſs. Verily Mr. Doctor, whether I be in Ireland, France, or Spain, or any place elſe, I am ready to do her grace the beſt ſervice that I can, with body, goods and life, ſo long as it doth laſt.

Martin. That is honeſtly ſaid, I promiſe thee, every man will not ſay ſo. How ſay you, Mr. Marſhal? this man is meet for all manner of ſervice. Indeed thou art worthy, Careleſs, to have the more favour.

Careleſs. Indeed Sir, I hope to be meet and ready unto all things that pertain unto a true chriſtian ſubject to do. And if her grace or her officers under her do require me to do any thing contrary to Chriſt's religion, I am ready alſo to do my ſervice in Smithfield for not obſerving it, as my bed-fellow and other brethren have done, praiſed be God for them.

Martin. By my troth thou art a pleaſant fellow as ever I talked with of the proteſtants, except it were Tomſon. I am ſorry that I muſt depart from thee ſo ſoon; but I have ſuch buſineſs now, that I can tarry with thee no longer. Well, yet thou canſt not deny, but you are at jar among yourſelves in the King's-bench, and it is ſo throughout all your congregation; for you will not be a church.

Careleſs. No, maſter Doctor, that is not ſo. There is a thouſand times more variety in opinions among your doctors, which you call of the catholic church, yea and that in the ſacrament, for which there is ſo much blood ſhed now-a-days, I mean of your latter doctors and new writers; as for the old they agree wholly with us.

Martin. No, Careleſs, this is not ſo; there thou art deceived.

Careleſs. Verily it is ſo, maſter Doctor, I am not deceived therein any thing at all, as it hath been, and is evidently proved by ſuch as God hath indued with great learning.

Then he turned to the marſhal, and whiſpered with him a while.

Turning to me again, he ſaid, Farewel, Careleſs: for I can tarry no longer with thee now, my buſineſs is ſuch.

Careleſs. God be with you, good maſter Doctor, the Lord give your maſterſhip health of body and ſoul.

Martin. God have mercy, good Careleſs, and God keep thee from all errors, and give thee grace to do as well as I would wiſh myſelf.

Careleſs. I thank your good maſterſhip, I pray God I may do always that is acceptable in his ſight. Whereunto they all ſaid, Amen. And ſo I departed with a glad heart; God only have the whole praiſe, Amen.

It appeareth by the examination of the ſaid John Careleſs, that he ſuffered two whole years impriſonment, having a wife and children. When he was in Coventry gaol, he was in ſuch credit with the keeper, that upon his word he was let out to play the pageant about the city with his companions, punctually returning to priſon again at his hour appointed.

After that, being brought to London, he was indued with ſuch patience and conſtant fortitude, that he longed for

for nothing more earneſtly, than the promotion of dying in the fire for the profeſſion of his faith; but it pleaſed God to prevent him with death in the priſon, and was buried in the fields in a dunghill.

While he was priſoner in the King's-bench, he happened to be very much troubled in conſcience, whereupon he wrote to Mr. Philpot, then in biſhop Bonner's coal-houſe: upon occaſion whereof Mr. Philpot ſent him an epiſtle of conſolation, which is inſerted before among Mr. Philpot's letters. [page 486.] Upon which epiſtle John Careleſs made the following anſwer.

A Letter to Mr. John Careleſs, in anſwer to the loving Epiſtle ſent to him by Mr. John Philpot.

A faithful Friend is a ſtrong Defence, whoſo findeth ſuch a one, findeth a Treaſure.

A faithful Friend hath no Peer, the Weight of Gold and Silver is not to be compared to the Goodneſs of his Faith.

A faithful Friend is a Medicine of Life, and they that fear the Lord, ſhall find him, Eccleſ. 6.

THE Father of mercy, and God of all conſolation, comfort you with his eternal Spirit (my moſt dear and faithful loving friend, good maſter Philpot) as you have comforted me by the mighty operation of the ſame; the everlaſting God therefore be praiſed for ever, Amen.

Ah my dear heart and moſt loving brother, if I ſhould do nothing elſe day and night ſo long as the days of heaven do endure, but kneel on my knees, and read pſalms, I can never be able to render unto God condign thanks, for his great mercy, fatherly kindneſs, and moſt loving compaſſion extended unto me moſt vile, ſinful, wicked, and unworthy wretch. O that the Lord would open my mouth, and give me a thankful heart, that from the bottom of the ſame might flow his continual praiſe. O that my ſinful fleſh (which is the cauſe of ſorrow) were clean ſeparated from me, that I might ſing pſalms of thankſgiving unto the Lord's name for ever; that with good Samuel's mother I might continually record this noble verſe following, which by the good experience I have found moſt true, praiſed be my God therefore.

"The Lord (ſaith that good woman) killeth and maketh alive; he bringeth down to hell, and fetcheth up again. Praiſed be the Lord for ever, yea and praiſed be his name for that he hath given me true experience and lively feeling of the ſame. Bleſſed be the Lord God, whoſe mercy endureth for ever, which hath not dealt with me according to my deſerts, nor deſtroyed me in his diſpleaſure when I have juſtly deſerved it. O what reward ſhall I give again unto the Lord for all the great benefits that he hath done for my ſoul? I will gladly receive the cup of ſalvation at his hand, and will worſhip his name with prayer and with praiſe."

Ah my dear heart, yea moſt dear to me in the Lord, think not this ſudden change in me to be ſome fickle fantaſy of my fooliſh head (as indeed ſome others would ſurely ſuſpect it to be) for doubtleſs it is the marvellous doing of the Lord, moſt merciful unto me his unworthy creature. God for his great mercies ſake give me grace to be more thankful unto him than I heretofore have been, and keep me that I never fall forth of his favour again.

And now my dear brother, and moſt bleſſed meſſenger of the Lord, whoſe beautiful feet have brought much glad tidings to my ſoul, what ſhall I do or ſay unto you in the leaſt part to recompenſe the fatherly affection and godly care that you continually keep for me? O that God would give me the ſpirit of fervent prayer, that I might yet that way ſupply ſome little part of my duty toward you. Ah my true loving friend, how ſoon did you lay aſide all other buſineſs, to make a ſweet plaiſter for my wounded conſcience, yea, and that out of a painful pair of ſtocks, which place muſt needs be uneaſy to write in? but God hath brought you into a ſtrait place, that you might ſet my ſoul at liberty. Out of your pinching and painful ſeat, you have plentifully poured upon me your precious nard, the ſweet ſavour whereof hath greatly refreſhed my tired ſoul. The Lord likewiſe refreſh you, both body and ſoul, by pouring the oil of his gracious Spirit in your ſweet heart.

Ah good Jeremy, hath Phaſſor put thee in the ſtocks? why, now thou haſt the right reward of a prophet. Thy glory never began to appear until now. I doubt not but ſhortly, inſtead of Ahikam the ſon of Shapham, JESUS the Son of the living God will come and deliver thee forth of the hands of all thine enemies, and will alſo make good, againſt them and their Antichriſtian Synagogue, all the words that thou haſt ſpoken in his name. The Lord hath made thee this day a ſtrong defenced tower, an iron pillar, and a brazen wall againſt the whole rabble of Antichriſt, and though they fight againſt thee never ſo fiercely, yet ſhall they not overcome thee, for the Lord himſelf is with thee, to help and deliver thee: and he will rid thee out of the hands of the wicked, and will deliver thee out of the hands of the tyrants. And in that you are not buſy in caſting pearls before ſwine, nor in giving the holy things unto dogs, you are much to be commended in my ſimple judgment. And ſure I am that your circumſpect and modeſt behaviour hitherto hath been as much to God's glory, and to the ſhame and confuſion of your enemies, as any mens doings that are gone before you.

Wherefore mine advice and moſt earneſt deſire is, with all other of your loving friends, that you ſtill keep that order with thoſe blood-thirſty biteſheeps, biſhops I ſhould ſay, that you have begun. For though in concluſion they will ſurely have your blood, yet ſhall they come by it with ſhame enough, and to their perpetual infamy whilſt the world doth endure. They would indeed condemn you in huggermugger, to darken God's glory, if it might be: but Satan's thoughts are not unknown to you, and the depth of his ſubtilty is by you well foreſeen. Therefore let them do whatſoever God ſhall ſuffer them to do: for I know all things ſhall turn to your beſt. Though you lie in the dark, ſullied with the biſhop's black coal-duſt; yet ſhall you be ſhortly reſtored to the heavenly light, and be made as white as ſnow in Salmon, and as the wings of a dove that is covered with ſilver wings, and her feathers like gold. You know the veſſel, before it be made bright, is ſoiled with oil, and other things, that it may ſcour the better.

O happy be you that you be now in the ſcouring-houſe: for ſhortly you ſhall be ſet upon the celeſtial ſhelf as bright as angels. Therefore, my dear heart, I will now according to your loving requeſt, caſt away all care, and rejoice with you, and praiſe God for you, and pray for you day and night; yea, I will now with God's grace ſing pſalms of praiſe and thankſgiving with you. For now my ſoul is turned to her old reſt again, and hath taken a ſweet nap in Chriſt's lap. I have caſt my care upon the Lord, which careth for me, and will be Careleſs, according to my name, in that reſpect you would have me. I will leave out my unſeemly addition as long as I live; for it can take no place where true faith and hope is reſident. So ſoon as I had read your moſt godly and comfortable letter, my ſorrows vaniſhed away as ſmoke in the wind, and my ſpirit revived, and comfort came again, whereby I am ſure the Spirit of God was author of it.

O my good Mr. Philpot, which art a principal Pot indeed filled with moſt precious liquor, as it appeareth by the plenteous pouring forth of the ſame: O Pot moſt happy, of the high Potter ordained to honour, which doſt contain ſuch heavenly treaſure in the earthen veſſel: O Pot thrice happy, in whom Chriſt hath wrought a great miracle, altering thy nature, and turning water into wine, and that of the beſt, whereout the maſter of

the feaſt hath filled my cup ſo full, that I am become drunken in the joy of the Spirit through the ſame. When martyrdom ſhall break thee (O veſſel of honour) I know the fragrant ſavour of thy precious nard will much rejoice the heavy hearts of Chriſt's true members, although the Judaſſes will grudge and murmur at the ſame; yea, and burſt out into words of ſlander, ſaying, It is but loſt and waſte.

Be not offended, dear heart, at my metaphorical ſpeech; for I am diſpoſed to be merry, and with David to dance before the ark of the Lord: And tho' you play upon a pair of organs not very comely or eaſy to the fleſh, yet the ſweet ſound that came from the ſame, cauſeth me thus to do. O that I were with you in body, as preſent I am in ſpirit, that I might ſing all care away in Chriſt: for now the time of comfort is come. I hope to be with you ſhortly, if all things happen right. For my old friends of Coventry have put the council in remembrance of me, not ſix days ago, ſaying, I am more worthy to be burned than any that was burned yet. God's bleſſing on their hearts for their good report. God make me worthy of that dignity, and haſten the time that I may ſet forth his glory.

Pray for me, dear heart, I beſeech you, and deſire all your company to do the ſame, and I will pray God for you all, ſo long as I live. And now farewel in Chriſt, thou bleſſed of God's own mouth. I will for a time take my leave, but not my laſt farewel. Bleſſed be the time that ever I came into the King's-bench, to be joined in love and fellowſhip with ſuch dear children of the Lord. My good brother Bradford ſhall not be dead while you be alive: for verily the ſpirit of him doth reſt on you in moſt ample wiſe. Your letters of comfort to me in each point do agree, as though the one were the copy of the other. He hath planted in me, and you do water, and the Lord give good increaſe. My dear brethren and fellow-priſoners here, have them humbly and heartily commended unto you and your company, mourning for your miſery, but yet rejoicing for your plenteous conſolation and comfort in Chriſt. We are all cheerful and merry under our croſs, and do lack no neceſſaries, praiſed be God for his providence and great mercy towards us for evermore, Amen.

To his Wife.

AS by the great mercy of God, at the time of his good will and providence appointed (my dearly beloved wife) you and I were joined together in the holy and chriſtian ſtate of godly matrimony, as well to our great joy and comfort in Chriſt, as alſo to the increaſe of his bleſſed church and faithful congregation, by having lawful children by and in the ſame, with which God of his mercy hath bleſſed us, praiſed be his name therefore: even ſo now by his merciful will and divine ordinance, the time is come (ſo far as I can perceive) wherein he will, for his glory and our eternal comfort, diſſolve the ſame, and ſeparate us aſunder again for a time. Wherefore I thought it good, yea and my bounden duty, by this ſimple letter to provoke, ſtir, and admoniſh you, to behave yourſelf in all your doings, ſayings, and thoughts, moſt thankfully unto our good God for the ſame. And therefore (my dear wife) as you have heartily rejoiced in the Lord, and oftentimes given God thanks for his goodneſs, in bringing us together in his holy ordinance: even ſo now I deſire you, when this time of our ſeparation ſhall come, to rejoice with me in the Lord, and to give him moſt hearty thanks, that he hath (to his glory, and our endleſs advantage) ſeparated us again for a little time, and hath mercifully taken me unto himſelf, forth of this miſerable world into his celeſtial kingdom; believing and hoping alſo aſſuredly, that God of his goodneſs, for his Son Chriſt's ſake, will ſhortly bring you, and your dear children thither to me, that we may moſt joyfully together ſing praiſes unto his glorious name for ever. And yet once again I deſire you for the love of God, and as ever you loved me, to rejoice with me, and to give God continual thanks for doing his moſt merciful will upon me.

I hear ſay, that you do oftentimes repeat this godly ſaying, "The Lord's will be fulfilled." Doubtleſs, it rejoiceth my poor heart to hear that report of you; and for the Lord's ſake uſe that godly prayer continually, and teach your children and family to ſay the ſame day and night: and not only ſay it with your tongues, but alſo with your heart and mind, and joyfully ſubmit your will to God's will in very deed, knowing and believing aſſuredly, that nothing ſhall come to you or any of yours otherwiſe than it ſhall be his Almighty and Fatherly good will and pleaſure, and for your eternal comfort and advantage. Which Thing to be moſt true and certain, Chriſt teſtifieth in his holy Goſpel, ſaying, "Are not two little ſparrows ſold for a farthing, and yet not one of them ſhall periſh without the will of our heavenly Father?" And he concludeth, ſaying, "Fear not ye therefore, for ye are better than many ſparrows." As though he ſhould have ſaid, If God have ſuch reſpect and care for a poor ſparrow, which is not worth one farthing, that it ſhall not be taken in the lime-twig, not, nor pitfall, unleſs it be his good will and pleaſure; you may be well aſſured, that not one of you (whom he ſo dearly loveth, that he hath given his only dear Son for you) ſhall periſh, or depart forth of this miſerable life without his Almighty good will and pleaſure.

Therefore, dear wife, put your truſt and confidence wholly and only in him, and ever pray that his will be fulfilled, and not yours, except it be agreeing to his will; which I pray God it may ever be, Amen. And as for worldly things, take you no care, but be you well aſſured the Lord your dear God and Father will not ſee you nor yours lack, if you continue in his love and childly fear, and keep a clear conſcience from all kind of idolatry, ſuperſtition, and wickedneſs, as my truſt is that you will do, although it be with the loſs and danger of this temporal life. And good Margaret, fear not them that can but kill the body (and yet can they not do that until God give them leave) but fear to diſpleaſe him that can kill both body and ſoul, and caſt them into hell-fire. Let not the remembrance of your children keep you from God. The Lord himſelf will be a father and a mother, better than either you or I could ever have been unto them. He himſelf will do all things neceſſary for them. He hath given his angels charge over them, therefore commit them unto him. But if you may live with a clear conſcience (for elſe I would not have you to live) and ſee the bringing up of your children yourſelf, look that you nurture them in the fear of God, and keep them far from idolatry, ſuperſtition, and other kind of wickedneſs; and for God's ſake help them to ſome learning, if it be poſſible, that they may increaſe in virtue and godly knowledge, which ſhall be a better dowry to marry them withal, than any worldly ſubſtance; and when they be come to age, provide them ſuch huſbands as fear God, and love his holy word. I charge you take heed that you match them with no papiſts; and if you live, and marry again yourſelf (which thing I would wiſh you to do, if need require, or elſe not) good wife take heed how you beſtow yourſelf, that you and my poor children be not compelled to wickedneſs. But if you ſhall be able to live God's true widow, I would counſel you to live ſo ſtill, for the more quietneſs of yourſelf and your poor children. Take heed, Margaret, and play the wiſe woman's part. You have warning by others, if you will take an example. And thus I commit you and my ſweet children unto God's moſt merciful defence. The bleſſing of God be with you, and God ſend us a merry meeting together in heaven. Farewel in Chriſt, farewel, mine own dear hearts all. Pray, pray.

To

To my good Brother, Mr. Bradford.

THE peace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, the eternal comfort of his ſweet Spirit, which hath ſurely ſealed you unto eternal ſalvation, be with you, and ſtrengthen you in your joyful journey towards the celeſtial Hieruſalem (my dear friend, and moſt faithful brother, Mr. Bradford) to the ſetting forth of God's glory, and to your eternal joy in Chriſt, Amen.

Ever ſince that good Mr. Philpot ſhewed me your laſt letter (my dear heart in the Lord) I have continued in great heavineſs and perplexity; not for any hurt or diſcommodity that I can perceive coming towards you, unto whom doubleſs death is made life and great felicity, but for the great loſs that God's church here in England ſhall ſuſtain by the taking away of ſo godly, worthy, and neceſſary an inſtrument as the Lord hath made you to be. O that my life, and a thouſand more of ſuch wretched lives, might go for yours. O why doth God ſuffer me and ſuch other caterpillars to live, that can do nothing but conſume the alms of the church, and take away you, ſo worthy a workman and labourer in the Lord's vineyard? but woe be to our ſins and great unthankfulneſs, which is the greateſt cauſe of the taking away ſuch worthy inſtruments of God, as ſhould ſet forth his glory, and inſtruct his people. If we had been thankful unto God, for the good miniſters of his word, we had not been ſo ſoon deprived both of it and them. The Lord forgive our great ingratitude and ſins, and give us true repentance and faith, and hold his hand of mercy over us, for his dear Son Chriſt's ſake. Take not away all thy true preachers out of this realm, O Lord, but leave us a ſeed, leſt England be made like to Sodom and Gomorrah, when thy true Lots be gone.

But what go I about to mingle your mirth with my mourning, and your juſt joy with my deſerved ſorrow? if I loved you indeed, as I have pretended, I ſhould ſurely rejoice with you moſt heartily, and praiſe God on your behalf from the very bottom of my heart; I ſhould praiſe God day and night for your excellent election in and through his great mercy, and ſhould give him moſt humble thanks for your vocation by his goſpel, and your true knowledge in the ſame; I ſhould earneſtly praiſe him for your ſweet juſtification, whereof you are moſt certain by God's grace and Spirit, and ſhould inſtantly pray unto him for your glorification, which ſhall ſhortly enſue; I ſhould rejoice and be glad to ſee you ſo dignified by the crown of martyrdom, and to be appointed to that honour, to teſtify his truth, and to ſeal it with your blood; I ſhould highly extol the Lord, who hath given you a glorious victory over all your enemies viſible and inviſible, and hath given you grace and ſtrength to finiſh the tower that you have begun to build. Finally, if I loved you, I ſhould moſt heartily rejoice and be glad to ſee you delivered from this body of ſin, and vile priſon of the fleſh, and brought into that heavenly tabernacle where you ſhall be ſafely kept, and never offend him more.

This and much more ſhould I do, if I had a good heart towards God, or you his dear child. But (alas) I am an hypocrite, and do ſeek nothing but mine own advantage. I would have God's everlaſting providence give place to my peeviſh will and purpoſe, although it were to the hinderance of his glory, and your ſweet comfort. God forgive me my horrible ingratitude, ſins and offences againſt him: and good brother, do you forgive me my great negligence and unthankfulneſs towards you, and henceforth I promiſe you, I will put my will to God's will, and pray that the ſame may be fulfilled in you, as long as you be on this earth; and when you are taken hence, I will moſt heartily praiſe the Lord for you, ſo long as I have my being in this world. Ah, my dear heart, now I muſt take my leave of you, and as I think, my laſt farewel in this life, but in the life to come I am right well aſſured we ſhall merrily meet together, and that ſhortly I truſt. And in taking of my leave of you (my dear heart in the Lord) I ſhall deſire you faithfully to remember all the ſweet meſſages that the Lord our good God, and moſt dear loving Father, hath ſent you by me, his moſt unworthy ſervant, which, as they are moſt true, ſo ſhall they be moſt truly accompliſhed upon you eternally; and for the more aſſurance and certificate thereof to your godly conſcience, he hath commanded me to repeat the ſame unto you again, in his own name and word.

Therefore now give ear and faithful credence. Hearken, O ye heavens, and thou earth give ear, and bear me witneſs at the great day, that I do hereby faithfully and truly the Lord's meſſage unto his dear ſervant, his ſingularly beloved and elect child John Bradford. John Bradford, thou man ſo ſpecially beloved of God, I pronounce and teſtify unto thee in the word and name of the Lord Jehovah, that all thy ſins, whatſoever they be, be they never ſo many, ſo grievous or ſo great, be fully and freely pardoned, releaſed and forgiven thee, by the mercy of God in Jeſus Chriſt thine only Lord and ſweet Saviour, in whom thou doſt undoubtedly believe. Chriſt hath cleanſed thee with his blood, and cloathed thee with his righteouſneſs, and hath made thee, in the ſight of God his Father, without ſpot or wrinkle; ſo that when the fire doth its appointed office, thou ſhalt be be received (as a ſweet burnt ſacrifice) into heaven, where thou ſhalt joyfully remain in God's preſence for ever, as the true inheritor of his everlaſting kingdom, unto which thou waſt undoubtedly predeſtinate and ordained by the Lord's infallible purpoſe and decree, before the foundation of the world was laid. And that this is moſt true that I have ſaid, I call the whole Trinity, the Almighty and Eternal Majeſty of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, to my record at this preſent; whom I humbly beſeech to confirm and ſtabliſh in thee the true and lively feeling of the ſame, Amen.

Now with a merry heart and joyful ſpirit, ſomething mixed with lawful tears, I take my farewel of you, mine own dear brother in the Lord; who ſend us ſhortly a merry meeting in his kingdom, that we may both ſing praiſes together unto him with his holy angels and bleſſed ſpirits for ever and ever. Farewel, thou bleſſed in the Lord, farewel in Chriſt, depart unto thy reſt in the Lord; and pray for me for God's ſake.

As I had made an end of this ſimple letter, I heard ſome comfort both of good Mr. Philpot's ſervant and your's; but, alas, I do ſcarcely believe them. Well, I will hope in God, and pray all night that God will ſend me ſome comfort to-morrow, and if the Lord give you ſparing to-morrow, let me hear four words of comfort from you, for God's ſake. The bleſſing of God be with you now and for ever, Amen.

Yours for ever in the Lord Jeſus,
J. Careleſs, living in hope againſt hope.

In reading this letter of John Careleſs to Mr. Bradford above prefixed, wherein he maketh ſo much mention of a certain letter of his ſent to him, and of the great exceeding conſolation he received of the ſame, thou wilt wiſh peradventure (good loving reader) in thy mind, to have ſome ſight alſo of the ſaid letter of Mr. Bradford. Wherein to ſatisfy thy deſire, or rather to prevent thy petition, I have hereunto annexed the ſame, to the intent thou mayſt not only underſtand the contents thereof, but alſo receive fruit thereof to thy conſolation likewiſe. The purport of the letter here followeth.

Mr. Bradford to Mr. Careleſs.

ALmighty God our dear Father, through and for the merits of his dearly beloved Son Jeſus Chriſt, be merciful unto us, pardon us our offences, and under the

wings of his mercy protect us from all evil, from henceforth and for ever, Amen.

Dear brother Careleſs, I heartily pray you to pray to God for me, for the pardon of my manifold ſins and moſt grievous offences, which need none other demonſtration unto you than this, namely, that I have behaved myſelf ſo negligently in anſwering your godly triple letters, which are three witneſſes againſt me. God lay not them, nor any other thing to my charge to condemnation, though to correction, not my will, but his be done. Concerning your requeſt of abſolution (my deareſt brother), what ſhall I ſay, but even as truth is? that the Lord of all mercy, and Father of all comfort, through the merits and mediation of his dear Son thy only Lord and Saviour, hath clearly remitted and pardoned all thy offences whatſoever they be, that ever hitherto thou haſt committed againſt his majeſty: and therefore he hath given to thee as to his child (dear brother John Careleſs), in token that thy ſins are pardoned; he (I ſay) hath given thee a penitent and believing heart, that is, a heart which deſireth to repent and believe: For ſuch a one is taken of him, he accepting the will for the deed, for a penitent and believing heart indeed.

Wherefore, my good brother, be merry, glad, and of good cheer, for the Lord hath taken away thy ſins; thou ſhalt not die. Go thy ways; the Lord hath put away thy ſins. The Eaſt is not ſo far from the Weſt, as the Lord hath now put thy ſins from thee. Look how the heavens be in compariſon of the earth, ſo far hath his mercy prevailed towards thee his dear child, John Careleſs, through Chriſt the beloved. Say therefore with David, Praiſe the Lord, O my ſoul, and all that is within me praiſe his holy name: for he hath forgiven thee all thy ſins; as truly he hath. And hereof I deſire to be a witneſs. God make me worthy to hear from you the like true meſſage for myſelf. Mine own dearly beloved, you have great cauſe to thank God moſt heartily that he hath given you ſuch repentance and faith; the Lord increaſe the ſame in you and me a moſt miſerable wretch, whoſe heart is harder than the adamant ſtone, or elſe I could not thus long have ſtaid from writing unto you. If I live and may, I purpoſe and promiſe you to make amends. Pray for me, my moſt dear brother, I heartily beſeech you, and forgive me my long ſilence. God our Father be with us for ever, Amen.

Yours in the Lord, J. Bradford.

To my moſt dear and faithful Brethren in Newgate, condemned to die for the Teſtimony of God's everlaſting Truth.

[Of the martyrdom of Mr. Tyms, Mr. Drakes, &c. ſee p. 559.]

THE everlaſting peace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, the continual joy, ſtrength and comfort of his moſt pure, holy and mighty Spirit, with the increaſe of faith and lively feeling of his eternal mercy, be with you, my moſt dear and faithful loving brother Tyms, and with all the reſt of my dear hearts in the Lord, your faithful fellow-ſoldiers, and moſt conſtant companions in bonds, yea of men condemned moſt cruelly for the ſincere teſtimony of God's everlaſting truth, to the full finiſhing of that good work, which he hath ſo graciouſly begun in you all, that the ſame may be to his glory, the advantage of his poor afflicted church, and to your everlaſting comfort in him, Amen.

Ah my moſt ſweet and loving brethren, and deareſt hearts in the Lord, what ſhall I ſay, or how ſhall I write unto you, in the leaſt point or part to utter the great joy that my poor heart hath conceived in God, through the moſt godly example of your chriſtian conſtancy and ſincere confeſſion of Chriſt's verity? Truly my tongue cannot declare, nor my tongue expreſs the abundance of ſpiritual mirth and gladneſs, that my mind and inward man hath felt, ever ſince I heard of your hearty boldneſs and modeſt behaviour before that bloody butcher, in the time of all your crafty examinations, eſpecially at your cruel condemnation, in their curſed conſiſtory place. Bleſſed be God the Father of all mercy, and praiſed be his name, for that he hath ſo graciouſly performed upon you his dear darlings, his moſt ſweet and comfortable promiſes, in not only giving you the continual aid, ſtrength and comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit to the faithful confeſſion of his Chriſt, for whoſe cauſe (O moſt happy men!) ye are condemned to die: but alſo in giving you ſuch a mouth and wiſdom, as all your wicked enemies were not able to reſiſt, but were fain to cry, Peace, peace, and not ſuffer you to ſpeak. As truly as God liveth, my dear brethren, this is not only unto you a moſt evident probation that God is on our ſide, and a ſure certainty of your everlaſting ſalvation in him, but alſo to your cruel adverſaries, or rather God's curſed enemies, a plain demonſtration of their juſt eternal woe and damnation, which they ſhall be full ſure ſhortly to feel, when ye ſhall full ſweetly poſſeſs the place of felicity and pleaſure prepared for you from the beginning.

Therefore, my dearly beloved, ceaſe not ſo long as ye be in this life, to praiſe the Lord with a luſty courage, for that of his great mercy and infinite goodneſs, he hath vouched you worthy of this great dignity, to ſuffer for his ſake, not only the loſs of goods, wife, and children, long impriſonment, cruel oppreſſion, &c. but alſo the very deprivation of this mortal life, with the diſſolution of your bodies in the fire; which is the greateſt promotion that God can bring you or any other unto in this vale of miſery, yea ſo great an honour, as the higheſt angel in heaven is not permitted to have; and yet hath the Lord for his dear Son Chriſt's ſake reputed you worthy of the ſame, yea and that before me and many others, who have both long looked and longed for the ſame.

Ah my moſt dear brother Tyms, whoſe time reſteth altogether in the hands of the Lord, in a full happy time cameſt thou into this troubleſome world, but in a much more bleſſed hour ſhalt thou depart out of the ſame: ſo that the ſweet ſaying of Solomon, or rather of the Holy Ghoſt, ſhall be full well verified upon thee, yea, and all thy faithful fellows, "Better is the day of death (ſaith he) than the day of birth," Eccleſ. 7. This ſaying cannot be verified upon every man, but upon thee, my dear brother, and ſuch as thou art, whoſe death is moſt precious before God, and full dear ſhall your blood be in his ſight. Bleſſed be God for thee my dear brother Tyms, and bleſſed be God again that I ever knew thee, for in a moſt happy time I came firſt into thy company. Pray for me, dear brother, pray for me, that God will once vouchſafe me worthy of that great dignity whereunto he hath brought you.

Ah my loving brother Drakes, whoſe ſoul now draweth nigh unto God, of whom ye have received the ſame, full glad may you be that God ever gave you a life to leave for his ſake: full well will he reſtore it to you again in a thouſand fold more glorious. Praiſe God, good brother, as you have a great cauſe, and pray for me, I beſeech you, who am ſo unworthy (ſo great are my ſins) of that great dignity whereunto the Lord hath called you and the reſt of your godly brethren, whom I beſeech you to comfort in the Lord, as you can full well; praiſed be God for his gifts, which you have heartily applied to the ſetting forth of his glory, and the profit of his poor afflicted church. Which thing ſhall ſurely redound to your everlaſting joy and comfort, as you ſhall moſt effectually feel ere it be long, though the wicked world judge far otherwiſe.

Ah, mine own hearts, and moſt dearly beloved brethren, Cavel, Ambroſe, and both the Spurges; bleſſed be the Lord on your behalf, and praiſed be his name, who hath given you ſuch a glorious victory; full valiant have

have you ſhewed yourſelves in the Lord's fight, and as faithful in your painful ſervice. Faint not, but go on forward as ye have moſt godly begun, for great ſhall your reward be at the end of this your travail. Ah my good faithful brethren all, what ſhall I ſay, or what ſhall I write unto you? but even the ſame that good Elizabeth did ſay to her godly kinſwoman Mary the bleſſed mother of Chriſt, "Happy art thou (quoth that good woman) which haſt believed: for all things which the Lord hath ſpoken to thee, ſhall be fulfilled," Luke 1. So I ſay to you, my dear hearts in the Lord, happy are ye all, yea twice happy ſhall you be for evermore, becauſe ye have ſtedfaſtly believed the moſt ſweet promiſes which God the Father hath made unto you with his own mouth, in that he hath promiſed you (who are the faithful ſeed of the believing Abraham), that ye ſhall be bleſſed ever world without end. The promiſes of God your moſt ſweet Father as ye do believe, ſo do ye bear record that God is true. The teſtimony whereof ye have full worthily borne to the world, and ſhortly will full ſurely ſeal the ſame with your blood, yea even to-morrow I do underſtand.

O conſtant chriſtians! O valiant ſoldiers of the high captain Jeſus Chriſt! who for your ſake hath conquered the devil, death, ſin and hell, and hath given you full victory over them for evermore. O worthy witneſſes, and moſt glorious martyrs, whoſe invincible faith hath overcome that proud, ſturdy, bragging prince of the world, and all his wicked army, over whom ye ſhall ſhortly triumph for evermore. Ah my ſweet hearts, the everlaſting treaſures are full ſurely laid up for you in heaven. The never-fading and moſt glorious crown of victory is already made and prepared for you, to be ſhortly clapt upon all your happy heads. The holy angels of your heavenly Father are already appointed to conduct your ſweet ſouls into Abraham's boſom. All the heavenly hoſt rejoiceth already, for that they ſhall ſhortly receive you with joy and felicity into their bleſſed fellowſhip, Selah.

Rejoice with double joy, and be glad, my dear brethren, for doubtleſs ye have more cauſe than can be expreſſed. But, alas, I that for my ſins am left behind, may lie and lament with the holy prophet, ſaying, "Woe is me that the days of my joyful reſt are prolonged." Ah curſed Satan, which hath cauſed me ſo ſore to offend my moſt dear loving Father, whereby mine exile and baniſhment is ſo much prolonged. O Chriſt my dear advocate, pacify thy Father's wrath which I have juſtly deſerved, that he may take me home to him in his ſweet mercy. O that I might now come home unto thee with thy bleſſed brethren. Well, thy will, O Lord, be effectually fulfilled, for it is only good, and turneth all things to the beſt, for ſuch as thou in thy mercy haſt choſen.

And now farewel my dear hearts, moſt happy in the Lord: I truſt in my good God, yet ſhortly to ſee you in the celeſtial city, whereof undoubtedly the Lord hath already made you free citizens. Though you be yet with us for a little time, your very home is in heaven, where your treaſure doth remain with your ſweet Lord and Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe calling you have heard with the ears of your hearts, and therefore ye ſhall never come into judgment, but paſs from death to life. Your ſins ſhall never more be remembered, be they never ſo many, ſo grievous, or ſo great: for your Saviour hath caſt them all into the bottom of the ſea; he hath removed them from you, as far as the Eaſt is from the Weſt, and his mercy hath much more prevailed over you, than is diſtance between heaven and earth; [Pſal. 103.] and he hath given you for everlaſting poſſeſſion of the ſame, all his holineſs, righteouſneſs, and juſtification, yea and the Holy Ghoſt into your hearts, wherewith ye are ſealed unto the day of redemption, to certify you of your eternal election, and that ye are his ſure adopted ſons, whereby ye may boldly cry unto God, Abba dear Father, for evermore: ſo that now no creature in heaven, earth nor hell, ſhall be able to accuſe you before the throne of the heavenly King. Satan is now caſt out from you; he himſelf is judged, and hath no part in you. [Gen. 2.] He will once more bite you by the heel, and then he hath done, for at that time you ſhall ſqueeze his head through your own good Chriſt, and ſo have you final victory for evermore. In joyful triumph whereof ye ſhall ſweetly aſcend into the place of eternal reſt, whither your elder brother Chriſt is gone before you to take poſſeſſion for you, and to prepare your place under the holy altar, with Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Rogers, Hooper, Saunders, Farrar, Taylor, Bradford, Philpot, with many others, who will be full glad of your coming, to ſee ſix more of their appointed number, that their blood may ſo much the ſooner be revenged upon them that dwell on the earth.

Thus I make an end, committing you all to God's moſt merciful defence, whoſe quarrel ye have defended, whoſe cauſe ye have promoted, whoſe glory ye have ſet forth, and whoſe name ye have conſtantly confeſſed. Farewel for a while my dear hearts in the Lord, I will make as much haſte after you as I may. All our dear brethren ſalute you. They pray for you, and praiſe God for you continually. [Rev. 11.] "Bleſſed be the dead that die in the Lord, for they reſt from their labours, ſaith the Holy Ghoſt, and their works follow them."

Your own, John Careleſs.

You heard before the letter of Thomas Whittle, written to John Careleſs, [page 507.] wherein he yieldeth great thanks unto him for the ſingular joy and conſolation received by his letters. A copy of which is here inſerted.

To Mr. Green, Mr. Whittle, and certain other Priſoners in Newgate, condemned, and ready to be burnt for the Teſtimony of our Lord Jeſus.

THE everlaſting peace in Jeſus Chriſt, the continual comfort of his moſt pure and Holy Spirit, be with you my dear and faithful brethren and ſiſters of Newgate, the Lord's appointed ſheep unto the ſlaughter, to the good performance of the great and noble work of the Lord, which he hath ſo graciouſly begun in you all; that the ſame may redound to the ſetting forth of his glory, the advantage of his church, and to your own everlaſting comfort in him. So be it.

Ah my dear hearts, and moſt faithful brethren and ſiſters in the Lord, what high lauds and praiſe, yea what humble and continual thanks am I bound to give to God our Father for you and on your moſt happy behalf, who ſo mightily hath magnified himſelf in you thus far forth, in giving you his holy and mighty Spirit, to the conſtant confeſſing of Chriſt's verity, even to the cruel condemnation, and I doubt not but he will do the ſame to the death. O happy and bleſſed are you that ever you were born, that the Lord will vouch you worthy of this great dignity to die for his ſake. Doubtleſs it is the greateſt honour that God can give you in this life. [Rev. 11.] Yea if they be ſo bleſſed of God that die in the Lord, as the Holy Ghoſt ſaith they be; how much more bleſſed and happy then are you that die not only in the Lord, but alſo for the Lord? O that it were the good will of God, that the good hour were now come, that I might go with you. Ah that my ſins made me not unworthy of ſuch an excellent dignity.

Be thankful dear hearts, be thankful and rejoice in the Lord: for mighty is his mercy towards you, and great is your reward in heaven, which you like faithful perſons have plucked to you with a godly violence of an invincible faith. O worthy warriors of the moſt high captain! O conſtant confeſſors of the everlaſting verity! How glorious a crown of victory ſhall you ſhortly re-

ceive, which is prepared for all ſuch as do continue to the end? O you ſweet ſaints of the Lord, how precious ſhall your death be in his ſight! O how dear are your ſouls to your Redeemer, in whoſe hand they ſhall moſt joyfully reſt, and the pains of death ſhall never touch you! O how bleſſed ſhall you be, when Chriſt ſhall appear, at which time you ſhall receive your bodies again full of immortality! O how joyful ſhall you be, when Chriſt according to his promiſe ſhall acknowledge you before his Father and his holy angels, as you have moſt conſtantly confeſſed him to be your Lord and only Saviour before men.

O bleſſed Green, [ſee p. 508.] thou meek and loving lamb of the Lord, how happy art thou to be appointed to die for his ſake! Freſh and green ſhalt thou be in the houſe of the Lord, and thy fruits ſhall never whither nor decay. Although thou here go forth ſowing thy good fruit with tears, the time ſhall come that thou ſhalt reap with joy and gladneſs the fruits of everlaſting life, and that without ceaſing. Be merry therefore and fear not, for it is thy Father's will to give thee a kingdom, whereunto he hath choſen thee before the foundations of the world were laid.

O happy miniſter, thou man of God, how glad mayſt thou be of God's moſt gracious favour, which hath prevented thee in the day of thy trial? O happy Peter, whoſe part thou haſt well played; therefore thy reward and portion ſhall be like unto his. Now haſt thou good experience of man's infirmity, but much more proof and taſte, yea ſenſe and feeling of God's abundant bottomleſs mercy. Although Satan deſired to ſift thee, yet Chriſt thy good captain prayed that thy faith ſhould not fail. God's ſtrength is made perfect by thy weakneſs, and his grace is ſufficient for thee his dear child. Thine example did ſo encourage and ſtrengthen thy poor brethren, that God is every way glorified by thee, and ſhortly will he glorify thee with himſelf, with that glory which he hath prepared for thee his elect dearling before the world was made. Therefore rejoice and be glad, for thou haſt good occaſion, in finding ſuch favour in his ſight.

This is moſt true, O my other brethren, whom I do not know, neither have I heard much of you; happy are you that ever you were born, and bleſſed be our God who hath given you ſuch victory over the bloody beaſt; ſhortly ſhall you be cloathed in large white garments, and fine robes of righteouſneſs, and ſo ſhall you follow the Lamb on Mount Sion with new ſongs of mirth and melody, for your delivery from Satan's power and tyranny. God for evermore be bleſſed for you, and ſtrengthen you to the end, as I doubt not but he will; for he never failed them that put their truſt in him.

O my dear and faithful ſiſter Joan Warne, [ſee p. 517.] what ſhall I ſay to thee; Thy trial hath been great; thy victory in Chriſt hath been made notable. Thou haſt overcome many a ſharp ſhower and ſtorm. Shortly ſhalt thou arrive at the haven of quiet reſt, and receive a reward due to a conſtant martyr. Thou ſhalt go home to thy heavenly Father, and poſſeſs for ever the inheritance which Chriſt hath purchaſed for thee, where thy earthly parents be ſtill looking for thee, who have triumphed over Antichriſt moſt victoriouſly. O bleſſed parents of happy children, who have ſhewn ſuch an example as the like hath been ſeldom ſeen! I ſalute thee, dear ſiſter of like conſtant mind, [Iſabel Foſter] whoſe conſtant example is worthy of continual memory. Praiſed be God for you mine own ſweet ſiſters, who hath made you play ſuch wiſe virgins parts. He hath plentifully poured the oil of his Spirit into the lamp of your faith, ſo that the light thereof ſhall never be extinct. You ſhall enter with your bridegroom into everlaſting joy, whereunto you were choſen in him from the beginning.

O my dear brethren and ſiſters, you bleſſed ſaints of the Lord, how much, and how deeply am I bound to praiſe God for you both day and night. Pray, pray for me my dear hearts, for the tender mercy of God, that I may be made worthy to follow your ſteps. O that I had run the race of my life as far as you have done yours, and were as nigh my journey's end as you be to yours. But alas, I lie like the lame man at the pool's ſide by Solomon's porch, and every man goeth into the place of health before me. But God will appoint me one, one day to put me in. I truſt my lord of London's coal-houſe is empty, and all his officers idle. Therefore they muſt ſhortly fetch more ſheep to the ſhambles; for he is the common ſlaughter-ſlave of all England. But happy are you that are paſſed through the pikes, and delivered out of his hands, and from all the angels of the darkneſs of this world, which long tempted you in the wilderneſs of the ſame: but now ſhall the angels of God come and miniſter unto you; for they are your ſervants to hold you up in their hands, that you ſhall not hurt your foot, no nor one hair of your head ſhall periſh. They ſhall carry you up to heaven in a fiery chariot, though you leave your mantle behind you for a time, until God reſtore the ſame again in a more ample and glorious manner.

Thus in haſte, as it doth appear, I am conſtrained to make an end, committing you all to God's moſt merciful defence, who ever have you in his bleſſed keeping, deſiring you all to remember me in your godly and faithful prayers, as I will not forget you in mine, by God's grace. The bleſſing of God be with you all my dear brethren and ſiſters. All our brethren and fellow-priſoners here have them moſt heartily commended unto you, and pray for you without ceaſing. God ſend us a merry meeting in his kingdom, Amen.

By your brother and unfeigned lover, John Careleſs, priſoner, abiding his moſt merciful will and pleaſure. Pray, pray, pray.

To my dear and faithful Brother William Tyms, priſoner in Newgate.

THE everlaſting peace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, with the continual joy, comfort and ſtrength of his ſweet Spirit, be multiplied, and daily more and more increaſed in your good heart (my moſt faithful and dear brother Tyms), to the full quieting of your conſcience, and beating back all the fiery darts of the wicked, that you may ſhortly receive the glorious crown of victory, and in the ſame triumph over all your enemies, for evermore, Amen.

I cannot expreſs the exceeding great joy and conſolation of my poor heart, conſidering the marvellous works of God moſt graciouſly wrought upon you, not only in proving you and trying your faith by his great and huge croſſes both inwardly and outwardly, but alſo in giving you ſo great conſolation and conſtancy in the midſt of the ſame. Faithful is God, and true of his promiſes, who hath ſaid, "That he will never ſuffer his choſen children to be tempted above their ſtrength, but in the midſt of their temptation will make an out-ſcape for them," by ſuch means as may make to his glory and their everlaſting conſolation. My dear heart, great cauſe have you to be of good comfort, I ſee in you as lively a token of God's everlaſting love and favour in Jeſus Chriſt, as ever I perceived in any man. In reſpect whereof, I do even in my heart love, honour and reverence you, beſeeching God for his glorious name's ſake, in the bowels and blood of our Lord and only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to finiſh his good work in you, as I doubt not but he will do, according to his infallible promiſes, yea I am well aſſured thereof, foraſmuch as you have ſo effectually received his Holy Spirit into your heart, as a pledge and ſure ſeal of your eternal redemption, and a teſtimony of your adoption in Chriſt Jeſus. For which cauſe Satan ſo ſore envieth you, that he hath now bent all his fierce ordinance againſt you, thinking thereby utterly to deſtroy the invincible fort of your faith, founded moſt firmly upon

upon the immoveable rock Chriſt, againſt which neither the devil, ſin, nor hell-gates ſhall ever prevail.

Therefore mine own bowels in the Lord, be not diſcomforted for this your conflict, which doubtleſs ſhall greatly increaſe your crown of glory, triumph and victory; but take a good heart unto you, and buckle boldly with Satan, both in himſelf and his ſubtle members. It is the very divine ordinance of God, that all his regenerate people ſhall be tempted, proved, and tried, as we ſee by the example of our Saviour Chriſt; who as ſoon as he was baptized, was ſtraitways led by the Holy Ghoſt into the wilderneſs, there to be tempted of the devil. But there got he ſuch a glorious victory over Satan, that he could never ſince finally prevail againſt any of his poor members, but in every aſſault that he maketh, either inwardly or outwardly getteth a foil, and taketh ſhame; ſo that now he rageth with all the ſpite poſſible, eſpecially becauſe he knoweth his time is but ſhort. St. James teſtifieth that he is but a very coward, that will ſoon flee if he be faithfully reſiſted. And as for his tempting tools, the Lord hath made them manifeſt unto us, ſo that he cannot deceive us though he aſſault us; for as St. Paul ſaith, "his very thoughts are not unknown to us," as it doth in you largely appear, praiſed be the Lord's name therefore.

You ſee (dear brother) that now to moleſt you and ſuch as you are, that be even paſſing from this vale of miſery, he hath but two ways, or two pieces of ordinance to ſhoot at you, with which he cannot hurt you, becauſe you have two bulwarks to defend you. The firſt of theſe terrible guns that Satan hath ſhot at you, is the very ſame that he continually ſhooteth at me, that is to ſay, fear and infidelity; for the uglineſs of death and horror of my ſins, which be ſo many, grievous, and great. But this pellet is eaſily put away with the ſure ſhield of faith, in the moſt precious death and blood-ſhedding of our dear Lord and only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whom the Father hath given unto us wholly to be ours for evermore, and with him hath given us all things, as St. Paul ſaith; ſo that though we be never ſo great ſinners, yet Chriſt is made unto us holineſs, righteouſneſs, and juſtification. He hath cloathed us with all his merits, mercies, and moſt ſweet ſufferings, and hath taken unto him all our miſery, wretchedneſs, ſin, and infirmity. So that if any ſhould now be condemned for the ſame, it muſt needs be Jeſus Chriſt, which hath taken them upon him. But indeed he hath made ſatisfaction for them to the uttermoſt jot, ſo that for his ſake they ſhall never be imputed to us, if they were a thouſand times ſo many more as they be. This do you moſt effectually feel and know (dear brother) a great deal better than I can tell you, bleſſed be God therefore.

And now Satan, ſeeing that he cannot prevail with his boiſterous battery againſt this bulwark of faith, which doth ſo quench all his fiery darts, that they can do you no harm, but rather do you good ſervice to caſt you down, under the mighty hand of God, that he may take you up by his only grace and power, and ſo you may render him all the glory by Jeſus Chriſt (which thing the enemy can in no wiſe abide) therefore he ſhooteth off his other piece moſt peſtilent, to provoke you to put ſome part of your truſt and confidence in yourſelf, and in your own holineſs and righteouſneſs, that you might that way rob God of his glory, and Chriſt of the honour and dignity of his death.

But bleſſed be the Lord God, you have alſo a full ſtrong bulwark to beat back this peſtiferous pellet alſo, even the pure law of God, which proveth the beſt of us all damnable ſinners in the ſight of God, if he would enter into judgment with us according to the ſeverity of the ſame, and that even our beſt works are polluted and defiled in ſuch ſort as the prophet deſcribeth them. With which manner of ſpeaking our free will phariſees are much offended; for it felleth all man's righteouſneſs to the ground (I had like to have ſaid to the bottom of hell) and extolleth only the righteouſneſs of Jeſus Chriſt, which is allowed before God, and is freely given to all thoſe that firmly believe, as bleſſed be God you do.

Ah my good brother Tyms, Satan hath put his hand in a wrong box when he beginneth to tempt you either to vain-glory or miſtruſt; for you are an old beaten ſoldier, and have had good experience of theſe manner of temptations, both by yourſelf and others, whom you know well were beloved of God. Be of good cheer therefore dear heart, be of good cheer, for now Satan hath wrought all his malice, he hath done all that he can, and hath ſhot off all his laſt pieces, wherewith he had thought to have done moſt miſchief; but now he ſeeth he cannot prevail (the ſtrong tower of our faith being ſo invincible) he will pluck up all his tents, and get him to ſome other place to practiſe the like aſſaults, and then will the angels of God come and miniſter unto you the moſt ſweet and heavenly conſolations of the Holy Ghoſt. To him therefore who is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we can deſire or think, I do moſt heartily commit you, with all the reſt of your godly fellow priſoners, who comfort, ſtrengthen, and defend you with his grace and mighty operation of his Holy Spirit, as he hath hitherto done, that you having a moſt glorious victory over the ſubtle ſerpent, and all his wicked ſeed, may alſo receive the crown of glory and immortality prepared for you before the foundations of the world were laid, and is ſo ſurely kept for you in the hands of him whoſe promiſe is infallible, that the devil, ſin, death, or hell, ſhall never be able to deprive you of the ſame. The bleſſing of God be with you now and for evermore, Amen. Pray, pray, pray for me.

Your own for ever,
John Careleſs.

To my dear and faithful Brother, Auguſtine Bernher.

THE peace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, the help, comfort, and aſſiſtance of his eternal Spirit be with you my dear and faithful brother Auguſtine, and with all the reſt of my good brethren and ſiſters of the houſes of Baxterley and Manceter (which mourn for the miſery of God's people), to your everlaſting conſolation in him, Amen.

Right glad I am to hear (my dear and faithful brother Auguſtine) that God of his great mercy and infinite goodneſs hath yet ſo graciouſly delivered and preſerved you out of your enemies hands, beſeeching Almighty God alſo from the bottom of my heart, to be your continual defence unto the end, as hitherto he hath moſt graciouſly been, that you may live and die both to God's glory, the advantage of his church, and to the increaſe of your own everlaſting joy and comfort in him.

Know you (dear brother) that I have received your letter, for which I heartily thank you. Indeed I think it very ſhort, although it ſeemeth ſomething ſharply to rebuke me in the beginning, for the breach of my promiſe in not writing to you of this long time. Well brother, I am content to bear it with patience, conſidering that you are troubled otherwiſe (the Lord comfort you and all heavy hearts); neither will I ſpend ink and paper for my purgation in this point. God he knoweth whether I be ſo mindleſs of my promiſe as it appeareth in your ſight I am. Your requeſt I will truly perform to the uttermoſt of my power, as gladly as any poor wretch ſhall do in the world, and I thank God I have done no leſs of long time. And as my poor prayer ſhall be a handmaid to wait upon you which way ſoever you ride or go; ſo I beſeech you that my ſimple counſel may take ſome place in you, in this time of your pilgrimage, which you paſs in no ſmall peril. God keep and preſerve you for his name's ſake.

I do not diſallow, but much praiſe and commend your hearty boldneſs in putting yourſelf in preſs, when any one of God's people needeth your help in any point. But yet

yet I would not have you thruſt yourſelf in danger, when you can do them no good, or at leaſtwiſe, when they may well enough ſpare that good you would do them: for if you ſhould then chance to be taken, you ſhall not only be no comfort unto them, but alſo a great diſcomfort, adding ſorrow unto their ſorrow.

I do not perſuade you to abſent yourſelf from any place where your preſence of neceſſity is required; for in all ſuch places I know God will preſerve you as he hath hitherto wonderfully done, praiſed therefore be his name: or if it ſhall pleaſe him to permit you in any ſuch place to be taken, I know he will moſt ſweetly comfort your conſcience with this conſideration, that it is the very providence and appointment of God, that you ſhould there and then be taken up for a witneſs of his truth unto the world: but I cannot allow, nor be contented that you ſhould raſhly or negligently thruſt yourſelf into that place where your wicked enemies do continually haunt, yea, and lay wait for you, when no neceſſity of yourſelf, nor of any other of God's people doth require your company. If they need any of your godly counſel, you may write unto them that thing that you think good; which I dare ſay will be ſufficient unto them. For (continual thanks and praiſes be given unto the everlaſting God) there is none of thoſe that be cruelly condemned for God's truth, that now be weaklings; for they have manfully paſſed through the pikes; and they have boldly ſtood in the brunt of the battle, and therefore I reckon the worſt is paſt with them already. So that now and then a godly letter from you to them ſhall do as much good as your company can do, and perchance more too; for writing ſticketh longer in the memory than words do, yea though your letters were as ſhort to them as your laſt was to me, ſo that the ſame were ſomething ſweeter, and not altogether ſo ſharp.

This, dear brother, is the ſimple counſel which I would gladly have you obſerve, partly for that I heartily pray for your preſervation for the advantage of Chriſt's church, and partly for that I unfeignedly wiſh the peace, comfort, and tranquillity of your own conſcience, which I know will be quickly ready to accuſe you, if you do any thing wherein you have not the word of God for your warrant. For as in a glaſs that is clear, a ſmall mote will ſoon appear: even ſo the good conſcience of God's choſen children, being more clear than cryſtal, will ſoon accuſe them at the leaſt fault they do commit; whereas the wicked worldlings have their conſcience ſo clogged and corrupted through the cuſtom of ſin, that they cannot once ſee or perceive their ſhameful deeds and wicked works, until God ſet the ſame before them for their utter deſtruction, and then they immediately deſpair. But ſeeing that God hath given you a clear conſcience, and a pure, ſharp, quick and lively ſight in your ſoul, I would wiſh you to beware that you do nothing unadviſedly, but upon a good ground. For an accuſing conſcience is a ſore thing when death doth approach, and then Satan will not ſtick to tell you that you have too much tempted God, when peradventure you have done nothing ſo at all. For this cauſe, I ſay, partly I have thought it good to admoniſh you (as I have done often) to be circumſpect according to the counſel of Chriſt, which biddeth you to beware of men. Other things I have not to write, for I know this bearer can certify you of all things at large, better than I can declare it by writing.

I beſeech you, good Auguſtine, help me forwards with your hearty prayers, for I truſt I have but a ſmall time to tarry in this troubleſome world. Dr. Story told our marſhal that we ſhall all be diſpatched ſo ſoon as he came from Oxford, whither he and other bloody butchers be gone to make ſlaughter of Chriſt's ſheep that lie there appointed to be ſlain. God for Chriſt's ſake put them and ſuch like beſide their cruel purpoſe, if it be his good will and pleaſure, Amen, good Lord. I pray you do my moſt hearty commendations to my dear ſiſter and faithful friend, good Mrs. Mary Glover. I beſeech God to be her comfort, as I doubt not but he is. I am very glad to hear that ſhe doth ſo joyfully and ſo patiently bear this great croſs that God hath laid upon her. I pray God ſtrengthen her, and all his other dear ſaints, to the end, Amen. Commend me unto my dear and faithful ſiſter Elizabeth B. I thank her moſt heartily for my napkin, and ſo I do your dear brother for my ſhirt. Truly that day that we were appointed to come to our anſwer before the commiſſioners (who had ſent word the ſame morning that they would come to the King's-bench by eight of the clock, and the houſe and all things were trimmed and made ready for them) I got that ſhirt on my back, and that napkin in my hand, and methought they did help to harneſs me, and arm me well to go fight againſt that bloody beaſt of Babylon. And truſt me, truly if they had come, I would have ſtruck three ſtrokes the more for your two ſakes, as well as God would have enabled me to ſet them on, as by God's grace I will not fail to do at the next ſkirmiſh that I come to. Wherefore I pray you pray for me, that I may be ſtrong and hardy to lay on good load. Oh that I might ſo ſtrike him down, that he ſhould never be able to riſe again. But that ſtroke belongeth only unto the Lord, to ſtrike at his coming, which I truſt will be ſhortly. O haſten it, good Lord, and ſhorten theſe ſorrowful and ſinful days, for thy great mercies ſake.

Farewel, my dear and faithful loving brother. The Lord defend, keep, and preſerve you from the power of your enemies viſible and inviſible, and ſend us a moſt joyful and merry meeting here or elſewhere, as it ſhall pleaſe his goodneſs to appoint us.

In the mean time I ſhall moſt earneſtly deſire you to pray for me, for I never had more need in my life, and doubtleſs you ſhall never want my poor prayer, if it ſhall pleaſe God to accept the prayer of ſo ſinful a wretch as I am. The Lord impute not my ſins to me, for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake; unto whoſe moſt merciful defence I do moſt heartily commit you. The bleſſing of God be with you now and ever, Amen. I pray you do my moſt hearty commendations unto Mr. John Glover. I do not forget him in my daily prayers, and I truſt he doth remember me.

Your poor brother, always mindful of you in my prayer, John Careleſs, priſoner, abiding God's pleaſure.

To my dear Brother, Henry Adlington, Priſoner in Lollard's Tower.

THE everlaſting peace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, the continual aid, ſtrength, joy, and comfort of his moſt pure, holy, and mighty Spirit, with the increaſe of faith and lively feeling of his mercies be moſt effectually wrought in your heart, my dear and faithful loving brother Adlington, and in the hearts of all your other godly fellow-priſoners, to the full finiſhing of that good work which the Lord hath moſt graciouſly begun in you; that the ſame may be to the advancing and ſetting forth of his glory, the advantage of his poor afflicted church, and to your own eternal joy and comfort in him, Amen.

My moſt dear and faithful loving brother in the Lord, I with all the reſt of my loving brethren here with me, do moſt humbly and heartily commend us unto you, with all faithful remembrance of you in our daily prayers, giving God earneſt thanks on your moſt happy behalf, for that he hath given you ſuch hearty boldneſs and chriſtian conſtancy in the faithful confeſſion of his everlaſting verity. Bleſſed be God for thee, my dearly beloved brother, who hath vouchſafed thee worthy of ſo great dignity, as to ſuffer for his ſake, and ſetting forth of his glory. Oh glad in heart mayſt thou be, to whom it is given, not only to believe in thy Lord and Chriſt

Chriſt moſt lively, but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake, as one of his ſilly ſheep appointed to the ſlaughter. Be of good comfort therefore my good brother, for your calling unto the croſs of Chriſt was after a marvellous manner. Surely, it was only the Lord's appointment, and therefore he will perform his own work in and upon you, to the great magnifying of his glory, and comfort of your brethren, whoſe hearts are mightily refreſhed, to hear how heartily you have behaved yourſelf hitherto.

This preſent day I received a letter from you, at the reading whereof my brethren and I were not a little comforted, to ſee your conſcience ſo quieted in Chriſt, and your continuance ſo ſtedfaſt in him; which things be the ſpecial gifts of God, not given unto every man, but to you his dear darling, elect and choſen in Chriſt, and ſuch as you be. And whereas you do require to know my ſimple mind concerning your anſwer unto Dr. Story and the Chancellor; truly I ſay, you did anſwer them very well: for there are but two ſacraments indeed, that is to ſay, the ſacrament of baptiſm, and the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, as you have full well anſwered them, praiſed be God for his good gifts, who chuſeth the weak to confound the ſtrong, and the fooliſh to confound the worldly wiſe. If, when you come before them again, they do aſk you what a ſacrament is; ſay you, that a ſacrament, being adminiſtered according to Chriſt's inſtitution, is a viſible ſign of an inviſible grace, and hath the promiſe of God's mercy annexed unto it, available to all ſuch as do worthily receive it, and not unworthily worſhip it, as they would have us to do, contrary to God's commandment. And theſe properties belonging to Chriſt's true ſacraments, cannot be applied unto any one of thoſe five ſacraments which they have invented of their own brain, ſince Antichriſt began to reign, and blind the people withal.

I perceive (dear heart) that upon Friday they do intend to condemn you, and give you your judgment. Therefore I think they will have no great reaſoning with you, but bid you anſwer them directly, either yea or nay, to all ſuch things as they have to charge you withal, which they have gathered of you ſince you came into their cruel hands. But if they will needs make many words with you, becauſe you are but a ſimple man, and therefore perchance they will be the buſier with you to trouble you with many queſtions, to encumber your knowledge, and then ſeem to triumph over you, and that truth that you do hold; if (I ſay) they do this, as perchance for ſome evil purpoſe they will, then be you ſo plain and as ſhort as you can, ſaying roundly unto them theſe or ſuch like words, as nigh as you can.

Be it known unto you, that I in all points do believe as it becometh a true chriſtian, and as I have been truly taught in the days of that good king Edward, of ſuch godly preachers and prophets ſent of God, as have ſealed their doctrine with their blood, from whom I will diſſent in no point: for I am a poor man without learning, but am commanded of God to follow the counſel of his conſtant preachers, and ſo do I intend to do, God giving me grace and aſſiſtance thereto,

As for you, I know you to be none of Chriſt's ſhepherds, but ravening wolves, which come to kill and ſcatter the flock of Chriſt, as the Lord ſaid you ſhould; and doth will to beware of you, and your poiſoned doctrine, bidding us to judge you according to your fruits, whereby all men may ſee and know what ye be, that will not be wilfully blind. But the good ſhepherds have given their lives for the defence of Chriſt's flock; and I am commanded to follow their faithful and godly example, and to confeſs with them one truth, even to the fire, if God ſhall ſee it good; and this as a true chriſtian I have hitherto done, and henceforth by God's grace intend to do.

And if the ſame God ſhall ſuffer you to take away my life, as you have done theirs, I am contented therewith: his will be done, for that only is good. But of this be ye ſure, the Lord will ſhortly call you to account for all the innocent blood that is ſhed within this realm; which you have brought into a moſt woful caſe, and made many a heavy heart in the ſame, and more I perceive you will make, ſo long as the Lord for our ſins will ſuffer you to proſper, until the time that your iniquities ſhall be full ripe. But then be you ſure the Lord will ſit in judgment upon you, as well as you do now upon his ſaints, and will reward you according to your deſervings; to whom with my whole heart I commit my cauſe, and he will make anſwer for me, when the full time of my refreſhing cometh.

In the mean ſpace, I will keep ſilence with this that I have ſaid, truſting that I have ſufficiently diſcharged my conſcience in confeſſing my faith and religion to you, declaring of what church I am, even of the catholic church of Jeſus Chriſt, which was well known to be here in England in our late good king Edward's days, by two ſpecial tokens which cannot deceive me, nor yet ſuffer me to be deceived; that is to ſay, the pure preaching of his holy word, and the due adminiſtration of his holy ſacraments, which is not to be ſeen in your Romiſh church, and therefore it cannot juſtly be called the church and ſpouſe of Chriſt. I believe in the Holy Trinity, and all the other articles of the chriſtian faith contained in the three creeds; and finally all the canonical ſcripture to be true in every ſentence. And I deteſt all ſects both of the Arians and Anabaptiſts, or any other that divide themſelves from the true church of Chriſt, which is his myſtical body, the ground and pillar of truth, and the very houſe of the living God. And if for theſe things you take away my life, and make yourſelves guilty of my blood, you may: for I am in your hands as the ſheep brought to the ſhambles, abiding the grace of the butcher. And be you ſure your judgment ſleepeth not, but when you cry peace, peace, and all is ſafe, then ſhall your plagues begin like the ſorrow of a woman travailing with child, according to Chriſt's infallible promiſe.

This kind of anſwer, my dear heart, it will be beſt for you to make; and by God's grace I do intend to take the ſame order myſelf in time to come, when the Lord ſhall vouchſafe me worthy of that great dignity, whereunto he hath called you. And if they ſhall laugh you to ſcorn, as I know they will, ſaying, Thou art a fool, and an unlearned aſs-head, and art able to make anſwer to nothing, &c. care you not for it, but ſtill commit your cauſe unto God, who will make anſwer for you; tell them that they have been anſwered again and again of divers godly and learned men; but all will not help: for you have one ſolution of all manner of queſtions, even a fair fire and faggots, this will be the end of your diſputations. Therefore I pray you trouble me no more, but do that which you are appointed, when God ſhall permit the time. I am no better than Chriſt, his apoſtles, and others of my good brethren that are gone before me.

This kind of anſwer will cut their combs moſt, and edify the people that ſtand by, ſo that the ſame be done coldly, with ſobriety, meekneſs, and patience; as I heard ſay our ſweet brethren Thomas Harland and John Oſwald did at Lewes in Suſſex, to the great rejoicing of the children of God that were in thoſe parts: and I hear ſay, that they were diſſolved from this earthly tabernacle at Lewes on Saturday laſt, and were condemned but the Wedneſday before, ſo that we may perceive the papiſts have quick work in hand, that they make ſuch haſte to have us home to our heavenly Father. Therefore let us make ourſelves ready to ride in the fiery chariot, leaving theſe ſorry mantles and old cloaks behind us for a time, which God ſhall reſtore to us again in a more glorious wiſe.

My good brother Henry, you ſhall underſtand that bragging John T—— has beguiled his keepers (who truſted him too well) and is run away from them, and hath brought the poor men into great danger by the ſame. The one of them is caſt by the council into the Gate-houſe at Weſtminſter, the other is fled out of the country for fear.

That you may ſee the fruits of our free-will men, that made ſo much boaſt of their own ſtrength. But that houſe which is not built ſurely upon the unmoveable Rock, will not long ſtand againſt the boiſterous winds and ſtorms, that blow ſo ſtrongly in theſe days of trouble.

But my dearly beloved brother, bleſſed be God for you, and ſuch as you, who have played the parts of wiſe builders. You have digged down paſt the ſand of your own natural ſtrength, and beneath the earth of your own worldly wiſdom, and are now come to the hard ſtone, and unmoveable Rock Chriſt, who is your only keeper; and upon him alone have you built your faith moſt firmly, without doubting, miſtruſt, or wavering. Therefore neither the ſtorms nor tempeſts, winds nor weathers that Satan and all his wily workmen can bring againſt you, with the very gates of hell to help them, ſhall ever be able once to move your houſe, much leſs to overthrow it; for the Lord God himſelf, and no man is the builder thereof, and hath promiſed to preſerve and keep the ſame for ever. Unto his moſt merciful defence therefore I do heartily commit you and all your good company, deſiring him, for his ſweet Son Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, to confirm and ſtrengthen you all, that you may be conſtant unto the very end; that after the final victory is once gotten, you may receive the never-fading crown of glory, of God's free gift, through his great mercy in Jeſus Chriſt our only Saviour. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour, glory, praiſe, thanks, power, rule, and dominion for ever and evermore, Amen. The bleſſing of God be with you all.

John Careleſs.

A Letter of Mr. John Careleſs, returning Thanks to a faithful Friend of his, by whom he had received much Comfort in his inward Troubles.

BLeſſed be God the Father of all mercy, for the great comfort and chriſtian conſolation which he hath ſo mercifully miniſtered unto my poor afflicted heart by your means, my moſt dear and faithful brother. Truly methinketh your words, or rather God's words, by you uttered, have a wonderful power and efficacy working in my heart at the hearing and reading of them. Rejoice therefore, my dear brother, and be thankful unto God; for verily he both is and will be mightily magnified in you, and that divers and many ways, both to the ſtrengthening of them that ſtand in his truth, and alſo to the raiſing of ſuch as are fallen from the ſame. God make me thankful for you, and on your behalf: for verily great is the goodneſs of God towards me, in giving me acquaintance in faithful love and amity with you; God's name therefore be praiſed for ever, and he perform all his merciful promiſes unto you, as I doubt not but he will, for his ſake in whom you truſt.

I thank my God moſt heartily, and alſo you, my good brother, for that you are careful for me in your faithful prayers, remembering my juſt deſerved ſorrows, as tho' they were your own, and labouring ſo much to ſolace the ſame. Ah my gracious good God, what am I, for whom thou and thy dear children ſhould be ſo careful! O ſweet Lord, forgive me my great ingratitude and ſin, and grant that I never abuſe thy great benefits. O let the love of thine, who love me for thy ſake, be a ſure ſign and token, yea a moſt firm teſtimony and ſeal to my ſinful conſcience of thine everlaſting love and mercy towards me in Chriſt; as verily it would and ought to be, if mine infidelity did not hinder it. O circumciſe therefore the foreſkin of my heart, that I may with a lively faith behold thy great love towards me in all thine elect, that I may always be thankful for the ſame, and love thee and them again moſt heartily and unfeignedly.

Ah my dear heart, how ſweetly and how truly, yea how godly and how comfortably have you rehearſed the ſweet ſaying of Solomon concerning proſperity with true and godly friends! I will join with it the ſentence that goeth a little before, for doubtleſs it may be well verified on you. "A ſure friend (ſaith the wiſe man in Ecclus. 6.) will be unto thee even as thine own ſoul, and deal faithfully with thy houſhold-folk. If thou ſuffer trouble and adverſity, he is with thee, and hideth not his face from thee. A faithful friend is a ſtrong defence: whoſo findeth ſuch an one findeth a treaſure. A faithful friend hath no peer: the weight of gold is not to be compared to the goodneſs of his faith. A faithful friend is a medicine of life, and they that fear the Lord ſhall find him, &c." Lo (my dear heart in the Lord) here is a lively image or deſcription of you; for verily ſuch an one have I always found you unto me, not only ſorrowing for my great ſorrowing, but alſo oftentimes making me merry and joyful, with ſuch joys as the world cannot feel. Now let the world brag of its feigned friendſhip; but I will boaſt of this true friendſhip in God, and eſteem it a greater treaſure than all tranſitory things. And as for my mourning, dear brother, God hath made you to turn it unto mirth; for God hath put you inſtead of them to be my comfort, whom he hath in his great mercy taken away. I truſt henceforth to leave the mourning for my great loſs, and to praiſe God for gaining unto himſelf ſo great glory by his choſen children. God make me a true mourner of Sion, both for mine own ſin and wickedneſs, and alſo to ſee his honour defaced, that I may be made meet and apt to bear the joyful and comfortable meſſage that your beautiful feet ſhall bring me. God bleſs thee, my dear heart, and faithful loving brother, and increaſe his good gifts of grace in thee, as he hath moſt happily begun, that you may daily more effectually feel and lively perceive the certainty of God's grace wherein you ſtand, and firmly teſtify the ſame to the converſion or confuſion of all gainſayers, and to the comfort and confirmation of all God's dear children, Amen. Farewel, mine own ſweet brother, farewel as mine own heart.

Your own in Chriſt,

John Careleſs.

In the letters of William Tyms, [p. 562, 563.] ye heard much mention made of Agnes Glaſcock. This Agnes Glaſcock through infirmity, and her huſband's perſuaſions, was allured to go to maſs. For which cauſe ſhe falling into great ſorrow and repentance, was raiſed up again by the comfortable letters of William Tyms and John Careleſs, as before you may read; and after that was conſtant in the ſincere profeſſion of the verity, and in danger of perſecution for the ſame; unto whom John Careleſs writeth this following letter.

A Letter of John Careleſs to Agnes Glaſcock.

THE everlaſting peace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, the continual aid, ſtrength, and comforts of his moſt pure holy and mighty Spirit, be with you my dear and faithful ſiſter Glaſcock, to the good performance of that good work which God hath ſo graciouſly begun in you, to his glory, the profit of his poor afflicted church, and to your own eternal comfort to him, Amen.

In our Lord I have my moſt humble and hearty commendations unto you, may dear ſiſter and moſt faithful mother Glaſcock, with all remembrance of you in my daily prayers, giving God moſt hearty laud, praiſe and thanks

thanks for you, and on your behalf, in that he of his great mercy hath hitherto ſo mightily ſtrengthened you, conſtantly to cleave unto your captain Chriſt, notwithſtanding the great aſſaults and manifold temptations that you have had to the contrary. Doubtleſs, dear heart, it cannot be expreſſed what joy and comfort it is unto my very ſoul, to ſee how mightily the Lord hath magnified himſelf in you, whom he will ſhortly glorify with himſelf, as he hath done others of his ſweet ſaints that are gone before you. Rejoice therefore and be glad; for verily you have good cauſe, if you diligently conſider the great dignity that God hath called you unto, even now in your old age, to be one of his worthy witneſſes unto the world: and I think you ſhall with me and other your brethren in bonds, ſeal the Lord's verity with the teſtimony of your blood. Surely, ſweet ſiſter, this is the greateſt promotion that God can bring you or any other unto in this life; and an honour that the higheſt angel in heaven is not permitted to have.

Therefore happy are you, O faithful daughter of Abraham, that the Lord will now prefer you before many others, O faithful and virtuous matron, which wilt not be moved from the ſure rock Chriſt, upon whom you have ſo firmly built your houſe, that neither ſtorms nor tempeſts, neither yet hell gates, or any other temptations, ſhall ever be able to prevail againſt it. Full well doth it appear by your conſtant continuance, that you have played the part of a wiſe builder, in counting coſt beforehand, belonging to the finiſhing up of your tower. And I doubt not but through God's gift, you have ſufficient to the performance thereof, that the hypocrites of their part ſhall have no juſt cauſe to triumph againſt you, or to mock you, ſaying, Lo, this woman began to build, but is not able to make an end. Therefore go on boldly and fear not; for God is faithful, as St. Paul ſaith, who will not ſuffer you to be tempted above your ſtrength, but either he will give you grace and ſtrength to ſtand unto the death (which is the gate and entrance into life) or elſe he will make ſuch an outſcape for you, as ſhall be to the ſetting forth of his glory; which above all other things, we that are his choſen children ought to ſeek, yea even with the loſs of our own lives, being yet well aſſured that the ſame ſhall not be ſhortened one minute of an hour before the time that God hath appointed.

Caſt therefore, dear ſiſter, all your care upon the Lord, who, as St. Peter ſaith, careth for you. Great is his providence for you, and mighty in his love and mercy towards you. With his grace he will defend you, and with his Holy Spirit, he will evermore guide you, wherewith he will ſurely ſeal you unto the day of redemption; he hath alſo given you the recovery of the purchaſed poſſeſſion, which he hath prepared for you before the foundation of the world was laid. Be ſtrong therefore, and take a good heart, as I hear ſay you be. God for ever be bleſſed for you, who hath ſo grafted his love in your good heart, that nothing is able to ſeparate you from the ſame, but will rather chuſe to ſuffer adverſity with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleaſure of ſin for a little ſeaſon. O happy woman, that canſt find in thy heart to eſteem the rebukes of Chriſt to be greater riches than all the treaſures of the world, as good Moſes did. Doubtleſs great it your reward in heaven; which you ſhall receive of his free gift, and not of any deſerving.

Thus, dear mother Glaſcock, I have been bold to trouble you with my rude and ſimple letters, deſiring you to take them in good worth, being done in great haſte, as it doth appear, but yet proceeding from a poor heart which floweth over in love towards you, as my daily prayer for you can teſtify; which I truſt ſhall ſupply that part of my duty towards you, that my pen now wanteth. I thank you, dear heart, for all your loving tokens, and for the great kindneſs you have hitherto ſhewed unto my poor brother Tyms and his wife and children, with all others of God's people, to whom you daily do good: the Lord recompenſe the ſame ſevenfold into your boſom, as I doubt not but he will, according to his infallible promiſes. I pray you have my hearty commendations unto your huſband. I beſeech the Lord to ſtrengthen him in the confeſſion of his truth (as my truſt is that he will) that we may all joyfully reſt with Abraham, Iſaac and Jacob in the kingdom of God; unto which he brings us, that with his moſt precious blood hath bought us. The bleſſing of God be with you now and ever, Amen.

John Careleſs.

A brief Admonition written to Mrs. Agnes Glaſcock, in a Book of hers, when ſhe came to the Priſon to viſit him.

THERE is nothing that the holy ſcripture throughout doth ſo much commend unto us, as true faith and ſtedfaſt truth in the promiſes of God's eternal mercies towards us in Jeſus Chriſt. For from the ſame, as forth of the chief fountain and well-ſpring of life, do flow all kind of virtues and godly fruits, eſpecially true love towards God, in which we ought purely to ſerve him all the days of our life; and alſo chriſtian charity towards our neighbours, as well to help them at all needs, as alſo not to hurt them by any means. Therefore pray earneſtly for the increaſe of faith and lively feeling of God's mercy: for all things are poſſible unto him that can undoubtedly believe. Faith is that thing which aſſureth us of God's mercy, and whereby we vanquiſh all the fiery darts of the devil; our victory that overcometh the world; the knife that killeth and mortifieth the fleſh: and finally that which ſetteth us at peace with God, and quieteth our conſciences always before him, and maketh us merry and joyful under the croſs, with many more things than I can now expreſs. Pray therefore for faith. And for the Lord's ſake beware of popery and popiſh idolatry, the idol of the wicked maſs, and other idolatrous ſervice. Make not your body, which is a member of Chriſt, a member of Antichriſt. Remember that we ſhall receive of God according to that we do in the body, be it good or evil. Therefore glorify God in your body, which is dearly bought. Betray not the truth, leſt the Lord deny you. If God be God, follow him. You cannot ſerve two maſters. I write not this as doubting you, but by the way of admonition. God keep you from all evil.

My ſiſter dear, God give you grace,
With ſtedfaſt faith in Chriſt his name.
His goſpel ſtill for to embrace,
And live according to the ſame.
To die therefore think it no ſhame,
But hope in God with faithful truſt;
And he will give you praiſe with fame,
When you ſhall riſe out of the duſt.
For which moſt ſweet and joyful day,
To God with faith your prayer make:
And think on me I do you pray,
Who now hath wrote this for your ſake.
And thus to God I you betake,
Who is your caſtle and ſtrong rock;
He'll keep you ſleeping or awake,
Farewell dear miſtreſs A. Glaſcock.

Another Letter of Mr. John Careleſs to Mrs. A. G. to comfort her in her Repentance, after ſhe had been at Maſs, comfortable to be read by all thoſe who have fallen, and are willing to riſe again.

THE peace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, the eternal comforts of his ſweet Spirit be with you, and ſtrengthen and comfort you, my dear and faithful ſiſter, Amen.

Although

Although the perilous days be come, whereof Chriſt propheſied, that if it were poſſible the very elect ſhould be deceived; yet let the true faithful chriſtian rejoice and be glad, knowing that the Lord himſelf is their keeper, who will not ſuffer one hair of their heads to periſh without his almighty good will and pleaſure, neither will he ſuffer them to be further tempted than he will give them ſtrength to bear; but will in the midſt of their temptation make a way for them to eſcape out; ſo good and gracious a God is he to all his choſen children. And though ſometimes he do let his elect ſtumble and fall, yet (no doubt) he will raiſe again to the further increaſe of their comfort, and to the ſetting forth of his glory and praiſe. Which thing (my dear and faithful loving ſiſter) I truſt ſhall be well verified on you. For I do hear ſay, that by the manifold allurements, inticements, procurements, yea, and enforcements, that you dear heart have had, your foot hath chanced to ſlip out of the way, to the great diſcomfort of your ſoul, and the heavineſs of your heart: But my good ſiſter, be of good cheer, for the Lord will not ſo leave you, but he will raiſe you up again, and make you ſtronger than ever you were; ſo that your fall ſhall turn to his glory and your profit. For if you had not by this proved the experience of your own ſtrength, or rather your own weakneſs, you would have ſtood too much in your own conceit, or perchance have gloried in yourſelf, and have deſpiſed and condemned other weak perſons that have committed the like offence. Therefore now you may ſee what the beſt of us all can do, if God leaves us to ourſelves. Which thing ought to move you to be diligent to call earneſtly upon God for his grace and the ſtrength of his Holy Spirit (without which we are not able to ſtand one hour) and to be moſt thankful for the ſame when you have it, and then to be more circumſpect in time to come.

Therefore (dear ſiſter) ſeeing that you have done otherwiſe than the word of God and your own conſcience would allow: yet dear heart, do not think that God will caſt you clean away, but know that he hath mercy enough in ſtore for all them that truly repent and believe in him, although the ſins of them were as many in number as the ſands in the ſea, and as great as the ſins of the whole world. It is a greater ſin to miſtruſt the mercy and promiſes of God, than to commit the greateſt offence in the world. Therefore, good ſiſter, beware in any wiſe, that you do not once miſtruſt the promiſes of God's mercy towards you; but know for a very ſurety, that all your ſins be utterly forgiven you, for Chriſt's ſake, be they never ſo many, ſo grievous, or ſo great.

But now, dear heart, take heed, and beware that you do not cloak that ſin, and increaſe the ſame daily, in communicating with the wicked in their idolatry, and deviliſh doings at their den of thieves. Do not, I ſay, dear ſiſter, be at any of their Antichriſtian ſervice, leſt by little and little you utterly loſe a good conſcience, and at length eſteem it for no offence; as alas, a great number do at this day, to the great peril of their ſouls. The Lord be merciful to them, and give them grace to repent in time, and turn to the Lord, and then they ſhall be ſure to find mercy at the Lord's hand, as doubtleſs you have done, praiſed therefore be is name.

Ah, my dear ſiſter, you may now ſee the words of Chriſt verified upon yourſelf, that a man's greateſt foes ſhall be they of his own houſhold; for your huſband hath gotten you to do that, which all the tyrants in the world could never have made you to do. Doubtleſs he may be ſorry for it. God give him grace to repent, or elſe, without doubt, it will be laid to his charge one day, when he would not by his will hear it for all the goods in the world. Well, I think my brother Tyms will write him a letter ſhortly that ſhall touch his conſcience, if he have conſcience at all.

But now again to you, dear ſiſter. The thing that is done cannot be undone, and you are not the firſt that have offended; neither are you ſo good and holy, as hath at any time ſlipt out of the way. Therefore I would not have you to be ſo much diſcomforted as I hear ſay you be, as though God were not as able to forgive his dear ſaints that offended him in times paſt; or as though God were not as merciful now, as ever he was. Whereas in very deed, there is with the Lord (as the prophet ſaith) mercy and plentiful redemption, and his mercy far ſurmounteth all his works; and he never faileth any that put their whole truſt and confidence in him, how great an offender, or how wicked a treſpaſſer ſoever he be: no, he maketh their falls and backſlidings many times to turn to their greater profit and advantage, and to the ſetting forth of his glory; as doubtleſs, dear ſiſter, yours ſhall do, if you put your whole faith, hope, and truſt, only in his infinite and eternal ſweet mercies.

O what a ſubtle, crafty, lying ſerpent is that Satan our old enemy! that when he ſeeth that he cannot make us to continue in our wickedneſs to do him ſervice, would then bring us into a doubting and miſtruſting of the mercy of God, which is the greateſt offence that can be; yea, infidelity is the root and original of all other ſins. Therefore (my ſweet ſiſter) give no place to that cruel adverſary of mankind, who hath been a lyar and a murderer from the beginning, but ſtedfaſtly believe the Lord, who hath ſent you word by me his moſt unworthy ſervant, that all your ſins be pardoned, forgiven, and clean releaſed for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, our only Lord and Saviour. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour, glory, praiſe, thanks, power, rule, and dominion for ever, Amen. Farewel, my dear ſiſter, be of good cheer. Believe in the Lord, and you ſhall live for ever. The Lord increaſe your faith, Amen, Amen.

Your poor brother, and daily faithful orator,
John Careleſs, priſoner of the Lord. Pray for me.

Another Letter of Mr. John Careleſs to a faithful Miniſter of the Lord, containing certain fruitful Precepts of Matrimony.

I Beſeech the ſame everlaſting Lord (my dear and faithful brother) that bleſſed young Tobias with his wife Sarah, and brought them together in due time with reverence and fear, preſerve and bleſs you both, and your ſeed after you, that they may increaſe the number of the faithful by thouſands and thouſands. And as the Lord of his great mercy and fatherly providence hath been always careful for you, and now hath for your comfort accompliſhed his good work in coupling you with a faithful mate; ſo ſee that you be thankful for his providence towards you, that it may every way in you be an increaſe of love and godlineſs, yea, of chriſtian joy and gladneſs in theſe ſorrowful days; but yet ſo, that you mourn with the true mourners of Sion, and be ſorry (yet in meaſure) for the hurt of the ſame. Pray alſo in faith for her proſperity, that the Lord may build up the walls of Jeruſalem again,

Oh, that the Lord would turn Sion's captivity as the rivers into the ſouth: Then ſhould our hearts be made glad, and our mouths filled with laughter. Then would the heathen hypocrites ſay, The Lord hath done much for them. O, the Lord hath done great things for us already, whereof let us heartily rejoice and praiſe his name therefore. For though we now ſow in tears, yet we ſhall be ſure to reap with gladneſs: and as we now go forth weeping, bearing forth good ſeed, ſo ſhall we come again with joy, and bring our ſheaves full of corn. Yea, the death of the martyrs (which is moſt precious in his ſight) ſhall be the life of the goſpel, in ſpite of the papiſts hearts.

Pray for me (dear heart) that I may be counted worthy to ſow ſome ſeed amongſt the ſweet ſaints of the Lord, that I may reap the ſame again, without ceaſing, at the harveſt. It is now ſowing-time of the year, men ſay in the

the country, and I think I ſhall make an end of ſowing before all March be paſt; for I hear ſay I ſhall prove how my plough will enter into the ſtony ground of the hard hearted papiſts, within theſe four days. I hope to hold faſt, and not to look back, neither for fear nor flattery, until I have made an end of ſowing, and then will I ſet me down and reſt me, aſk them all no leave, and look for the lively fruit and increaſe thereof with joy and gladneſs.

My dear brother, the time approacheth near (for which I praiſe God) that I muſt put off this ſinful tabernacle, and go home to my heavenly Father, where divers of my dear brethren are already looking and wiſhing for me. I beſeech you therefore that you will help me forward with your faithful prayers as I know you do, for I do feel the comfort and advantage thereof.

That you have obſerved my ſimple counſel I am right glad; and I truſt in the Lord God, you ſhall find comfort in the ſame. And that you may ſo do indeed, I have been ſo bold to write theſe few words unto you, becauſe I ſhall ſee you no more in this corruptible life; therefore mark them well. Firſt, and above all things, you muſt be very circumſpect to keep the band of love, and beware that there never ſpring up the root of bitterneſs between you. If at any time there happens to ariſe any cauſe of unkindneſs between you, as it is impoſſible always to be free from it, ſee that you weed up the ſame with all lenity, gentleneſs, and patience, and never ſuffer yourſelf nor your wife to ſleep in diſpleaſure.

If you have cauſe to ſpeak ſharply, and ſometimes to reprove, beware that you do not the ſame in the preſence of others, but keep your words until a convenient time (which is the point of a wiſe man, ſaith Solomon) and then utter them in the ſpirit of meekneſs, and the groaning ſpirit of perfect love; which you muſt alſo let ſometimes to cover faults, and wink at them if they be not intolerable. Whatſoever loſs and miſchance ſhall happen unto you, take it patiently, and bear it merrily; and though the ſame ſhould come partly through your wife's negligence, yet let it rather be a loving warning to take heed in time to come, than a cauſe of ſorrow for that which is paſt, and cannot be holpen. I know by mine own experience, that we are in this life ſubject to many inconveniences, and that of nature we are prone to diſpleaſure and ready to think unkindneſs for every little trifle, and eſpecially with our beſt friends, yea, ſooneſt with our loving wives, who be moſt loth to diſpleaſe us.

But let us beware of this cankered corruption, and conſider that we ought moſt of all in love to bear with them according to Chriſt's example towards his congregation, for whom he gave himſelf, to cleanſe it, &c. I had thought to have treated this matter at large, but even now I am intermitted, and otherwiſe hindered. I doubt not but you know your duty therein a great deal better than I can declare it unto you; and as you know it, ſo will do it: but I love to be bold with you. I intend to write to your wife very ſhortly, and ſo take my laſt farewel of you for ever in this world. And thus in great haſte I am now conſtrained to make an end. The bleſſing of God be always with you.

Your own for ever, John Careleſs.

Pray, pray, pray with faith.

Another Letter of Mr. John Careleſs, to Elizabeth. Wife of the aforeſaid Miniſter, containing certain godly Precepts of Matrimony pertaining to her Duty.

THE everlaſting peace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, the continual, aid, ſtrength, and comfort of his moſt holy and mighty Spirit, with increaſe of knowledge, faith, and perfect feeling of God's eternal mercy, be with you my dear and faithful loving ſiſter, and with your godly loving huſband and my dear and faithful brother, to the full performance of that good which he hath ſo graciouſly begun in you, that in all things you may be made rich and bleſſed in him, and your ſeed after you, now and ever, Amen.

As I have been long deſirous to write unto you (my dear heart in the Lord) not only being thereto bound of duty, but alſo often provoked by him to whom I owe myſelf and all that I am able to do (I mean even that bleſſed of the Lord's own mouth, whom God hath joined with you in that holy and chriſtian ſtate of matrimony) even ſo at laſt I have obtained time and occaſion in ſome part to perform that which I have long purpoſed. And foraſmuch as the Lord of his great mercy and fatherly care and providence over you his dear child, hath now graciouſly accompliſhed that good work amongſt many others, which I (as a friend of the bridegroom) have full heartily wiſhed, and often prayed for; I think it good, yea, and my bounden duty, to treat of ſuch things as may be profitable to preſerve mutual love and faithful amity between you, which I know Satan will chiefly labour to diminiſh, if he cannot altogether deſtroy the ſame, leſt by many joyful occaſions you ſhould be provoked continually to praiſe God for his good gift, which that enemy hath by all means ſought to hinder from you.

As for all other things I know you are ſufficiently inſtructed, and alſo have a moſt learned companion, who is well able further to teach you if need do require: But in this particular I know my experience is more than his. Therefore (my good ſiſter) firſt and before all things ſee that you diligently conſider, that as every good and perfect gift pertaining to ſoul and body, is given from above, and cometh down from the Father of Lights: even ſo to whomſoever the Lord dealeth any of his benefits, of them he doth chiefly require always a thankful heart for the ſame; for elſe he will either take away his good gifts again, or turn the ſame to their great diſadvantage, and in the end to the increaſe of their damnation: ſo deteſtable in his ſight is the ſin of ingratitude. But to ſuch as be thankful for his benefits, he doth not only to the old ever add new, but alſo maketh the goodneſs of his former gifts ever more and more to increaſe, until by them they are fully perſuaded and thoroughly certified of his everlaſting love in Chriſt Jeſus, which is eternal life itſelf: ſo much doth he of his great mercy delight in a thankful heart.

Therefore I do yet once again earneſtly require you, that above all things you be thankful to God for his benefits; not only for your election, creation, redemption and preſervation; but alſo for his other temporal gifts, wherewith he hath indued you: amongſt which the chief and moſt excellent is (as teſtifieth the Holy Ghoſt) your good, faithful and loving huſband. For (as the wiſe man ſaith) goods and poſſeſſions may come to a man by the death of his friends, but a good wife is the gift of God, which the Lord will give for a good portion to ſuch as fear him.

And the like is of a good huſband, as the Lord hath now given you, praiſed be his holy name. He hath not given you an ignorant, froward, churliſh, brawling, waſteful, rioting, drunken huſband, wherewith he hath plagued many others (as he might alſo have done you) but he hath given you a moſt godly, learned, gentle, loving, quiet, patient, thrifty, diligent, and ſober huſband, by whom he will nouriſh, cheriſh, keep and defend you, inſtruct and teach you, yea care and provide for you and your children (which he will alſo by him give you) ſuch things as be neceſſary for you. He hath not dealt ſo with every body; and yet he hath done this much more for you, my dear ſiſter, and will thereto increaſe love and joy between you. For as he delighteth in the love and godly agreement of man and wife together; ſo it is he only that maketh them and all the whole houſhold to be of one mind. Unto which his gracious work he requireth your

diligence, and will uſe you as his inſtrument and mean, and more effectually to accompliſh the ſame. And therefore I now require you to obſerve this my ſimple counſel, which I have here written as a teſtimonial of my good will towards you, becauſe I think in this life I ſhall never more ſee you.

Now as I have ſhewed you how you ſhould be thankful unto God for his good gifts, ſo I exhort you, and, as much as in me lieth, charge you to be evermore thankful unto your dear loving huſband, who hath given himſelf unto you; who is a more precious jewel in the church of God, than perchance you are yet aware of. Think yourſelf unworthy to be matched with ſuch an inſtrument of God; and alſo reverence evermore the gifts of God in him, and ſeek with true obedience and love to ſerve him, in recompenſe of his true and painful heart towards you. Be loth in any wiſe to offend him, yea rather be careful and diligent to pleaſe him, that his ſoul may bleſs you. If at any time you ſhall chance to anger him, or to do or ſpeak any thing that ſhall grieve him, ſee that you never reſt until you have pacified him and made him merry again.

If at any time he ſhall chance to blame you without a cauſe, or for that you cannot do therewith (which thing happeneth ſometimes to the beſt man living), ſee that you bear it patiently, and give him no uncomely or unkind word for it; but always look upon him with a loving and chearful countenance, and rather take the fault upon you than ſeem to be diſpleaſed.

Be always merry and chearful in his company, but not with too much lightneſs. Beware in any wiſe of ſwelling, pouting or lowring, for that is a token of a cruel and unloving heart; except it be in reſpect of ſin, or in the time of ſickneſs.

Be not ſorrowful for any adverſity that God ſendeth; but beware that nothing be ſpilt or go to waſte through your negligence. In any wiſe ſee that you be quick and cleanly about his meat and drink, and prepare him the ſame according to his diet in due ſeaſon. Go cleanly and well-favouredly in your apparel, but beware of pride in any wiſe.

Finally, in word and deed ſhew yourſelf wiſe, humble, merry and loving towards him, and alſo towards ſuch as he doth love, and then ſhall you lead a bleſſed life. I could ſpeak of many things, which I have learned and proved true by experience; but I know that you will do in all things much better than I can teach you, becauſe you have that anointing that teacheth you all things, who hath alſo given you an heart to obey and ſerve him. Yet I truſt you will not be offended for this which I have written, but rather except my good will towards you whom I love in the Lord, as well as I do my daughter Judith.

Thus as mine own ſoul I commend you both to God, deſiring him to bleſs you with all manner of ſpiritual bleſſings in heavenly things, and alſo with the dew of heaven, and fatneſs of the earth, that in all things you may be made rich in Jeſus Chriſt our Lord and only Saviour. The Lord increaſe and bleſs the fruit of your bodies, that your children may ſtand round about your table, thick, freſh, and luſty, like the olive branches. God give you both a long life, that you may ſee and bleſs your children's children, unto the third and fourth generation, and teach them the true fear and love of God, and that faith for which they ſhall be accepted in his ſight.

God let you ſee the proſperity of Sion, for whoſe lying in the duſt let your hearts mourn. The Lord make perfect your love together in him, and always increaſe the ſame, and bring you both in peace to your graves, at a good age. And now I bid you both moſt heartily farewel; and I think I ſhall now take my leave of you for ever in this life. I beſeech you both to aid me with your continual prayers (as I will not forget you in mine) that I may have a joyful victory through Jeſus Chriſt: To whoſe moſt merciful protection I do moſt heartily for ever commend you to be kept unblameable unto his coming. Which I beſeech him to haſten for his mercies ſake.

Your own unfeigned, John Careleſs, priſoner of the Lord.

The Hiſtory and Martyrdom of Julius Palmer, a learned and virtuous young man, ſometime Fellow of Magdalen-College, in Oxford; with two other Martyrs, named John Gwin, and Thomas Aſkin, burnt together at a Place called the Sand-pits, in Newbury, about the 16th Day of July.

Of Julius Palmer.

AS all the works of God are wonderful in calling all ſorts of men to confirm his truth, and to bear witneſs to his aſſured and infallible word, which the adverſaries have depraved and corrupted with their falſe gloſſes, to eſtabliſh the fleſhly kingdom of Antichriſt, and to purchaſe ſecurity in the world, which poſſeſſion they ſeek, and by all poſſible means endeavour to keep; rather curſing with the thunderbolt of excommunication, burning, hanging, drowning, racking, ſcourging, and perſecuting, by ſecret practice, and open violence the ſimple ſheep of our Saviour Chriſt, than that their falſe forged packing ſhould be detected, their eſtimation impaired, their kitchen cooled, and their rents, revenues, goods, lands and poſſeſſions abated: I ſay, as God's work be admirable in chuſing ſome of all ſorts to confeſs his goſpel; ſo there is no one example, in the whole godly fellowſhip of martyrs, more remarkable and amazing than this, That a perſon, who in all the days of king Edward, was a papiſt in the univerſity of Oxford, ſo rigid and obſtinate, that he utterly abhorred all godly prayer, and ſincere preaching; and he himſelf as little reſpected, and, as it were, pointed at, by almoſt all thoſe with whom he lived: That ſuch a perſon, I ſay, ſhould ſuffer perſecution and death by the papiſts for the truth of the goſpel in the reign of queen Mary (as he readily and zealouſly did) is very admirable and ſurpriſing.

He was born in Coventry, where alſo his parents dwelt. His father had ſometime been mayor of the city, and occupied merchandize, although he was an upholſterer by his myſtery. How he was brought up in his young and tender years, from his firſt entering, we know not, but as we have learned, he was ſometime ſcholar to Mr. Harley of Magdalen-college in Oxford; by whoſe diligence, and the goodneſs of his own capacity, he became a toward young ſcholar in proſe and verſe. For he had a very prompt and ready memory, a wit ſharp and pregnant. He ſpake Latin with great facily and utterance, and wanted not competent knowledge in the Greek tongue; inſomuch that divers times he ſupplied the room of the Greek reader in his houſe. He was a ſubtle diſputer, both in the public ſchools, and alſo at home. He uſed to ſay, that he was never ſo pleaſantly occupied, as when he came to the hard debating of profound queſtions in philoſophy; ſo that he hath oftentimes watched and ſpent the whole night in the diſcuſſing and ſearching out the truth of deep and diffuſe queſtions. And this he uſed to do ſundry times with divers of his equals.

In familiar talk he greatly delighted, for the exerciſe of his learning, to defend the contrary to that which was affirmed, yet with modeſty, and without all oſtentation. For he greatly abhorred all overthwart cavilling, all frivolous talk, and unſavoury brabbling. He was captious, but would reaſon ſo ſoberly, and with ſuch probability, that even his adverſaries would no leſs marvel at the dexterity of his invention, than at his comely and decent behaviour in proſecuting the ſame.

And although he applied divinity very lately, it appeareth that he recompenſed the ſmall time of his ſtudy with the greatneſs of his diligence beſtowed in the ſame, and

Engrav'd for Fox's Book of Martyrs.

The Martyrdom of Julius Palmer, John Gwin, and Thomas Askin, at Newbery.

The Burning of Katherine Cawches, and her two Daughters in the Ile of Garnsey.

G. Terry Sculp.

Publish'd as the Act directs for H. Tripp. Pater-noster Row.

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BRITISH MUSEUM
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and his late coming to the truth with his earneſt and zealous proceeding therein. For by the ſecret inſpiration of God's Holy Spirit inwardly working in his heart, he gave an apparent ſignification in his young years, that if God had ſpared his life to age, he would have grown to ſuch maturity and ripeneſs of judgment, as whereby he ſhould have been an ornament to Chriſt's church, and an honour to his country.

And ſomewhat to ſpeak of his civil behaviour; he was of manners courteous without curioſity; of countenance cheerful, without high looks; of ſpeech pleaſant, without affectation; he was affable and lowly as any child, and yet quick-ſpirited, and vehement in reaſoning. He practiſed no deceit towards any man, for he was of ſuch ſimplicity, that he was apter to be deceived than to deceive, and he was ſo great a contemner of all reproaches, that he would ſay, None were to be counted valiant, but ſuch as could deſpiſe injury.

In private ſtudy he was ſo indefatigable, that he aroſe ordinarily every morning at four of the clock, and went not to bed before ten at night. Inſomuch that as he grew in years and underſtanding, ſo he came to be a batchelor of art, and at length, for the hope appearing in him, to the preferment of a fellowſhip in Magdalen college, where alſo he was admitted to the office of a reader in logick, anno 1550. Now if he had at the firſt favoured ſincere religion, ſo much as he followed his book, then had we the leſs matter to note in him. But indeed he was ſo much (as is before ſaid) addicted to the Romiſh faith, that his company and converſation in the ſame houſe was altogether with ſuch as were utter enemies to the goſpel of Chriſt. If he came to common prayer at any time, it was by violence and compulſion, for otherwiſe he came not. Sermons would he hear none himſelf, nor yet ſuffer his ſcholars to reſort unto them by his good will: for he was fully perſuaded, that they might be better occupied at home. The preachers themſelves he did both diſdain and deſpiſe, and all ſuch as were ſetters forth of ſound doctrine beſide. For which contumacy and ſtubborneſs he was ſo oft called before the officers of the college, and puniſhed ſometimes by the purſe, ſometimes by the lack of his commons, and otherwhile by certain taſks, and exerciſes of learning enjoined unto him, that divers ſuppoſed him to have endeavoured, of ſet purpoſe, continually to ſeek occaſion, whereby he might be accounted a ſufferer for the fantaſied religion of the Romiſh church.

In the end, not long before the death of king Edward, certain ſlanderous libels and railing verſes were privily fixed to the walls and doors in ſundry places of the college againſt the preſident, which was then Dr. Haddon, whereby was admitted further matter of trouble to Palmer. For whereas it was well known that he and ſome of his companions had a very little time before ſpoken contumelious words againſt the preſident, it could not be now avoided, but that thereby aroſe a vehement ſurmiſe and ſuſpicion, that he conſpiring with others, had contrived, made and ſcattered abroad, the ſaid ſlanderous writings. Great inquiſition was made in the college, to ſearch out the author of ſo malicious and deſpiteful a deed, but nothing could be found and proved againſt Palmer or any of his companions. Now Palmer being hereupon examined by the officers, did not only with ſtout courage deny the fact to have been his, but alſo ſpake further many reproachful words touching the ſaid officers, and ſet the ſame to them in writing, whereby he was by them adjudged to be an unworthy member of that ſociety. And ſo for this and other popiſh pranks (continuing obſtinate ſtill) he was expelled the houſe.

After he was thus expelled, he was obliged for his own maintenance to apply himſelf to be a teacher to children in the houſe of Sir Francis Knolles, in which trade he continued until the coming in of queen Mary. And when her viſitors were ſent to Magdalen college, under a title of reformation (whereas all things were better before) I mean to diſplace ſeveral of the fellows that were learned, and to put right catholics (as they called them) in their rooms; then came this Julius Palmer, waiting to be reſtored to his living again, of which he had been deprived before, thinking by good right to be reſtored by them, whoſe faith and religion (as he ſaid) he did to the uttermoſt of his power defend and maintain. And indeed at length he obtained the ſame. Then after he was reſtored again to his houſe in queen Mary's reign, God dealt ſo merciful with him, that in the end he became of an obſtinate papiſt, an earneſt and zealous proteſtant.

Concerning whoſe converſion to the truth, for the more credit to be given to the ſame, we have here inſerted a letter written by one Mr. Bullingham, fellow in ſome part of king Edward's time with the ſaid Palmer, then alſo with the ſame religion with him, and towards the latter end of the ſaid king's reign a voluntary exile in France for popery. In queen Mary's days likewiſe a chaplain unto Stephen Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter. And after the coming in of queen Elizabeth, ſuch an one as for his obſtinacy was diſcharged from all his livings by her majeſty's commiſſioners. And yet now (God be praiſed for it it) a moſt conſtant profeſſor and earneſt teacher of the word of God. This man at the requeſt of a certain friend of his in London, being deſirous to know the certain truth thereof, wrote unto him concerning this Julius Palmer. The copy of which letter we thought good here to inſert, becauſe the parties being alive can teſtify the ſame to be true, if any man ſhall doubt thereof.

Mr. Bullingham's Letter to his Friend.

MAſter Bullingham, I wiſh you and all yours continual health in the Lord. Hitherto have I not written any thing unto you concerning Julius Palmer, that conſtant witneſs of God's truth, for that his doings and ſayings known unto me, were worn out of my remembrance; and to write an untruth, it were rather to deface and blemiſh, than to adorn and beautify him. After his converſion to the moſt holy goſpel, I never ſaw his face. Wherefore the leſs have I to certify you of. But ſo much as ſeemeth to me to ſerve moſt unto the purpoſe, here I commend unto you; and in witneſs that my ſayings are true, I ſubſcribe my name, willing, praying, and beſeeching you to publiſh the ſame to the whole world, &c. At what time I Bullingham intended to forſake England, and to fly into France for the wicked pope's ſake, (which came to paſs indeed, for in Roan I was for a time) this Julius Palmer and Richard Duck brought me onwards in my journey till we came to London: where on a day Julius Palmer and I walked to St. James's the queen's palace; and as we leaned at the great gate of that place, Palmer ſpake thus unto me.

Bullingham, you know in what miſery and calamities we are fallen for the pope and his religion. We are young men abhorred of all men now preſently, and like to be abhorred more and more. Let us conſider what hangeth over our heads. You are departing into a ſtrange country, both friendleſs and moneyleſs, where I fear me you ſhall taſte of ſourer ſauces than hitherto you have done. And as for me, I am at my wits end. The face of hell itſelf is as amiable unto me, as the ſight of Magdalen college; for there I am hated as a venemous toad. Would God I were raked under the earth. And as touching our religion, even our conſcience bear witneſs that we taſte not ſuch an inward ſweetneſs in the profeſſion thereof, as we underſtand the goſpellers to taſte in their religion: yea, to ſay the truth, we maintain we know not what, rather of will than of knowledge. But what then; rather than I will yield

unto them I will beg my bread. So Palmer bequeathed himſelf to the wide world, and I paſſed over into Normandy. At my return into England, my chance was to meet Palmer in Paul's, where a rood was ſet up. (This our meeting was in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, and our miſerable departing not long before the end of king Edward's days.) Then after our greeting, thus ſaid Palmer: Bullingham, is this our God, for whom we have ſmarted? No, Palmer (quoth I) it is an image of him. An image! (quoth he) I tell thee plainly Bullingham, John Calvin, whoſe inſtitutions I have peruſed ſince our departure, telleth me plainly by God's word, that it is an idol, and that the pope is Antichriſt, and his clergy the filthy ſink-hole of hell, and now I believe it; and now I feel it ſenſibly. O that God had revealed theſe matters unto me in times paſt. I would have bequeathed this Romiſh religion, or rather irreligion, to the devil of hell, from whence it came. Believe them not, Bullingham. I will rather have theſe knees pared off, than I will kneel to yonder jackanapes (meaning the rood.) God help me I am born to trouble and adverſity in this world. Well, Palmer (ſaid I) is the wind in that corner with you? I warrant you it will blow you to little eaſe, at the end. I will never have to do with you again. So I left Palmer walking in Paul's, who through the element of fire is exalted above the elements, where eternal reſt is prepared for perſecuted martyrs. Thus much is true, and let it be known that I Bullingham affirm it to be true. More I have not to ſay. In theſe words and deeds it appeareth that God had elected him.

From Bridgewater, April 26, 1562.
By me, John Bullingham.

When he was by the viſitors reſtored to his college, although he began ſomething to ſavour and taſte of God's truth, by conference and company of certain godly and zealous men abroad, in time of his expulſion, eſpecially at the houſe of Sir Francis Knolles; yet was he not thoroughly perſuaded, but in moſt points continued for a while either blind, or elſe doubtful. Neither could he chuſe but utter himſelf in private reaſoning from time to time, both in what points he was fully reſolved, and alſo of what points he doubted. For ſuch was always his nature, both in papiſtry and in the goſpel, utterly to deteſt all diſſimulation, inſomuch that by the means of his plainneſs, and for that he could not flatter, he ſuffered much trouble, both in King Edward's, and alſo in queen Mary's time. Whereas he might at the firſt have lived in great quietneſs, if he could have diſſembled, and both done and ſpoken againſt his conſcience, as many ſtirring papiſts then did. And likewiſe he might have eſcaped the flames in queen Mary's time, if he would either have ſpoken, or kept ſilence againſt his conſcience, as many goſpellers did. But Palmer could in no wiſe diſſemble.

Now within a ſhort time God ſo wrought in his heart, that he became very inquiſitive to hear and underſtand how the martyrs were apprehended, what articles they died for, how they were uſed, and after what manner they took their death. Inſomuch that he ſpared not at his own charges to ſend over one of his ſcholars, in the company of a bachelor of that houſe, to Glouceſter, to ſee and underſtand the whole order of biſhop Hooper's death, and to bring his true report thereof. Which thing ſome think he rather did, becauſe he was wont in king Edward's time to ſay; that none of them all would ſtand to death for their religion. Thus he learned with what great, extreme and horrible cruelty the martyrs of God were tried, and how valiantly they overcame all kind of torments to the end. Whereof he himſelf did ſee more experience afterwards, at the examination and death of thoſe holy confeſſors and martyrs which were burnt at Oxford before his eyes; inſomuch that the firſt hope which the godly conceived of him, was at his return from the burning of biſhop Ridley, and biſhop Latimer. At which time, in the hearing of divers of his friends, he brake out into theſe, or ſuch like words, O raging cruelty! O tyranny tragical, and more than barbarous!

From that day forward he ſtudiouſly endeavoured to underſtand the truth, and therefore with all ſpeed he borrowed Peter Martyr's commentaries on the firſt to the Corinthians, of one of the Magdalen's yet alive, and other good books of other men. And ſo through hearty prayer, and diligent ſearch and conference of the ſcriptures, at length he believed and embraced the truth with great joy; and ſo profited in the ſame, that daily more and more he declared it both in word and deed: inſomuch that ever afterwards he loved the truth as much as he before hated it, when it pleaſed God to open his eyes, and to reveal unto him the light of his word. And now again when he ſhould come to church, in thoſe days of popery, there to be occupied among the reſt, in ſinging of reſponds, reading of legends, and ſuch like ſtuff allotted to him, he had as much pleaſure, he ſaid, to be at them, as a bear to be baited and worried with dogs. When he came, it was (as it appeared) more to avoid diſpleaſure and danger, than for any good will, and ready affection.

At length through God's grace, he grew up to ſuch maturity and ripeneſs in the truth, that he ſpared not to declare certain ſparks thereof in his outward behaviour. For when he ſhould keep his bowing meaſures at Confiteor (as the cuſtom there was) in turning himſelf to and fro, ſometimes eaſtward, ſometimes weſtward, and afterwards knock his breaſt at the time of elevation, againſt theſe idolatrous adorations his heart did ſo vehemently riſe, that ſometimes he would abſent himſelf from them, and ſometimes being there, he would even at the ſacring time (as they termed it) get him out of the church, to avoid thoſe ungodly geſtures, and idolatrous adorations. To be ſhort, perceiving after a while, that he was greatly ſuſpected as well as diſreſpected by Mr. Cole, the preſident then being, and divers others who before had been his friends, and finding great torment of conſcience daily growing upon him, in his converſation with idolaters; and alſo ſeeing that his new life and old way of living could not well nor quietly ſtand together, he addreſſed himſelf to depart the houſe. For he thought it not beſt to abide the danger of expulſion, as he did at firſt; ſeeing the heat of the times increaſing apace. And being demanded at that time by a particular friend (who would gladly have perſuaded him to ſtay there longer) whither he would go, or how he would live, he made this anſwer, [Domini eſt terra, & plenitudo ejus] that is, The earth is the Lord's, and the fulneſs thereof. Let the Lord work, I will commit myſelf to God, and the wide world.

Here I think it expedient, before I write of the painful ſurges that he ſuffered after he came abroad into the perilous gulphs, and deep ſea of this wretched wide world, firſt, to rehearſe one or two examples of this outward behaviour, at ſuch times as he had recourſe to the college, after his laſt departure, whereby the reader may yet better underſtand of his ſimplicity and plainneſs, and how far wide he was from all cloaked diſſimulation in God's cauſe, which certain godleſs perſons have ſought maliciouſly to charge him withal. Being at Oxford a certain time in Magdalen-college, and having knowledge that the Spaniſh friar John (who ſucceeded Dr. Peter Martyr in the office of Divinity Lecturer) would preach there that preſent Sunday, he would not at the firſt grant to be preſent at it. At length a friend of his, a fellow of that houſe, perſuaded ſo much with him, that he was content to accompany his ſaid friend to the church. But ſuddenly as the friar vehemently inveighed againſt God's truth, in defending certain popiſh hereſies, Palmer, having many eyes bent and directed towards him, departed from amongſt the midſt of the auditory, and was found in his friend's chamber weeping bitterly.

After-

Afterwards being demanded why he ſlipped away on ſuch a ſudden; Oh, ſaid he, if I had not openly departed, I ſhould openly have ſtopped mine ears. For the friar's blaſphemous talk, in diſproving, or rather deproving the verity, made mine ears not to glow, but mine heart worſe to ſmart, than if mine ears had been cut from my head.

It chanced another time, that the ſame friend of his, named Mr. Shipper, being then butler of the houſe, bade him to dinner in his chamber. Palmer not knowing what gueſts were alſo thither invited and bidden, happened there (contrary to his expectation) to meet with the aforeſaid friar, with whom were preſent Dr. Smith, Dr. Treſham, and divers other papiſts, whoſe company Palmer could not well bear: and therefore whiſpering his friend in the ear, he ſaid he would be gone, for that was no place for him: I will, ſaith he, to the butler's table in the great hall. The butler, underſtanding his mind, deſired him of all friendſhip not ſo to depart, alledging that it were the next way to betray himſelf, and as it were of purpoſe to caſt himſelf into the briars, with many other perſuaſions, as the ſhortneſs of time would permit. In the end he condeſcended to his requeſt, and tarried. Now as he came to the fire ſide, the friar ſaluted him cheerfully in Latin, for he could not ſpeak Engliſh. Palmer with an amiable countenance gently returned it; but when the friar offered him his hand, he caſting his eye aſide, as though he had not ſeen it, found matter of talk to another ſtanding by, and ſo avoided it: which thing was well marked by ſome, not without great grudge of ſtomach.

After they were ſat, and had well eaten, the friar with a pleaſant look, offering him the cup, ſaid, [Propino tibi, juvenis erudite] that is, I drink to you, learned young man. Palmer at that word bluſhing as red as ſcarlet, anſwered [Non agnoſco nomen, domine] that is, I acknowledge no ſuch name, O Sir. And therewith taking the cup at his hand, he ſet it down by him, as though he would have pledged him anon, but in the end it was alſo well marked, that he did it not. When dinner was done, being ſharply rebuked by the ſaid butler his friend, for his ſo unwiſe, uncivil and unſeemly behaviour (as he termed it) he made anſwer for himſelf, and ſaid, [Oleum eorum non demulcet, ſed frangit caput meum.] The oil of theſe men doth not ſupple, but breaketh my head.

Another time, which was alſo the laſt time of his being at Oxford, not long before his death, one Barwick, an old acquaintance of his, being ſometime clerk of Magdalen's, and then fellow of Trinity college, a rank papiſt, began to reaſon with him in his friend's chamber aforeſaid, and perceiving him to be zealous and earneſt in the defence of the verity, he ſaid unto him in the hearing of Mr. Thomas Parry, and others then preſent. Well, Palmer, well, now thou art ſtout and hardy in thine opinion, but if thou wert once brought to the ſtake, I believe thou wouldſt tell me another tale. I adviſe thee beware of the fire, it is a ſhrewd matter to burn. Truly, ſaid Palmer, I have been in danger of burning once or twice, and hitherto, I thank God, I have eſcaped it. But I judge verily it will be my end at the laſt, welcome be it, by the grace of God. Indeed it is a hard matter for them to burn, that have the mind and ſoul linked to the body, as a thief's foot is tied in a pair of fetters: but if a man be once able, through the help of God's Spirit, to ſeparate and divide the ſoul from the body, for him it is no more maſtery to burn, than for me to eat this piece of bread.

Thus much by the way concerning his plainneſs, without diſſimulation, and how he feared not openly to ſhew himſelf more grieved in heart to hear the word of God blaſphemed, than to ſuffer any worldly pains. Now let us proceed in our ſtory, and faithfully declare both the occaſion and manner of his death.

Within a ſhort time after he had yielded up his fellowſhip in Oxford, he was through God's providence (who never faileth them that firſt ſeek his glory) placed ſchoolmaſter by patent in the grammar-ſchool of Reading, where he was well accepted by all thoſe that feared God, and favoured his word, as well for his good learning and knowledge, as alſo for his earneſt zeal and profeſſion of the truth. But Satan, the enemy of all godly attempts, envying his good proceedings, and proſperous ſucceſs in the ſame, would not ſuffer him long there to be quiet. Wherefore he ſtirred up againſt him certain double-faced hypocrites, who by diſſimulation and crafty inſinuation had crept in, to underſtand his ſecrets, under pretence of a zeal to the goſpel. Which men he (ſuſpecting no deceit) right joyfully embraced, making them privy to all his doings. For as he himſelf was then fervently inflamed with the love of heavenly doctrine, ſo he had an incredible deſire by all means poſſible to allure and encourage others to the profeſſion of the ſame.

Theſe faithful and truſty brethren, ſo ſoon as they had found good opportunity, ſpared not in his abſence to riſle his ſtudy of certain godly books and writings; amongſt which was his Replication to Morewine's verſes, touching Wincheſter's epitaph, and other arguments both in Latin and Engliſh, written by him againſt the popiſh proceedings, and eſpecially againſt their unnatural and bruti ſh tyranny, executed towards the martyrs of God. When they had thus done, they were not aſhamed to threaten him that they would exhibit the ſame to the council, unleſs he would without delay depart out of their coaſts, and give over the ſchool to a friend of theirs. The truth of this ſtory appeareth in part by a letter written with his own hand, out of priſon, eight days before he was burnt: which, becauſe it is of certain credit, and came to our hands, therefore we are the bolder to avouch it for a truth.

Then was this ſilly young man, for the ſafeguard of his life, forced to depart on a ſudden from Reading, leaving behind him in the hands of his enemies his goods, and one quarter's ſtipend, and ſo he took his journey towards Enſham, where his mother then dwelt, hoping to obtain at her hands certain legacies due to him by his father's laſt will, which he ſhould have received certain years before; and taking his journey by Oxford, he requeſted certain of his friends to accompany him thither. His mother underſtanding his ſtate and errand by Mr. Shipper and his brother (whom he had ſent before to intreat for him) as ſoon as ſhe beheld him on his knees, aſking her bleſſing, as he had been accuſtomed to do: Thou ſhalt, ſaid ſhe, have Chriſt's curſe and mine whereſoever thou goeſt. He pauſing a little, as one amazed at ſo heavy a greeting, at length ſaid, O mother, your own curſe you may give me, which God knoweth I never deſerved, but God's curſe you cannot give me, for he hath already bleſſed me. Nay, ſaid ſhe, thou didſt go from God's bleſſing into the warm ſun, when thou wert baniſhed for an heretic out of that worſhipful houſe in Oxford, and now for the like knavery art driven out of Reading too. Alas, mother, ſaid he, you have been miſinformed. I was not expelled nor driven away, but freely reſigned of mine own accord. And heretic I am none, for I ſtand not ſtubbornly againſt any true doctrine, but defend it to my power. And you may be ſure, they uſe not to expel nor baniſh, but to burn heretics (as they term them). Well, quoth ſhe, I am ſure thou doſt not believe as thy father and I, and all our forefathers have done; but as we were taught by the new law in king Edward's time, which is damnable hereſy.

Indeed I confeſs, ſaid he, that I believe that doctrine which was taught in king Edward's days, which is not hereſy but truth, neither is it new, but as old as Chriſt and his apoſtles. If thou art at that point, ſaid ſhe, I

require thee to depart from my houſe, and out of my ſight, and never take me more for thy mother hereafter. As for money and goods I have none of them, thy father bequeathed nought for heretics. Faggots I have to burn thee, more thou getteſt not at my hands. Mother, ſaid he, whereas you have curſed me, I again pray God to bleſs you, and proſper you all your life long. And with like ſoft talk, ſweet words, and abundance of tears trickling down his cheeks, he departed from her, wherewith he ſo mollified her hard heart, that ſhe hurled an old angel [a gold coin, worth about ten ſhillings] after him, and ſaid, Take that to keep thee a true man.

Thus poor Palmer, being deſtitute of worldly friendſhip, and cruelly repelled by her whom he took to have been his ſureſt friend, knew not which way to turn his face.

Soon after, when he had bethought himſelf, it came to his mind to return ſecretly to Magdalen college, upon the aſſured truſt and affiance, that he had a ſecret friend or two in that houſe. At which time, by the ſuit of one Alane Cope, then fellow of the houſe, he obtained letters commendatory from Mr. Cole, preſident there, for his preferment to a ſchool in Glouceſterſhire. So he getteth him away, committed by his friends to God's divine protection, of whom ſome accompanied him as far as Enſham Ferry, and ſome to Burford.

Afterward as he went alone muſing and pondering of matters, it came in his head (as he writeth in an epiſtle to one of his friends) to leave his appointed journey, and to return privately to Reading, truſting there by the help of friends to receive his quarter's ſtipend, and convey his goods to the cuſtody of ſome truſty body. To Reading he cometh, and taketh up his lodging to the Cardinal's Hat, deſiring his hoſteſs inſtantly to aſſign him a cloſe chamber, where he might be alone from all reſort of company. He came not ſo cloſely, but that this viperous generation had knowledge thereof. Wherefore without delay they laid their heads together, and conſulted what way they might moſt ſafely proceed againſt him, to bring their old cankered malice to paſs. And ſoon it was concluded, that one Mr. Hampton (who then bare two faces under one hood, and under the colour of a brother played the part of a diſſembling hypocrite) ſhould reſort to him under the pretence of friendſhip, to feel and fiſh out the cauſe of his repair to Reading.

Palmer, as he was a ſimple man, and without all wrinkles of cloked deceit, opened to him his whole intent. But Hampton earneſtly perſuaded him to the contrary, declaring what danger might enſue if this was attempted. Againſt his counſel Palmer replied very much, and as they waxed hot in talk, Hampton flung away in a fury, and ſaid, As he had fiſhed, ſo he ſhould fowl for him. Palmer not yet ſuſpecting ſuch deviſed miſchief, as by this crooked and peſtiferous generation was now in brewing againſt him, called for his ſupper, and went quietly to bed. But quietly he could not long reſt there. For within a ſhort ſpace after, the officers and their retinue came ruſhing in with lanthorns and bills, requiring him in the king and queen's name to make himſelf ready, and quietly to depart with them: and led him away as a lamb to the ſlaughter, aud committed him to ward, whom the keeper, as a ravening wolf, greedy of his prey, brought down into a vile, ſtinking, and vile dungeon, prepared for thieves and murderers, and there he left him for a time, hanging by the hands and feet in a pair of ſtocks, ſo high, that well-near no part of his body touched the ground. In this cave or dungeon he remained about ten days under the tyranny of this unmerciful keeper.

After this he was brought before the mayor of Reading, and there by the procurement of certain falſe brethren, divers grievous and enormous crimes were laid to his charge, as treaſon, ſedition, ſurmiſed murder, and adultery.

To whom Palmer anſwered, that if ſuch horrible and heinous crimes might be proved againſt him, he would patiently ſubmit himſelf to all kind of torments that could be deviſed. But O ye cruel bloodſuckers (ſaith he) ye follow the old practices of your progenitors, the viperous and wolfiſh generation of phariſees and papiſts: but be ye well aſſured, that God already ſeeth your ſubtle devices and crafty packing, and will not ſuffer the outrageous fury of your venomous tongues and fiery hearts to eſcape unpuniſhed.

All this while no mention was made of hereſy or heretical writings.

Their greateſt proofs againſt him were theſe:

FIRST, That Palmer ſaid, the queen's ſword was not put in her hand to execute tyranny, and to kill and murder the true ſervants of God.

Item, That her ſword was too blunt towards the papiſts, but towards the true chriſtians it was too ſharp.

Item, That certain ſervants of Sir Francis Knolles and others, reſorting to his lectures, had fallen out among themſelves, and were like to have committed murder, and therefore he was a ſower of ſedition, and a procurer of unlawful aſſemblies.

Item, That his hoſteſs had written a letter unto him (which they had intercepted) wherein ſhe required him to return to Reading, and ſent him her commendations, by the token that the knife lay hid under the beam, whereby they gathered that ſhe had conſpired with him to murder her huſband.

Item, That they found him alone with his hoſteſs by the fire-ſide in the hall, the door being ſhut to them forſooth.

When the evidence was given up, the mayor diſmiſſed them, and went to dinner, commanding Palmer to the cage, to make him an open ſpectacle of ignominy to the eyes of the world. It being given out, that he was ſo puniſhed for his evil life and wickedneſs already proved againſt him.

In the afternoon Palmer came to his anſwer, and did ſo mightily and clearly deface their evidence, and defend his own innocency, proving alſo that the ſaid letters were forged by themſelves, that the mayor himſelf was much ſhamed that he had given ſuch credit to them, and ſo much borne with them, ſo that he ſought means how they might convey him out of the country privily.

But here among other things this is not to be paſſed over in ſilence, that one John Galant, a zealous profeſſor of the goſpel, a little after this came to the priſon, and found him ſomewhat better treated than before. When he beheld him, O Palmer, ſaith he, thou haſt deceived divers mens expectation: for we hear that you ſuffer not for righteouſneſs ſake, but for your own demerits.

O brother Galant, ſaith he, theſe be the old practices of that Satanical brood. But be you well aſſured, and God be praiſed for it, I have ſo purged myſelf, and detected their falſhood, that from henceforth I ſhall be no more moleſted therewith. And there having pen and ink, he wrote ſomewhat whereby part of his ſtory here rehearſed is well confirmed. But now to theſe bloody adverſaries.

After this, when they ſaw the matter frame ſo ill-favouredly, fearing that if he ſhould eſcape ſecretly, their doing would tend no leſs to their ſhame and danger, than to the mayor's diſhoneſty: they deviſed a new policy to bring to paſs their long hidden and feſtered malice againſt him, which was by this extreme refuge. For whereas before they were partly aſhamed to accuſe him of hereſy, ſeeing they had been counted earneſt brethren themſelves; and partly afraid, becauſe they had broken up his

and committed theft: yet now, leſt their iniquity ſhould have been revealed to the world, they put off all fear and ſhame aſide, and began to rip up the old ſore, the ſcar whereof had been but ſuperficially cured, as you have heard; and ſo to colour their former practices with the pretence of his reformation in religion, they charged him with the writings that they had ſtolen out of his ſtudy.

Thus Palmer was once again called out of the priſon to appear before the mayor, and Bird the official, and two other juſtices, to render an account of his faith before them, and to anſwer to ſuch articles and informations as were laid againſt him. And when they had gathered of his own mouth ſufficient matter to intrap him, they deviſed a certificate, or bill of inſtructions againſt him, to be directed to Dr. Jeffery, who had determined to hold his viſitation the next Tueſday at Newbury, which was the 16th of July. And thus were the falſe witneſſes and bloody accuſers winked at, and the innocent delivered to the lion to be devoured. When it was therefore concluded that Palmer ſhould be ſent over to Newbery, the ſaid letters teſtimonial were conveyed over together with him; the contents whereof ſhall partly appear hereafter; in the mean time I think it good here to rehearſe one example among others, both of charitable affection towards him, and of his modeſty correſpondent to the ſame.

Mr. Rider of Reading, a faithful witneſs of God's truth, hearing how cruelly Palmer had been dealt withal in the priſon, and pined away for lack of neceſſaries, and how evidently he had proved himſelf innocent before the officers of ſuch crimes as were objected againſt him, he ſent to him his ſervant ſecretly the night before his departure to Newbery, with a crooked groat in token of his good heart towards him, requiring him to let him underſtand if he lacked neceſſaries, and he would provide for him. Palmer anſwered, The Lord reward your maſter for his benevolence towards me a miſerable object in this world, and tell him, that (God be praiſed) I lack nothing.

In the morning before they took their journey, Thomas Aſkin, alias Roberts, being fellow-priſoner with him in Chriſt's cauſe, ſitting at breakfaſt, and beholding Palmer very ſad leaning to a window in a corner of the houſe, aſked why he came not to breakfaſt. Becauſe I lack money, ſaid Palmer, to diſcharge the ſhot. Come on man, quoth he, God be praiſed for it, I have enough for us both. Which thing when Mr. Rider heard of, it cannot be expreſſed, how much it grieved him that Palmer had deceived him with ſo modeſt an anſwer.

Thus to Newbery they came on Monday night, and forthwith they were committed to the comfortable hoſtry of the blind houſe, where they found John Guin, their faithful brother in the Lord. Now when they came before the conſiſtory of Dr. Jeffrey, and how Palmer was examined, it doth in part appear by this examination hereunto annexed, which, although it be not perfectly and orderly penned, as the report goeth it was ſpoken, nor perchance altogether in ſuch form of words, yet as exactly as we are able to compact and diſpoſe it, being gathered out of ſeveral notes of Richard Shipper, John Hunt, John Kirry of Newbery, Richard White of Marlborough, who were eye-witneſſes, and preſent at the hearing thereof.

The ſecond Examination of Julius Palmer, at Newbery, in the Hearing of more than three hundred Perſons.

ON the 16th of July, in the year 1556, four or five ſeats were prepared in the choir of the pariſh church of Newbery for the viſitors, whoſe names here enſue. Dr. Jeffrey for the biſhop of Sarum, Sir Richard Abridges knight, and then high ſheriff of the county, Sir William Ramsford, knight, John Winchcomb, eſquire, and the parſon of Inglefield. After the priſoners were preſented, the commiſſion read, and other things done in order accordingly, Dr. Jeffrey called to Palmer, and ſaid, Art thou that jolly writer of three-half-penny books that we hear of?

Palmer. I know not what you mean.

Jeffrey. Have you taught Latin ſo long, that now you underſtand not Engliſh?

To this he anſwered nothing.

Then Dr. Jeffrey ſtanding up, ſaid, We have received certain writings and articles againſt you, from the right worſhipful the mayor of Reading, and other juſtices, whereby we underſtand, that being convented before them, you were convict of certain hereſies.

Firſt, That you deny the ſupremacy of the pope's holineſs.

Secondly, That there are but two ſacraments.

Thirdly, That the prieſt ſheweth up an idol at maſs; and therefore you went to no maſs, ſince your firſt coming to Reading.

Fourthly, That there is no purgatory.

Laſt of all, That you be a ſower of ſedition, and have ſought to divide the unity of the queen's ſubjects.

Sheriff. You were beſt ſee what he will ſay to his own handy-work.

Jeffrey. Ye ſay truth. Tell me, Palmer, art thou he that wrote this fair volume? Look upon it.

Palmer. I wrote it indeed, and gathered it out of the ſcripture.

Jeffrey. Is this doggiſh rhime yours alſo? Look.

Palmer. I wrote this, I deny not.

Jeffrey. And what ſay you to theſe Latin verſes, entituled Epicedion, &c. Are they yours too?

Palmer. Yea, Sir.

Jeffrey. Art thou not aſhamed to affirm it? it came of no good ſpirit, that thou didſt both rail at the dead, and ſlander a learned and catholic man yet alive.

Palmer. If it be a ſlander, he hath ſlandered himſelf: for I do but report his own writing, and open the folly therein declared. And I reckon it not railing to inveigh againſt Annas and Caiaphas being dead.

Jeffrey. Sayeſt thou ſo? I will make thee recant it, and wring Peccavi out of thy lying lips, ere I have done with thee.

Palmer. But I know, that although of myſelf I be able to do nothing, yet if you, and all mine enemies, both bodily and ghoſtly, ſhould do your worſt, you ſhall not be able to bring that to paſs, neither ſhall ye prevail againſt God's mighty Spirit, by whom we underſtand the truth, and ſpeak it ſo boldly.

Jeffrey. Ah, are you full of the Spirit? Are you inſpired with the Holy Ghoſt?

Palmer. Sir, no man can believe, but by the inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt. Therefore, if I were not a ſpiritual man, and inſpired with God's Holy Spirit, I were not a true Chriſtian [Qui Spiritum Chriſtum non habet, hic non eſt ejus] that is, He that hath not the Spirit of Chriſt is none of his.

Jeffrey. I perceive you lack no words.

Palmer. Chriſt hath promiſed not only to give us ſtore of words neceſſary, but with them, ſuch force of matter, as the gates of hell ſhall not be able to confound, or prevail againſt it.

Jeffrey. Chriſt made ſuch a promiſe to his apoſtles, I hope you will not compare yourſelf with them.

Palmer. With the holy apoſtles I may not compare, neither have I any affiance in mine own wit and learning, which I know is but ſmall: yet this promiſe I am certain pertaineth to all ſuch as are appointed to defend God's truth againſt his enemies, in the time of their perſecution for the ſame.

Jeffrey. Then it pertaineth not to thee.

Palmer. Yes, I am right well aſſured, that through his grace it appertaineth at this preſent to me, as it ſhall (I doubt not) appear, if you give me leave to diſpute with you

you before this audience, in defence of all that I have there written.

Jeffrey. Thou art but a beardleſs boy, yeſterday an upſtart out of the ſchools, and dareſt thou preſume to offer diſputation, or to encounter with a doctor?

Palmer. Remember Mr. Doctor, "The Spirit breatheth where it pleaſeth him, &c." And again, "Out of the mouth of babes haſt thou ordained ſtrength." And in another place, "Thou haſt hid theſe things from the wiſe and prudent, and haſt revealed them unto babes." God is not tied to time, wit, learning, place nor perſon. And although your wit and learning is greater than mine; yet your belief in the truth, and zeal to defend the ſame, is no greater than mine.

Regiſter, Sir if you ſuffer him thus impudently to trifle with you, he will never have done.

Jeffrey. Well, ye ſhall underſtand, that I have it not in commiſſion at this preſent to diſpute with you, neither were it meet that we ſhould call again into queſtion ſuch articles as are already diſcuſſed, and perfectly defined by our mother the holy church, whom we ought to believe without why or wherefore, as the creed telleth us. But the cauſe why ye be now called hither, is that ye might be examined upon ſuch articles as are adminiſtered againſt you, and ſuch matter as is here contained, in your hand-writing, that ye may be ſeen whether you will ſtand to it, or nay. How ſaw you to this?

Palmer. By your holy church you mean the ſynagogue of Rome, which is not univerſal, but a particular church of ſhavelings. The catholic church I believe, yet not for her own ſake, but becauſe ſhe is holy, that it to ſay, a church that grounded her belief upon the word of her ſpouſe Chriſt.

Jeffrey. Leave railing, and anſwer me directly to my queſtion. Will you ſtand to your writing, or will you not.

Palmer. If you prove any ſentence therein comprized not to ſtand with God's word, I will preſently recant it.

Jeffrey. Thou impudent fellow, have I not told thee, that I came not to diſpute with thee, but to examine thee?

Here the parſon of Inglefield pointing to the Pyx, ſaid, What ſeeſt thou yonder.

Palmer. A conopy of ſilk broidered with gold.

Parſon. Yea, but what is within it?

Palmer. A piece of bread in a clout, I ſuppoſe.

Parſon. Thou art as froward an heretic as ever I talked withal.

Here was much ſpoken of Confiteor, and other parts of the maſs.

Parſon. Do you not believe that they which receive the holy ſacrament of the altar, do truly eat Chriſt's natural body?

Palmer. If the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper be adminiſtered as Chriſt did ordain it, the faithful receivers do indeed ſpiritually and truly eat and drink in it Chriſt's very natural body and blood.

Parſon. The faithful receivers? Ye cannot blear our eyes with ſuch ſophiſtry. Do not all manner of receivers, good and bad, faithful and unfaithful, receive the very natural body in form of bread?

Palmer. No, Sir.

Parſon. How prove you that?

Palmer. By this place, He that eateth me ſhall live for me.

Parſon. See that fond fellow, whilſt he taketh himſelf to be a doctor of the law, you ſhall ſee me prove him a ſtark fooliſh daw. Do you not read likewiſe, Whoſoever invocateth the name of the Lord ſhall be ſaved? Ergo, Do none but the godly call upon him? Therefore you muſt mark how St. Paul anſwereth you. He ſaith, that the wicked do eat the true body to their condemnation.

As Palmer was bent to anſwer him at the full, the parſon interrupted him, crying ſtill, what ſayeſt thou to St. Paul?

Palmer. I ſay that St. Paul hath no ſuch words.

Parſon. See, the impudent fellow denieth the plain text: He that eateth and drinketh the body of the Lord unworthily, is guilty of judgment.

Palmer. I beſeech you lend me your book.

Parſon. Not ſo.

The Sheriff. I pray you lend him your book.

So the book was given over to him.

Palmer. Your own book hath, [Qui manducat hunc panem, &c.] He that eateth this bread.

Parſon. But St. Jerome's tranſlation hath [Corpus] Body.

Palmer. Not ſo, Mr. Parſon, and God be praiſed that I have in the mean ſeaſon ſhut up your lips with your own book.

Jeffrey. It is no matter whether ye write Bread or Body, for we be able to prove that he meant the Body. And whereas you ſay, they eat it ſpiritually, that is but a blind ſhift of deſcant.

Palmer. What ſhould I ſay elſe?

Jeffrey. As holy church ſaith, really, carnally, ſubſtantially.

Palmer. And with as good ſcripture, I may ſay groſly or monſtrouſly.

Jeffrey. Thou ſpeakeſt wickedly. But tell me, Is Chriſt preſent in the ſacrament or no?

Palmer. He is preſent.

Jeffrey. How is he preſent?

Palmer. The doctors ſay, [Modo ineffabili] in a manner not to be expreſſed. Therefore why do ye aſk me? Would God ye had a mind ready to believe it, or I a tongue able to expreſs it unto you.

Jeffrey. What ſay you to the baptiſm of infants?

Palmer, I ſay that it ſtandeth with God's word, and therefore ought of neceſſity to be retained in the church.

Jeffrey. Ye have forgotten yourſelf I believe, for ye write that children may be ſaved without it.

Palmer. So I write, and ſo I ſay.

Jeffrey. Then it is not neceſſary to be frequented and continued in the church.

Palmer. Your argument is not good, Mr. Doctor.

Jeffrey. Will you ſtand to it?

Palmer. Yea, Mr. Doctor, God willing.

Jeffrey. Note it, regiſter.

More of his examination in that time and place is not yet come to our hands; whenſoever God ſendeth it, I will impart and communicate the ſame to the reader. In the mean ſeaſon we are credibly informed of this, that Sir Richard Abridges, the ſame day after dinner, ſent for him to his lodging, and there, in the preſence of divers perſons yet alive in Newbery and elſewhere, friendly exhorted him to revoke his opinion, to ſpare his young years, wit and learning. If thou wilt be conformable, and ſhew thyſelf corrigible and repentant, in good faith, ſaid he, I promiſe thee before this company, I will give thee meat and drink, and books, and ten pound yearly, ſo long as thou wilt dwell with me. And if thou wilt ſet thy mind to marriage, I will procure thee a wife and a farm, and help to furniſh and fit thy farm for thee. How ſayeſt thou?

Palmer thanked him very courteouſly, and made him further anſwer concerning his religion ſomewhat at large, but very modeſtly and reverently; concluding in the end, that as he had already in two places renounced his living for Chriſt's ſake, ſo he would with God's grace be ready to ſurrender and yield up his life alſo for the ſame, when God ſhould ſend time.

When Sir Richard perceived that he would by no means relent: Well Palmer, ſaith he, then I perceive one of us twain ſhall be damned. For we be of two faiths,

faiths, and certain I am there is but one faith that leadeth to life and ſalvation.

Palmer. O Sir, I hope that we both ſhall be ſaved.

Sir Richard. How may that be?

Palmer. Right well, Sir. For as it hath pleaſed our merciful Saviour, according to the goſpel's parable, to call me at the third hour of the day, even in my flowers, at the age of four and twenty years, even ſo I truſt he hath called, and will call you at the eleventh hour of this your old age, and give you everlaſting life for your portion.

Sir Richard. Sayſt thou ſo? Well, Palmer, well, I would I might have thee but one month in my houſe, I doubt not but I would convert thee, or thou ſhould'ſt convert me.

Then ſaid Mr. Winchcomb, Take pity on thy golden years, and pleaſant flowers of luſty youth, before it be too late.

Palmer. Sir, I long for thoſe ſpringing flowers, that ſhall never fade away.

Winchcomb. If thou be at that point, I have done with thee.

Then was Palmer commanded again to the Blind-houſe, but the other two men were led again the ſame afternoon to the conſiſtory, and there were condemed, and delivered to the ſecular power of the ſheriff there preſent, Sir Richard Abridges.

It is reported alſo, that Dr. Jeffrey offered Palmer a good living if he would outwardly ſhew himſelf conformable, keeping his conſcience ſecret to himſelf, or at leaſt declare that he doubted which was the trueſt doctrine. But I cannot affirm it for a ſurety.

The next morning the 16th of July, Palmer was required to ſubſcribe to certain articles, which they had drawn out, touching the cauſe of his condemnation; In the front whereof, were heaped together many heinous terms, as horrible, heretical, damnable, deviliſh, and execrable doctrine. To theſe words Palmer refuſed to ſubſcribe, affirming that the doctrine which he profeſſed, was not ſuch, but good and ſound doctrine.

Jeffrey. Ye may ſee, good people, what ſhifts theſe heretics ſeek, to eſcape burning, when they ſee juſtice adminiſtered unto them. But I tell thee, this ſtyle is agreeable to the law, and therefore I cannot alter it.

Palmer. Then I cannot ſubſcribe to it.

Jeffrey. Wilt thou then crave mercy, if thou likeſt not juſtice, and revoke thy hereſy?

Palmer. I forſake the pope and his popelings, with all popiſh hereſy.

Jeffrey. Then ſubſcribe to articles.

Palmer. Alter the Epithethons, and I will ſubſcribe.

Jeffrey. Subſcribe, and qualify the matter with thine own pen. So he ſubſcribed. Whereupon Dr. Jeffrey proceeded to read the popiſh ſentence of his cruel condemnation, and ſo was he delivered to the charge of the ſecular power, and was burnt the ſame day in the afternoon, about five of the clock.

Within one hour before they went to the place of execution, Palmer, in the preſence of many people, comforted his companions with theſe words. Brethren, ſaid he, be of good cheer in the Lord, and faint not. Remember the words of our Saviour Chriſt, where he ſaith, "Happy are you when men revile you and perſecute you for righteouſneſs ſake. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. Fear not them that kill the body, and be not able to touch the ſoul. God is faithful, and will not ſuffer us to be tempted further than we ſhall be able to bear it." We ſhall not end our lives in the fire, but make a change for a better life. Yea for coals, we ſhall receive pearls. For God's Holy Spirit certifieth our ſpirit, that he hath even now prepared for us a ſweet ſupper in heaven for his ſake who ſuffered firſt for us.

With theſe and ſuch like words, he did not only comfort the hearts of his weak brethren that were with him appointed as ſheep to be ſlain, but alſo wreſted out plentiful tears from the eyes of many that heard him. And as they were ſinging a pſalm, came Sir Richard Abridges the ſheriff, and the bailiffs of the town, with a great company of armed men, to conduct them to the fire. When they were come to the place appointed for their ſuffering, they all three fell to the ground, and Palmer, with an audible voice pronounced the 31ſt pſalm, but the other two made their prayers ſecretly to Almighty God.

And as Palmer began to ariſe, there came behind him two popiſh prieſts, exhorting him yet to recant and ſave his ſoul. Palmer anſwered and ſaid, Away, away, tempt me no longer. Away, I ſay, from me all ye that work iniquity; for the Lord hath heard the voice of my tears. And ſo forthwith they put off their raiment, and went to the ſtake and kiſſed it. And when they were bound to the poſt, Palmer ſaid, Good people, pray for us, that we may perſevere to the end. And for Chriſt's ſake beware of popiſh teachers for they deceive you.

As he ſpake this, a ſervant of one of the bailiffs threw a faggot at his face, that the blood guſhed out in divers places. At which the ſheriff was very angry, and called him a cruel tormentor, and with his walking-ſtaff broke his head, that the blood likewiſe ran down about his ears. When the fire was kindled, and began to take hold upon their bodies, they lifted up their hands towards heaven, and quietly and cheerfully, as though they had felt no ſmart, they cried, Lord Jeſus ſtrengthen us, Lord Jeſus aſſiſt us, Lord receive our ſouls. And ſo they continued without any ſtruggling, holding up their hands, and knocking their hearts, and calling upon Jeſus until they had ended their mortal lives.

It was very remarkable that when their three heads by force of their devouring flames were fallen together in a lump, inſomuch that the ſpectators thought they were all certainly dead, Palmer, as a man awaked out of ſleep, moved his tongue and jaws, and was heard to pronounce this word Jesus. So being diſſolved into aſhes, he yielded to God as joyful a ſoul (confirmed with the ſweet promiſes of Chriſt) as any one that ever was called beſide to ſuffer for his bleſſed name. God grant us all to be moved with the like Spirit, working in our hearts conſtantly to ſtand in defence and confeſſion of Chriſt's holy goſpel to the end, Amen.

On the Martyrdom of Julius Palmer.

WHILST for Chriſt's Sake, Palmer endures the Flame,
Like the famed Tree that bears this Hero's Name,
Which higher ſhoots the more they it oppreſs,
The ſtrengthened Flames his ſtronger Faith confeſs.
Henceforth amidſt the heavenly Hoſts he'll bear
That Palm of Righteouſneſs he died for here.

The Juſt ſhall flouriſh as the Palm-Tree.

A memorable Story of Agnes Wardall in the Town of Ipſwich, perſecuted for the true Faith of Chriſt's Goſpel.

ABOUT the month of July, in this preſent year, 1559, there was one Richard Argentine, alias Sexten, a doctor of phyſic, with certain others dwelling in the town of Ipſwich, not many in number, but maliciouſly bent upon the deſtruction of the goſpel, and the favourers of the ſame. Among whom were Philip Ulmes, Edmund Leach, John Steward, and Matthew Butler, apothecary, a curious ſinging-man, a fine player on the organs, a perfect papiſt, and a diligent perſecutor of good men. This Butler being then conſtable in the

the town of Ipſwich, as he was on the watch by night upon Cornhill, Dr. Argentine came to him in great haſte, giving him intelligence of one Agnes Wardall, being then lately come home to her houſe in Ipſwich. Whereupon immediately ſuch a way was contrived between them, that the ſaid Agnes Wardall forthwith ſhould be apprehended: but God, in whoſe providence the direction of all things conſiſteth, by whoſe diſpoſition they have their operation, ſo graciouſly provided for his ſervant, and ſo prevented their malignant devices, that they came to nought, notwithſtanding all their zeal and diligence; as by the further relation of the ſtory you ſhall find.

This Agnes Wardall was a woman that lived in God's fear, and defied the popiſh traſh, deſiring rather with hard fare and bad lodging to be abroad, than to be at home in her houſe, and among the tents of the ungodly: her huſband alſo being a man living in the fear of God, and for the teſtimony of his conſcience being alſo hunted, by force of the law was conſtrained to avoid his houſe, and got into a crayer with an honeſt man, ſerving as a ſailor, an occupation which till now he had been a ſtranger to, and alſo what rendered him the more incapable was his having a ſtumped foot, which prevented his ready climbing to top and yard; yet it pleaſed God to enable him with ſtrength that he did good ſervice, as they can well witneſs that were of his company.

The ſaid Agnes Wardall happened one day to come home to her houſe to ſee her poor children, who were under the management of a young maid, and being eſpied, the news was ſoon brought to Dr. Argentine, who immediately went to the conſtable, the apothecary as aforeſaid, and told him what a notable cure was to be wrought on Wardall's wife in the apprehending of her. Which was more like to ſpeed than miſs, had not the good province of God otherwiſe ordered it.

The watch was ſpeedily charged, and each company ſent to its place. Argentine and the conſtable took a good number with them, and forth they went to the houſe of this poor woman to lay hands upon her, which they beſet on both ſides, ſome lying in the open fields, and others were ſent to the houſe of Wardall's mother, which was not far from his houſe. This done one knocked at the ſtreet-door where Argentine and Butler were with one of their weapons, and no anſwer was made; the ſecond time ſomewhat harder, but had no anſwer. In the mean time they fearing that ſome conveyance was made, knocked the third time harder than before.

There was not far from the door where they knocked, a certain day-window, where one might look out and ſpeak: and ſo at the third knocking, a woman who at that time was tenant to Robert Wardall's mother, and had but two nights before lain in the houſe, ſpeaking out hard by their ears, aſked who was there?

Ah ſirrah, ſaid Argentine, are you ſo nigh and will not ſpeak? How fortuned it that ye ſpake not at the firſt, being ſo nigh?

How fortuned it? ſaid the woman; marry I ſhall tell you: I am but a ſtranger here, and I have heard ſay, that there be ſpirits walking hereabout, which if a man do anſwer at the firſt call or ſecond, he ſtands in great danger, and I was never ſo afraid in my life. At this her anſwer they laughed, and commanded her to open the door in the queen's name, for they were the queen's watch.

Agnes Wardall being at that time in bed in an inner chamber, having her maid with her, and her two children, ſhe being at that time very heavy aſleep, heard not the knocking. Her maid hearing at the ſecond knock, called and jogged her dame, and with much ado awaked her, and ſaid, The watch is at the door. What, thou lyeſt, ſaid ſhe. Yes truly, ſaid the maid, and hath knocked twice. With that ſhe aroſe with all ſpeed, and put on her cloaths very ſlightly, and took with her a buckram apron, which afterward ſhe caſt on her head when ſhe was fain to creep in a ditch with nettles, and ſo paſſed down into a parlour, wherein ſtood a cupboard with a fair preſs, into which the maid did lock her.

And immediately went up to a chamber which was hard by the ſtreet, where ſhe might ſee and ſpeak to the watch, and ſaid, Who is there? Then they bade her open the door. And ſhe ſaid, We have no candle. And they ſaid, Open the door, or we will lay it on the floor. With that ſhe came down and opened the door. Then aſked they the maid, who is within? And ſhe ſaid, None but a woman that dwelleth with us, and two children. Then ſaid they, Where is thy dame? Truly, ſaid ſhe, I cannot tell, ſhe is not within. She was here in the evening, ſaid they. Yea, ſaid the maid, but ſhe went forth I know not whither. Notwithſtanding they charged her that ſhe knew where ſhe was, which ſhe denied. Then got they a candle lighted at one of the neighbour's houſes, and came in, and in the entry met the woman which had anſwered them at the window, and ſaid ſhe was afraid of ſpirits. Argentine looking upon her, clapped her on the back, and ſaid, Thou art not the woman whom we ſeek for.

So they entered the houſe, and ſearched a parlour next the ſtreet where the women lay which was his mother's tenant, and a young child that ſucked on her breaſt, and not only in the bed, but alſo under bed, behind the painted cloaths, and in the chimney, and up into the chimney; and finding the bed hot, ſaid, Who lay here in the bed? The woman ſaid, I and the child. And none elſe? quoth they. No, ſaid the woman. When they could find nothing there for their purpoſe, from thence they went into an inner parlour, in which ſtood the cupboard wherein ſhe was, and ſearched the parlour, which was but a little one. And one of the company laying his hand on the cupboard, ſaid, This is a fair cupboard, ſhe may be here for any thing that is done. That is true, ſaid another of them. Notwithſtanding they looked no farther, but went from that into the chamber above, wherein the ſaid Agnes had lain with her maid and children, with all other rooms and chambers.

At length they came down into the yard, where they found a horſe tied at a pale eating of ſhorn graſs. Then aſked they the maid, Whoſe horſe is this? She anſwered, It is her horſe indeed, and ſhe came in before night, and went abroad again, but I know not whither. Then were they in good hope to find their prey, and beſtirred them with ſpeed, and went into an out-chamber that was in the yard, in which was a boy in bed of twelve or fourteen years old. And being in his dead ſleep, they ſuddenly awaked him and examined him for his dame. Who anſwered, He knew not where ſhe was; and unto that ſtood firmly, although their threats were vehement, not only to the poor ſilly boy, but alſo to the good ſimple plain maid. Then they cauſed him to ariſe and dreſs him, and ſent both maid and boy up to the cage, where they put the maid, but kept the boy among their truſty ſoldiers, ſo that one of them ſhould not ſpeak with another.

Now while ſome were on the corn-hill, and others ſearching the neighbours houſes, and backſides, the wife of Wardall being in the preſs faſt locked up, and almoſt ſmothered for want of breath, deſired the woman her mother's tenant, when ſhe heard her in the parlour, to let her out. She aſked her where the keys were, who anſwered, they were in a hamper, which ſhe found, and endeavoured to unlock the preſs, but could not, though ſhe tried a long time. Then ſhe deſired her to break it open; for (ſaid ſhe) I had rather fall into their hands, than to kill myſelf. Then ſhe ſought for her huſband's hammer and chiſſel, but could not find them, to break

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it open withal, and came again and told her ſhe could find nothing for the purpoſe.

Then, ſaid ſhe, try once more, for I truſt God will give power to open it. And being within in great extremity, ſhe heartily prayed to God, who heard her prayer, and helped her: for at the firſt turn of the key it opened eaſily. When ſhe came out, ſhe looked as pale and as bleak as if ſhe had been dead and laid out, and as ſhe herſelf looked afterwards when ſhe was really dead, as the ſame woman reported who then let her out, and was alſo at her death long after in queen Elizabeth's reign, and ſhe was all in a violent ſweat like drops of rain.

Then ſhe went out into the backſide, where, towards the fields, were pales fixed for the defence of the garden, one or two of which being looſe, both ſhe and her huſband had often gone out and came in that way, out ſhe got into the fields, and paſſing one little field, and over a ſtile, ſhe hid herſelf in a deep ditch full of nettles, and covered her head with the buckram apron beforementioned, and ſo crept low, and lay in the ditch. After long ſearch to no purpoſe in the town, ſome of the watch returned again to the field's ſide; among whom was one George Manning, and John Bate the crier of the ſame town, coming together. This Manning was an honeſt plain man, but Bate a very enemy, and one that in queen Mary's time would have been a prieſt, as it was reported, if he had not been married.

Manning eſpying where ſhe lay, gave a Hem, and made a noiſe with his bill, he being before Bate; at which ſhe lay ſtill, at laſt they departed to the ſtreet ſide to the conſtable. All this time the maid was in the cage, and the boy with the reſt of the watch until perfect day-light. Then went they up and let out the maid, and ſent her home, and the boy alſo; but they made the maid believe they had found her dame. Who anſwered, If ye have her, keep her faſt.

On the morrow Manning ſent her word to beware that ſhe hid herſelf no more ſo near.

Thus by the might and power of God was his faithful ſervant delivered from their cruelty, and they known to be his adverſaries, not only at that time, but divers times before and after. Notwithſtanding, the ſaid Argentine, at his firſt coming to Ipſwich, came in a ſerving-man's coat. And then being in the days of king Henry the eighth, he would accuſtomably uſe the reading of lectures himſelf; in which he was well commended at that time. Afterwards he obtained the office of uſher of the free grammar ſchool, and the maſter dying, got to be maſter himſelf. And being married to a very honeſt woman remained there the days of king Edward; and when God took him from us for our juſt deſerved plague, and queen Mary came to the crown, none more hot in all popery and ſuperſtition than he, painting the poſts of the town with Vivat Regina Maria, and in every corner.

Furthermore, after the death of his wife (who was an honeſt woman) he was made a prieſt, taking upon him divers times to preach (but never without his white minerver-hood) ſuch doctrine as was ſhamful to hear, ſaying maſs, and carrying about the Pyx in high proceſſions. Furthermore, leading the boy S. Nicholas with his minerver-hood about the ſtreets for apples and belly-cheer. And whoſo would not receive him he made them heretics, and ſuch alſo as would not give his faggot to the bonfire for queen Mary's child. And thus continued he at Ipſwich the moſt part of queen Mary's days, moleſting their good men, ſome for not going to the church, ſome for not being confeſſed, ſome for not receiving, &c. till at length, toward the end of queen Mary's reign he came to London, and in queen Elizabeth's time began to ſhew himſelf again a perfect proteſtant. And thus much of the famous Dr. Argentine.

The Trouble of Peter Moon and his Wife, and of other godly Proteſtants, at Biſhop Hopton's Viſitation at Ipſwich.

IN the year 1556, a viſitation was held by Dr. Hopton, then biſhop of Norwich, and Miles Dunnings his chancellor, at Ipſwich in Suffolk, where divers godly proteſtants, through the accuſation of evil men, were much troubled; among whom were Peter Moon, a taylor, and his wife: they were accuſed of diſobedience to the law, in not coming to church, and refuſing to partake of ſuch Romiſh obſervances as at that time were uſed.

And firſt the ſaid Peter Moon was commanded to come before the biſhop, where he was examined of three ſeveral articles, viz. 1, Whether the pope were ſupreme head. 2. Whether king Philip and Mary were right heirs to the crown. 3. And whether in the ſacrament of the altar was the very body of Chriſt ſubſtantially and really there preſent.

Unto which the ſaid Peter Moon being timorous and weak, fearing more the face of man than the heavy wrath of God, affirmed, and in a manner granted unto their demands. Whereupon the biſhop being in good hope, that although he had not come to church, nor received the ſacrament of the altar, nor been ready to do his duty as the law had commanded, yet there ſhewing his mind, ſaid, that he liked the man well: for ſuch as have been, ſaid he, earneſt in evil things, will alſo be earneſt in that that is good and godly, if once they be won.

Thus as the ſpiritual father was commanding his carnal child, and rather preferring him to hell fire, than unto the ſincere word and commandments of God, it happened amongſt many others in the chamber, was one of the portmen of the ſame town, named Smart, an earneſt member of their Romiſh law, doing of a very good conſcience what he did, who after the death of queen Mary lived not many years, but rendered his life in godly repentance, proteſting that if God ſhould ſuffer him to live, he would never be the man he had been before, what laws ſoever ſhould come again: ſo that before the time of his ſickneſs he frequenting earneſtly the ſermons in the ſame town, made by divers godly learned men, would weep as it had been a child, being notwithſtanding of courage as ſtout as any man in Ipſwich, Such is the marvellous mercy of God in calling to his kingdom, whom, and when he pleaſeth.

This portman aforeſaid, perceiving the biſhop thus, as it were at an end with the ſaid Moon, and ſo he like to be diſcharged, ſaid unto the biſhop, My lord, I have a good opinion of the man, and that he will be conformable: but my lord, he hath a perilous woman to his wife. For I will tell you, my lord, ſhe never came to church yet ſince the queen's reign, except it were at even-ſong, or when ſhe was churched, and not then till maſs were done. Wherefore your good lordſhip might do a good deed to cauſe her to come before you, and to ſee if you could do any good. And therefore I beſeech your good lordſhip to command him to pray her to come before your lordſhip.

At which words Moon was ſomewhat moved, in that he ſaid, Command him to pray her to come before your lordſhip. And he ſaid unto him, Under my lord's correction I ſpeak, I am as able to command her to come before my lord, as ye are to command the worſt boy in your houſe. Yea, my lord, ſaid the other, I cry your lordſhip mercy: I have informed your lordſhip with an untruth, if this be ſo. But if he be ſo able as he ſaith, he might have commanded her to have come to church in all this time, if it had pleaſed him. Well, ſaid the biſhop, look you come before me at the afternoon, and bring your wife with you; I will talk with her.

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As my lord's dinner at this time was ſerving up, Moon departed, and tarried not to take part thereof, having ſuch an hard breakfaſt given him before to digeſt. At afternoon Moon delayed and waited his time, bethinking when he might moſt conveniently come, eſpecially when his accuſer and his wife's ſhould not have been there. And according to the commandment came with his wife, which was not ſo ſecretly done, but his accuſer had knowledge thereof, and came with all expedition in ſuch poſt-ſpeed, that he was in a manner breathleſs when he entered the biſhop's chamber.

The biſhop hearing that Moon and his wife were come, called for them, and ſaid to Moon, Is this your wife, Moon? Yea, my lord, ſaid he. O good Lord, ſaid the biſhop, how a man may be deceived in a woman! I promiſe you a man would take her for as honeſt a woman, by all outward appearance as can be. Why, my lord, ſaid Moon's wife, I truſt there is none that can charge me with any diſhoneſty, as concerning my body; I defy all the world in that reſpect.

Nay, quoth the biſhop, I mean not as concerning the diſhoneſty of thy body: but thou hadſt been better to have given the uſe of thy body unto twenty ſundry men, than to do as thou haſt done. For thou haſt done as much as in thee lieth, to pluck the king and the queen's majeſties out of their royal ſeats through thy diſobedience, in ſhewing thyſelf an open enemy unto God's laws, and their proceedings.

Then the biſhop began to examine the ſaid Moon again with the aforeſaid articles, and his wife alſo. And ſhe hearing her huſband relent, did alſo affirm the ſame, which turned to their great trouble of mind afterward; but yet neither were they like thus to eſcape, but that in the mean time Dunning the biſhop's chancellor came up in great haſte, and brought news to the biſhop, that there were ſuch a number of heretics come, of which ſome came from Boxford, ſome from Lanham, and about from the cloth-country, that it would make a man out of his wits to hear them: and there are among them both heretics and anabaptiſts, ſaid he. And thus Doctor Dunning with his bluſtering words interrupting Moon's examination, went down again, as the devil had driven him, to keep his ſtir among them, and to take order what ſhould be done with them.

The biſhop beginning to bewail the ſtate of the country, in that it was ſo infected with ſuch a number of heretics, and rehearſing partly their opinions to thoſe that were at that time in the chamber, Moon's wife had a young child which ſhe nurſed herſelf, and the child being brought into the yard under the biſhop's chamber, cried; ſo that ſhe heard it; and then ſaid, My lord, I truſt ye have done with me. My child crieth beneath, I muſt go give my child ſuck, with ſuch like words. And the biſhop being (as it were) out of wind to talk with them any more, ſaid, Go your way, I will talk with you in the morning; look ye, be here again in the morning: with this they both departed.

And beneath in the ſtone-hall of the ſame houſe, the chancellor Dunning being very buſy about his bloody buſineſs, eſpied Moon and his wife coming, and muſt needs paſs by the place where he ſtood, and ſaid: Nay, ſoft, I muſt talk with you both; for ye are as evil as any that are here to-day. To whom Moon's wife anſwered, My lord hath had us in examination, and therefore ye ſhall have nought to do with us. Nay, quoth he, ye ſhall not ſo eſcape, I muſt talk with you alſo. Unto whom Moon anſwered, In the preſence of the greater, the leſs hath no power: my lord hath taken order with us, and therefore we are as his lordſhip hath appointed, and muſt repair again before him to-morrow. At which he let them go, although he was earneſtly importuned by the party above ſpecified to have ſhewed his quality, which was nothing elſe than tyranny.

So departed Moon and his wife without hurt of body: but afterwards when they, with Peter the apoſtle, beheld the face of Chriſt, they were ſore wounded in their conſciences, aſhamed of their doings, and alſo at the door of deſperation. Inſomuch that when he came home to his houſe, and entering into a parlour alone by himſelf, conſidering his eſtate, and ſeeing where a ſword of his did hang againſt a wall, he was earneſtly allured by the enemy Satan to have taken it down, and therewith to have ſlain himſelf: but God, who caſteth not away the penitent ſinner repenting his fall with a ſincere heart, defended his unworthy ſervant from that temptation, and hath (I truſt) left him to the amendment of life by the aſſiſtance of his Holy Spirit, and to make him one among the elect that ſhall be ſaved.

The morrow they both remained and kept houſe with no ſmall grief of conſcience, waiting and looking with fear when to be ſent for to the biſhop, rather than offering their diligence to keep the biſhop's appointment: but God ſo wrought, that when the time drew near that they feared the biſhop's call, the bells rung for his departure out of town. For which they were not only glad, but alſo many a good heart in Ipſwich rejoiced, and gave thanks to God. God for his mercy grant that our ſin may never deſerve to provoke God's anger, leſt the like days may come again. And if they ſo do, God make them, with all other weaklings, ſtrong and worthy ſoldiers to encounter with the ghoſtly enemies, the world, the fleſh, and the devil; and boldly to ſtand to the confeſſion of Chriſt, and of his goſpel, ſaying with the apoſtles, "Whether it be right in the ſight of God, that we ſhould obey you more than God, judge ye?"

A tragical and moſt lamentable Hiſtory, full of cruel and tyrannical Murder, done upon three Women and an Infant, viz. the Mother, her two Daughters, and the Child, in the Iſle of Garnſey, July the 18th, 1556.

OF all the ſingular and tragical hiſtories in this book, nothing can be more barbarous, if any thing can come up to the inhumanity of this execution upon three women and one infant, whoſe names be theſe following;

Katherine Cawches, the mother.
Guillemine Gilbert, the daughter.
Perotine Maſſey, the other daughter.
An infant, the ſon of Perotine.

Before I come to the ſtory itſelf, it will be neceſſary, for the better explaining of it, to relate the circumſtances from whence this cruelty did originally ſpring, which was as followeth.

The 17th day of May, in the year 1556, in the iſle of Garnſey (which is a member of England) in a town there called St. Peter's Port, was a naughty woman, named Vincent Goſſet, who being evil diſpoſed, went (the day aforeſaid) to the houſe of one Nicholas le Conronney, dwelling in the town of the ſaid St. Peter's Port, about ten of the clock at night, and there taking the key of the houſe (lying under the door) entered into a chamber toward the ſtreet, where ſhe eſpying a cup of ſilver within a cupboard, took it away, and ſo conveyed herſelf out of the houſe again. Who immediately after this fact was done (whether by counſel or by what occaſion elſe I know not) brought the cup to the aboveſaid Perotine Maſſey, an honeſt woman, dwelling in the ſaid town, deſiring her to lend her ſix-pence upon the ſame.

Perotine ſeeing the cup, and ſuſpecting (as the truth was) the ſame to be ſtolen, anſwered, that ſhe would not take it: yet nevertheleſs, having knowledge of the owner thereof, took it to reſtore it again to whom it did belong; and to the end ſhe ſhould not carry it to another, gave her ſix-pence then preſently. Where moreover

is to be noted, that Thomas Effart ſaith and teſtifieth, that knowledge was given by the ſaid Perotine to Conronney, touching the ſtealing of this piece, who ſoon upon the miſliking thereof, attached the ſaid Vincent Goſſet of the treſpaſs; who being apprehended and examined upon the ſame, immediately confeſſed the fact, deſiring to have one ſent with her (which was Collas de Loutre) with ſix-pence to fetch the cup again, which he accordingly did.

The next day following, the king's officers being informed of the premiſes by one Nicholas Cary, of the ſaid town, conſtable, aſſembled the juſtices there to enquire and examine further, as well upon the fact of Vincent Goſſet, as upon other griefs and things there amiſs. So that after declaration made by the officers and conſtable before the juſtice, for that the ſaid conſtable did report to have found a certain veſſel of pewter in the houſe of the aforeſaid Perotine Maſſey (who then dwelt with her mother Katherine Cawches, and her ſiſter Guillemine Gilbert) which veſſel did bear no mark, and eſpecially for that there was a pewter diſh, whereof the name was ſcraped out, their bodies upon the ſame were attached, and put in priſon, and their moveable goods taken by inventory. Within a few days after theſe things thus done and paſt, theſe three ſilly women, abiding thus in durance in the caſtle, made their ſupplication to the juſtices to have juſtice miniſtered unto them, viz. If they had offended the law, then to let them have the law; if not, beſeeching to grant them the benefit of ſubjects, &c. which ſupplication put up, they were thereupon appointed to come to their anſwer the fifth day of June, in the year aforeſaid. Upon which day, after ſtrict examining of the matter, and the honeſt anſwering of the cauſe by the ſaid good women, at laſt they ſubmitted themſelves to the report of their neighbours, that they were no thieves, nor evil diſpoſed perſons, but lived truly and honeſtly, as became chriſtian women to do, notwithſtanding the falſe report of their accuſers.

So the cauſe being thus debated, after the enquiry made by the king's officers, they were found by the ſaid neighbours not guilty of what they were charged with, but had always lived as honeſt women among them; ſaving only that to the commandments of holy church they had not been obedient, &c. Upon this trial and verdict of their neighbours, it was in fine adjudged, firſt, that the ſaid Vincent Goſſet, being attainted of felony, and condemned for the ſame, ſhould be whipped, and after her ear being nailed to the pillory, ſhould ſo be baniſhed out of the iſle without further puniſhment. And as touching the other three women, the mother with her two daughters, for their not coming to church, they were returned priſoners again into the caſtle the firſt of July. And thus far concerning the true diſcourſe of this matter, with all the circumſtances and appurtenances of the ſame in every point as the caſe ſtood, according to the faithful tenor and teſtimony of the Garnſey men, written with their own hands both in the French and Engliſh tongue. Wherein you ſee what falſe ſurmiſed matter was pretended againſt theſe women, and nothing proved, and how by the atteſtation of their neighbours they were fully cleared of the fact, and ſhould by the temporal court have been diſmiſſed, had not the ſpiritual clergymen picked matter of religion againſt them, exerciſed ſuch extremity in perſecuting theſe miſerable priſoners, that in no caſe they ſhould eſcape their bloody hands, till at length they had brought them (as you ſhall hear) to their end. For after the time of this declaration above-mentioned made by the neighbours, whereby they were purged of all other things, and being then known of their not coming to church, the bailiff's lieutenant and the juſtice thinking the matter not to pertain to them, but to the clergy, forthwith wrote their letters or mandate undate under their ſignets to the dean, whoſe name was Jaques Amy, and curates of the ſaid iſle: The contents whereof here follow.

No. 45.

A Letter ſent from the Bailiffs, Lieutenant, and Jurates of St. Peter's Port, to the Dean and Curates of the Iſle of Garnſey.

MAſter Dean and juſtices in your court and juriſdiction, after all amicable recommendations, pleaſeth you to know that we are informed by the depoſition of certain honeſt men, paſſed before us in manner of an enquiry; in which enquiry, Katherine Cawches and her two daughters have ſubmitted themſelves in a certain matter criminal: Wherein we be informed, that they have been diſobedient to the commandments and ordinances of the church, in contemning and forſaking the maſs, and the ordinances of the ſame, againſt the will and commandment of our ſovereign lord the king and queen. Whereof we ſend you the ſaid matter, foraſmuch as the matter is ſpiritual, to the end you may proceed therein after your good diſcretions, and as briefly as you can poſſible, and alſo that it pertaineth to your office, recommending you to God, who give you grace to do that which pertaineth to right and juſtice. Written the firſt day of the month of July, in the year of our Lord 1556.

After theſe letters and information thus addreſſed to Jaques Amy dean, and the other clergy, the ſaid women were again convented before the juſtice aforeſaid with his aſſiſtants. In the preſence of whom they being examined of their faith, concerning the ordinances of the Romiſh church, made their anſwer, that they would obey and keep the ordinances of the king and queen, and the commandments of the church, notwithſtanding that they had ſaid and done the contrary in the time of king Edward the ſixth, in ſhewing obedience to his ordinances and commandments before. After which anſwer taken, they were returned again to priſon, until the other had an anſwer of their letter from the dean and his accomplices. During which time, the dean and curate gave their information touching the ſaid women, and delivered the ſame to the bailiff and jurates, condemning and reputing them for heretics, the women neither hearing of any information, neither yet being ever examined at any time before of their faith and religion. Whereupon when the ſaid bailiff and jurates underſtood that the ſaid dean and curates had not examined the women of their faith, they would not ſit in judgment on that day, but ordained the women to come firſt before the dean and curates, to be examined of their faith. And ſo the officers, at the commandment of the juſtices, did fetch and preſent them before the ſaid dean and curates; which being done, they were examined apart, and then returned to priſon again.

The fourteenth day of the ſaid month of July, in the year aforeſaid, after the examination abovementioned before Elier Goſſeline bailiff, in the preſence of Thomas Devicke. Pierres Martin, Nicholas Cary, John Blundel, Nicholas de Liſle, John Loverchaunt, John le Fever, Pierres Bonamy, Nicholas Martin, John de la March, jurates; Sir Jaques Amy, dean, and the curates, did deliver before the juſtice, under the ſeal of the dean, and under the ſigns of the curates, a certain act and ſentence, the ſum whereof was, that Katherine Cawches and her two daughters were found heretics, and ſuch they reputed them, and have delivered them to juſtice, to do execution according to the ſentence; the tenor of which here followeth.

" In the year of our Lord 1556, July 13, at the church of St. Peter's Port, in the iſle of Garnſey, enquiry being made by us the dean and curates, concerning the catholic faith and the ſacraments of the church, viz. of baptiſm, confirmation, penance, orders, marriage, euchariſt, and extreme unction, as alſo about eccleſiaſtical ceremonies, and the honour and worſhip of the virgin

Mary and the ſaints, alſo of the maſs and its efficacy; where Katherine Cawches, and her two daughters Perotine and Guillemine, being called together, and ſeparately, according to law; and although often deſired and exhorted to confeſs their faults, and aſk pardon, yet they obſtinately denied whatever they had formerly ſaid vilely and diſhoneſtly againſt the catholic faith, the ſacraments of the church, and other eccleſiaſtical ceremonies: wherefore their denial, atteſtation and depoſition, being heard, and we ſeeing, conſidering, and well weighing the evidence againſt them; as alſo the opinions of the curates and vicars there aſſiſting, have found and do declare the ſaid Katherine and Perotine, as alſo Guillemine, to be guilty of hereſy, wherefore we command them back from whence they came.

Thomas le Coll, John Alles, William Panquet, Peter Tardiſe, and John Manatiel.

When this was done the king's officers were commanded to go to the caſtle to fetch the ſaid women, to hear the ſentence againſt them in the preſence aforeſaid. And they appearing before them, ſaid in the ears of all the auditory, that they would ſee their accuſers, and know them that have depoſed againſt them, becauſe they might make anſwers to their ſayings and perſonages, and to have their libel accordingly; for they knew not that they had offended the majeſties of the king and queen, nor of the church, but entirely would obey, ſerve and keep the ordinances of the king and queen, and of the church, as all good and true ſubjects are bound to do. And for any breach of the king's and queen's laws that they had done, they required juſtice. Notwithſtanding all which their reaſons and alligations, the ſaid poor women were condemned, and adjudged to be burnt until they were conſumed to aſhes: according to a ſentence given by Elier Goſſeline, bailiff: of which ſentence the ſubſtance here followeth.

"Katherine Cawches, Perotine Maſſey, and Guillemine Gilbert, are all condemned and judged this day to be burned, until they be conſumed to aſhes in the place accuſtomed, with the confiſcation of all their goods, moveables and heritages, to be in the hands of the king's and queen's majeſties, according and after the effect of a ſentence delivered in juſtice by Mr. Dean and the curates, the 13th day of July, 1556, in which they have been approved heretics. In the preſence of Thomas Devicke, Pierres Martin, Nicholas Cary, John Blundel, Nicholas Deviſe, John le Merchant, &c. jurates."

After which ſentence pronounced, the ſaid women appealed unto the king and queen, and their honourable council, ſaying, That againſt reaſon and right they were condemned, and for that cauſe they made their appeal; notwithſtanding they could not be heard, but were delivered by the ſaid bailiff to the king and queen's officers, to ſee the execution done on them according to the ſaid ſentence.

The time then being come when theſe innocents ſhould ſuffer, in the place where they ſhould conſummate their martyrdom were three ſtakes ſet up. At the middle poſt was the mother, the elder daughter on the right hand, the youngeſt on the other. They were firſt ſtrangled, but the rope brake before they were dead, and ſo the poor women fell in the fire. Perotine, who was then great with child, did fall on her ſide, where happened a rueful ſight, not only to the eyes of all that ſtood there, but alſo to the ears of all true-hearted chriſtians that ſhall read this hiſtory. For as the belly of the woman burſt aſunder by the vehemency of the flame, the infant, being a fair man child, fell into the fire, and being immediately taken out by one W. Houſe, was laid upon the graſs.

Then was the child carried to the provoſt, and from him to the bailiff, who gave order, that it ſhould be carried back again and caſt into the fire. And ſo the infant baptized in his own blood, to fill up the number of God's innocent ſaints, was both born and died a martyr, leaving behind to the world, which it never ſaw, a ſpectacle wherein the whole world may ſee the Herodian cruelty of this graceleſs generation of popiſh tormentors, to their perpetual ſhame and infamy.

Now foraſmuch as this ſtory, perhaps for the horrible ſtrangeneſs of the fact, will be hardly believed by ſome, but rather thought to be forged, or elſe more amplified by me than the truth will bear me out, therefore to diſcharge my credit herein, I have not only foretold thee a little before, how I received this ſtory by the faithful relation both of the French and Engliſh, of them which were there preſent witneſſes, and lookers on, but alſo have hereto annexed the true ſupplication of the ſaid inhabitants of Garnſey, and of the brother of the ſaid two ſiſters, complaining to the queen and her commiſſioners, concerning the horribleneſs of the act; which ſupplication, for the more evidence, hereunder followeth.

To the Right Honourable the Queen's moſt gracious Commiſſioners, for the hearing and determining of Matters of Religion and Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical.

MOST lamentably and wofully complaining, ſheweth unto your gracious and honourable lordſhips, your poor and humble orator Matthew Cawches, of the iſle of Garnſey, that where Jaques Amy clerk, dean of the iſle aforeſaid, aſſiſted by the curates there, againſt all order, law, and reaſon, by colour of a ſentence of hereſy, pronounced againſt Katherine Cawches, the ſiſter of your honour's ſaid ſupplicant, and Perotine and Guillemine her two daughters, did cauſe the ſaid Katherine, being a poor widow, and her ſaid two daughters moſt cruelly to be burned, although the ſaid perſons, nor any of them, did hold, maintain, or defend any thing directly againſt the eccleſiaſtical laws then in place, under the reign of the late queen Mary, but in all things ſubmitted themſelves obediently to the laws then in force: and yet the cruelty of the ſaid dean and his accomplices, in perpetrating ſuch murder as aforeſaid, raged ſo far, that whereas, whilſt the ſaid perſons did conſume with violent fire, the womb of the ſaid Perotine being burnt, there did iſſue from her a goodly man-child, which by the officers was taken up and handled, and after in a moſt deſpiteful manner thrown into the fire, and there alſo with the innocent mother crüelly burnt: in tender conſideration whereof, and foraſmuch as this bloody murder was not in due order of any law, or in any manner according to juſtice, but of mere malicious hatred, as the true copy of the whole proceedings in this matter, by the ſaid dean and his accomplices, here ready to be ſhewed to your honours, will make very plain and manifeſt: May it therefore pleaſe your good and gracious lordſhips, of the zeal that you bear to juſtice, and for our Lord Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, to have due conſideration in juſtice, of ſuch horrible murder, ſo cruelly committed as aforeſaid, according to the right demerit thereof. And that it may pleaſe your honourable lordſhips to order and decree alſo, that all the goods of all the ſaid parties, by pretence aforeſaid wrongfully taken as confiſcate, may be delivered your ſaid poor beſeecher, to whom of right they do belong: And your honours ſaid ſupplicant will dailyp ray to God for your long preſervation, to his glory, and your everlaſting health.

This ſupplication being preſented in manner aforeſaid to the queen's honourable commiſſioners, in the year 1562, ſuch order therein was taken, that the matter being returned again down to the ſaid country, further to be examined, the dean was committed to priſon, and diſpoſſeſſed of all his livings. So that in concluſion, both he, and all other partakers of that bloody murder, whether of conſcience, or for fear of the law, were dri-

ven to acknowledge their treſpaſs, and to ſubmit themſelves to the queen's mercy. The tenor of whoſe ſeveral ſubmiſſion, as they are left in the Rolls, I thought here to publiſh to the world, for a memorial of the more truth of this ſtory.

The ſeveral Submiſſion of certain Garnſey Men, confeſſing their Treſpaſs in the wrongful Condemnation of the three Women above ſpecified.

ELier Goſſeline, of the pariſh of St. Peter le Port in Garnſey, merchant, Nicholas Cary the elder, John Merchant, Peter Bonamy, of the pariſh of St. Martin, and Nicholas Martin, ſon of John, humbly ſubmitted themſelves to the queen's moſt excellent majeſty, acknowledging their erroneous judgments, as well againſt Katherine Cawches, and Guillemine and Perotine her two daughters, and the infant of the ſaid Perotine, executed by fire for ſuppoſed hereſy, as alſo for the acquitting of Nicholas Norman, a wilful murderer; and other matters contained in their ſeveral ſubmiſſions; pray the pardon of the queen's majeſty for the ſaid crimes and others committed in their ſeveral ſubmiſſions.

John Blundel the elder, of the pariſh of St. Saviour, within the iſle of Garnſey, upon like ſubmiſſion, and acknowledging of his offence, prayeth like grace and pardon for his conſent given to the execution of the ſaid three women.

Richard Devicke, of the pariſh of St. Peter le Port, merchant, prayeth like grace and pardon for his conſent and judgment given for the acquitting of the ſaid Norman, according to his ſupplication and ſubmiſſion late preſented by Peter Bonamy, the ſame Devicke, and Peter Pelley, of the pariſh of St. Peter le Port, merchants.

The ſaid Peter Pelly prayeth the benefit of the ſaid pardon to be extended unto him, according to his ſubmiſſion in the ſaid ſupplication.

Jaques Amy clerk, prayeth the benefit of the ſaid pardon for his ſentence with the clergy againſt the ſaid women, according to his ſubmiſſion.

Thomas Effart, of the pariſh of St. Peter le Port, humbly prayeth, as procurator lawfully conſtituted by the chapter, bailiff and jurates, that the ſame pardon may extend to acquit all the inhabitants of the ſaid Iſle, of the arrearages, &c.

The Copy of the Queen's Pardon to them of Garnſey.

THE QUEEN, to all unto whom theſe preſents ſhall come, greeting. Be it known unto you, that We of Our ſpecial favour, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have pardoned, remitted, and forgave; and for Us, Our heirs, and ſucceſſors, by theſe preſents do pardon, remit, and forgive, Elier Goſſeline of the pariſh of St. Peter's Port, within Our iſland of Garnſey, merchant; John Blundel the elder, of the pariſh of St. Saviour in the aforeſaid iſland of Garnſey, merchant; Nicholas Cary the elder, of the aforeſaid pariſh of St. Peter's Port, within the ſaid iſle of Garnſey, merchant; John Merchant of the ſaid pariſh and iſland, gentleman; Nicholas Martin, ſon of John, of the ſaid pariſh of St. Peter's Port within the aforeſaid iſland of Garnſey, merchant; Richard Devicke of the ſaid pariſh of St. Peter's Port, within the aforeſaid iſland of Garnſey, merchant; Peter Pelley, of the ſaid pariſh of St. Peter's Port, in the aforeſaid iſland of Garnſey, merchant; and James Amy of the pariſh of St. Saviour, within the ſaid iſland of Garnſey, clerk; and to all of them jointly and ſeparately, whether by any other name or names, ſirnames or additional name or ſirname of trades, arts, or places, the ſame Elier, Nicholas Cary, John, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard, Peter and James, are known, called, or named, or lately was known, called or named, or by any other name, ſirname, or additional name, or ſirname of degree, trade, art, or place any of the ſaid Elier, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard, Peter and James are known, called, or named, or lately were known, called, or named, all and all manner of murder, manſlaughter, felony, and felonious killings of Katherine Cawches, and Guillemine and Perotine, daughters of the ſaid Katherine, of every one of theſe, and the acceſſaries of them, and all and ſingular felonies, inſultings, ſtrikings, woundings, burnings, tranſgreſſions, offences, riots, routs, unlawful meetings, aſſemblings, gatherings together, plottings, conſpiracies, acceſſary helps, combinings, procurings, abettings, ſtrengthenings and ſupportings, concealments, forfeits, contempts, aſſaultings, neglects, and whatever other evil deeds done appertaining to the murder, manſlaughter, and felonious killing of the aforeſaid Katherine, Guillemine and Perotine, or any of them, in any part or concern by the aforeſaid Elier, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard, Peter, and James, or any one or more of them, before this preſent day, howſoever done, practiſed, committed, or perpetrated, and all and every flight and flights whatever by the aforeſaid Elier, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard Devicke, Peter Pelley, and James Amy, or any one or more of them, by reaſon or occaſion of the murder, manſlaughter, or felonious killing of the aforeſaid, done or practiſed, and that ſo fully and entirely, and in ſo ample a manner and form, as if every one of the aforeſaid Elier Goſſeline, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard Devicke, Peter Pelley, and James Amy, had ſeparately Our letters patent of pardon.

Alſo We have pardoned, remitted, and forgave, and by theſe preſents do pardon, remit, and forgive, for Us, Our heirs and ſucceſſors, the aforeſaid Elier Goſſeline, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard Devicke, Peter Pelley, James Amy, and every one of their heirs, executors, adminiſtrators and aſſigns, their neglects, all and all manner of encroachments, breakings, and enterings, by all or ſome of them, or by the proxies, agents, or miniſters of all or any of them, in all and ſingular our manors, lands, tenements, poſſeſſions, and hereditaments whatſoever and whereſoever, lying within the aforeſaid iſland of Garnſey, lately chantries, guilds, cloiſters, or colleges of Ours, or any one or more of Our predeceſſors, before the 17th of November, in the firſt year of Our reign, done, performed, or committed, and all and ſingular debts, returns, accounts, arrears, collections, receivings, detainings, and duties of grain, and other returns, outgoings, or profits whatſoever, to Us or any one of Our predeceſſors for the ſaid chantries, guilds, cloiſters, or colleges, one or all of them, in whatever manner, before the aforeſaid 17th day of November, in the firſt year of Our reign, owing, belonging, or appertaining.

We have pardoned, remitted, and forgave, and of Our ſpecial favour, certain knowledge, and mere motion to the aforeſaid, for Us, Our heirs and ſucceſſors, by theſe preſents do pardon, remit, and forgive the aforeſaid Elier Goſſeline, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, and Richard Devicke, and each of them, the freedom, flight, eſcape, and reſtoring to his liberty Nicholas Norman, lately of the pariſh of St. Saviour, within the aforeſaid iſland, yeoman, of manſlaughter or murder lately judged, attainted, and convicted, being for the killing or murder of John Breghault, of the pariſh of St. Saviour, within the iſland aforeſaid, huſbandman, but all and all manner of felonies, crimes, offences, puniſhments, deaths, penalties, forfeits, contempts, neglects, ignorance, and other faults and offences whatſoever, touching or in any manner concerning the aforeſaid eſcape, flight, and ſetting at liberty of the aforeſaid Nicholas Norman, by the

aforeſaid

aforeſaid Elier Goſſeline, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, and Richard Devicke, or any one or more of them, before this preſent day, after what manner ſoever practiſed, done, committed, or happened.

Alſo we have pardoned, remitted, and forgave, and by theſe preſents, of Our certain knowledge and mere motion, for Us, Our heirs and ſucceſſors, do pardon, remit, and forgive the aforeſaid Elier Goſſeline, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard Devicke, Peter Pelley, and James Amy, all and all manner of riots, routs, unlawful meetings, and gatherings together, to the diſturbance of Our peace, by the aforeſaid Elier, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard Devicke, Peter Pelley, and James Amy, or any one or more of them, before this in whatſoever manner within the aforeſaid iſland, practiſed, committed, done, or perpetrated, &c.

A Defence of the aforeſaid Hiſtory of Garnſey againſt Mr. Harding.

THUS have you the true narration of this hiſtory, diſcourſed without corrupting or falſifying any part or ſentence thereof, no leſs faithfully on my part reported, than I received of them, who dwelling in the ſame iſle, and being preſent the ſame time, were beſt acquainted with the matter, and have given ſufficient evidence not only to me, but alſo to the queen's highneſs's commiſſioners, concerning the ſame, as both by the letter of the bailiff, by the ſentence of the dean, by the ſupplication of the plaintiff, and ſubmiſſion of the parties, and likewiſe by the queen's pardon granted unto them, may well appear.

By all which proofs and circumſtances thus debated, it remaineth manifeſt for all men to perceive, what cruelty and wrong was wrought againſt theſe poor women above ſpecified, and no leſs matter offered, in a caſe ſo unjuſt, juſtly to expoſtulate, or rather to wonder at the hard hearts of theſe men, but eſpecially of the Romiſh clergy of Garnſey, who profeſſing the goſpel of peace and charity, ſhould after the example of Chriſt, walk in the ſteps of meekneſs and mercy, and yet contrary, not only to all chriſtian charity and good nature, but alſo againſt all order of equity or humanity, were ſo extreme and rigorous to condemn them to the burning fire, under the pretenſed colour of hereſy. Who, if they had been heretics indeed, yet mercy would have corrected the error, and ſaved life; equity would have conſidered man's frailty and weakneſs, at leaſt true juſtice would have heard both the parties adviſedly, and alſo ſubſtantially ſurveyed the cauſe, and not have thundered out the ſentence of death ſo haſtily as they did: yea, and though they had been heretics indeed, yet true chriſtian charity would have ſtretched farther, and at leaſt have given them leiſure and reſpite of time to reclaim themſelves. But now what is here to be ſaid? they being no heretics at all, as neither it could then, nor yet can be proved. For if king Edward's religion (which was objected to them) were hereſy, yet were they then no heretics, when they revoked the ſame; and if queen Mary's religion were hereſy, then were they much more heretics themſelves, who condemned them for hereſy.

But moſt of all we have herein to wonder at Mr. Harding, who in his late Rejoinder, written againſt the biſhop of Saliſbury, notwithſtanding all theſe evidences and demonſtrations ſo certain and manifeſtly appearing, yet goeth about firſt to deny the ſtory, terming it to be a fable; and afterwards being forced to fly from denying it, to admit the ſtory, he ſtrives to turn it another way; and ſeeking by all means to clear the clergy from the ſpot of cruelty, transferreth the whole blame only upon the women that ſuffered, but principally upon poor Perotine, whom he ſpecially chargeth with two capital crimes, viz. Whoredom and murder.

And firſt, touching his accuſation of whoredom, let us hear how he proveth this matter: "Becauſe (ſaith he) by ſtory it is granted, that ſhe was with child: and yet the hiſtoriographer doth not declare (neither durſt for ſhame) who was her huſband, or father to the child, &c." As though that hiſtoriographers, being occupied in ſetting forth the perſecution of God's people, ſuffering death for religion and doctrine of Chriſt, were bound, or had nothing elſe to do but to play the ſumner, and to bring forth who were huſbands to their wives, and fathers to their children; which new-found law of hiſtory being never required before, nor obſerved by any writers, if Mr. Harding now ſhall exact of me, firſt let him begin with himſelf, and ſhew us (as wiſe as he is) who was his own father, if he can. And yet I think not contrary, but his mother was an honeſt woman. And no leſs alſo do I think of this Perotine aforeſaid; whereof more ſhall be ſaid (God willing) hereafter.

But in the mean time here cometh in the cavilling objection of Mr. Harding, who beareth the reader in hand, as though "for ſhame I durſt not, or of purpoſe would not expreſs it, &c." My anſwer whereunto is this: Firſt, to expreſs every minute matter in every ſtory occurrent, what ſtory-writer in the world is able to perform it? Secondly, although it might be done, what reaſonable reader will require it? Thirdly, albeit ſome curious readers would ſo require it, yet I ſuppoſe it neither requiſite nor convenient to obſerve it. And Fourthly, what if it were not remembered by the author? what if it were to him not known? what if it were of purpoſe omitted, as a matter not material to the purpoſe? Many other cauſes beſides might incur, which the reader knoweth not of. And ſhall it then by and by be imputed to to ſhame, whatſoever in every narration is not expreſſed? or doth Mr. Harding himſelf, in all his ſermons, never omit any thing that might conveniently be inferred? Who was the huſband of this Perotine, the hiſtoriographer hath not expreſſed; I grant: and what thereof? Ergo, thereupon concludeth he, That for ſhame I durſt not. Nay, I may marvel rather, that he durſt for ſhame utter ſuch untidy arguments, or ſo aſſeverently pronounce of another man's mind and purpoſe, which is as privy to him, as then it was to me unknown what was her huſband's name. And though it had been known, what was that material in the ſtory to be uttered? or what had it relieved the cruel parts of them, who burned both the mother and infant together, though the infant's father had been expreſſed? And how then did I for ſhame conceal that which was not in my knowledge at that time (if I would) to expreſs, nor in my ſuſpicion to miſdeem?

Nevertheleſs, if he be ſo greatly deſirous (as he pretendeth) to know of me who was this infant's father, I will not ſtick with Mr. Harding, although I cannot ſwear for the matter, yet to take ſo much pain for his pleaſure to go ſo near as I may. For preciſely and determinately to point out the right father, either of this or any child, I ſuppoſe neither will Mr. Harding require it of me, neither is he able peradventure himſelf, being aſked, to demonſtrate his own. And yet, as much as I may, to ſatisfy his dainty deſire herein, and partly to help the innocency of the woman concerning this demand, Who ſhould be the infant's father? Who, ſay I, but his own mother's huſband: the name of which huſband was David Jores, a miniſter, and married to the ſaid Perotine in king Edward's time, in the church of our Lady's Caſtle pariſh at Garnſey; the party which married them being named Mr. Noel Regnet, a Frenchman, and yet alive, witneſs hereunto, and now dwelling in London, in St. Martins le Grand.

Thus then, after my knowledge, I have ſhewed forth, for Mr. Harding's pleaſure, the right huſband of this Perotine,

Perotine, and what was his name, who was alſo alive, his wife being great with child, and partaker of the perſecution of the ſame time, and a ſchoolmaſter afterward in Normandy, &c. Now if Mr. Harding can take any ſuch advantage hereof to diſprove what I have ſaid; or be ſo privy to the begetting of this child, that he can prove the ſaid David Jores, who was the right huſband to this wife, not to be the right father to this infant, let him ſhew herein his cunning by what mighty demonſtrations he can induce us to think the contrary; and as I ſhall ſee his reaſon, I ſhall ſhape him an anſwer, in ſuch ſort (I truſt) that he will perceive, that whoredom, whereſoever I may know it, ſhall find no bolſtering by me; I wiſh it might find as little amongſt the chaſte catholics of Mr. Harding's church.

From this I proceed now to the ſecond part of his infamous accuſation, wherein he chargeth her of murder. A ſtrange caſe, that ſhe which was murdered herſelf with her child, and died before him, ſhould yet be accuſed to murder the child. Murder doubtleſs is an horrible iniquity in any perſon; but the mother to be murderer of her own infant, is a double abomination, and more than a monſter, ſo far diſagreeing from all nature, that it is not lightly to be ſurmiſed of any, without vehement cauſes of manifeſt probation.

Wherefore, to try out this matter more thoroughly touching this murdering mother, let us ſee: Firſt, What hand did ſhe lay upon the child? None. What weapon had ſhe? None. Did ſhe then drown it, or caſt it in ſome pond, as we read of the ſtrumpets at Rome, whoſe children's heads were taken up in pope Gregory's mote by hundreds, when prieſts began firſt to be reſtrained of a lawful wedlock? Or elſe did ſhe throw it by the walls into ſome private corner, as I am credibly certified, that in the eighth year of queen Elizabeth, certain ſcalps and other young infants bones were found, and taken out with a ſtick in the hole of a ſtone wall, in Lenton Abbey, by certain gentlemen within the county of Nottingham, James Baruſſe, Richard Loveit, and W. Lovelace, walking in the prior-chamber; witneſs the ſaid W. Lovelace, with others who ſaw the bones aforeſaid? Or otherwiſe did ſhe take any hurtful drink, to importionate the child within her, as commonly it is reported few nunneries to have been in England, wherein ſuch a tree hath not been growing within their ground, meet for practiſing of ſuch a purpoſe? Neither ſo, nor ſo. What then? did ſhe purpoſely and wittingly thruſt herſelf in jeopardy, to the deſtruction of her child, when ſhe needed not, as pope Joan, when ſhe might have kept her bed, would needs adventure forth in proceſſion where both ſhe herſelf and her infant periſhed in the open ſtreet?

Well then, thus much by this hitherto alledged and granted, we have gotten this woman here to be accuſed of murdering her child, who neither laid hand upon it, nor uſed weapon againſt it; neither uſed any other practice in drowning, hanging, breaking, burying, poiſoning, or any other wilful means, whereby to deſtroy it. And how then? by what manner of way was this woman a murderer of her young babe? Forſooth (ſaith Mr. Harding) when ſhe was accuſed, and condemned to be burnt, ſhe did not claim the benefit of her belly, whereby the life both of herſelf for the time might have been delayed, and the child preſerved.

Whether ſhe did or no, I have not perfectly to ſay; no more, I ſuppoſe, hath Mr. Harding. Howbeit this is certain, and by witneſs known, that ſhe uttered no leſs to her ghoſtly father in confeſſion. And what if ſhe had opened the ſame to the judges? They would (ſaith he) have ſpared her life for the time, and ſo the innocent had been preſerved. And how is Mr. Harding ſure of this, more than was the life ſpared of the young lady and miſtreſs ſometime of Mr. Harding, [lady Jane] who ſuffered, notwithſtanding ſhe was reported of ſome to be with child; becauſe the law (ſaith he) is beneficial to women in her caſe, claiming the benefit thereof.

The law ſo giveth, I grant. But it followeth not therefore, whatſoever the law giveth or preſcribeth, the ſame to be put in execution.

But many times the law goeth as it pleaſeth them which have the handling of the law. As for example; the law willeth none to be condemned by ſentence of death for hereſy, which the firſt time revoke their opinion, and yet contrary to this law they condemned her unlawfully. Again, the like law, none to be executed for hereſy, before the writ be ſent down De Comburendo, and yet contrary to this law, without any ſuch writ, (as far as I yet underſtand) they burnt her moſt cruelly. And what law then was here to be looked for of theſe men, who in their doings herein ſeemed neither to obſerve law, nor to regard honeſty, nor much to paſs for charity? And albeit ſhe had claimed never ſo much the privilege of the law, what had that availed with thoſe men, whoſe hunting altogether (as by their own proceedings may appear) ſeemed to be for the houſhold goods of theſe women, which after their death they immediately encroached into their own hands.

But be it admitted, that ſhe neither demanded this benefit of the law, nor that the judges would ever have denied her, if ſhe had ſo done; yet it had been the part of a grave accuſer, before he had deſcended into ſuch a railing action of murder againſt a poor woman now dead and gone, firſt to have adviſed wiſely with himſelf, whether it might be, that ſhe had no ſuch intelligence what benefit the law ſhould have given, in caſe it had been required. For not unlike it is, and well may be thought, rather yea than no, that the ſimple woman, brought up all her life long in her mother's houſe, in an obſcure iſland, and in ſuch an out-corner of the realm, far off from the court, and practice of Engliſh laws, never heard before of any ſuch benefit of the law; and therefore upon mere ſimplicity, and for want of ſkill, required it not, becauſe ſhe knew not what to require. Peradventure alſo her ſenſes might be ſo aſtoniſhed with the greatneſs and ſuddenneſs of the fear, that it was out of her remembrance. Certainly it had been the duty of the judges, which knew the law, and having the woman before them, could not be ignorant of her caſe, to have queſtioned with her thereof, and to have helped her ſimplicity in that behalf. Or at leaſt, if they had diſdained, yet it had been the prieſt's part, who was her ghoſtly father, and made privy thereunto, either to have inſtructed her, or to have ſtayed the execution of her death for ſafeguard of the child.

But all this denieth Mr. Harding, and to aggravate the matter, inferreth, that ſhe, not of any ſimple unſkilfulneſs of the law, "but only of mere wilfulneſs, for avoiding of worldly ſhame, concealed her own turpitude, and ſo became a murderer of her babe, &c." Theſe be the words of Mr. Harding, written by him not of any ſure ground, but only upon his catholic conjecture; for other demonſtration certainly to prove this true, he bringeth none. Wherefore to anſwer conjecture by conjecture, thus I reply to him again, That in caſe ſhe had been aſked the queſtion of the judges and inquiſitors, whether ſhe had been with child, and then denied the ſame; or elſe if ſhe by any other colourable means, had cloaked her being with child, whereby it ſhould not appear, this accuſer might have ſpoken probable advantage againſt the woman. Now, as ſhe was never demanded of their parts any ſuch queſtion, nor did ever deny any ſuch matter; ſo to anſwer this man with as good probability, I hold, that in caſe they had required that matter of her, ſhe would never have denied it. And therefore whereas ſhe is accuſed for her not uttering of her being with child; why may ſhe not, by as good reaſon again be defended for not denying the ſame?

But ſhe ſhould have uttered it, ſaith he. It had been well done, ſaid I: and I would wiſh ſhe had: but yet that is not the queſtion between him and me, what ſhe ſhould have done, but why ſhe did it not. Mr. Harding wandering in his blind ſurmiſes, fancieth the cauſe only to be, "for hiding her diſhoneſty, and for that ſhe would not ſhame the goſpel." To this effect tendeth all his accuſation.

Perotine being big with child, at her condemnation did not ſhew it to the judges:

Ergo, She did it to conceal her turpitude, and becauſe ſhe would not ſhame the goſpel.

But here this accuſer muſt underſtand, if he have not forgot his logic, that ſuch arguments which do truly hold a Signis, do always preſuppoſe, that the ſigns which go before the things ſignified, muſt be neceſſary, perpetual and firm, as is between cauſes natural, and their effects. Otherwiſe, if the ſigns be doubtful, voluntary, or accidental, there is no firm conſequent can proceed thereof,

Now, if the ſaid accuſer ſhould be put to his proof, how to juſtify this his ſequel to be true by evident demonſtration, that ſhe did it only for covering her diſhoneſty, I ſuppoſe verily he ſhould be found to ſay more than he is able to make good, and in concluſion ſhould be brought into the like caſe as were the phariſees, who coming to accuſe the adultereſs before Chriſt, went away mute, with as much ſhame out of the temple, as the woman herſelf came in, having not one word to anſwer. For a man to pronounce aſſuredly upon the ſecret cogitation and intent either of man or woman, farther than by utterance of ſpeech is to him ſignified, paſſeth his capacity, and is to be left only to him, who is a God ſearching the heart and the reins.

But foraſmuch as Mr. Harding worketh, as I ſaid, by ſurmiſes, confirming every thing to the worſt, let us ſee what may be ſurmiſed as much again to the contrary, concerning the quality of this ſurmiſed murder; wherein divers things are to be conſidered, as hereunder followeth.

The firſt conjecture is this, That ſuch manner of women, who for worldly ſhame are diſpoſed to murder their children, have other ways to compaſs that wickedneſs, than by ſilence keeping. Now, as touching this Perotine going to be burnt, neither could this ſilence ſave her, if ſhe would, from worldly ſhame; neither is it to be thought any ſuch intent ever to be in her, to murder her child; as might well appear in her mother's houſe, where, if ſhe might have continued her whole time out, ſhe intended no leſs but honeſtly to be brought to bed, and to nurſe up her child, neither caring for ſhame of the world, nor fearing any ſlander to the goſpel. Whereby may be argued, that no ſuch intent of murder was ever in her thought.

For how is it like that ſhe, which had gone ſo long with child, almoſt to the full time of her deliverance, and never thought nor wrought any hurt to the infant all that time, ſhould now, going to her own death, mind more hurt to her child, than ſhe did before hoping herſelf to live.

Secondly, How knoweth Mr. Harding to the contrary, but that ſhe was known in the town to be with child, and went boldly abroad without note of any ſhame, before the time ſhe came in trouble? Which being true, ſhame then could be no cauſe why ſhe ſhould conceal her child more now after her condemnation, than ſhe did before ſhe was condemned.

Thirdly, Admit the caſe it was not known before, what advantage thereby ſhould riſe to her being now appointed to die, by concealing her being with child? She ſhould have avoided (ſaith Mr. Harding) the public ſhame and obloquy of the world, in that none ſhould have known her to be with child. Firſt, what ſhame was it for a married wife to be noted to be with child? Again, what gain had that been to her, to avoid the ſhame and fame of the world, who had not to live in the world, being now condemned to die?

Fourthly, How is it like, that for ſhame ſhe meant to conceal that from the world, which both knew ſhe ſhould not live in the world, and alſo ſuffer that kind of death whereby her child could not be hidden from the ſight of the world, though ſhe had gone about herſelf never ſo much to conceal it?

Fifthly, How is it to be thought, that any woman going to ſuch a ſharp puniſhment of fire to be conſumed, would let for any worldly ſhame to reſcue her own life from ſo bitter torment, at leaſt ſo long as ſhe might, beſide the ſafeguard alſo of her child, if by any means ſhe had known any remedy.

Sixthly, Foraſmuch as Mr. Harding doth ſo heinouſly charge her with the wilful murdering of her own natural child, let all indifferent conſciences this conſider with themſelves, what was the cauſe that moved her ſo willingly to recant as ſhe did, but partly to ſave her own life, and eſpecially the poor innocent? Whereby it is manifeſt to be underſtood, what a motherly affection ſhe had to ſave her infant, if the fathers of the ſpirituality had not been ſo cruel, againſt all order of law, to caſt both her and her child away, all this her ſaid recantation notwithſtanding.

Seventhly and laſtly, when Mr. Harding hath inveighed all that ever he can againſt this poor woman, yet is all the ſame but a by-matter from this principal purpoſe pretended, ſuppoſing thereby, through his depraving of her, to juſtify and excuſe the pope's holy clergy, who wrought her death. Which will not be: For whatſoever her life was beſides, yet forſomuch as the cauſe of her death and condemnation was neither for theft, whoredom, nor murder, but only and merely for religion, which deſerved no death; I therefore having in my ſtory no further to deal, as I ſaid before, I do ſo ſay again, that the cauſe of her condemning was wrongful, her death was cruel, the ſight of the babe was rueful, the proceeding of the judges was unlawful, the whole ſtory is pitiful, and of all this the prieſts and clergy were the authors principal. All which being conſidered and well expended, Mr. Harding, I truſt, may ſtand ſufficiently contented. Or if he thinks murder to be a thing which ought not (as it ought not indeed) lightly to be paſſed over, let him then find out murder where it is, and tell us truly, without affection of partiality, where the true murder lieth, whether in the poor woman, who together with her child was murdered, or in them, who without all law and conſcience brought them both to death.

Briefly and finally to conclude with this man, whatſoever the woman was, ſhe is now gone. To bite ſo bitterly againſt the dead is little honeſty. And though the accuſation had in it ſome truth, yet this accuſation here needed not. Now the ſame being falſe, is too much unmerciful. At leaſt being doubtful, and to him unknown, charity would have judged the beſt; humanity would have ſpared the dead, and if he could not afford her his good word, yet he might have left her cauſe unto the Lord, who ſhall judge both her and him. To pray for the dead he findeth in his maſs, but to backbite the dead, he neither findeth in his maſs, matins, nor evenſong: and no doubt in his Dirge and commendations he commendeth many a one, leſs deſerving to be commended than this woman, let catholic affection be ſet aſide. And though the merits of her cauſe deſerved not his commendations, yet did ſhe never deſerve at Mr. Harding's hand to give her ſuch a Kyrie eleiſon (as they ſay) after her departure. Cruelty ſhe ſuffered enough alive, though Mr. Harding had not added this cruel invective to her former afflictions: wherein notwithſtanding he hurteth not her, but hurteth peradventure himſelf, neither ſo much diſtaineth her honeſty, as he blemiſheth his own. It hath been the manner of learned men in time paſt, with their oration ever to be more ready to defend

fend, than to accuſe. And if they did at any time accuſe, yet never but inforced; neither did they accuſe any but ſuch only as were alive, and that neither but in ſuch matters, wherein either the commonwealth or themſelves were vehemently touched.

Now if this grieve him ſo greatly, that in my ſtory I have termed her to be a martyr, let him conſider the cauſe wherefore ſhe ſuffered, which was neither for felony, murder, nor whoredom, but only for the religion in king Edward's time received; and when he hath confuted that religion, I ſhall croſs her out of the book and fellowſhip of martyrs. In the mean time my exhortation to Mr. Harding ſhall be this.

Firſt, That if he will needs become a writer in theſe ſo furious and outrageous days of ours, he will ſeaſon his vein of writings with more mildneſs and charity, and not give ſuch example of railing to others.

Secondly, That he will moderate his judging and condemning of others with more equity and indifferency, and not to be ſo raſh and partial. For if ſhe be to be accounted a murderer, who ſo carefully went about by recantation to ſave both herſelf and her child from the fire; what is to be ſaid of them who ſo cruelly condemned her, and cauſed both her and her infant to be burned, notwithſtanding that ſhe for ſafeguard of their lives had (as I ſaid) recanted. And yet ſo partial is he, that in all this invective, crying out ſo intemperately againſt the woman and the child that were burned, he ſpake never a word of their condemners and true murderers indeed.

Thirdly, forſomuch as Mr. Harding is here in hand with infanticide, and with a caſting away young children's lives, I would wiſh, that as he hath ſifted the doings of this woman to the uttermoſt, who was rather murdered than a murderer; ſo he would with an indifferent eye look on the other ſide a little upon them of his own clergy, and ſee what he could find there amongſt thoſe wilful contemners of immaculate marriage. Not that I do accuſe any of incontinency whoſe lives I know not, but there is one above that well knoweth and ſeeth all things, be they never ſo ſecret to man, and moſt certainly at length will pay home with fire and brimſtone when he ſeeth his time.

I ſay no more, and not ſo much as I might, following herein the painters, who when their colours will not ſerve to expreſs a thing that they mean, they ſhadow it with a vail. But howſoever the matter goeth with them, whether they may or may not be ſuſpected touching this crime aforeſaid of infanticide; moſt ſure and manifeſt it is that they are more than worthily to be accuſed of homicide in murdering the children and ſervants of God, both men and women, wives and maids, old and young, blind and lame, mad and unmad, diſcreet and ſimple innocents, learned with the unlearned, and that of all degrees, from the high archbiſhop to the clerk and ſexton of the church, and that moſt wrongfully and wilfully, with ſuch effuſion of innocent chriſtian blood, as crieth up daily to God for vengeance.

And therefore Mr. Harding, in my mind ſhould do well, to ſpare a little time from theſe his invectives, wherewith he impeacheth the poor proteſtants of murder, whom they have murdered themſelves, and exerciſe his pen with ſome more fruitful matter, to exhort theſe ſpiritual fathers firſt to ceaſe from murdering their own children, to ſpare the blood of innocents, and not to perſecute Chriſt ſo cruelly in his members as they do: And furthermore, to exhort in like manner theſe Agamiſts, and wilful rejecters of matrimony, to take themſelves to lawful wives, and not to reſiſt God's holy ordinance, nor encounter his inſtitution with another contrary inſtitution of their own deviſing, leſt perhaps they prevented by fragility, may fall into danger of ſuch inconveniences above hinted: which if they be not in them I ſhall be glad: but if they be, it is neither their railing againſt the poor proteſtants, nor yet their ſecret auricular confeſſion, that ſhall cover their iniquities from the face of the Lord, when he ſhall come to reveal the hidden things of darkneſs, and judge the world by fire.

And thus, for lack of further leiſure, I end with Mr. Harding; having no more at this time to ſay unto him, but wiſh him to fear God, to embrace his truth, to remember himſelf, and to ceaſe from his uncharitable railing, eſpecially againſt the dead, which cannot anſwer him; or if he will needs continue ſtill to be ſuch a vehement accuſer of others, yet that he will remember what belongeth to the part of a right accuſer: Firſt, That his accuſation be true; Secondly, That no blind affection of partiality be mixed with it; Thirdly, Whoſoever taketh upon him to carp at, and impeach the crimes of others, ought themſelves to be ſincere and upright, and to ſee what may be written in their own foreheads.

Whoredom and murder be grievous offences, and worthy to be accuſed: but to accuſe of murder the parties that were murdered, and to leave the other perſons untouched that were the true murderers, it is the part of an accuſer, which deſerveth himſelf to be accuſed of partiality.

As verily I think by this woman, that if ſhe had been a catholic papiſt, and a devout follower of their church, as ſhe was a proteſtant, ſhe had neither been condemned then alive of them, nor accuſed, being dead, of Mr. Harding. But God forgive him, and make him a good man if it be his will.

Three Martyrs burnt at Greenſtead in Suſſex.

NEAR about the ſame time that theſe three women with the infant, were burnt at Garnſey, ſuffered other three likewiſe at Greenſtead in Suſſex, two men and one woman; the names of whom were Thomas Dungate, John Foreman, and mother Tree, who for righteouſneſs ſake gave themſelves to death and torments of the fire, patiently abiding what the furious rage of man could ſay or work againſt them, at the ſaid town of Greenſtead ending their lives the 18th of July, and in the year aforeſaid.

The Martyrdom of Thomas Moor in the Town of Leiceſter, June 26, 1556.

AS the bloody rage of this perſecution ſpared neither man, woman, nor child, wife, nor maid, lame nor blind, and ſo through all men and women, as there was no difference either of age or ſex conſidered, ſo neither was there any condition or quality reſpected of any perſon; but whoſoever he were that held not as they did on the pope and the ſacrament of the altar, were he learned or unlearned, wiſe or ſimple innocent, all went to the fire, as may appear by this ſimple poor creature and innocent ſoul, named Thomas Moor, retained as a ſervant in a man's houſe in the town of Leiceſter, about the age of 24 years, and after the manner of an huſbandman, who for ſpeaking certain words, that his Maker was in heaven, and not in the Pix, was thereupon apprehended in the country, being with his friends. Who coming before his ordinary, firſt was aſked, whether he did not believe his Maker there to be, pointing to the high altar. Which he denied.

How then, ſaid the biſhop, doſt thou believe?

The young man anſwered, As my creed doth teach me.

Then ſaid the biſhop, And what is yonder that thou ſeeſt about the altar?

He anſwered, Forſooth, I cannot tell what you would have me to ſee. I ſee there fine cloaths, with golden taſſels, and other gay matters hanging about the pix, what is within I cannot ſee.

Why,

Why, doſt thou not believe, ſaid the biſhop, Chriſt to be there, fleſh, blood and bone? No, that I do not, ſaid he.

Whereupon the ordinary making ſhort with him, read the ſentence, and ſo condemned the faithful ſervant of Chriſt to death in St. Margaret's church in Leiceſter; who was burnt, and ſuffered a joyful and glorious martyrdom for the teſtimony of righteouſneſs, in the ſame town, about the 26th day of June, 1556.

To this Thomas Moor, we have alſo annexed the examination and anſwers of one John Jackſon, before Dr. Cook one of the commiſſioners, for that it belongeth much unto the ſame time.

The Examination of John Jackſon before Dr. Cook, March 11, 1556.

FIRST when I came before him, he railed on me, and called me heretic.

I anſwered and ſaid, I am no heretic.

Cook. Yes thou art. For Mr. Read told me, that thou wert the rankeſt heretic of all them in the King's-bench.

Jackſon. I know him not.

Cook. No? Yes, he examined thee at the King's-bench.

Jackſon. He examined five others, but not me.

Cook. Then anſwer me: what ſayeſt thou to the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar? Tell me.

Jackſon. It is a diffuſe queſtion, to aſk me at the firſt daſh, you promiſing to deliver me.

Cook. What an heretic is this?

Jackſon. It is eaſier to call a man heretic, than to prove him one.

Cook. What church art thou of?

Jackſon. What church? I am of the ſame church that is built on the foundation of the prophets and the apoſtles, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being the head corner-ſtone.

Cook. Thou art an heretic.

Jackſon. How can that be, ſeeing that I am of that church? I am ſure that you will not ſay that the prophets and apoſtles were heretics.

Cook. No. But what ſayeſt thou to the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar again? Tell me.

Jackſon. I find it not written.

Cook. No? Keeper, away with him.

Yet I tarried there long, and did talk with him; and I ſaid, Sir, I am content to be tractable, and obedient to the word of God.

Dr. Cook anſwered and ſaid to me, that I knew not what the word of God meant, not yet whether it were true or not.

Jackſon. Yea that I do.

Cook. Whereby?

Jackſon. Hereby, ſaid I. Our Saviour Chriſt ſaith; "Search the ſcriptures; for in them you think to have eternal life. For they be they that teſtify of me."

Cook. This is a wiſe proof.

Jackſon. Is it ſo? What ſay you then to theſe words that the prophet David ſaid? Whatſoever he be that feareth the Lord, he will ſhew him the way that he hath choſen: his ſoul ſhall dwell at eaſe, and his ſeed ſhall poſſeſs the land. The ſecrets of the Lord are among them that fear him, and he ſheweth them his covenant."

Cook. Well, you ſhall be rid ſhortly one way or other.

Jackſon. My life lieth not in man's hands; therefore no man ſhall do more unto me than God will ſuffer him.

Cook. No? Thou art a ſtubborn and naughty fellow.

Jackſon. Ye cannot ſo judge of me, except you did ſee ſome evil by me.

Cook. No? Why may not I judge thee, as well as thou and thy fellows judge us, and call us papiſts.

Jackſon. Why, that is no judgment: but Chriſt ſaith, "If you refuſe me and receive not my word, you have one that judgeth you. The word that I have ſpoken unto you now, ſhall judge you in the laſt day."

Cook. I pray thee tell me, who is the head of the congregation?

Jackſon. Chriſt is the head.

Cook. But who is head in earth.

Jackſon. Chriſt hath members here in earth.

Cook. Who are they?

Jackſon. They that are ruled by the word of God.

Cook. You are a good fellow.

Jackſon. I am that I am.

Then Dr. Cook ſaid to my keeper, Have him to priſon again.

I am contented with that, ſaid I; and ſo we departed.

I anſwer no further in this matter, becauſe I thought he ſhould not have my blood in a corner. But I hope in the living God, that when the time ſhall come, before the congregation I ſhall ſhake their building after another manner of faſhion. For they build but upon the ſand, and their walls be daubed with untempered mortar, and therefore they cannot ſtand long.

Therefore (good brothers and ſiſters) be of good cheer: for I truſt in my God, I and my other priſon fellows ſhall go joyfully before you, praiſing God moſt heartily, that we are counted worthy to be witneſſes of his truth. I pray you accept my ſimple anſwer at this time, committing you unto God.

Of this John Jackſon, beſides theſe his foreſaid anſwers and examination before Dr. Cook one of the commiſſioners, no more came to our hands.

The Martyrdom of Joan Waſte, a blind Woman, in the Town of Derby.

THE firſt day of Auguſt, ſuffered likewiſe at the town of Derby, a poor honeſt woman, being blind from her birth, and unmarried, about the age of 22, named Joan Waſte, of the pariſh of Alhallows. Of them that ſate upon this innocent woman's blood, the chiefeſt was Ralph Bain, biſhop of the dioceſe, Dr. Draicot his chancellor, Sir John Port knight, Henry Vernon eſquire, Peter Finch official of Derby, with the aſſiſtance alſo of divers others, Richard Ward and William Bembridge the ſame time being bailiffs of the town of Derby, &c.

Firſt, After the abovenamed biſhop and Dr. Draicot had cauſed the ſaid Joan Waſte to be apprehended in the town of Derby, ſuſpecting her to be guilty of certain hereſies, ſhe was divers times privily examined, as well in priſon as out of priſon, by Peter Finch the official: after that brought to public examination before the biſhop; at laſt, was there burnt in Derby, as is aboveſaid. Concerning whoſe life, bringing up, and converſation, ſomewhat more amply we mind to diſcourſe, as by faithful relation hath come to my hands.

Firſt, This Joan Waſte was the daughter of William Waſte, an honeſt poor man, a barber, who ſometimes alſo uſed to make ropes. His wife had the ſame Joan and one other at one birth, and ſhe was born blind. And when ſhe was about twelve or fourteen years old ſhe learned to knit hoſe and ſleeves, and other things, which in time ſhe could do very well. Furthermore, as time ſerved, ſhe would help her father to turn ropes, and do ſuch other things as ſhe was able, and in no caſe would be idle. Thus ſhe continued with her father and mother during their lives. After whoſe deceaſe ſhe lived with her brother Roger Waſte, and in the time of king Edward the ſixth of bleſſed memory, gave herſelf daily to hear divine ſervice read in the vulgar tongue. And thus by hearing homilies and ſermons, ſhe became marvelloufly well affected to the religion then taught. So at length having ſaved ſo much money as would buy her a New Teſtament, ſhe cauſed one

one to be provided for her. And although ſhe was of herſelf unlearned, and by reaſon of her blindneſs unable to read, yet for the great deſire ſhe had to underſtand, and have imprinted in her memory the ſayings of the holy ſcriptures contained in the New Teſtament, ſhe acquainted herſelf chiefly with John Hurt, then priſoner in the common-hall of Derby for debts.

The ſame John Hurt being a grave ſober man, of the age of threeſcore and ten years, by her earneſt intreaty, and being a priſoner, and many times idle and without company, did for his exerciſe daily read unto her ſome one chapter of the New Teſtament. And if at any time he were otherwiſe occupied or hindered through ſickneſs, ſhe would repair unto John Pemerton clerk of the pariſh church of All-Saints in the ſame town of Derby, or to ſome other perſon which could read, and ſometimes ſhe would give a penny or two (as ſhe might ſpare) to ſuch perſons as would not freely read unto her, appointing unto them beforehand how many chapters of the New Teſtament they ſhould read, or how often they ſhould repeat one chapter upon a price.

Moreover in the ſaid Joan Waſte this was notorious, that ſhe being utterly blind, could notwithſtanding, without a guide, go to any church within the ſaid town of Derby, or to any other place or perſon, with whom ſhe had any ſuch exerciſe. By which exerciſe ſhe ſo profited, that ſhe was able not only to recite many chapters of the New Teſtament, but alſo could aptly diſprove, by divers places of ſcriptures, as well ſin, as ſuch abuſes in religion, as then were too much in uſe in divers and ſundry perſons.

As this godly woman thus daily increaſed in the knowledge of God's holy word, and no leſs in her life expreſſed the virtuous fruits and exerciſe of the ſame: not long after, through the fatal death of bleſſed king Edward, followed the woful ruin of religion in the reign of queen Mary his ſiſter. In which alteration notwithſtanding the general backſliding of the greateſt part and multitude of the whole realm into popery again, yet this poor blind woman, continuing in a conſtant conſcience, proceeded ſtill in her former exerciſe, being both zealous in that ſhe had learned, and alſo refuſing to communicate in religion with thoſe, which taught contrary doctrine to that ſhe had before learned in king Edward's time.

For which ſhe was called and convented before the aforeſaid biſhop and Dr. Draicot, with divers others called in to bear witneſs.

The articles miniſtered unto her, and wherewith ſhe was charged, were theſe; Firſt, that ſhe did hold the ſacrament of the altar to be but only a memory or repreſentation of Chriſt's body, and material bread and wine, but not his natural body, unleſs it were received. And that it ought not to be reſerved from time to time over the altar, but immediately to be received, &c.

Item, That ſhe did hold, in receiving of the ſacrament of the altar, ſhe did not receive the ſame body that was born of the virgin Mary, and ſuffered upon the croſs for our redemption, &c.

Item, She did hold, that Chriſt at his laſt ſupper did not bleſs the bread that he had then in his hands, but was bleſſed himſelf, and by the virtue of the words of conſecration, the ſubſtance of the bread and wine is not converted and turned into the ſubſtance of the body and blood of Chriſt.

Item, That ſhe did grant that ſhe was of the pariſh of Allhallows in Derby, &c.

Item, That all and ſingular the premiſes are true and notorious by public report and fame, &c.

Whereunto ſhe anſwered, that ſhe believed therein ſo much as the holy ſcripture taught her, and according to that ſhe had heard preached unto her by divers learned men. Whereof ſome ſuffered impriſonment, and others ſuffered death for the ſame doctrine: among whom ſhe named, beſides others, Dr. Taylor, who, ſhe ſaid, took it of his conſcience, that the doctrine which he taught was true, and aſked of them, if they would do ſo in like caſe for their doctrine: which if they would not, ſhe deſired them for God's ſake not to trouble her, being a blind, poor, and unlearned woman, with any further talk, ſaying, that by God's aſſiſtance, ſhe was as ready to yield up her life in that faith, in ſuch ſort as they ſhould appoint.

And yet notwithſtanding being preſt by the ſaid biſhop and Dr. Draicot, with many arguments of Chriſt's omnipotency, as, Why was not Chriſt able as well to make the bread his body, as turn water into wine, raiſe Lazarus from the dead, and ſuch other like arguments, and many times being threatened with grievous impriſonments, torments, and death. The poor woman thus being as it were half aſtoniſhed through their terrors and threats, and probably deſirous to prolong her life, offered to the biſhop then preſent, that if he would before that company, take it upon his conſcience, that the doctrine which he would have her to believe concerning the ſacrament was true, and that he would at the dreadful day of judgment anſwer for her therein (as the ſaid Dr. Taylor in divers of his ſermons did offer) ſhe would then further anſwer them.

Whereunto the biſhop anſwered, he would. But Dr. Draicot his chancellor hearing that, ſaid, My lord, you know not what you do, you may in no caſe anſwer for an heretic. And he immediately aſked the poor woman whether ſhe would recant or no, and ſaid ſhe ſhould anſwer for herſelf. Unto whoſe ſayings the biſhop alſo conformed himſelf.

The poor woman perceiving this, anſwered again, that if they refuſed to take of their conſcience that it was true they would have her to believe, ſhe would anſwer no farther, but deſired them to do their pleaſure; and ſo after certain circumſtances, they pronounced ſentence againſt her, and delivered her to the bailiffs of the ſaid town of Derby aforenamed; who after they had kept her about a month or five weeks, there came unto them a writ De Heretico Comburendo; by virtue whereof they were appointed by the ſaid biſhop to bring her to the pariſh church of All-Saints at a day appointed, where Dr. Draicot was to make a ſermon.

When the time was come that this innocent martyr ſhould ſuffer, firſt came to the church Dr. Draicot, accompanied with divers gentlemen, as Mr. Thomas Powthread, Mr. Henry Vernon, Mr. Detick of Newal, and divers others. This done, and all things now in a readineſs, at laſt the poor blind creature and ſervant of God was brought and ſet before the pulpit, where the ſaid doctor being entered into his ſermon, and there inveighing againſt many matters, which he called hereſies, declared unto the people that that woman was condemned for denying the ſacrament of the altar to be the very body and blood of Chriſt really and ſubſtantially, and was thereby cut off from the body of the catholic church; and ſaid, that ſhe was not only blind of her bodily eyes, but alſo blind in the eyes of her ſoul. And he ſaid, As her body ſhould be preſently conſumed with material fire, ſo her ſoul ſhould be burned in hell with everlaſting fire, as ſoon as it ſhall be ſeparated from the body, and there remain without end: and ſaid it was not lawful for the people to pray for her: and ſo with many terrible threats he made an end of his ſermon, and commanded the bailiffs and thoſe gentlemen to ſee her executed. Then this bleſſed ſervant of God was carried away from the church, to a place called the Windmill Pit, near to the ſaid town; and holding Roger Waſte her brother by the hand ſhe prepared herſelf, and deſired the people to pray with her, and ſaid ſuch prayers as ſhe before had learned, and cried upon Chriſt to have mercy upon her as long as life ſerved. In this mean ſeaſon the ſaid Dr. Draicot went to his inn, for great ſorrow of her death, and there laid him down and ſlept, during all the time of her execution. And thus much of Joan Waſte.

Now, foraſmuch as I am not ignorant (faithful reader) that this and other ſtories ſet forth of the martyrs, will not want carpers and markers enow, ready to ſeek all holes and

corners how to defame the memory of God's good ſaints, and to condemn theſe hiſtories of lies and untruths, eſpecially hiſtories wherein they ſee their ſhameful acts and unchriſtian cruelty detected and brought to light; therefore for the better confirmation of this hiſtory above written, and to ſtop the mouths of ſuch momes, this ſhall be to admoniſh all and ſingular readers hereof, that the diſcourſe of this poor blind woman's life and death, in ſuch ſort as is above perfixed, hath been confeſſed to be very true, by divers perſons of worthy credit, and yet living; and alſo hath been carefully peruſed and examined by W. Bambridge, before mentioned, bailiff then of Derby; who as well of his own knowledge, as by ſpecial enquiry and conference by him made, with divers others, hath certified us the ſame to be undoubted; beſide the teſtimony of John Cadman, curate of the ſaid town, and of others alſo, upon whoſe honeſty well known, and their report herein nothing differing from ſuch as were beſt acquainted with that matter, I have been here the more bold to commit this ſtory to poſterity, for all good men to conſider and judge upon.

Of Edward Sharp, John Hart, Thomas Ravenſdale, a Shoemaker, a Currier, a Carpenter, John Horn, and a Woman.

ON the 8th day of September (which was the next month following) a certain godly, aged, devout perſon, and zealous of the Lord's glory, born in Wiltſhire, named Edward Sharp, of the age of forty years, or thereabouts, was condemned at Briſtol to the like martyrdom, where he conſtantly and manfully perſiſting in the juſt quarrel of Chriſt's goſpel, for miſliking and renouncing the ordinances of the Romiſh church, was tried as pure gold, and made a lively ſacrifice in the fire: in whoſe death, as in the death of all his other ſaints, the Lord be glorified and thanked for his great grace of conſtancy; to whom be praiſe for ever, Amen.

On the 24th of the ſame month, 1556, John Hart, Thomas Ravenſdale, a ſhoemaker and a currier, ſuffered at Mayfield in Suſſex: who being at the place where they ſhould ſuffer, after they had made their prayers, and were at the ſtake, ready to undergo the force of the fire, they conſtantly and joyfully yielded their lives for the teſtimony of the glorious goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, unto whom be praiſe for ever and ever, Amen.

The day following, which was the 25th of the ſaid month, a young man, by trade a carpenter (whoſe name we have not) was put to death for the like teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, at Briſtol, where he yielded himſelf to the torments of the fire, gave up his life into the hands of the Lord, with ſuch joyful conſtancy and triumph, as all the church of Chriſt have juſt cauſe to praiſe God for him.

On the 27th of the ſame month of September, John Horn and a woman ſuffered death by fire at Wotton-underedge, in Glouceſterſhire, and died very glorioufly in a conſtant faith, to the terror of the wicked, and comfort of the godly. So glorioufly did the Lord work in them, that death unto them was life, and life with a blotted conſcience was death.

The unmerciful Handling of William Dangerfield and Joan his Wife, being in Childbed, taken out of her Houſe, with her ſucking Infant of fourteen Days old, and laid in the common Gaol among Thieves and Murderers.

WHEN I had written and finiſhed the ſtory of the three Garnſey women, with the young infant there burned with them, and alſo had paſſed the burning of the poor blind woman Joan Waſte at Derby, I well hoped I ſhould have found no more ſuch ſtories of unmerciful cruelty ſhewed upon innocent women with their children and young infants: but now coming the perſecution in Glouceſterſhire, about the parts of Briſtol, I find another ſtory of ſuch unmercifulneſs ſhewed againſt a woman in childbed, as far from all charity and humanity, as any other ſtory that hath hitherto been rehearſed, as by the ſequel hereof may appear.

In the pariſh of Wotton-underedge, not far from Briſtol, dwelt William Dangerfield, an honeſt poor man, who by his wife Joan had nine children, and ſhe now lying in childbed of the tenth. This William, after he had been abroad from his houſe a certain ſpace for fear of perſecution, hearing that his wife was brought to bed, repaired home to viſit her, as natural duty required, and to ſee his children, ſhe being delivered four days before.

The return of this man was no ſooner known to ſome of his unkind and uncharitable neighbours, but they, incenſed with the ſpirit of popery, immediately beſet the houſe, and apprehended him, and carried him to priſon, and ſo at length he was brought to the biſhop, Dr. Brooks, in whoſe cruel handling he remained ſo long, till his legs almoſt were fretted off with irons.

After the apprehenſion of the huſband, the wife likewiſe was taken, with her young-born child, being but fourteen days old, out of her childbed, and carried into the common goal, and there confined amongſt thieves and murderers; where ſhe and her innocent babe found ſo little charity, that ſhe could never come to any fire, but was driven to warm the cloaths that ſhe ſhould put about the child in her boſom.

In the mean ſeaſon while the huſband and wife lay thus incloſed in ſeveral priſons, the biſhop began to practiſe not with the woman firſt, as the ſerpent did with Eve, but with the man, craftily deceiving his ſimplicity with fair gloſſing words, falſly perſuading him that his wife had recanted, and aſking him, wherefore he ſhould more ſtand in his own conceit, than ſhe, being as well learned as he; and ſo ſubtily drew out a form of recantation, wherewith he deceived the ſimple ſoul. Whereunto after that he had once granted that he would conſent, although he had not yet recanted, they ſuffered him to go to his wife, where ſhe lay in the common-goal.

Then they with melting hearts opening their minds one to another, when he ſaw his wife not releaſed, and perceiving he had not done well, he declared unto her the whole matter, how falſly he was circumvented by the ſubtle flatterings of the biſhop, telling him that ſhe had certainly recanted: and thus deceiving me, ſaid he, brought this unto me, and ſo plucked out of his boſom the copy of the recantation, whereunto he had granted his promiſe. At the ſight whereof the wife hearing what her huſband had done, her heart cleft aſunder, ſaying, Alack, thus long have we continued one, and hath Satan ſo prevailed, to cauſe you to break your firſt vow made to Chriſt in baptiſm? And ſo departed the ſaid William and Joan his wife, with what hearts the Lord knoweth. Then began he greatly to bewail his promiſe made to the biſhop, and to make his prayer to Almighty God, deſiring him that he might not live ſo long as to call evil good, and good evil; or light darkneſs, or darkneſs light; and ſo he departed toward his houſe: where by the way homeward (as he affirmed) he took his death, and ſhortly after departed, according to his prayer, after he had been in priſon twelve weeks.

After this, Joan his wife continued ſtill in priſon with her tender infant, till at laſt ſhe was brought before that biſhop to be examined. Whereunto, what her anſwers were, it is not certainly known. Howbeit moſt like it is whatſoever they were, they pleaſed not the biſhop, as appeared by his anger increaſed againſt the poor woman, and her long continuance in the priſon, together with her tender babe, which alſo remained with her in the gaol, partaker of her martyrdom, ſo long as her milk would ſerve to give it ſuck, till at length the child, being ſtarved for cold and famine, was ſent away when it was paſt all remedy, and ſo ſhortly after died: And not long after the mother

alſo

alſo followed. Beſides, the old woman, which was mother of the huſband, of the age of eighty years and upward, who being left in the houſe after their apprehenſion, for lack of comfort, there periſhed alſo.

And thus have ye in one ſtory the death of four together; firſt of the old woman, then of the huſband, after that of the innocent child, and laſtly of the mother. What became of the other nine children, I am not perfectly ſure, but that I partly underſtand that they were all undone by the ſame.

This ſtory is reported and teſtified as well by others, as namely by Mrs. Bridges dwelling in the ſame town, and partaker then of the like afflictions, and hardly eſcaped her life.

In the month of October following, was burnt at the town of Northampton a ſhoemaker, a true witneſs and diſciple of the Lord, who according to the grace of God given unto him, cleaving faſt to the ſound doctrine and preaching of God's word, renounced the untrue and falſe coloured religion of the Romiſh ſee, wherein many a good man hath been drowned.

After whom, not long after in the ſame month of October, died alſo in the caſtle of Chicheſter three godly confeſſors, being there in bonds for the like cauſe of Chriſt's goſpel, who alſo ſhould have ſuffered the like martyrdom, had not their natural death, or rather (as it is to be ſuſpected) the cruel handling of the papiſts, made them away before, and afterwards buried them in the fields.

I read moreover, that in this preſent year, to wit, 1556, one named Hooke, a true witneſs of the Lord's truth, was burnt at Cheſter.

Five Perſons famiſhed in Canterbury Caſtle, by the unmerciful Tyranny of the Papiſts, about the beginning of November.

AS among all the biſhops, Bonner biſhop of London, principally excelled in perſecuting the poor members and ſaints of Chriſt; ſo of all archdeacons, Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury (as may evidently appear) was the foreſt, and of leaſt compaſſion (only Dunning of Norwich excepted) by whoſe unmerciful and ſurly diſpoſition very many were put to death in that dioceſe of Canterbury, not only in the bloody time of queen Mary, but ſome alſo in the beginning of the reign of our renowned and moſt gracious queen Elizabeth, as by the grace of Chriſt hereafter ſhall appear.

Of thoſe that ſuffered in the dioceſe of Canterbury in the time of queen Mary, ſome be recited already, with the order and form of ſuch articles as then were moſt commonly adminiſtered to the examiners by Thornton, ſuffragan of Dover, and the ſaid Nicholas Harpsfield, and others, as before-mentioned.

Now to proceed in order and courſe of time where we left, next followeth the month of November.

In the beginning whereof fifteen godly and innocent martyrs, were together in the caſtle of Canterbury, of which number not one eſcaped with life, but either were burnt, or elſe famiſhed in priſon: of which two ſorts, which is the eaſier death, God knoweth, is hard to judge. Notwithſtanding, the truth is, that of theſe fifteen, ten ſuffered in the fire, of whom in the next book more (God willing) ſhall be ſaid: the other five pined, and were moſt cruelly famiſhed in the cloſe priſon, of whom we ſhall now treat. The names of whom were theſe.

1. John Clark.
2. Dunſton Chittenden. } theſe were yet uncondemned.
3. William Foſter of Stone.
4. Alice Potkins.
5. John Archer of Crambroke, weaver. } Theſe three were condemned to be burnt.

Of theſe five priſoners, the firſt two were uncondemned, the other three were condemned, and ſhould have been burnt, but ſuffered no leſs torments than if they had abode the fire, being pined to death by famine. What their articles and anſwers were I need not here recite, ſeeing all they in the time of queen Mary commonly ſuffered for one manner of cauſe, that is, for holding againſt the ſeven ſacraments, againſt the reality of Chriſt's being in his ſupper, for ſpeaking againſt the church of Rome, and determinations of the ſame, againſt images ſet up and worſhipped in the church, for not coming to church, &c.

Firſt, William Foſter anſwering to theſe and like articles, ſaid, That he believed well in all the articles of the creed; but to believe that there be more ſacraments than two, and to pray to ſaints either to profit us, or to pray for ſouls in purgatory to profit them, that faith and works do juſtify, or to allow the popiſh ceremonies in the church, that he denied. Moreover he ſaid, to carry candles upon Candlemas-day, it were as good for him as to carry a dung-fork; and that it is as neceſſary to carry the gallows about, if his father were hanged, as the croſs. To come to the church he could not, he ſaid, with a falſe conſcience. Concerning fiſh-days and fleſh-days, he granted it good to put difference therein, except where neceſſity required the contrary.

This William Foſter was a labouring man, of the age of forty years. He was apprehended and impriſoned by Sir Thomas Moyle, knight.

Alice Potkins for the like confeſſion, was condemned to be burnt, for that ſhe was not, neither would be confeſſed to the prieſt, for that ſhe received not the ſacrament of the altar, becauſe ſhe would not pray to ſaints, nor creep to the croſs, &c. Being demanded of her age, ſhe ſaid ſhe was forty-nine years old, according to her old age; and according to her young age, ſince ſhe learned Chriſt, ſhe was of one year's age, and was committed to priſon by Mr. Roberts.

The anſwer and confeſſion of John Archer of Crambroke was much in like ſort. And although ſome of theſe upon ignorant ſimplicity ſwerved a little in the number of ſacraments, ſome granting one ſacrament, that is, the body of Chriſt hanging upon the croſs, ſome more, ſome leſs, &c. yet in the principal matter concerning the doctrine of ſalvation for faith to ſtay upon, and in diſagreeing from the dreaming determinations of the popiſh church, they moſt agreed. Concerning the not praying to ſaints, and for the dead in purgatory, for not creeping to the croſs, for faith only to juſtify, for taking of an oath, and other ſuch like, he granted as the other had done. This father Archer, by his occupation a weaver, of the town of Crambroke, of the age of fifty years, was impriſoned by Sir John Gilford knight.

And thus have ye the cauſe and impriſonment of theſe five priſoners. Now as touching the cruelty of their death, that ye ſhall not ſurmiſe the ſuſpicion or relation thereof to proceed of myſelf, you ſhall hear their own teſtimony by their own letter, thrown out of the priſon, concerning the unmerciful dealing of the popiſh tyrants in famiſhing them, as is aforeſaid. The copy of their letter is this:

The Copy of a Letter written and caſt out of the Caſtle of Canterbury by the Priſoners there in Bonds for God's Word, declaring how the Papiſts went about to famiſh them to death; of which Company five were already moſt cruelly famiſhed among them.

BE it known unto all men that ſhall read or hear read theſe our letters, that we the poor priſoners of the caſtle of Canterbury for God's truth, are kept and lie in cold irons, and our keepers will not ſuffer any meat to be brought to us to comfort us. And if any man do bring us any thing, as bread, butter, cheeſe, or any other food, the ſaid keeper will charge them that ſo bring us any thing, except money or raiment, to carry it them again; or elſe if he do receive any food of any for us, he doth keep it for himſelf, and he and his ſervants do ſpend it, ſo that we have nothing thereof; and thus the keeper keepeth away our victuals from us: inſomuch that there are four of us priſoners there for God's truth, famiſhed already, and thus is it his mind to famiſh us all: and we think he is appointed

appointed thereunto by the biſhops and prieſts, and alſo of the juſtices, ſo to famiſh us, and not only us of the ſaid caſtle, but alſo all other priſoners in other priſons for the like cauſe to be alſo famiſhed: notwithſtanding we write not theſe our letters, to that intent we might not afford to be famiſhed for the Lord Jeſus' ſake, but for this cauſe and intent, that they, having no law to famiſh us in priſon, ſhould not do it privily, but that the murderers hearts ſhould be openly known to all the world, that all men may know of what church they are, and who is their father. Out of the caſtle of Canterbury.

The Perſecution of divers good People in the Dioceſe of Litchfield.

THESE aforeſaid months of September, November, and December, as they were troubleſome to many other places, and eſpecially to the dioceſe of Canterbury, by reaſon of the archdeacon above-named; ſo likewiſe they brought no little buſineſs in the country to Litchfield and Coventry, by a cruel biſhop there, named Ralph Baine, and a more cruel chancellor called Dr. Draicot, through the fierce inquiſition of whom great ſtir was there among the people, being called to examination of their faith, and many cauſed to bear faggots. Who, although they were not put to the torment of death, yet becauſe it may appear what a number there is in the countries of England abroad, who in their hearts have a miſliking of the pope's Romiſh laws and religion, if for fear they durſt utter their minds, I thought to make a rehearſal of their names, which in the aforeſaid dioceſe of Conventry and Litchfield were taken in ſuſpicion, and examined for their religion.

And firſt amongſt them that were detected and enjoined to the popiſh penance, that is, to bear a faggot, candle, and beads about in proceſſion, were Agnes Foreman, detected, examined, and by witneſs convicted, and bare a faggot the 12th of September. Likewiſe Margery Kirry, Thomas Norris, Thomas Stiffe, William Kaime, Robert Katrenes, Tho. Smith, John Borſley the younger. Item, John Waterhouſe, againſt whom came in witneſs and accuſers Richard Canterbanke, J. Edge, William Smith, Robert Cooke, laying againſt him for ſeldom coming to church, for giving no reverence at the elevation of the ſacrament, but looking upon his book, for not kiſſing the pix, &c. Robert Biſſel, Leonard Weſt, Richard Baily of the pariſh of Whitacre.

Theſe were deprived.

Nicholas Cartwright, doctor; Richard Jurdian, prieſt; Edmund Crokel, prieſt; Thomas Whitehead, prieſt; William Taylor, prieſt; Anſelme Sele, prieſt; Richard Slavy, prieſt, married; Edward Hawkes, prieſt, married; Robert Aſton, prieſt, deprived; Henry Tecka, prieſt, deprived; Robert Moſſey, prieſt, married and deprived.

There were divers others beſides theſe, who in like manner were detected, accuſed and examined, although they bare no faggot, but were diſmiſſed; as Richard Kempe, John Franklin, William Marler, Julius Dudley, Euſtache Byſacre, William Shene, Anthony Afterwhittle, Thomas Steilbe, Henry Birdlim, William Moſeley, John Leach, John Richardſon, Anthony Jones alias Pulton, Thomas Wilſon, Thomas Lynacres and Hugh Lynacres his ſon, Iſabel Parker, Martin Newman, William Enderby, Cicely Preſton, Thomas Saltar, John Stamford ſhoemaker, Richard Woodburne, Thomas Arnal ſhoemaker, John Robinſon, Hugh Moore ſhoemaker, John Adale, Thomas Arch, Frances Ward, John Avines, Richard Foxal, Thomas Underdonne, Richard Weaver.

Theſe forenamed perſons, with many more following in the next year after, although they did ſubſcribe and relent through fear of death; yet for this cauſe I do here recite them, that by them it might appear what a number there were not only in the country of Litchfield, but alſo in other parts, in heart ſet againſt the pope's proceedings, if that fear rather than conſcience had not compelled them to the contrary.

Thus have ye the whole perſecution of this year declared, with the names of all them which ſuffered martyrdom within the compaſs of the year 1556: the number of all which, ſlain and martyred in divers places of England at ſundry times this year, came to above 84 perſons, whereof many were women, wives, widows and maidens; beſides thoſe who by ſecret practices were otherwiſe made away, or driven from their goods, out of their houſes, or out of the realm, or elſe within the realm were put to penance, and coacted by forcible violence to recant, ſave only that I have omitted the ſtory of Sir John Cheeke, knight, and ſchoolmaſter ſome time to king Edward. The worthineſs of which man deſerveth much to be ſaid of him; but his fall ſhould rather be covered in ſilence and oblivion. Only to note a word or two of a few things to the preſent ſtory moſt principally appertaining, it ſhall ſuffice.

Sir John Cheeke being in the country of Germany, out of all danger of perſecution, with many more of his own countrymen and acquaintance, was not only in ſafety, but alſo with reputation accordingly eſteemed among the Germans, and alſo well placed in the city of Straſbourg. Where if he had contented himſelf to have remained, rather giving place to time, than to preſume upon adventures, peradventure it had been better for him. But what fatal inſtigation wrought in his mind I know not. In the end ſo it fell, that he would needs take his journey with Sir Peter Carew, from High Germany to Bruſſels, and that (as I have credibly heard of them which knew ſomewhat) not without the forecaſting of his adventured journey by the conſtellation of the ſtars, and diſpoſition of the heavens above. For as he was a man famouſly expert, and travelled in the knowledge of ſundry arts and ſciences, ſo was he a little too much addicted to the curious practiſing of this ſtar-divinity, which we call aſtrology. But howſoever it was, or whatſoever it was that the ſtars did promiſe him, truth was, that the men here on earth kept little promiſe with him. For having, as it is ſaid, king Philip's ſafe conduct to paſs and repaſs, and that by the means as I find of the Lord Paget, and Sir John Maſ. pledging for his ſafeguard king Philip's fidelity, he came to Bruſſels, to ſee the queen's ambaſſadors: and having brought the lord Paget on his way toward England, in the return between Bruſſels and Antwerp, he was taken with Sir Peter Carew by the Provoſt Marſhal, ſpoiled of their horſes, and clapped into a cart, their legs, arms, and bodies tied with halters to the body of the cart, and ſo ſhipped, being blindfold under the hatches, and ſo brought to the Tower of London.

Thus the good man being entrapped, and in the hands now of his enemies, had but one of theſe two ways to take, either to change his religion, or to change his life, other remedy with thoſe holy catholics there was none. Neither could his conſcience excuſe him, nor truth defend him, nor his learning help him.

However Mr. Fecknam, whether ſuborned by the queen, or upon his own devotion and friendſhip toward his old acquaintance, took upon him the defence and commendation of Sir John Cheeke, ſpeaking in his behalf: yet no mercy could be had with the queen, but he muſt needs recant, and ſo he did.

Then after this recantation, he was through the crafty handling of the papiſts, allured firſt to dine and accompany with them, at length drawn unawares to ſit in place where the poor martyrs were brought before Bonner and other biſhops to be condemned; the remorſe whereof ſo mightily wrought in his heart, that not long after he left this mortal life. Whoſe fall, although it was full of infirmity, yet his riſing again by repentance was great, and his end comfortable, the Lord be praiſed.

An

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

An Account of the Sufferings and Death of the Proteſtants in the Reign of Queen MARY the Firſt.

BOOK III.

The Order and Manner of Cardinal Poole's Viſitation in Cambridge, with the condemning, taking up, and burning the Bones and Books of Martin Bucer, and Paulus Phagius, January 7, 1559.

CARDINAL Poole, three years after his return into England, having ſomewhat withdrawn his mind from other affairs of the realm, and having in all points eſtabliſhed the Romiſh religion, began to have an eye to the univerſity of Cambridge, which place, among others, eſpecially ſeemed to have need of reformation out of hand. To perform this charge were choſen Cuthbert Scot, not long before conſecrated biſhop of Cheſter, Nicholas Ormanet, an Italian, arch-prieſt of the people of Bodolon, in the dioceſe of Vernon, profeſſed in both the laws, and bearing the name of the pope's datary, Thomas Watſon, elected biſhop of Lincoln, Chriſtopherſon, elected biſhop of Chicheſter, and Henry Cole, provoſt of the college of Eton. There was good cauſe why the matter was eſpecially committed to theſe perſons; for as touching Ormanet, it is well known that he was a man of much eſtimation with Julius the third, and at that time biſhop of Rome, and was appointed to come into England with cardinal Poole, becauſe without his knowledge (as in whom he put his chief truſt and confidence) the biſhop would have nothing done that was of any importance or weight.

Theſe perſons thus appointed (in the mean while as the viſitors were addreſſing themſelves to the journey) ſent their letters with the cardinal's citation before to Dr. Andrew Perne, then vice-chancellor of Cambridge, with the other commiſſioners aſſociate, commanding him to warn all the graduates of the univerſity, in their name, to be in readineſs againſt the 11th day of January, betwixt eight and ten of the clock, in the church of St. Mary the virgin; willing him eſpecially to be there himſelf in preſence, and alſo to ſet forward all the reſidue, to whoſe charge it belonged, that they ſhould ſearch out all ſtatutes, books, privileges, and monuments appertaining to the univerſity, or to any of the colleges, or finally to any of themſelves, and theſe to preſent the ſame before them at the day appointed, and every man to appear there perſonally; for they would not fail being there at the ſame time, to lay before them ſuch things as ſhould ſeem neceſſary to this charge of reforming the univerſity, and further to give charge of all ſuch things as ſhould ſeem moſt for the profit and behoof of the ſame, together with ſuch things as were to be done on their part, according as ſhould ſeem moſt agreeable to the decrees of the canon law.

This citation of the cardinal, being brought to Cambridge by Mr. Bullock, was firſt exhibited in the convocation-houſe of regents, and there openly read by the orator of the univerſity the 11th of December.

After this, upon the 24th of December, which was Chriſtmas Eve, the vice-chancellor, with the heads of the houſes, meeting together in the ſchools, it was there concluded, that the viſitors' charges ſhould be born by the univerſity and colleges (which then coſt the univerſity an hundred pound) and alſo that no maſter of any college ſhould ſuffer any of the fellows, ſcholars, or miniſters, to go forth of the town, but to return before the viſitation.

On Friday the eighth of January the queen's commiſſioners, namely, Dr. Perne, vice-chancellor, Dr. Sedgwick, Dr. Harvy, Mr. Frank, Kuſt, and another who is here nameleſs, and alſo Sir James Dyer the recorder, Mr. Chapman, and Evered ſitting together in the hall, ſome were there called by the appointment of L. Hawes, and charge given what ſhould be done. And firſt the commiſſion was read. Then were all the high-conſtables called to bring in their precepts, and ſworn. Alſo two of every pariſh of ten or twelve hundreds, were ſworn to enquire of hereſy, lollardy, conſpiracy, ſeditious words, tales, and rumours againſt the king and queen. Item, For heretical and ſeditious books, for negligences, and miſdemeanors in the church, for obſervation of ceremonies, for ornaments, and ſtock of the church.

We ſaid at the firſt, that the cardinal thought the univerſity to have need of reformation. The reaſon why he ſhould think ſo was this; either becauſe the ſame of long continuance had caſt off the biſhop of Rome, and cleaved to the wholeſome doctrine of the goſpel; or elſe by reaſon that both for the late ſchiſm, not yet worn out of memory, and for the doctrine of Martin Bucer, who not long before openly in the ſaid univerſity interpreted holy ſcripture, they ſaw many ſo ſore corrupted and ſpotted with this infection, that (even as when fire is ſpread in a town) unleſs a ſpeedy remedy were applied out of hand, it were not poſſible to their thinking, to quench it many years after. Who alſo feared (if it were not looked to in time) leſt this miſchief would take root, and by little and little infect all the members next unto it, which yet were whole and ſound.

This was in the year 1556. To the intent therefore to make a ſalve for this ſore, the inquiſitors, of whom we ſpake before, came unto Cambridge the ninth day of January. And as they were yet in their journey, and far from the town, divers of the maſters and preſidents of the colleges met them, and brought them courteouſly, firſt into the town, and after to their lodgings. They were entertained in Trinity college by Mr. John Chriſtopherſon, maſter of the ſaid houſe, and a little before elected biſhop of Chicheſter. Notwithſtanding they were deſired, ſome to one place, and ſome to another, as occaſion ſerved, either to do their duties, or to ſhew their good wills: Dr. Cole to the King's college, and Dr. Watſon to St. John's. But whether it were for the acquaintance of Chriſtopherſon, or for the largeneſs of the houſe, which ſeemed moſt convenient for their purpoſe, they all took up their lodgings in the ſaid college with Mr. Chriſtopherſon.

At their coming thither an oration was made by a fellow of the houſe, who in the name of all the reſt, with long proteſtation declared, that they were moſt heartily welcome thither, and that he and his fellows gave them great thanks, that it had pleaſed their lordſhips to have ſo good opinion of them, as to chooſe their houſe eſpecially to lodge in, whereby they had both encouraged

them to ſtand in hope of ſome further benevolence towards them, and alſo done great honour to their college by their being there: wherefore they ſhould look at their hand again for as much duty and reverence as lay in their power to perform.

To this oration Dr. Watſon made anſwer, That this forward and earneſt good-wills and minds of theirs, in doing ſuch courteſy, was right thankfully taken both of him and his, exhorting them to continue ſtedfaſtly in the ſame, and to proceed alſo when need ſhould require: for it was ſo far from any of their thoughts, to ſtop them in this or that race, that they would rather haſte them forward to run through more ſpeedily, being not without good cauſe perſuaded to conceive good hope of their benevolence towards them, in as much as they would do for them whatſoever might turn to their profit and advantage.

This day, foraſmuch as it was towards evening ere they came, and the ſun was going down, nothing elſe was done. The next day, being the tenth of January, they beſtowed in recreating themſelves after their journey, and in ſetting other things at a ſtay. Nevertheleſs, to the intent the ſame ſhould not eſcape altogether without doing ſomewhat, they interdicted the two churches, namely, St. Mary's, where Mr. Bucer, and St. Michael's, where Paulus Phagius, lay buried.

Theſe men were dead a good while before, Paulus Phagius had ſcarce yet ſhewed the proof of his wit and learning when he departed to God, 1549. Bucer lived but a little after. During which time ſomewhat by writing, but chiefly by reading and preaching openly (wherein the old man, being painful in the word of God, never ſpared himſelf, nor regarded his health) he brought all men into ſuch admiration of him, that neither his friends could ſufficiently praiſe him, nor his enemies in any point find fault with his ſingular life and ſincere doctrine. A moſt certain token whereof may be his ſumptuous burial, ſolemnized with ſo great aſſiſtance and gladneſs of all the degrees of the univerſity, that it was not poſſible to deviſe more to the ſetting out and amplifying of the ſame. The whole manner and order of the doing whereof being written by Mr. Nicholas Carre, a learned man, in a little treatiſe to Sir John Cheeke, knight, with an epiſtle full of conſolation, as concerning his departure added thereunto, was ſent afterward unto Peter Martyr, then abiding at Oxford.

From the burial of Bucer and Phagius, unto the coming of theſe viſitors, three or four years were paſſed. And from the time of the deceaſe of king Edward the ſixth, unto that day, the prieſts celebrated their maſſes, and other kind of ceremonies, in thoſe places, and that without ſcruple of conſcience, as far as men could perceive. But after the time that theſe commiſſioners came thither, thoſe things that before were accounted for ſacred and holy, began to be denounced for prophane and unholy. For they commanded that all thoſe aſſemblies that ſhould hereafter be made for the executing of holy ceremonies, ſhould be removed to the King's Chapel, which is a place far more ſtately than all the other.

Now was come the 11th day, in which the vice-chancellor of the univerſity, with the maſters and preſidents of colleges, and all the other graduates of every houſe, were commanded to appear before the ſaid commiſſioners in their habits. It was commanded, that the ſcholars alſo ſhould come in their ſurplices, but that was not done. They aſſembled in great numbers to Trinity college, having the univerſity croſs borne before them, and in the Gatehouſe a form was ſet, and covered with cuſhions and carpet on the ground for the viſitors; where the vice-chancellor, having on a tiſſue cope, ſprinkled holy-water on them, and purpoſed to cenſe them, but they refuſed it there, which notwithſtanding afterward in the Queen's college, and elſewhere, they refuſed not.

There Mr. John Stokes, common orator of the univerſity, made a Latin oration in the name of all the reſt: A copy whereof, now rendered into Engliſh, here followeth.

Mr. Stokes's Oration to Queen Mary's Viſitors at Cambridge, Jan. 11, 1557.

THIS univerſity, moſt reverend fathers, has been a long time ſolicitous about your coming, now greatly pleaſed freely beholds your honours; and as a teſtimony of her willingneſs, pours out herſelf and all her treaſures. Aſſembled here ſee all the Cambridge ſcholars, all orders preſent, who I aſſure your lordſhips upon my own knowledge, one and all congratulate your much wiſhed arrival. For we are all perſuaded that the buſineſs of this day, through God's aſſiſtance, and your excellencies, will prove auſpicious to the common benefit of this univerſity; nor, in a matter ſo neceſſary to the common good, will your help be wanting. And by many things I am confirmed in this opinion, but I ſhall mention only thoſe that ſo nearly relate to the buſineſs in hand, that they cannot poſſibly be omitted; and theſe truly in number are certain and finite, but in their virtue and power ſo immenſe, that no faculty of ſpeech is able to expreſs; becauſe, as I ſaid before, the joy this univerſity received from your coming was very great, I beſeech you, while briefly I relate the manner, to grant a favourable ear.

The moſt reverend father in Chriſt, cardinal Poole, legate, who hath reſtored oppreſſed religion, ſupported the ruins of his country, brought back from exile our laws, he, I ſay, that Engliſh Poole, and our true Moſes, was the author of your viſitation, from whoſe excellent virtue many bleſſings have redounded to all parts of his country. Yet there was a ſtricter and nearer cauſe than the bond of neceſſity, ſeeing we were part of that republic, which he had ſeparately taken the government on himſelf. For the year before he moſt kindly took on himſelf the government of this univerſity, which he managed with ſo much prudence, that he not only removed whatever might impede our ſtudies, but alſo added ſuch ornaments, as greatly increaſed the glory of our univerſity; theſe things confirmed our former hopes, and now brings ſo freſh to our minds, that we cannot chuſe but think all his kindneſs to be collected in this viſitation, from which we expect all thoſe things which the remarkable love of our great chancellor, who looked on our univerſity as his proper pupil, promiſed. And I wiſh truly that he himſelf, was it not detrimental to the public, could have been here at this time; that he with his rays might have illuminated this univerſity, involved in darkneſs and a profound night, with the glory of the true religion. But this our deſire is repugnant to the public good, and the intereſt of the moſt holy apoſtolic ſee; the legate therefore has appointed you his ſubſtitutes, whoſe natural parts for wiſdom, whoſe perſons for worth, and whoſe minds for knowledge, he judged moſt fit for this employment: I can therefore aſſure you truly, we all eſteem you, as men whoſe religion we love, virtue we honour, and on whoſe good will, belief, and counſel for the public good we depend on. For after by the ſingular and extraordinary virtue of the legate, cardinal Poole, from the darkneſs and night of former times, we began to review the light in public, together with a clearer ſight of our former unhappineſs, to the greatneſs of which our ignorance of it contributed not a little; for, in my opinion, we ought to be accounted ſo much the more miſerable, who labouring under ſo damnable an hereſy, yet ſaw not the danger we were in. As that diſtemper is by much the worſe, which deſtroys nature without being perceived to afflict the ſenſes; and the man is often dead before he knew he was ſick. This was the diſeaſe of our univerſity, which however ſharp-

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ſighted other ways, in this caſe of religion, the head of the church being hurt (whence ſprings all the power of judging) became ſtupid, lethargic, and as it were without any ſenſe; till about three years ago, the divine compaſſion of the moſt holy father Julius, to us Engliſh almoſt dead, again incorporated us in his moſt holy church, again reſtored health to our bodies, and peace to our minds. How eaſy was it then for Britannia to ſee how near ſhe had approached the jaws of hell, this univerſity eſpecially plainly diſcerned, how our nation was miſerably afflicted with this deſolation and ſchiſm of religion. There is no need here to repeat the diſſolution of the monaſteries, the robbing the church, the ſlaying the prieſts, the murdering the nobles, the riots and tumults of the people, the impoveriſhing the whole kingdom, theſe things might poſſibly have happened, and we blameleſs, but here the judgment was ſo remarkable, that we muſt needs look on it as a puniſhment for our ſins and wickedneſs. But granting theſe things only the ſport of chance, we ſuffered worſe in our religion and conſcience. Piety towards God was vaniſhed, the chaſtity of the prieſts was turned into open proſtitution, the ſoul lay as it was aſleep, no religious ceremonies to awaken it; the mind by the variety of opinions ſo diſtracted, ſo differing from itſelf, that it embraced an infinity of errors, among which there were two principal fountains, of the ſtreams of which this univerſity drinking a little too much, we confeſs became intoxicated. The firſt owed its birth from the unnatural ſeparation from the unity of the catholic church, not unlike what of old Menenius Agrippa mentions of the members and the belly. The ſecond aroſe from Wickliffe's mud and mire, which made the celebration of the ſacrament of the altar an abomination.

For the truth of which let any man conſult himſelf: for we, imitating philoſophers, and thoſe none of the beſt, have borrowed a light to ſcriptures from the ſchool of the Epicureans. For whereas Chriſt (in the truth of theſe words is placed the foundation of our faith) affirms every where, diſtinctly, and without exception, the true and perpetual preſence of his body, yet we are truly to interpret theſe expreſſions as if they were imperfect, or had another meaning, unleſs we had recourſe to the atomes of Epicurus, and that the true body and blood of Chriſt was only as it were the body and blood. But this is not a time to make particular mention of all the things that have paſt, no, I rather wiſh they could be eternally forgot, that no remembrance of them might be handed down to our poſterity. Yet I thought myſelf obliged to ſay ſomething in the general, as a confeſſion of our paſt errors: ſtill remembering, that as this univerſity received her wounds from her former viſitors, ſo from you here preſent, ſhe may be reſtored to her former health. And here ſhe promiſes both for herſelf and hers, by her unwearied preaching of repentance, to bring back to the true religion all her erring children, and make them ſo diligent in the preſent, as to redeem the time paſt. For they that are firſt in this race, contend ſo earneſtly, as makes it plainly appear they voluntarily entered it; and they that came in laſt, and as it were at the eleventh hour, ſhew ſuch zeal for their religion, as well witneſſes they left it raſhly, and not on mature judgment and deliberation; our univerſity thus reſtored, the deſired religions ſeems more to pleaſe, than had her precepts been conſtantly obeyed, and her glory ne'er obſcured.

Wherefore this univerſity, ſuppliant and proſtrate, firſt begs pardon and peace of the eternal God, and that he will preſerve the right faith of her and hers, and cauſe this univerſity once more to flouriſh and abound. Then for her and hers, all and ſingular ſhe offers this petition to your highneſſes, that the induſtry of her preſent ſons may make amends for the errors and offences of her former. For the reſt ſhe ſubmits wholly to the ſentence your great wiſdom and ſingular love ſhall pronounce, hoping your juſtice will find her cauſe good, or your mercy make it ſo: Either will be an equal benefit, whether you judge this univerſity innocent from the juſtice of her cauſe, or whether you make her ſo by the abundance of your love. Now to return you thanks, we again promiſe you, the greateſt regard to things ſacred, unwearied diligence in ſearching the ſcriptures and fathers, a perpetual love of the true religion, and an eternal remembrance of your favours.

When he made an end of ſpeaking, the biſhop of Cheſter anſwered thereunto:

That they took in right good part, that the mother the univerſity had made ſo open a declaration of her good will toward them: for which he gave moſt hearty thanks, deſiring her to perform in deed, and in her works, the things that ſhe had ſo largely promiſed of herſelf in words and communication.

As concerning their good wills, there was no cauſe to miſtruſt. For their coming thither was not to deal any thing roughly with ſuch as fell to their amendment: but both the cardinal himſelf, and they alſo, were fully minded to ſhew favour, deviſing how to bring all things to peace and tranquillity, deſiring nothing more earneſtly, than that they which have erred and gone aſtray, ſhould return into the right path again. The right reverend father, the lord cardinal, whom he wiſhed to have been preſent, wiſhed the ſelf ſame thing alſo, deſiring nothing ſo much as he with his own hands to ſuſtain and hold up, now ready to fall, or rather raiſe up already fallen to the ground, the univerſity of his ward: for he gladly taketh upon him the name and duty of her guardian, whom it greatly grieved, that the infections of the time paſt had ſpread abroad ſo grievous diſeaſes, that even the univerſity itſelf was touched with the contagious air thereof. For he would more gladly have come thither to viſit and ſalute it, than to correct it, if the weighty affairs of the realm would have permitted it. But now ſeeing he could not ſo do, he had appointed this commiſſion, in which he had aſſigned them to be his deputies, which (becauſe they knew him to ſet ſo much ſtore by the univerſity) ſhould extend the more favour to it, and (becauſe they themſelves had been there brought up) would the more earneſtly embrace it. The chief matter that they came for, tended to this end, that ſuch as had erred ſhould confeſs their faults, and return into the right way again. For they were in good forwardneſs of healing, that acknowledged themſelves to have offended. And therefore it was wiſely propounded on his part, that he would not altogether excuſe the faults of the univerſity, nor of other men, but confeſs and acknowledge the crime, as that there were many things had need to be corrected and amended.

The cauſe why they were ſent thither, was to raiſe up them that were fallen, and to receive into favour ſuch as were ſorry and would amend, wherein, if (contrary to their expectation) they ſhould not be able to do ſo much with ſome men as they would, yet notwithſtanding, according to their duty, they would ſhew themſelves ſo diligent for their part, as that no lack might be found in them. For it was more openly known, than that it could be denied, that many men did divers things of a froward wilfulneſs, and took ſtoutly upon them: wherewith as they were greatly moved and grieved, as reaſon was, ſo they coveted to remedy the miſchief. Againſt whom, if any thing ſhould ſeem hereafter to be ſtraightly determined, it was to be imputed to their own deſerts, and not to the wills of them. Neither ought ſuch as are whole and ſound, to be moved at the chaſtiſement of others, forſomuch as it pertained not only to the wiping out of the foul blot which now ſticked on the univerſity, but alſo to the health of many others, which had taken much hurt by the infection of them. For their own parts, they more inclined unto mercy than rigour. Howbeit, conſidering that ſo great diſeaſes could not by gentle medicines be healed, they were driven of neceſſity to

to uſe ſtronger. And yet if they would be contented to be brought again to their right minds, which thing they chiefly coveted (for they wiſhed that all ſhould amend, and be led by wholeſome counſel) and yet would at length wax weary of their errors, and inſtead of them frequent again the ancient cuſtoms of themſelves, and of their forefathers, they might boldly look for all kind of humanity and gentleneſs at their hands, in all this their buſineſs of reformation, which they had now entered and begun, requeſting no more of the univerſity but to do as became them: which being performed, he promiſed that their benevolence, neither in any public nor in any private perſon's caſe, ſhould in any wiſe be behind them.

Theſe things being finiſhed, they were brought in proceſſion to the King's college, by all the graduates of the univerſity, where was ſung a maſs of the Holy Ghoſt with great ſolemnity, nothing wanting in that behalf that might make to the ſetting forth of the ſame. In this place it was marked, that Nicholas Ormanet, commonly ſirnamed Datary, (who, albeit he was inferior in eſtate unto Cheſter, being a biſhop, yet was ſuperior to them all in authority) while the maſs was celebrating, ſometimes ſtanding, anon ſitting, and afterwards kneeling on his knees, obſerved certain ceremonies, which afterward were required to be obſerved of all others, as in proceſs hereof was to be ſeen.

From thence they all attended upon the legates to St. Mary's church, which we declared before to have been interdicted. In which place, foraſmuch as it was ſuſpended, although no maſs might be ſung, yet there was a ſermon made in open audience by Mr. Peacock in the Latin tongue, preaching againſt hereſies and heretics, as Bilney, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, &c. Which being ended, they immediately proceeded to the viſitation: where firſt Dr. Harvy did, in the cardinal's name, exhibit the miſſion to the biſhop of Cheſter, with a few words in Latin. Which being accepted, and by Maſter Clerk openly read to the end, then the vice-chancellor with an oration did exhibit the certificate under his ſeal of office, with the cardinal's citation annexed, containing every man's name in the univerſity and colleges, with the officers and all the maſters of houſes. Among whom was alſo Robert Braſſey, maſter of King's college, a worthy old man, both for his wiſdom, and his hoary hairs: Who hearing his own name recited next after the vice-chancellor's, ſaid, He was there preſent as all the others were: nevertheleſs, foraſmuch as the reformation of his houſe was wholly reſerved to the biſhop of Lincoln, not only by the king's letters patents, but alſo by grant of confirmation from the biſhop of Rome himſelf, under a penalty if he ſhould ſuffer any ſtrangers to intermeddle, he openly proteſted, in diſcharge of his duty, that unleſs their commiſſion gave them authority and juriſdiction upon the college, either by expreſs words, or manifeſt ſenſe, he utterly exempted himſelf from being preſent.

This his exception they all took in great diſpleaſure; alledging that they were fully authorized for the order of the matter by the cardinal, out of whoſe juriſdiction no place nor perſons was exempted: wherefore he had done evil to call into queſtion their authority, ſo well known to all men. The biſhop of Cheſter ſeemed to be more moved with the matter than all the others; and that was becauſe Braſſey had a little before obtained the worſhip of that room, even utterly againſt his will, he doing the worſt he could againſt him.

After the formal ſolemnity of theſe things thus accompliſhed, the commiſſion being read, and the citation exhibited, all the maſters of houſes being openly cited, every man for a while departed home to his own houſe, with command to be at the common ſchools of the ſaid univerſity, at one of the clock the ſame day. When the degrees of the univerſity, commonly called regents and non-regents, were aſſembled thither, they ſpent the reſt of the day in reading over the charters granted to the univerſity by kings and princes, in ſearching out of bulls and pardons from the pope, and in peruſing of other monuments pertaining to the univerſity.

The next day following, being the 12th of January, they reſorted to the King's-college to make inquiſition, either becauſe the ſame, for the worthineſs thereof, was chief and ſovereign of all the reſidue, or elſe becauſe that that houſe eſpecially before all others had been accounted, time out of mind, never to be without an heretic (as they termed them) or twain. And at that preſent time, albeit that many now of late had withdrawn themſelves from thence, yet they judged there were ſome ſtill remaining. The order and manner how they would be entertained of every college, when they ſhould come to make inquiſition, they themſelves appointed, which was in this ſort.

They commanded the maſter of every houſe, together with the reſidue, as well fellows as ſcholars, apparelled in prieſt-like garments (which they call habits) to meet them at the uttermoſt gate of their houſe toward the town. The maſter himſelf to be dreſſed in like apparel as the prieſt when he dreſſeth himſelf to maſs, ſaving that he ſhould put on uppermoſt his habit, as the reſt did.

The order of their going they appointed to be in this wiſe: The maſter of the houſe to go foremoſt; next unto him every man in his order, as he was of degree, ſeniority, or of years. Before the maſter ſhould be carried a croſs, and holy water, to ſprinkle the commiſſioners withal, and then after that the commiſſioners to be cenſed. And ſo after this meeting, and mumbling of a few devotions, they determined with this pomp and ſolemnity to be brought to the chapel.

Many thought they took more honour upon them than belonged to the ſtate of man. Others (foraſmuch as at that time they not only pretended the juriſdiction of the cardinal, but alſo repreſented the power and authority of the biſhop of Rome himſelf, who was accounted to be more than a mortal man) ſaid; It was far leſs than of duty appertained to his holineſs, in that the honour that was done to his legates, was not done to them, but to his holineſs.

Now was the hour come, at which they appointed to meet: and being entered the King's-college gate, where they looked for the maſter and fellows of the houſe, ſeeing no man came to meet them, they proceeded to the church door, where they ſtayed. There perceiving how the maſter and the reſt of the houſe were dreſſing themſelves as faſt as they could, in ſuch order as was appointed before, they came in ſuddenly upon them, before they had ſet out any foot out of their places.

Then the maſter firſt excuſed himſelf, that he was ready no ſooner, acknowledging that it had been his duty to have been in a readineſs. Secondly, he ſaid he was very glad of their coming, promiſing firſt in his own name, and after in the name of all the reſt, as much reverence as might be, in all matters concerning their common utility, which he doubted not but ſhould be performed at their hands, according to his expectation. But, like as he had done the other day in St. Mary's church, the ſame exception be made to them now alſo; which his doing he beſought them not to be offended withal. For ſeeing he did it only for the diſcharge of his duty, he had juſter cauſe to be held excuſed.

He had ſcarcely yet finiſhed his tale, but the biſhop of Cheſter, with a frowning look, and an angry countenance, interrupted him in his talk; and ſaid, he needed not to repeat the things he had proteſted before, nor they to make anſwer any more to thoſe things wherein they had ſufficiently informed him before. He rather feared, that their quarrel was not good, that they made ſuch ado about it, and ſought ſuch ſtarting holes. For ſo were diſeaſed perſons oftentimes wont to do, when for the pain and grief they are not able to abide a ſtrong medicine. As though that any man were able to grant ſo

ſo ſtrong a privilege as to withſtand the pope's authority. As for the pope's letters, he ſaid, muſt needs make on his ſide, and with ſuch as were with him, and could not in any wiſe be alledged againſt him. Therefore he admoniſhed him to deſiſt from his unprofitable altercation, and to conform himſelf and his, to ſuch things as then were doing.

After this they went to maſs. Which finiſhed, with great ſolemnity, firſt they went to the high altar of the church, and having there ſaluted their Gods, and ſearching whether all were well about him or no, they walked thorough all the inner chapels of the church. The church goods, the croſſes, the chalices, the maſs-books, the veſtments, and whatſoever ornaments were beſides, were commanded to be brought out unto them. When they had ſufficiently viewed all things, and had called forth by name every fellow and ſcholar of the houſe, they went to the maſter's lodging, where firſt and foremoſt ſwearing them upon a book, to anſwer to all ſuch interrogatories as ſhould be propounded unto them (as far as they knew) they examined firſt the maſter himſelf, and afterward all the reſidue, every man in his turn. But there were ſome that refuſed to take this oath, becauſe they had given their faith to the college before, and alſo becauſe they thought it againſt all right and reaſon to ſwear againſt themſelves: For it was contrary to all law, that a man ſhould be compelled to bewray himſelf, and not be ſuffered to keep his conſcience free, when there is no manifeſt proof to be laid to his charge; but much more unjuſt it is, that a man ſhould be conſtrained perforce to accuſe himſelf. Nevertheleſs, theſe perſons alſo, after ſuch altercation, at length (conditionally, that their faith given before to the college were not impeached thereby) were contented to be ſworn.

Three days long laſted the inquiſition there. This was now the third day of their coming, and it was thought that the caſe of Martin Bucer and Phagius was delayed longer than needed. For they looked to have had much wrangling and buſineſs about the matter. Now foraſmuch as the preſent ſtate of the caſe required good deliberation and advice, the vice-chancellor and the maſters of the colleges aſſembled at the common ſchools, where every man gave his verdict, what he thought meet to be done in this matter of Bucer. After much debating, they agreed all together in this determination.

That foraſmuch as Martin Bucer, while he lived, had not only ſowed pernicious and erroneous doctrine among them, but alſo had himſelf been a ſectary and famous heretic, erring from the catholic church, and giving others occaſion to fall from the ſame likewiſe; a ſupplication ſhould be made to the lords commiſſioners, in the name of the whole univerſity, that his dead carcaſe might forthwith be digged up (for ſo it was needful to be done) to the intent that inquiſition might be made as touching his doctrine, which being brought in examination, if it were not found to be good and wholeſome, the law might proceed againſt him: for it was againſt the rule of the holy canons, that his body ſhould be buried in chriſtian burial. Yea, and beſides that, it was to the open derogation of God's honour, and the violating of his holy laws, with the great peril of many men's ſouls, and the offence of the faithful, eſpecially in ſo difficult and contagious a time as that was. Wherefore it was not to be ſuffered, that they, which utterly diſſented from all other men in the trade of their living, laws, and cuſtoms, ſhould have any part with them in the honour of burial. And therefore the glory of God, firſt and before all things, ought to be defended, the infamy (which through this thing riſeth on them) with all ſpeed put away, no room at all left for thoſe perſons to reſt in, who even in the ſame places where they lay, were injurious and noiſome to the very elements; but the place ought to be purged, and all things ſo ordered as might be to the ſatisfying the conſciences of the weak. In executing whereof ſo notable an example ought to be given to all men, that no man hereafter ſhould be ſo bold to attempt the like.

They gave the ſame verdict by common conſent againſt Phagius alſo.

Unto this writing they annexed another, by which they lawfully authorized Andrew Perne, the vice-chancellor, to be the common factor for the univerſity. He was a man fitteſt for the purpoſe, both for the office that he bare, and alſo becauſe that by the teſtimony of Mr. Chriſtopherſon, he was judged to be the moſt catholic of all others. This ſupplication, confirmed by the conſent of all the degrees of the univerſity, and ſigned with their common ſeal, the next day, which was the 13th day of January, the vice-chancellor put up to the commiſſioners.

Note here, good reader, what a ſeat of conveyance this was, to ſuborn the univerſity under a colourable pretence, to deſire this thing of them by way of petition. As who ſhould ſay, if they had not done ſo, the other would never have gone about it of themſelves.

But this gloſs was ſoon found out. For the commiſſioners had given the vice-chancellor inſtructions in writing before. But now peradventure they thought by this to remove the envy of this act from themſelves.

Thus the vice-chancellor came unto the commiſſioners, according to the appointment made the day before, about ſeven of the clock in the morning. He had ſcarce declared the cauſe of his coming, but that he had not only obtained his ſuit, but alſo even at the very ſame time received the ſentence of condemnation, for taking up Bucer and Phagius, fair copied out by Ormanet datary himſelf. This was to be confirmed by the conſent of the degrees of the univerſity. Whereupon a ſolemn convocation, called Congregatio Regentium & non Regentium, for the ſame purpoſe was appointed to be at nine of the clock; where the graduates being aſſembled together, the demand was propounded concerning the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius, and the grace aſked, which was this:

Pleaſeth it you that Martin Bucer, for the hereſies now recited, and many others by him written, preached and taught, wherein he died without repentance, and was buried in chriſtian burial, may be exhumate and taken up again, &c.

Immediately after this grace was granted the ſentence of condemnation being drawn by the datary, was openly read, and another grace aſked, that the ſame might be ſigned with the common ſeal. Which requeſt was very eaſily obtained: and it was no marvel.

For after the death of king Edward, when the realm was governed by queen Mary, all ſuch perſons were driven away as had rejected the Romiſh religion (in whom alone well nigh reſted whatſoever wit and learning was in the whole univerſity beſides) and ſuch a ſort of men were put in their room, that all places now ſwarmed with unlearned chaplains: To whom nothing was greater pleaſure, than to cauſe all men to ſpeak reproachfully of Bucer. There were divers yet left among them to ſpeak againſt their demands. But they (becauſe as it commonly cometh to paſs, that might overcometh right) could nothing avail, For this is a common cuſtom in all ſuch matters and ordinances, that what the greater number decreeth, is publiſhed in the name of all: and that which the better part diſallowеth, ſeemeth as though no man at all diſallowed it.

The next day, being the 14th of January, all the viſitors (Mr. Chriſtopherſon only excepted) came to the King's college: where firſt going into the church, and there making their prayers at the greeſings, they ſo proceeded into the ſtalls, there ſitting all the maſs time, the company ſtanding in their copes, and ſinging a ſolemn reſpond in honour of the viſitors. After the reſpond done, the provoſt made to them his proteſtation, unto whom the biſhop of Cheſter made anſwer

alſo in Latin, declaring that he could not perceive to what purpoſe his proteſtation was, notwithſtanding they would accept it, and bear with him. Then went they to maſs, which ended, the catholic viſitors approached up to the altar, and took down the ſacrament, and ſearched the Pyx, but firſt the two biſhops cenſed the ſacrament.

Then they went unto the veſtry, and opened the chalices, corporas caſes and chryſmatory, and viewed all thoſe things: and ſo returning into the provoſt's chamber, divided themſelves in examination of the provoſt, vice-provoſt, and the reſt of the company. The ſame day Dr. Bacon, maſter of Gonvil-hall, invited the vice-chancellor, Dr. Young, Dr. Harvy, Swineborn, Maptide, with others, home to dinner. Theſe men immediately after dinner, cauſed the common ſeal of the univerſity to be put to the foreſaid inſtrument of condemnation, according as was determined the day before by the general conſent of the graduates of the univerſity: and afterwards they carried the ſame to the commiſſioners to their lodging. Which when they had received and carefully peruſed, it pleaſed them not in all points, and therefore they raſed out ſome things, ſome they interlined, others they changed: ſo that in fine, they were fain to take the pains to engroſs it new again.

To the ſigning whereof a congregation was immediately called of all the graduates of the univerſity againſt the next day, which there being read over, a new grace again was aſked, and granted for ſetting the ſeal. Then were the graduates diſmiſſed, with command to reſort forthwith to St. Mary's church, whither the commiſſioners alſo repaired. When they had taken their places, Dr. Harvy preſented to them before all the company, a new commiſſion to make inqueſt upon hereſy then newly ſent from the cardinal, which was immediately read by Ormanet's clerk. This done, Dr. Perne, who was factor for the univerſity, exhibited to the commiſſioners in the name of the univerſity the ſentence of the aforeſaid condemation. This condemnation being openly read, then Dr. Perne deſired to ſend out proceſs to cite Bucer and Phagius to appear, or any other that would take upon them to plead their cauſe, and to ſtand to the order of the court againſt the next Monday; to the intent that when they had exhibited themſelves, the court might the better determine what ought to be done to them by order of law.

The commiſſioners condeſcended to his requeſt, and the next day proceſs went out to cite the offenders. This citation Vincent of Noally, their common notary, having firſt read it over before certain witneſſes appointed for the ſame purpoſe, cauſed to be fixed up in places convenient, to wit, upon St. Mary's church door, the door of the common ſchools, and the croſs in the market-place of the ſame town. In this was ſpecified, that whoſoever would maintain Bucer and Phagius, or ſtand in defence of their doctrine, ſhould at the eighteenth day of the month ſtand forth before the lords commiſſioners in St. Mary's church, which was appointed the place of judgment, and there every man ſhould be ſufficiently heard what he could ſay. This commandment was ſet out with many words.

Shortly after the matter drew toward judgment. Therefore the day before the limited day, which was the 17th of January, the vice-chancellor called to him to Peterhouſe (whereof he was maſter) Dr. Young, Dr. Sedgwick, and with them Bullock, Taylor, Parker, Redman, Whitlock, Mitch, and certain others. Theſe men caſt their heads together how they might bear witneſs againſt Bucer and Phagius, to convince them of hereſy. For ſeeing the matter was brought in face of open court, and becauſe it might ſo come to paſs that ſome patrons of their cauſe would come out, they thought it needful to have witneſſes to depoſe of their doctrine. What came of this their conſultation is not perfectly known.

The eighteenth day the vice-chancellor going to the inquiſitors ſitting at the King's college, put them in remembrance, that that was the day in which by their proceſs ſent forth the 16th, they had commanded to appear in St. Mary's church, ſuch as would take upon them to defend Bucer and Phagius by the law. He deſired therefore that they would vouchſafe to ſit there, if perchance any man would try the adventure of the law. They ſoon condeſcended thereunto. When the vice-chancellor had brought them thither, he exhibited unto them the proceſs of the citation which he had received of them to publiſh a little before, ſaying, that he had diligently executed whatſoever the contents of the ſame required. After that they had taken their places, and no man putting forth himſelf to anſwer for the offenders, the judges call aſide Dr. Young, Sedgwick, Bullock, Taylor, Maptide, Hunter, Parker, Redman, abovementioned. Alſo Brown, Gogman, Rud, Johnſon, Mitch, Raven, and Carre, who had before written out the burial of Bucer, with a ſingular commendation of him, and ſent it to Sir John Cheek, knight. Theſe men, firſt taking their oath upon a book, were commanded to bear witneſs againſt the hereſies and doctrines of Bucer and Phagius. The twenty-ſecond day of the ſame month was limited to this jury to bring in their verdict.

In the mean while, Ormanet and Dr. Watſon abode at home in their lodging to take the diſpoſition of them, whom we ſhewed you before to have been called to Peter-houſe, and to have communicated with the vice-chancellor as concerning that matter, whoſe depoſitions, as I told you, never came to light. The biſhop of Cheſter, and Dr. Cole, this day viſited them of Katherine-hall, where, as far as could be learned, nothing was done worthy of rehearſal.

As Ormanet, the pope's datary, was ſitting at Trinity-college, John Dale, one of the Queen's college, came to him, whom he had commanded before to bring with him the pix, wherein the biſhop of Rome's god of bread is wont to be incloſed. For Ormanet told them he had a precious jewel; the ſame was a linen clout that the pope had conſecrated with his own hands, which he promiſed to beſtow upon them for a gift. But Dale miſunderſtanding Ormanet, inſtead of the pix brought a chalice and a ſinging cake, called the hoſt, which he had wrapped up, and put in his boſom. When he was come, Ormanet demanded if he had brought him the thing he ſent him for. To whom he anſwered, he had brought. Then give it me, quoth he. Dale pulled out the chalice, and the ſinging-cake. When Ormanet ſaw that, he ſtepped ſomewhat back, as it had been in a wonder, calling him blockhead, and little better than a madman, demanding what he meant by thoſe things? ſaying, he deſired him to bring none of that gear, and that he was unworthy to enjoy ſo high a benefit: yet notwithſtanding foraſmuch as he had promiſed before to give it them, he would perform his promiſe. Whereupon with great reverence and ceremony he pulled out the linen cloth, and laid it in the chalice, and the bread with it, commanding them both for the holineſs of the thing, and alſo for the author of it, to keep it among them with ſuch due reverence as belonged to ſo holy a relic.

About the ſame time the commiſſioners had commanded the maſters of the colleges, that every man ſhould put in writing what books he had, with the authors names. And to the intent that every man ſhould execute it without deceit, they took an oath of them. This command ſome executed exactly and diligently: others, foraſmuch as they deemed it wrongfully, executed it ſlack enough.

We declared before, that the 18th day was limited for the day of judgment. When the day came, and that neither Bucer nor Phagius would appear at their call in the court, nor that any put forth himſelf to defend them,

them, yet the courteous commiſſioners would not proceed to judgment: which nevertheleſs for their contumacy in abſenting themſelves, they might have done, conſidering how that day was peremptory. But theſe men, being bent altogether to equity and mercy, had rather ſhew ſome favour, than to do the uttermoſt they might by the law. Whereupon Vincent publiſhed the ſecond proceſs, and ſet it up in the ſame places, as in manner before. The meaning thereof varied not much from the firſt, but that it put off the judgment day unto the 26th of the ſame month. Upon which day the vice-chancellor was ſent for to their lodging, with whom they agreed concerning the order of publiſhing the ſentence. And becauſe there ſhould want no ſolemnity in the matter, they commanded him further to warn the mayor of the town to be there at the day appointed with all his burgeſſes, which the vice-chancellor did ſpeed with all readineſs.

This day (as I ſaid) was the 26th of January, which being now come, firſt all degrees of the mother univerſity were aſſembled. And to fill up this pageant, thither alſo came the mayor and his townſmen, and all met together in St. Mary's church, to behold what ſhould be determined upon theſe men. After long attendance, at length the commiſſioners came forth, and went up to a ſcaffold that was ſomewhat higher than the reſidue, prepared for the ſame purpoſe. When they had taken their places, Dr. Perne, the vice-chancellor, the player of this interlude, faſhioning his countenance with great gravity, reached to them the proceſs that was lately publiſhed to cite them, ſaying theſe words: I bring forth again, ſaid he, to you, right reverend father, and commiſſioners of the moſt reverend my lord cardinal Poole, this citation executed according to the purport and effect of the ſame: omitting nothing for his part that might make to the commendation of this matter.

When he had thus finiſhed his tale, the biſhop of Cheſter, after he had viewed the people a little, began in the following manner.

The Oration of Dr. Scot, Biſhop of Cheſter, before the Condemnation of Bucer and Phagius.

YE ſee how ſore the univerſity preſſeth upon us, how earneſt interceſſion it maketh unto us, not only to denounce Bucer and Phagius, which theſe certain years paſt have ſpread moſt pernicious doctrine among you, to be heretics, as they be indeed; but alſo that we will command their dead carcaſes, which unto this day have obtained honourable burial among you, to be digged up; and as it is excellently ordained by the canon law, to be caſt into the fire, or whatſoever is more grievous than fire, if any can be. For the degrees of the univerſity deal not ſlightly nor ſlackly with us in this caſe, but do ſo preſs upon us, and follow the ſuit ſo earneſtly, that they ſcarce give us any reſpite of delay. And I aſſure you, albeit this caſe of itſelf be ſuch, as that even the unworthineſs of thoſe perſons, though there were no further cauſe, ought to induce us to the doing thereof, much the rather moved with theſe ſo wholeſome petitions, it is meet and convenient we ſhould grant it. For howſoever we of ourſelves are inclined to mercy in our hearts (than which we proteſt there is nothing under the ſun more dear and acceptable) yet notwithſtanding the very law riſeth up to revenge: ſo that the common ſalvation of you all, which the law provideth for, muſt be preferred before the private charity of our minds. Neither ought any ſuch negligence to overtake us for our parts, that we, being ſcarce yet eſcaped out of the ſhipwreck of our former calamity, ſhould now ſuffer this unexpiable miſchief to diſquiet any longer the conſciences of the weak.

Moreover, it is but reaſon that we ſhould do ſomewhat at ſo earneſt intreaty and ſuit of the univerſity. I need not to ſpeak much of ourſelves. For if we had been deſirous to enterprize this matter, it had been lawful after the firſt citation, to have proceeded to judgment: but becauſe we were willing that their defenders ſhould be heard, and that the matter ſhould be denounced and tried by law, we ſent out the ſecond proceſs.

If we had deſired revenge, we might have ſhewed cruelty upon them that are alive: of which (alas the more pity) there are too many that embrace this doctrine. If we thirſted for blood, it was not to be ſought in withered carcaſes and dry bones. Therefore ye may well perceive, it was no part of our wills that we now came hither: but partly induced at the intreaty of the univerſity, partly moved with the unworthineſs of the caſe itſelf, but eſpecially for the care and regard we have of your health and ſalvation, which we covet by all means to preſerve.

For you yourſelves are the cauſe of this buſineſs: you gave occaſion of this confeſſion, among whom this day ought to be a notable example, to remain as a memorial to them that ſhall come after, as in that which we may learn not only to ſhake off the filth which ye have taken of thoſe perſons, but alſo to beware hereafter that ye fall no more ſo ſhameful as ye have done. But I truſt, God will defend you, and give you minds to keep yourſelves from it.

As concerning the parties themſelves, whoſe cauſe now hangeth in law, they bear about the name of the goſpel, whereas indeed they wrought nothing elſe than thievery and deceit. And ſo much the more wicked were they in that they ſought to cover ſo ſhameful acts, with the cloak of ſo fair and holy a name. Wherefore it is not to be doubted, but that God will puniſh this deſpite, of itſelf wicked, to you pernicious, but the authors thereof ſhameful and abominable.

But if God, as he is ſlow to wrath and vengeance, will wink at it for a time, yet notwithſtanding if we, upon whom the charge of the Lord's flock leaneth, ſhould permit ſo execrable crimes to eſcape unpuniſhed, we ſhould not live in quiet one hour.

When he had thus ſpoken, he recited the ſentence out of a ſcroll, and condemned Bucer and Phagius of hereſy; the form and tenor of which ſentence, now rendered into Engliſh, here followeth:

The Sentence of Condemnation againſt Martin Bucer and Phagius.

WE Cutbert, by the grace of God and the apoſtolic ſee, biſhop of Cheſter, Nicholas Ormanet, archbiſhop of Verona, within the dioceſe under-written, auditor of the reverend lord cardinal and legate; Thomas Watſon, dean of Durham; and Henry Cole, provoſt of Eton college; viſitors to the univerſity and town of Cambridge, within the dioceſe of Ely, alſo to all perſons dwelling in the ſaid town and places adjacent, for certain motions, cauſes and reaſons thereunto moving, we are to enquire, and in what manner we think fit to proceed againſt thoſe, who have run into vile hereſies, and condemn their memory; we are impowered by letters from the moſt illuſtrious and reverend father in Chriſt, Reginald Poole, cardinal and prieſt of the moſt holy Roman church, legate de Latere from our moſt holy lord the pope, and the apoſtolic ſee, to the moſt ſerene Philip and Mary, king and queen of England, and to the whole kingdom, to depute commiſſioners of delegates, ſufficiently inſtructed in the knowledge of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and having the fear of God before their eyes, to conſtitute a court, and by this our definitive ſentence, which we give according to the opinion of the moſt learned divines and lawyers, herein contained, to condemn theſe ſons of iniquity, Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius, by nation Germans, but both of old living and dying in this town, whom we here declare

declare, pronounce, judge, and condemn as notorious heretics whilſt they lived; for truly Martin Buce, contrary to the rules and precepts of the holy fathers, as alſo to the traditions of the apoſtolic Roman church and holy councils, and of the chriſtian religion, thoſe rites and proceſſions (which are every year on the day of the ſupper of our Lord celebrated and read by the Roman prieſts, in which among others the Wickliffians and Lutherans, and all other heretics are condemned and anathematized) of the ſacraments having continued in the church hitherto, he eſpecially taught and preached about the number of them, contrary to what our holy mother the church had preached and obſerved: and he denied and openly condemned the authority of the holy apoſtolic ſee, and the ſupremacy of our great high-prieſt, and he eſpecially held this article:

"That the church may err in faith and worſhip."

This he particularly defended in the public aſſemblies, and there maintained and determined it to be true, and many others, as well by John Wickliffe, Martin Luther, and other chief heretics invented, and condemned by the church, eſpecially that,

"That all things were governed by fate and an abſolute neceſſity."

As by himſelf firſt broached, believing and following falſe and heretical principles, and moreover alſo writing books, and cauſing them to be printed, and publiſhing them being printed, and in reading theſe writings publicly, and defending them in public diſputations, as alſo by an obſtinate living and dying in this manner, not only as a notorious heretic, but as a founder of hereſy.

Alſo Paul Phagius, who among other things which ſavour of hereſy, ſcattered up and down in his writings, printed and commonly read, not only approves, but gives the higheſt encomiums to the impious memory of John Oecolampade, the aforeſaid Martin Bucer, Philip Melancthon, John Brent, and their doctrines; which manifeſtly ſhews, he not only favoured heretics, but aſſented, believed and approved their falſe principles, and endeavoured to induce others to believe and approve the ſame: thus he lived a common, notorious heretic, and died impenitent. We therefore pronounce the ſaid Martin Bucer and Paul Phagius excommunicated and anathematized, as well by the common law, as by letters proceſs, and that their memory be condemned; we alſo condemn their bodies and bones (which in that moſt wicked time of ſchiſm, and other hereſies flouriſhing in this kingdom, were raſhly buried in holy ground) to be dug up, and caſt far from the church, that they may be known from the bodies and bones of the faithful, according to the holy canons, and we command that they and their writings, if any be there found, be publicly burnt; and we interdict all perſons whatſoever of this univerſity, town or places adjacent, who ſhall read or conceal their heretical books, as well by the common law, as by our letters of proceſs.

After the ſentence thus read, the biſhop commanded their bodies to be digged out of their graves, and being degraded from holy orders, delivered them into the hands of the ſecular power. For it was not lawful for ſuch innocent perſons as they were, abhorring from all bloodſhed, and deteſting all deſire of murder, to put any man to death.

The Effect of Doctor Perne's Sermon againſt Martin Bucer.

Beſides this oration and ſentence of Dr. Scot, came in alſo Dr. Perne, vice-chancellor, with his ſermon tending to the ſame effect, to the depraving of Mr. Bucer, taking for his theme the place of the 133d Pſalm, "Behold how good and pleaſant a thing it is, &c."

Where beginning firſt with the commendation of concord and of the mutual knitting together of the minds, he alledged, that it was not poſſible to hold together, unleſs the concord were derived out of the head, which he made to be the biſhop of Rome, and that it alſo reſted in the ſame.

And after he had made a long proteſtation hereof, he paſſed forth to Bucer, upon whom he made a ſhameful railing, ſaying, that his doctrine gave occaſion of diviſion in the commonwealth, and that there was not ſo grievous a miſchief, which by his means had not been brought into the realm.

Although all men might perceive by the books he had compiled, what manner of doctrine it was; yet notwithſtanding, ſaid he, he knew it more perfectly himſelf than any did, and that he had learned it apart at the author's hand himſelf.

For at ſuch time as they had communication ſecretly among themſelves, Bucer, ſaid he, would oftentimes wiſh he might be called by ſome other name, than by the name he had; for this purpoſe, as though knowing himſelf guilty of ſo grievous a crime, he might by this means eſcape unknown unto the world, and avoid the talk that went among men of him.

Moreover, among other things, he told how Bucer held opinion (which thing he ſhould confeſs to him his ownſelf) that God was the author and well-ſpring, not only of good, but alſo of evil; and that whatſoever was of that ſort flowed from him, as from the head-ſpring and maker thereof. Which doctrine he held to be ſincere; howbeit, for offending divers mens conſciences, he durſt not put it into mens heads.

Many other things he patched together of like purport and effect, as of the ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome, of the marriage of prieſts, of divorcements and ſhameful uſury alſo, as though he had deemed the ſame lawful to be uſed among chriſtian people, with divers others of the like ſort.

In all which all his allegations, conſidering how lewdly, without all ſhame, he lyed upon Bucer (as his writings evidently declare) he did not ſo much hinder his name with railing upon him, as win unto himſelf an inexpiable infamy, by forging ſo ſhameful lyes upon ſo worthy a man.

But what needeth witneſs to prove him a lyar? his own conſcience ſhall make as much againſt him as a number of men.

It was reported for a truth, and teſtified by his own familiar friends, that the ſaid Dr. Perne himſelf, either immediately after his ſermon, or elſe ſomewhat before he went to it, ſtriking himſelf on the breaſt, and in manner weeping, wiſhed at home in his own houſe, with all his heart, that God would grant his ſoul might even then preſently depart, and remain with Bucer's. For he knew well enough that his life was ſuch, that if any man's ſoul was worthy of heaven, he thought eſpecially his to be moſt worthy.

While he was thus talking to the people, in the mean time the leaves of the church doors were covered over with verſes, in which the young men, to ſhew their folly, who ſcarce knew him by ſight, blazed Bucer's name with moſt reproachful poetry.

Theſe things being diſpatched, Dr. Perne (as though he had ſped his matter marvellouſly well) was for his labour of courteſy bidden to dinner to Trinity-college by the commiſſioners. Where, after the table was taken up, they cauſed the ſentence of condemnation to be copied out with all ſpeed: which being ſigned with the biſhop of Cheſter's ſeal, the next day following was a triumph

triumph ſent to London, with divers of thoſe verſes and ſlanderous libels.

Beſides this, they ſent alſo their own letters, wherein they both advertiſed the cardinal how far they had proceeded in that matter, and alſo deſired his grace, that he would cauſe to be ſent out of hand to Smith, the mayor of the town, the commandment, commonly called a writ, for the burning of heretics. For unleſs he had the queen's warrant to ſave him harmleſs, he would not have to do in the matter: and that which remained to be done in that caſe, could not be diſpatched till that warrant came.

While this purſuivant went on his journey, they ordered to be brought unto them the books that they commanded before to be ſearched out. For they determined to throw them into the fire with Bucer and Phagius.

About the ſame time Dr. Watſon taking occaſion upon the day, becauſe it was a high feaſt, in which was wont to be celebrated the memorial of the purification of the bleſſed virgin, made a ſermon to the people upon that pſalm, "We have received thy mercy, O Lord, in the midſt of thy temple, &c." In which ſermon he ſpake much reproach of Bucer and Phagius, and of their doctrine.

He ſaid, that theſe men, and all the heretics of our time that were of the ſame opinion (which for the moſt part, he ſaid, were budded out of Germany) among other things which they had perniciouſly put into mens heads, taught to caſt away all ceremonies. Whereas notwithſtanding the apoſtle himſelf commanded all things to be done in due order.

And upon that deed of the bleſſed virgin and Joſeph, which was done by them as upon that day, it was manifeſtly apparent, that they with our Saviour, being then a little babe, obſerved theſe rites and ceremonies for catholic men to teach. For he ſaid, that they came to the temple the ſame time with wax candles in their hands, after the manner of proceſſion (as they term it) in good order with much reverence and devotion, and yet we are not aſhamed to laugh and mock at theſe things with the heretics and ſchiſmatics.

As he was ſpeaking of Chriſt, Mary and Joſeph, one of them that heard him, a merry-conceited fellow, turning himſelf to him that ſtood next him, And if it be true, ſaid he, that this man preacheth, which of them I pray you (if a man might aſk him a queſtion) bare the croſs before them? for that might not be miſſing in ſuch ſolemn ceremonies. Not only this man jeſted at the preacher's folly, but divers others alſo laughed at his manifeſt unſhamefacedneſs in preaching theſe ſo vain and fooliſh ſuperſtitions.

While he was thus talking to his audience, John Chiſtopherſon, elected biſhop of Chicheſter, being ſtricken with a ſudden ſickneſs, fell down in a ſudden ſwoon among the preſs; and came not to himſelf in a good while after: in the mean time babbling many things, as though he had been out of his wits. Some thought it came upon this occaſion, becauſe he had been greatly accuſed before the commiſſioners for miſpending and miſordering the goods of the college, and therefore was grieved with the matter, knowing that they had been offended with him, by reaſon Ormanet had cancelled before his face a leaſe of his, by which he had let to farm to his brother-in-law a certain manor of that college, becauſe the covenants ſeemed unreaſonable.

By this time the purſuivant was returned again, who (as was ſaid before) was ſent to London with the commiſſioners letters, and brought with him a warrant for the burning of theſe men.

Upon the receipt whereof they appointed the ſixth day of February for the accompliſhment of the matter: for it had been in hand a great while already.

Therefore when the ſaid day was come, the commiſſioners ſent for the vice-chancellor, demanding of him in what caſe things ſtood, whether all things were in a readineſs for the accompliſhment of this buſineſs. Underſtanding by him that all things were ready, they commanded the matter to be broached out of hand.

The vice-chancellor therefore taking with him Marſhal, the common notary, went firſt to St. Michael's church, where Phagius was buried. Then he called forth Andrew Smith, Henry Sawyer, and Henry Adams, men of the ſame pariſh, and bound them with an oath, to dig up the bones of Phagius, and to bring them to the place of execution. Marſhal took their oaths, receiving the like of Roger Smith and William Haſell, the two ſerjeants, and of John Caper, warden of the ſame church, for doing the like with Bucer. Smith, the mayor of the town, who ſhould be their executioner (for it was not lawful for them to intermeddle in caſes of blood) commanded certain of his towns-men to wait upon him in harneſs, by whom the dead bodies were guarded; and being bound with ropes, and laid upon mens ſhoulders (for they were incloſed in cheſts, Bucer in the ſame that he was buried, and Phagius in a new one) they were carried into the midſt of the market-place, with a great train of people following them.

This place was prepared before, and a great poſt was ſet faſt in the ground to bind the carcaſes to, and a great heap of wood was laid ready to burn them withal.

When they came thither, the cheſts were ſet up on end with the dead bodies in them, and faſtened on both ſides with ſtakes, and bound to the poſt with a long iron chain, as if they had been alive. Fire being forthwith put to, as ſoon as it began to flame round about, a great many books that were condemned with them were caſt into the ſame.

There was that day gathered into the town a great multitude of country folks (for it was market-day) who ſeeing men borne to execution, and learning by enquiry that they were dead before, partly deteſted and abhorred the extreme cruelty of the commiſſioners toward the rotten carcaſes, and partly laughed at their folly in making ſuch preparatives. For what needeth any weapon, ſaid they? As though they were afraid that the dead bodies, which felt them not, would do them ſome harm. Or to what purpoſe ſerveth that chain wherewith they are tied, ſince they might be burnt looſe without peril: for it was not to be feared that they would run away?

Thus every body that ſtood by found fault with the cruelty of the deed, either ſharply or elſe lightly, as every man's mind gave him. There were very few that liked their doings therein.

In the mean time that they were a roaſting in the fire, Dr. Watſon went into the pulpit in St. Mary's church, and there before his audience railed upon their doctrine, as wicked and erroneous, ſaying, that it was the ground of all the miſchief that had happened of a long time in the common-wealth. For behold (ſaid he) as well the proſperity as the adverſity of theſe years that enſued, and ye ſhall find that all things have chanced unluckily to them that have followed this new-found faith; as contrarily, all things have happened fortunately to them that have eſchewed it. What robbing and poiling (quoth he) have we ſeen in this realm, as long as religion was defaced with ſects; the common treaſure (gathered for the maintenance of the public weal) and the goods of the realm ſhamefully ſpent in waſte for the maintenance of a few peoples luſts, all good order broken, all diſcipline caſt aſide, holydays appointed to the ſolemnizing of ceremonies neglected; and what is more, the places themſelves beaten down, fleſh and other kind of prohibited ſuſtenance eaten every where upon days forbidden, without remorſe of conſcience, the prieſts had in deriſion, the maſs railed upon, no honour done to the ſacraments of the church; all eſtates and degrees given to ſuch a licentious liberty, without check, that all things may ſeem to draw to their utter ruin and decay.

And yet in the mean time the name of the goſpel was pretended outwardly, as though that for it men ought of duty to give credit to their erroneous opinions; whereas indeed there is nothing more different, or more to the ſlander of God's word than the ſame. For what other thing taught they to remain in that moſt bleſſed and myſtical ſacrament of the body of our Lord, than bare unleavened bread? And what elſe do the remnant of them teach unto this day? Whereas Chriſt by expreſs words doth aſſure it to be his very body. How perilous a doctrine is that which concerneth the fatal and abſolute neceſſity of predeſtination? And yet they ſet it out in ſuch wiſe, that they have left no choice at all in things. As who ſhould ſay, it ſkilled not what a man purpoſed of any matter, ſince he had not the power to determine otherwiſe than the matter ſhould come to paſs. Which was the peculiar opinion of them, that made God the author of evil, bringing men through this perſuaſion into ſuch a careleſs ſecurity of the everlaſting eternity, that in the mean ſeaſon it made no matter either toward ſalvation, or damnation, what a man did in this life. Theſe errors (which were not even among the heathen men) were defended by them with great ſtoutneſs.

Theſe and many other ſuch things he ſlanderouſly and falſly alledged againſt Bucer, whoſe doctrine (in ſuch ſort as he himſelf taught it) either he would not underſtand, or elſe he was minded to ſlander. And yet he was not ignorant, that Bucer taught none other things than the very ſame whereunto both he and Scot, in the reign of king Edward the ſixth, had willingly aſſented, by ſubſcribing thereto with their own hands. While he talked in this wiſe before the people, many of them that had written verſes before, did now ſet up others, in which, like a ſort of water frogs, they ſpued out their venemous malice againſt Bucer and Phagius. This was the laſt act of this interlude, and yet there remained a few things to be done, among which was the reconciling two churches of our Lady, and of St. Michael, which we declared to have been interdicted before.

This was done the next day following by the aforeſaid biſhop of Cheſter, with as much ceremonial ſolemnity as the law required. But that impanate God, whom Bucer's carcaſe had chaſed from thence, was not yet turned thither again; neither was it lawful for him to come there any more, unleſs he was brought thither with great ſolemnity: as I ſuppoſe, during all the time of his abſence, he was entertained by the commiſſioners at Trinity-college, and there continued as a ſojourner. For thither came all the graduates of the univerſity, the eighth of February, of gentleneſs and courteſy, to bring him home again. Among which number, the biſhop of Cheſter (worthy for his eſtate to come neareſt to him, becauſe he was a biſhop) took and carried him, clad in a long rochet, and a large tippet of ſarcenet about his neck, wherein he wrapt his idol alſo. Ormanet had given the ſame a little before to the univerſity, for that and ſuch like purpoſes.

When this idol ſhould return home, he went not out the ſtraiteſt and neareſt way as other folks are wont to go, but be fetched a compaſs about moſt part of the town, and roamed through ſo many of the ſtreets, that it was an hour or more ere he could find the way into this church again. I believe the antient Romans obſerved a cuſtom not much unlike this in their proceſſions, when they made ſupplications at the ſhrines of all their gods. The order of which proceſſion was this: the maſters regents went before, ſinging with a loud voice, Salve feſta dies, &c. Next them followed the biſhop of Cheſter, about him went Ormanet and his fellow-commiſſioners, with the maſters of the colleges, bearing every man a long taper lighted in his hand. After whom, a little ſpace off, followed other degrees of the univerſity. Laſtly came the mayor and his townſmen. Before them all went the beadles, crying to ſuch as they met, that they ſhould bow themſelves humbly before the hoſt; if any refuſed ſo to do, they threatened to ſend them forthwith to the Tolbooth. Their God being led with this pomp, and pacified with great ſacrificed hoſt of Bucer and Phagius, at length ſettled himſelf again in his accuſtomed room.

Dr. Scot biſhop of Cheſter prayed with many words, that that day might be lucky and fortunate to himſelf, and to all that were preſent, and that from that day forward (now that God's wrath was appeaſed, and all other things ſet in good order) all men ſhould make themſelves conformable to peace and quietneſs, namely, in matters pertaining to religion.

After this they beſtowed a few days in puniſhing and amercing ſuch as they thought had deſerved it. Some they ſuſpended from giving voices either to their own preferment, or to the preferment of any other. Some they forbade to have the charge of pupils, leſt they ſhould infect the tender youth (being pliable to take what print ſoever ſhould be laid upon them) with corrupt doctrine and hereſy; others they chaſtiſed wrongfully without any deſert, and many a one they puniſhed, contrary to all right and reaſon.

Laſt of all they ſet forth certain ſtatutes, by which they would have the univerſity hereafter ordered. Wherein they enacted many things, as concerning the election of the officers of the univerſity, of keeping and adminiſtering the goods of the univerſity, and of many other things. But eſpecially they handled the matter very circumſpectly for religion. In which they were ſo ſcrupulous, that they repleniſhed all things either with open blaſphemy or with ridiculous ſuperſtitution. For they preſcribed at how many maſſes every man ſhould be day by day, and how many Pater Noſters and Aves every man ſhould ſay when he ſhould enter into the church; and in his entrance, after what ſort he ſhould bow himſelf to the altar, and how to the maſter of the houſe, what he ſhould do there, and how long he ſhould tarry, how many and what prayers he ſhould ſay, what, and how he ſhould ſing, what meditations others ſhould uſe while the prieſt is in his momento, mumbling ſecretly to himſelf, what time of the maſs a man ſhould ſtand, and when he ſhould ſit down, when he ſhould make courteſy, when excluſively, when incluſively, and many other ſuperſtitious toys they decreed, that it was a ſport then to behold their ſuperſtitions, and were tedious now to recite them.

Moreover theſe maſters of good order, for faſhion ſake, ordained that every man ſhould put on a ſurplice, not torn nor worn, but clean, forbidding them in any wiſe to wipe their noſes thereon.

Theſe things thus at a ſtay, when the commiſſioners were now ready to go their ways, the univerſity for ſo great benefits (which ſhe ſhould not ſuffer to fall out of remembrance many years after) coveting to ſhew ſome token of courteſy towards them again, dignified Ormanet and Cole with the degree of doctorſhip; for all the reſt, ſaving Chriſtopherſon, who now, by reaſon he was elected biſhop, preventing that degree, had received that order before. Thus at length were ſent away theſe peacemakers, that came to pacify ſtrifes and quarrels, who through provoking every man to accuſe one another, left ſuch gaps and breaches in mens hearts at their departure, that to this day they could never be cloſed nor joined together again.

Theſe commiſſioners, before they departed out of the univerſity, commanded, that the maſters of every houſe ſhould copy out their ſtatutes, which beſides common ordinances, contained in them certain rules of private order for every houſe particularly. Swinborn (who as I ſaid was maſter of Clare-hall) being demanded whether he would have thoſe things ingroſſed in parchment or in paper, anſwered, That it made no matter in what they were written: for the paper, or ſlighter thing that were well

of leſs continuance than paper, would ſerve the turn well enough: for he ſaid, a ſlenderer thing than that would laſt a great deal longer than thoſe decrees ſhould ſtand in force. Neither was the man deceived in his conjecture: for within two years after, God beholding us with mercy, called queen Mary out of this life the 17th of November, 15 8, after whom her ſiſter Elizabeth ſucceeding in the kingdom, raiſed to life again the true religion. Whereupon, as the church of Chriſt began by little and little to flouriſh, ſo the memory of Bucer and Phagius (although their bones were burnt by cardinal Pool) was reſtored again by this godly queen Elizabeth, who gave then in commiſſion to Matthew Parker then archbiſhop of Canterbury, to Edmund Grindal then biſhop of London, to Mr. Walter Haddon and others: for the performance of which commiſſion, the ſaid reverend biſhops addreſſed their letters to the vice-chancellor, &c.

The Oration of Mr. Ackworth, Orator of the Univerſity, at the Reſtitution of Martin Bucer, and Paulus Phagius.

I AM in doubt, whether I may treat of the praiſe and commendation of ſo great a clerk (for the celebrating whereof, this aſſembly and concourſe of yours is made this day) or of the vices and calamities, out of which we be newly delivered, or of them both, conſidering the one cannot be mentioned without the other. In which times ye felt ſo much anguiſh and ſorrow, my right dear brethren, that if I ſhould repeat them, and bring them to remembrance again, I fear, I ſhould not ſo much work a juſt hatred in us towards them, for the injuries received in them, as renew our old ſorrow and heavineſs. Again, men muſt needs account me unadviſed and fooliſh in my doing, if I ſhould think myſelf able to make him who hath lived before our eyes in praiſe and eſtimation, more famous and notable by my oration, which he by his living and converſation hath oftentimes poliſhed. But the wickedneſs of the times, which endeavoured to wipe clean out of remembrance of men, the name that was ſo famous and renowned in every man's mouth, did much profit him. Inſomuch, that both in his life-time all things redounded to his continual renown, and eſpecially after his deceaſe, nothing could be deviſed more honourable than with ſo ſolemn furniture and ceremonies, to have gone about to have hurt the memory of ſuch a worthy man, and yet could not bring to paſs the thing that was ſo ſore coveted; but rather brought that thing to paſs, which was chiefly ſought to be avoided. For the deſire that men have of the dead hath purchaſed to many men everlaſting fame, and hath not taken away immortality, but rather amplified and increaſed the ſame. By means whereof it cometh to paſs, that he that will intreat of thoſe things that pertain to the praiſe of Bucer after his death, cannot chuſe but ſpeak of the crabbedneſs of the times paſt, upon which riſeth a great increaſe and augmentation of his praiſe. But his life ſo excellently ſet forth, not only by the writings of the clerks, Cheeke and Carre, and by the lively voice of the right famous Dr. Haddon, uttered in this place to the great admiration of all the hearers, when his body ſhould be laid into his grave to be buried, and after his burial, by the godly and moſt holy preachings of the right reverend father in Chriſt the archbiſhop of Canterbury that now is, and of Dr. Redman, which for the worthineſs and excellency of them, ought to ſtick longer in our minds unwritten, than many things that are penned and put in print; but alſo by the great aſſembly of all the degrees of the univerſity the ſame day, in bringing him to his grave, and the next day after by the induſtry of every man that was indued with any knowledge in the Greek or Latin tongues; of which there was no man but ſet up ſome verſes, as witneſs of his juſt and unfeigned ſorrow, upon the walls of the church: that neither at that time any reverence or duty which is due to the dead departing out of this life, was then overſlipped, or now remaineth undone, that may ſeem to pertain either to the celebrating of the memorial of ſo holy or famous a perſon, or to the conſecrating of him to everlaſting memory.

We at that time ſaw with our eyes this univerſity flouriſhing by his inſtitutions, the love and ſincere religion not only ingendered, but alſo confirmed and ſtrengthened through his continual and daily preaching. Inſomuch, that at ſuch time as he was ſuddenly taken from us, there was ſcarce any man that for ſorrow could find in his heart to bear with the preſent ſtate of this life, but that either he wiſhed with all his heart to depart out of this life with Bucer into another, and by dying to follow him into immortality; or elſe endeavoured himſelf with weeping and ſighing to call him again, being diſpatched of all troubles, into the priſon of this body, out of which he is eſcaped, leſt he ſhould leave us as it were ſtanding in battle without a captain, and he himſelf as one caſhiered, depart with his wages, or as one diſcharged out of the camp, withdraw himſelf to the everlaſting quietneſs and tranquillity of the ſoul. Therefore all men evidently declared at that time, both how ſore they took his death to heart, and alſo how hardly they could away with the loſs of ſuch a man. As long as the ardent love of his religion (wherewith we were inflamed) flouriſhed, it wrought in our hearts an incredible deſire of his preſence among us. But after the time that the godly man ceaſed to be any more in our ſight, and in our eyes, that ardent and burning love of religion, by little and little, waxed cold in our minds; and according to the times that came after (which were both miſerable, and to our utter undoing) it began not by little and little to be darkened, but it altogether vaniſhed away, and turned into nothing. For we fell again into the troubleſomeneſs of the popiſh doctrine; the old rites and cuſtoms of the Romiſh church were reſtored again, not to the adorning and beautifying of the chriſtian religion (as they ſurmiſed) but to the utter defacing, violating, and defiling of the ſame. Death was ſet before the eyes of ſuch as preſerved in the chriſtian doctrine that they had learned before. They were baniſhed the realm that would not apply themſelves to the times, and do as other men did: ſuch as remained, were forced either to diſſemble, or to hide themſelves and creep into corners, or elſe as it were by drinking of the charmed cup of Circe, to be turned and altered, not only from the nature of man into the nature of brute beaſts, but (that far worſe and much more monſtrous is) from the likeneſs of God and his angels, into the likeneſs of devils. And all England was infected with this malady. But I would to God the corruption of thoſe times, which overwhelmed all the whole realm, had not at leaſt wiſe yet pierced every part and member thereof. Of which there was not one, but that (beſides the grief that is felt, with the reſidue of the body, by reaſon of the ſickneſs and contagion ſpread into the whole) had ſome ſorrow and calamity peculiarly by itſelf. And to omit the reſt (of which to intreat, this place is not appointed, nor the time requireth ought to be ſpoken) this dwelling place of the muſes (which we call the univerſity) may be a ſufficient witneſs what we may judge of all the reſt of the body. For certainly, my brethren, the thing is not to be diſſembled, that cannot be hidden. We applying ourſelves to thoſe moſt filthy times, have moſt ſhamefully yielded, like faint-hearted cowards, who had not the ſtomachs to ſuſtain the adverſities of poverty, baniſhment and death. Which in our living and converſation kept neither the conſtancy taught us by philoſophy, nor yet the patience taught us by holy ſcripture, which have done all things at the commandment of others. And therefore that which the poet, although in another

ſenſe,

ſenſe, hath aptly ſpoken, may well be thought to have been truly propheſied upon us:

The times and ſeaſons changed be:
And changed in the ſame are we.

Divers of them that were of a pure and ſincere judgment as concerning religion, being driven from hence and troubled, the reſt that remained taſted and felt of the inhumanity of them in whoſe hands the authority of doing things here conſiſted; although to ſay the truth, I have uſed a gentler term than behoved. For it is not to be accounted inhumanity, but rather immanity and beaſtly cruelty: who when they had ſpent all kinds of torments and puniſhments upon the quick; when they had cruelly taken from ſuch as conſtantly perſevered, life; from others riches, honours, and all hope of promotion; yet they could not be ſo ſatisfied, but that incenſed and ſtirred with a greater fury, it began to outrage even againſt the dead. Therefore whereas in every ſingular place was executed a ſingular kind of cruelty, inſomuch that there was no kind of cruelty that could be deviſed, but it was put in practice in one place or other, this was proper or peculiar to Cambridge, to exerciſe the cruelty upon the dead, which in other places was extended but to the quick. Oxford burnt up the right reverend fathers, Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, the noble witneſſes of the clear light of the goſpel. Moreover, at London periſhed theſe two lanthorns of light, Rogers and Bradford: In whom it is hard to ſay, whether there were more force of eloquence and utterance in preaching, or more holineſs of life and converſation. Many others, both here and in other places, were conſumed to aſhes for bearing record to the truth. For what city is there that hath not flamed, I ſay not with burning houſes and buildings, but with burning of holy bodies? But Cambridge, after there were no more left alive upon whom they might ſpue out their bitter poiſon, played the mad Bedlam againſt the dead. The dead men, whoſe living no man was able to find fault with, whoſe doctrine no man was able to reprove, were by falſe ſlanderous accuſers indicted, contrary to the laws of God and man, ſued in the law, condemned, their ſepulchres violated and broken up, their carcaſes pulled out and burnt with fire. A thing ſurely incredible, if we had not ſeen it with our eyes, and a thing that had not lightly been heard of. But the heinouſneſs of this wicked act was ſpread abroad as a common talk in every man's mouth, and was blown and diſperſed through all Chriſtendom.

Bucer, by the excellency of his wit and doctrine known to all men, of our countrymen in manner craved, of many others intreated and ſent for, to the intent he might inſtruct our Cambridge-men in the ſincere doctrine of the chriſtian religion, being ſpent with age, and his ſtrength utterly decayed, forſook his own country, refuſed not the tediouſneſs of that long journey, was not afraid to adventure himſelf upon the ſea, but had more regard of the dilating and amplifying of the church of Chriſt, than of all other things. So in concluſion he came, every man received and welcomed him: afterward he lived in ſuch wiſe, as it might appear he came not hither for his own ſake, but for ours. For he ſought not to drive away the ſickneſs that he had taken by troubleſome travel of his long journey: and albeit his ſtrength were weakened, yet he regarded not the recovery of his health, but put himſelf to immoderate labour and intolerable pain, only to teach and inſtruct us. And yet toward this ſo noble and worthy a perſon, while he lived were ſhewed all the tokens of humanity and gentleneſs, reverence and courteſy that could be; and when he was dead, the moſt horrible cruelty and ſpite that might be imagined. For what can be ſo commendable, as to grant unto the living, houſe and abiding place, and to the dead burial? Or what is he that will find in his heart to give entertainment, and to cheriſh that perſon in his houſe with all kind of gentleneſs that he can deviſe, upon whom he could not vouchſafe to beſtow burial when he is dead? Again, what an inconſtancy is it, with great ſolemnity, and with much advancement and commendation of his virtues to bury a man honourably, and anon after to break up his tomb, and pull him out ſpitefully, and wrongfully to ſlander him being dead, who during his life-time always deſerved praiſe? All theſe things have happened unto Bucer, who whilſt he lived had free acceſs into the moſt gorgeous buildings and ſtately palaces of the greateſt princes; and when he was dead, could not be ſuffered to enjoy ſo much as his poor grave. Who being laid in the ground nobly to his eternal fame, was afterward ſpitefully taken up and burned. Which things, albeit they did no harm to the dead, (for the dead carcaſes feel not pain, neither doth the fame of godly perſons depend upon the report of vulgar people, and the light rumours of men, but upon the rightful cenſure and juſt judgment of God), yet it reproveth the extreme cruelty and inſatiable deſire of revenge in them which offer ſuch utter wrong to the dead. Theſe perſons therefore whom they have pulled out of their graves and burned, I believe (if they had been alive) they would have caſt out of houſe and home, they would have driven out of all men's company, and in the end with moſt cruel torments have torn them in pieces, being nevertheleſs aliens, being ſtrangers, and being alſo fetched hither by us out of ſuch a country, where they not only needed not to fear any puniſhment, but contrariwiſe were always had in much reputation, as well among the noble and honourable, as alſo among the vulgar and common people. But yet how much more gentle then theſe men was biſhop Gardiner, otherwiſe an earneſt defender of the popiſh doctrine? who againſt his own countrymen, let paſs no cruelty whereby he might extinguiſh with fire and ſword the light of the goſpel: and and yet he ſpared foreigners, becauſe the right of them is ſo holy, that there was never nation ſo barbarous, that would violate the ſame. For when he had in his power the renowned clerk Peter Martyr, then teaching at Oxford, he would not keep him to puniſh him, but (as I have heard reported) when he ſhould go his way, he gave him wherewith to bear his charges. So that the thing which he thought he might of right do to his countrymen, he judged unlawful to do to ſtrangers. And whom the law of God could not with-hold from the wicked murdering of his own countrymen, him did the law of man bridle from killing of ſtrangers, which hath ever appeaſed all barbarous beaſtlineſs, and mitigated all cruelty. For it is a point of humanity for man and man to meet together, and one to come to another, though they be never ſo far ſeparated and ſet aſunder, both by ſea and land, without which acceſs there can be no intercourſe of merchandiſe, there can be no conference of wits, which firſt of all ingendered learning, nor any commodity of ſociety long to continue. To repulſe them that come to us, and to prohibit them our countries, is a point of inhumanity. Now to entertain them evil, that by our ſufferance dwell among us, and have increaſe of houſhold and houſhold-ſtuff, it is a point of wickedneſs. Wherefore this cruelty hath far ſurmounted the cruelty of all others, which, to ſatisfy the unſatiable greedineſs thereof, drew to execution not only ſtrangers, brought hither at our intreaty and ſending for, but even the withered and rotten carcaſes digged out of their graves; to the intent that the unmeaſurable thirſt which could not be quenched with ſhedding the blood of them that were alive, might at the leaſt be ſatified in burning of dead men's bones.

Theſe, my brethren, theſe, I ſay, are the juſt cauſes which have ſo provoked the wrath of God againſt us; becauſe that in doing extreme injury to the dead we have been prone and ready; but in putting the ſame away we have been ſlow and ſlack. For verily I believe (if I may have liberty to ſay freely what I think ye ſhall bear with me,

me, if I chance to caſt forth any thing unadviſedly in the heat and haſty diſcourſe of my oration), that even this place, in which we have ſo oftentimes aſſembled, being defiled with that new kind of wickedneſs, ſuch as man never heard of before, is a lett and hinderance unto us, when we call for the help of God, by means whereof our prayers are not accepted, which we make to appeaſe the Godhead, and to win him to be favourable unto us again.

The blood of Abel ſhed by Cain, calleth and crieth from the earth that ſucketh it up: likewiſe, the undeſerved burning of theſe bodies, calleth upon Almighty God to puniſh us, and crieth, that not only the authors of ſo great a wickedneſs, but alſo the miniſters thereof are unpure, the places defiled, in which theſe things were perpetrated, the air infected which we take into our bodies, to the intent that by ſundry diſeaſes and ſickneſſes we may receive puniſhment for ſo execrable wickedneſs. Look well about ye (my dear brethren) and conſider with yourſelves the evils that are paſt; and ye ſhall ſee how they took their beginning at Bucer's death, following one on the neck of another even to this day. Firſt and foremoſt, when we were even in the chiefeſt of our mourning, and ſcarcely yet comforted of our ſorrow for his death, the ſweating ſickneſs lighted upon us, which paſſed ſwiftly through all England, and as it were in haſte diſpatched an innumerable company of men. Secondly, the untimely death of our moſt noble king Edward VI. whoſe life in virtue ſurmounted the opinion of all men, and ſeemed worthy of immortality) happened contrary to men's expectation in that age, in which unleſs violence be uſed, few to die. The converſion of religion, or rather the everſion and turning thereof into popery: The incurſion and domination of ſtrangers, under whoſe yoke our necks were almoſt ſubdued: The importunate cruelty of the biſhops againſt the chriſtians, which executed that wickedneſs, for making ſatisfaction whereof we are gathered together this day. Theſe are the things that enſued after his death; but after his burning enſued yet more grievous things: Namely, new kinds of plagues, and contagious diſeaſes, unknown to the very phyſicians, whereby either every man's health was impaired, or elſe they were brought to their graves, or elſe very hardly recovered. Bloody battles without victory, whereof the profit redounted to the enemy, and to us the ſlaughter with great loſs. Which things do evidently declare, that God is turned from us, and angry with us, and that he giveth no ear to our prayers, and that he is not moved with our cries and ſighs, but that he looketh that this our meeting and aſſembly ſhould be to this end, that foraſmuch as we have violated their corps, we ſhould do them right again; ſo that the memorial of theſe moſt holy men may be commended unto poſterity unhurt and undefamed. Wherefore amend yet at length (my brethren) which hitherto, by reaſon of the variableneſs and unconſtancy of the times, have been wavering and unſtedfaſt in your hearts; ſhew yourſelves cheerful and forward in making ſatisfaction for the injury you have done to the dead, whom with ſo great wickedneſs of late ye indamaged and defiled; not cenſing them with the perfumes of thoſe odours and ſpices now worn out of uſe, and put to flight, but with a true and unfeigned repentance of the heart, and with prayer, to the intent that the heavenly Godhead, provoked by our doings to be our enemy, may by our humble ſubmiſſion be intreated to be favourable and agreeable to all our other requeſts.

When Mr. Ackworth had made an end of his oration, Mr. James Pilkington, the queen's reader of the divinity lecture, going up into the pulpit made a ſermon upon the 112th Pſalm, the beginning whereof is, "Bleſſed is the man that feareth the Lord."

Where intending to prove, that the remembrance of the juſt man ſhall not periſh, and that Bucer is bleſſed, and that the ungodly ſhall fret at the ſight thereof, but yet that all their attempts ſhall be to no purpoſe, (to the intent this ſaying may be verified, I will curſe your bleſſings, and bleſs your curſings), he took his beginning of his own perſon; That albeit he were both ready and willing to take that matter in hand, partly for the worthineſs of the matter itſelf, and eſpecially for certain ſingular virtues of thoſe perſons, for whom that congregation was called, yet notwithſtanding, he ſaid, he was not fit to take that charge upon him.

For it were more reaſon, that he which before had done Bucer wrong, ſhould now make him amends for the diſpleaſure. As for his own part, he was ſo far from working any evil againſt Bucer, either by word or deed; that for their ſingular knowledge almoſt in all kind of learning, he embraced both him and Phagius with all his heart: But yet he ſomewhat more favoured Bucer, as with whom he had more familiarity and acquaintance. In conſideration whereof, although that it was ſcarce convenient that he at that time ſhould ſpeak, yet notwithſtanding he was contented for friendſhip and courteſy ſake not to fail them in their buſineſs.

Having made this preface, he entered into the pith of the matter, wherein he blamed greatly the barbarous cruelty of the court of Rome, ſo fiercely extended againſt the dead. He ſaid it was a more heinous matter than was to be borne with, to have ſhewed ſuch extreme cruelty to them that were alive; but for any man to miſbehave himſelf in ſuch wiſe toward the dead, was ſuch a a thing as had not lightly been heard of: Saving that he affirmed this cuſtom of excommunicating and curſing of dead bodies to have come firſt from Rome. For Evagrius reporteth in his writings, that Eutychius was of the ſame opinion, induced by the example of Joſias, who ſlew the prieſts of Baal, and burnt up the bones of them that were dead, even upon the altars. Whereas before the time of Eutychius this kind of puniſhment was well near unknown, neither afterward uſurped by any man (that ever he heard of) till nine hundred years after Chriſt. In the latter times (which how much the further they were from the golden age of the apoſtles, ſo much the more they were corrupted), this kind of cruelty began to creep further. For it is manifeſtly known, that Stephen the ſixth, pope of Rome digged up Formoſus, his laſt predeceſſor in that ſee, and ſpoiling him of his apparel, buried him again in a layman's apparel (as they call it) having firſt cut off and thrown into the Tyber his two fingers, with which according to their accuſtomed manner, he was wont to bleſs and conſecrate. Which his unſpeakable tyranny uſed againſt Formoſus, within ſix years after Sergius the third increaſed alſo againſt the ſame Formoſus: For taking up his dead body, and ſetting it in a pope's chair, he cauſed his head to be ſmitten off, and his other three fingers to be cut from his hand, and his body to be caſt into the river of Tyber, abrogating and diſannulling all his decrees, which thing was never done by any man before that day. The cauſe why ſo great cruelty was exerciſed (by the report of Nauclerus) was this; becauſe that Formoſus had been an adverſary to Stephen and Sergius when they ſued to be made biſhops.

This kind of cruelty, unheard of before, the popes awhile exerciſed one againſt another. But now, ere ever they had ſufficiently felt the ſmart thereof themſelves, they had turned the ſame upon their necks. Wherefore it was to be wiſhed, that ſeeing it began among them, it might have remained ſtill with the authors thereof, and not have been ſpread over thence unto us. But ſuch is the nature of all evil, that it quickly paſſeth into example, for others to do the like. For about the year of the Lord 1400, John Wickliff was in like manner digged up and burnt into aſhes, and thrown into a brook that runneth by the town where he was buried. Of which ſelf-ſame ſauce taſted alſo William Tracy of Glouceſter, a man of a worſhipful houſe, becauſe he had written in his

his laſt will, that he ſhould be ſaved only by faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and that there needed not the help of any man thereto, whether he were in heaven or in earth; and therefore bequeathed no legacy to that purpoſe, as all other men were accuſtomed to do. This deed was done ſince we may remember, about the twenty-ſecond year of the reign of king Henry the eighth, in the year of our lord 1530.

Now ſeeing they extended ſuch cruelty to the dead, he ſaid it was an eaſy matter to conjecture what they would do to the living. Whereof we have had ſufficient trial by the examples of our own men, theſe few years paſt. And if we would take the pains to peruſe things done ſomewhat longer ago, we might find notable matters out of our own chronicles. Howbeit, it was ſufficient for the manifeſt demonſtration of that matter, to declare the beaſtly butchery of the French king, executed upon the Waldenſes at Cabrier, and the places near thereabout, by his captain Miner, about the year of our Lord 1545, than which there was never thing read of more cruelly done, no not even of the barbarous pagans. And yet for all that, when divers had ſhewed their uttermoſt cruelty both againſt theſe and many others, they were ſo far from their purpoſe, in extinguiſhing the light of the goſpel, which they endeavoured to ſuppreſs, that it increaſed daily more and more. Which thing Charles the fifth (than whom all Chriſtendom had not a more prudent prince, nor the church of Chriſt almoſt a ſorer enemy), eaſily perceived; and therefore when he had in his hand Luther dead, and Melanchthon and Pomeran with certain other preachers of the goſpel alive, he not only determined not any thing extremely againſt them, nor violated their graves, but alſo intreating them gently, ſent them away, not ſo much as once forbidding them to publiſh openly the doctrine that they profeſſed. For it is the nature of Chriſt's church, that the more that tyrants ſpurn againſt it, the more it increaſeth and flouriſheth. A notable proof aſſuredly of the providence and pleaſure of God in ſowing the goſpel, was that coming of the Bohemians unto us, to the intent to hear Wickliff, of whom we ſpake before, who at that time read openly at Oxford; and alſo the going of our men to the ſaid Bohemians when perſecution was raiſed among us. But much more notable was it, that we have ſeen come to paſs in theſe our days; that the Spaniards, ſent for into the realm of purpoſe to ſuppreſs the goſpel, as ſoon as they were returned home repleniſhed many parts of their country with the ſame truth of religion, to which before they were utter enemies.

By which examples it might evidently be perceived, that the princes of this world labour in vain to overthrow it, conſidering how the mercy of God hath ſown it abroad, not only in thoſe countries that we ſpake of, but alſo in France, Poland, Scotland, and almoſt all the reſt of Europe. For it is ſaid, that ſome parts of Italy (although it be under the pope's noſe) yet do they of late incline to the knowledge of the heavenly truth: Wherefore ſufficient argument and proof might be taken by the ſucceſs and increaſe thereof, to make us believe that this doctrine is ſent us from heaven, unleſs we will wilfully be blinded. And if there were any that deſired to be perſuaded more at large in the matter, he might adviſedly conſider the voyage that the emperor and the pope with both their powers together, made jointly againſt the Bohemians. In which the emperor took ſuch an unworthy repulſe of ſo ſmall a handful of his enemies, that he never almoſt in all his life took the like dishonour in any place. Hereof alſo might be an eſpecial example of the death of Henry king of France, who the ſame day that he had purpoſed to perſecute the church of Chriſt, and to have burned certain of his guard whom he had impriſoned for religion, at whoſe execution he had promiſed to have been himſelf in perſon, in the midſt of his triumph at a tourney, was wounded ſo ſore in the head with a ſpear by one of his own ſubjects, that he ſoon after died.

In which behalf, the dreadful judgments of God were no leſs approved in our own countrymen. For one that was a notable ſlaughterman of Chriſt's ſaints rotted alive, [biſhop Gardiner] and before he died, ſuch a rank ſavour ſteamed from all his body, that none of his friends were able to come to him, but they were ready to vomit. Another, being in utter deſpair well nigh of all health, howled out miſerably. The third ran out of his wits. And divers others that were enemies to the church periſhed miſerably in the end. All which things were moſt certain tokens of the favour and defence of the Divine Majeſty towards his church, and of his wrath and vengeance towards the tyrants. And foraſmuch as he had made mention of the Bohemians, he ſaid it was a moſt apt example that was reported of their captain Ziſca, who, when he ſhould die, ordered his body to be flayed, and of his ſkin to make a parchment to cover the head of a drum: for it ſhould come to paſs, that when his enemies heard the ſound of it, they ſhould not be able to ſtand againſt them. The like counſel (he ſaid) he himſelf now gave them as concerning Bucer: that like as the Bohemians did with the ſkin of Ziſca, the ſame ſhould they do with the arguments and doctrine of Bucer. For as ſoon as the papiſts ſhould hear the noiſe of him, their gewgaws would forthwith decay. For ſaving that they uſed violence to ſuch as withſtood them, their doctrine contained nothing that might ſeem to any man (having but mean underſtanding in holy ſcripture) to be grounded upon any reaſon.

As for thoſe things that were done by them, againſt ſuch as could not play the madman as well as they, ſome of them favoured of open force, and ſome of ridiculous fooliſhneſs. For what was this firſt of all? was it not frivolous, that by the ſpace of three years together, maſs ſhould be ſung in thoſe places where Bucer and Phagius reſted in the Lord, without any offence at all? And as ſoon as they took it to be an offence, ſtraitway to be an offence if any were heard there: or that it ſhould not be as good then as it was before: as if that then upon the ſudden it had been a heinous matter to celebrate it in that place, and that the fault that was paſt ſhould be counted the more grievous, becauſe it was done of longer time before. Moreover this was a matter of none effect, that Bucer and Phagius only ſhould be dug up, as who ſhould ſay, that he only had embraced the religion which they call hereſy. It was well known how one of the burgeiſſes of the town had been minded toward the popiſh religion: who when he ſhould die, deſiring neither ringing of bells, Dirges, nor any other ſuch kind of trifles to be done for him in his anniverſary, as they term it, but rather that they ſhould go with inſtruments of muſic before the mayor and council of the city, to celebrate his memorial; and alſo that yearly a ſermon ſhould be made to the people, bequeathing a piece of money to the preacher for his labour. Neither might he omit in that place to ſpeak of Ward the painter, who albeit he was a man of no reputation, yet was he not to be deſpiſed for the religion ſake which he diligently followed. Neither were divers others to be paſſed over with ſilence, who were known of a certainty to have continued in the ſame ſect, and to reſt in other churchyards in Cambridge, and rather through the whole realm, and yet defiled not their maſſes at all.

All which perſons (foraſmuch as they were all of one opinion) ought all to have been taken up, or elſe all have been to let lie with the ſame religion; unleſs a man would grant, that it lieth in their power to make what they liſt lawful at their own pleaſure.

In the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius, to ſay the truth, they uſed too much cruelty, and too much violence. For howſoever it went with the doctrine of Bucer, certainly they could find nothing whereof to accuſe Phagius,

Phagius, inaſmuch as he wrote nothing that came abroad, except a few things that he had tranſlated out of the Hebrew and Chaldee tongues into Latin. After his coming into the realm, he never read, he never diſputed, he never preached, he never taught; for he died ſoon after, ſo that he could in that time give no occaſion for his adverſaries to take hold on, whereby to accuſe him whom they never heard ſpeak. In that they hated Bucer ſo deadly, for the allowable marriage of the clergy, it was their own malice conceived againſt him, and a very ſlander raiſed by themſelves. For he had for his defence in that matter (beſides other helps) the teſtimony of pope Pius the ſecond, who in a certain place ſaith, That upon weighty conſiderations prieſts wives were taken from them, but for more weighty cauſes were to be reſtored again. And alſo the ſtatute of the emperor (they call it the Interim) by which it is enacted, That ſuch of the clergy as were married, ſhould not be divorced from their wives.

Thus turning his ſtyle from this matter to the univerſity, he reproved in a few words their unfaithfulneſs towards theſe men. For if the Lord ſuffered not the bones of the king of Edom, being a wicked man, to be taken up and burnt without revengement (as ſaith Amos) let us aſſure ourſelves he will not ſuffer ſo notable a wrong done to his godly preachers unrevenged.

Afterward when he came to the condemnation (which we told you in the former action was pronounced by Dr. Perne the vice-chancellor, in the name of them all) being ſomewhat more moved at the matter, he aſtoniſhed them how much it behoved them to uſe great circumſpectneſs, what they decreed upon any man by their voices, in admitting or rejecting any man to the promotions and degrees of the univerſity. For that he which ſhould take his authority from them, ſhould be a great prejudice to all the other multitude, which (for the opinion that he had of their doctrine, judgment, allowance and knowledge), did think nothing but well of them. For it would come to paſs, that if they would beſtow their promotions upon none but fit perſons, and let the unfit go as they come, both the common-wealth ſhould receive much advantage and profit by them, and beſides that, they ſhould highly pleaſe God. But if they perſiſted to be negligent in doing thereof, they ſhould grievouſly endamage the common-wealth, and worthily work their own ſhame and reproach. Over and beſides that, they ſhould greatly offend the majeſty of God, whoſe commandment (Not to bear falſe witneſs) they ſhould in ſo doing break and violate.

In the mean while that he was ſpeaking theſe and many other things before his audience, many of the univerſity, to ſet out and defend Bucer withal, beſet the walls of the church and church-porch on both ſides with verſes; ſome in Latin, ſome in Greek, and ſome in Engliſh, in which they made a manifeſt declaration how they were minded both towards Bucer and Phagius. Finally, when his ſermon was ended, they made a common ſupplication and prayers. After thanks rendered to God for many other things, but eſpecially for reſtoring of the true and ſincere religion, every man departed his way.

Foraſmuch as mention hath been made of the death of the worthy and famous clerk, Martin Bucer, and of the burning of his bones after his death, it will not be improper here to inſert the funeral verſe of Dr. Redman upon Bucer's death, now tranſlated into Engliſh.

The Epitaph or Funeral Verſe of Dr. Redman, upon the Death of Bucer.

HENCE, O far hence let envy fly,
Nor be revenge nor mock'ry nigh:
The lying lips and faithleſs mind,
Let here no reſt or refuge find.
Theſe from the man God's image take,
And him more like the devils make.
But holy truth be preſent here,
Thou virgin everlaſting fair,
And to the inquiring many ſhow,
From whence proceeds the ſcene of woe.
Bucer, who lead the church before,
Bucer, that light of learning, is no more:
As the ſun gilds the world around,
So he in learning's orb was found.
The mourning ſchools his loſs confeſs,
But who can Cambridge's grief expreſs?
High as the ſtars her ſigns aſcend,
Lamenting thus her wonted friend.
No more ſhall we a maſter find,
Like him ſo juſt, like him ſo kind:
Whoſe exemplary life was fraught,
With all the virtues which he taught:
His reſt ſo ſmall, labour ſo great,
Nature ſunk down beneath the weight,
And yielded to death's fatal power,
Before his ſhort appointed hour.
But ſtop, my muſe, thy labour's vain,
Thy lines can't half his praiſe contain:
Then farewel, Bucer, thy remains
An humble ſepulchre retains,
'Till the Great Judge of all ſhall come,
And paſs his univerſal doom:
Then he thy body will reſtore,
More glorious than it was before.
'Till when thy ſoul amongſt the bleſt remains,
There happily thou lives, there happily thou reigns.

The deſpiteful Handling and Madneſs of the Papiſts towards Peter Martyr's Wife at Oxford, taken up from her Grave at the Command of Cardinal Poole, and afterwards buried in a Dunghill.

AND becauſe one univerſity ſhould not mock the other, like cruelty was alſo declared upon the dead body of Peter Martyr's wife at Oxford, an honeſt, grave and ſober matron while ſhe lived, and always a great helper of poor people, as many dwelling there can well teſtify.

In the year of our Lord 1552, ſhe departed this life, with great ſorrow of all thoſe needy perſons, whoſe neceſſities many times and often ſhe had liberally eaſed and relieved. Now when Brooks biſhop of Glouceſter, Nicholas Ormanet datary, Robert Morwen preſident of Corpus Chriſti college, Cole and Wright doctors of the civil law, came thither as the cardinal's viſitors, they among other things had in commiſſion to take up this good woman again out of her grave, and to conſume her carcaſe with fire, not doubting but that ſhe was of the ſame religion that her huſband had profeſſed before, when he read the king's lecture there. And to make a ſhew that they would do nothing diſorderly, they called all thoſe before them, that had any acquaintance with her or her huſband. They adminiſtered an oath unto them, that they ſhould not conceal whatſoever was demanded. In fine, their anſwer was, that they knew not what religion ſhe was of, by reaſon they underſtood not her language.

To be ſhort, after the viſitors had ſped their buſineſs they came for, they went to the cardinal again, certifying him that upon due inquiſition made, they could learn nothing upon which by the law they might burn her. Notwithſtanding the cardinal did not leave the matter ſo, but wrote down his letters a good while after to Marſhall, then dean of Frideſwide's, that he ſhould dig her up, and lay her out of chriſtian burial, becauſe ſhe was interred nigh unto St. Frideſwide's relics, ſometime had in great reverence

reverence in that college. Dr. Marſhall calling his ſpades and mattocks together in the evening, when he was well whitled, cauſed her to be taken up and buried in a dunghill.

Howbeit, when it pleaſed God under good queen Elizabeth to give quietneſs to his church, long time perſecuted with priſon and death, then Dr. Parker, archbiſhop of Canterbury, Edmund Grindall, biſhop of London, Richard Goodrick, with divers others her majeſty's high commiſſioners in matters of religion (nothing ignorant how far the adverſaries of the truth had tranſgreſſed the bounds of all humanity, in violating the ſepulchre or grave of that good and virtuous woman) willed certain of that college, in which this uncourteous touch was attempted or done, to take her out of the dunghill where ſhe lay, and ſolemnly in the face of the whole town to bury her again in a more decent monument. For though the body being once dead, no great eſtimation were to be had, how or where the bones were laid; yet was ſome reverence to be uſed toward her for ſex and womanhood ſake. Beſides, to ſay the truth, it was great ſhame, that he which had travelled ſo far at king Edward's requeſt, from the place wherein he dwelt quietly, and had taken ſo earneſt pains, being an old man, in reading and ſetting forth the truth all he could, with learning to teach and inſtruct, and ſo well deſerved of that univerſity; ſhould with ſo ungentle a recompence of ingratitude be rewarded again, as to have his wife that was a godly woman, a ſtranger, good to many, eſpecially to the poor, and hurtful to none, either in word or deed, without juſt deſerving, and beſide their own law, not proceeding againſt her according to the order thereof, ſpitefully to be lain in a ſtinking dunghill.

To all good natures the fact ſeemed odious, and of ſuch as be indued with humanity, utterly to be abhorred. Wherefore Mr. Calfield, then ſub-dean of the college, diligently provided, that from Marſhall's dunghill ſhe was reſtored and tranſlated to her proper place again; yea, and withal coupled her with Frideſwide's bones, that in caſe any cardinal will be ſo mad hereafter to remove this woman's bones again, it ſhall be hard for them to diſcern the bones of her from the other. And to the intent the ſame might be notified to the minds of men the better, the next day after, which was Sunday, Mr. Rogerſon preached unto the people, in which ſermon by the way he declared the rough dealing of the adverſaries, which not contented to practiſe their cruelty againſt the living, but they muſt alſo rage againſt one that was dead, and had lain two years in her grave. God grant them once to ſee their own wickedneſs, Amen.

And thus much touching the noble acts and ſtrangeneſs of this worthy cardinal in both the univerſities; whereunto it ſhall not be impertinent, here alſo conſequently to adjoin and ſet forth to the eyes of the world, the blind and bloody articles ſet out by cardinal Poole, to be enquired upon, within his dioceſe of Canterbury, whereby it may the better appear what yokes and ſnares of fond and fruitleſs traditions were laid upon the poor flock of Chriſt, to intangle and oppreſs them with loſs of life and liberty. By which, wiſe men have to ſee what godly fruits proceeded from that catholic church and ſee of Rome. In which, albeit thou ſeeſt (good reader) ſome good articles interſperſed, let that nothing move thee: for elſe how could ſuch poiſon be adminiſtered, but it muſt have ſome honey to reliſh the reader's taſte.

The Articles ſet forth by Cardinal Poole, to be enquired in his ordinary Viſitation, within his Dioceſe of Canterbury.

Touching the Clergy.

1. FIRST, Whether the divine ſervice in the church at times, days, hours, be obſerved and kept duly, or no.

2. Item, Whether the parſons, vicars and curates, do comely and decently in their manners and doings behave themſelves, or no.

3. Item, Whether they do reverently and duly adminiſter the ſacraments or ſacramentals, or no.

4. Item, Whether any of their pariſhioners do die without miniſtration of the ſacraments, through the negligence of their curates, or no.

5. Item, Whether the ſaid parſons, vicars or curates do haunt taverns or alehouſes, increaſing thereby infamy and ſlander, or no.

6. Item, Whether they be diligent in teaching the midwives how to chriſten children in time of neceſſity, according to the canons of the church, or no.

7. Item, Whether they ſee that the font be comely kept, and have holy water always ready for children to be chriſtened.

8. Item, If they do keep a book of all the names of them that be reconciled to the duty of the church.

9. Item, Whether there be any prieſts that late unlawfully had women under pretenſed marriage, and hitherto are not reconciled, and to declare their names and dwelling-places.

10. Item, Whether they do diligently teach their pariſhioners the articles of the faith, and the ten commandments.

11. Item, Whether they do decently obſerve thoſe things that do concern the ſervice of the church, and all thoſe things that tend to a good and chriſtian life, according to the canons of the church.

12. Item, Whether they do devoutly in their prayers pray for the proſperous eſtate of the king and queen's majeſties.

13. Item, Whether the ſaid parſons and vicars do ſufficiently repair their chancels, rectories, and vicarages, and do keep and maintain them ſufficiently repaired and amended.

14. Item, Whether any of them do preach or teach any erroneous doctrine, contrary to the catholic faith and unity of the church.

15. Whether any of them do ſay the divine ſervice, or do adminiſter the ſacraments in the Engliſh tongue, contrary to the uſual order of the church.

16. Item, Whether any of them do ſuſpiciouſly keep any women in their houſes, or do keep company with men ſuſpected of hereſies, or of evil opinion.

17. Item, Whether any of them that were under pretence of lawful matrimony married, and now reconciled, do privily reſort to their pretenſed wives, or that the ſaid women do privily reſort unto them.

18. Item, Whether they do go decently apparelled, as it becometh ſad, ſober, and diſcreet miniſters, and whether they have their crowns and beards ſhaven.

19. Item, Whether any of them do uſe any unlawful games, as dice, cards, and other like, whereby they grow to ſlander and evil report.

20. Item, Whether they do keep reſidence and hoſpitality upon their benefices, and do make charitable contributions according to all the laws eccleſiaſtical.

21. Item, Whether they do keep the book of regiſters of chriſtenings, burials and marriage, with the names of the godfathers and godmothers.

Touching the Lay-people.

1. FIRST, Whether any manner of perſon, of what eſtate, degree or condition ſoever he be, do hold, maintain, or affirm any hereſies, errors, or erroneous opinions, contrary to the laws eccleſiaſtical, and the unity of the catholic church.

2. Item, Whether any perſon do hold, affirm, or ſay, that in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar there is not contained the real and ſubſtantial preſence of Chriſt; or that by any manner of means do contemn and deſpiſe the ſaid bleſſed ſacrament, or do refuſe to do reverence or worſhip thereunto.

3. Item, Whether they do contemn or deſpiſe by any manner of means any other of the ſacraments, rites, or ceremonies of the church, or do refuſe or deny auricular confeſſion.

4. Item, Whether any do abſent or refrain, without urgent and lawful impediment to come to the church, and reverently to hear the divine ſervice upon Sundays and holy-days.

5. Item, Whether being in the church, they do not apply themſelves to hear the divine ſervice, and to be contemplative in holy prayer, and not to walk, jangle, or talk, in the time of the divine ſervice.

6. Item, Whether any be fornicators, adulterers, or do commit inceſt, or be bawds, and receivers of evil perſons, or be vehemently ſuſpected of any of them.

7. Item, Whether any do blaſpheme and take the name of God in vain, or be common ſwearers.

8. Item, Whether any be perjured, or have committed ſimony or uſury, or do ſtill remain in the ſame.

9. Item, Whether the churches and church-yards be well and honeſtly repaired and incloſed.

10. Item, Whether the churches be ſufficiently garniſhed and adorned with all ornaments and books neceſſary, and whether they have a good rood in their church, of a decent ſtature, with Mary and John, and an image of the patron of the ſame church.

11. Item, Whether any do with-hold, or draw from the church any manner of money or goods, or that do with-hold their due and accuſtomed tithes from their parſons and vicars.

12. Item, Whether any be common drunkards, ribalds, or men of evil living, or do exerciſe any lewd paſtimes, eſpecially in the time of divine ſervice.

13. Item, If there be any who do practiſe or exerciſe any arts of magic or necromancy, or do uſe or practiſe any incantations, ſorceries or witchcraft, or be vehemently ſuſpected thereof.

14. Item, Whether any be married within the degrees of affinity or conſanguinity, prohibited by the laws of holy church, or that do marry, the banns not aſked, or do make any private contracts.

15. Item, Whether in the time of Eaſter laſt any were not confeſſed, or did not receive the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, or did irreverently behave themſelves in the receiving thereof.

16. Item, Whether any do keep any ſecret conventicles, preachings, lectures or readings, in matters of religion contrary to the laws.

17. Item, Whether any do now not duly keep the faſting and ember days.

18. Item, Whether the altars in the churches be conſecrated or no.

19. Item, Whether the ſacrament be carried devoutly to them that fall ſick, with light, and with a little ſacring bell.

20. Item, Whether the common ſchools be well kept, and that the ſchoolmaſters be diligent in teaching, and be alſo catholic, and men of good and upright judgment, and that they be examined and approved by the ordinary.

21. Item, Whether any do take upon them to adminiſter the goods of thoſe that be dead, without authority from the ordinary.

22. Item, Whether the poor people in every pariſh be charitably provided for.

23. Item, Whether there do burn a lamp or a candle before the ſacrament. And if there do not, that then it be provided for with expedition.

24. Item, Whether infants and children be brought to be confirmed in convenient time.

25. Item, Whether any do keep, or have in their cuſtody any erroneous or unlawful books.

26. Item, Whether any do with-hold any money or goods bequeathed to the amending of the highways, or any other charitable deed.

27. Item, Whether any have put away their wives, or any wives do withdraw themſelves from their huſbands, being not lawfully divorced.

28. Item, Whether any do violate or break the Sundays and holy-days, doing their daily labours and exerciſes upon the ſame.

29. Item, Whether the taverns or alehouſes, upon the Sundays and holy-days, in time of maſs, matins, and even-ſong, do keep open their doors, and do receive people into their houſes to drink and eat, and thereby neglect their duties in coming to the church.

30. Item, Whether any have or do deprave or contemn the authority or juriſdiction of the pope's holineſs, or the ſee of Rome.

31. Item, Whether any minſtrels, or any other perſons do uſe to ſing any ſongs againſt the holy ſacraments, or any other rites and ceremonies of the church.

32. Item, Whether there be any hoſpitals within your pariſhes, and whether the foundations of them be duly and truly obſerved and kept: and whether the charitable contributions of the ſame be done accordingly.

33. Item, Whether any goods, plate, jewels, or poſſeſſions be taken away, or with-held from the ſaid hoſpitals, and by whom.

An Account of ten Martyrs condemned and burnt within the Diocele of Canterbury.

MENTION was made a little before [Page 623.] of the perſecution in Kent; where we declared that 15 were impriſoned and condemned in the caſtle of Canterbury. Of which 15 we declared five to be famiſhed to death within the ſaid caſtle, and buried by the highway, about the beginning of November. The other ten in January 1557, were committed unto the fire, and there conſumed to aſhes, by Thornton, ſuffragan of Dover, and Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury.

Their names be theſe: John Philpot of Tenterden, William Waterer, of Beddingden, Stephen Kemp, of Norgate, William Hay of Hithe, Thomas Hudſon, of Salenge, Matt. Bradbridge, of Tenderden, Thomas Stephens, of Beddingden, Nicholas Final, of Tenterden, W. Lowick of Cranbroke, W. Prowting, of Thornham.

Of theſe ten godly martyrs, ſix were burnt at Canterbury, about the 15th of January, that is, Kemp, Waterer, Prowting, Lowick, Hudſon, and Hay. Other two, Stephens and Philpot, at Wye, about the ſame month. The other two, Final and Bradbridge, were burnt together at Aſhford, the 16th of the ſame.

What the ordinary articles were that were commonly objected to them of Canterbury dioceſe is before rehearſed, ſave only that to ſome of theſe, as to them that follow after, as the time of their perſecution did grow, ſo their articles withal did increaſe to the number of two and twenty, containing ſuch like matter as ſeemed to the maintenance of the Romiſh ſee.

Their anſwers likewiſe to theſe articles need not be rehearſed, ſeeing they all agreed together, though not in the ſame form of words, yet to the ſame effect, &c.

The next month following which was February, came out another bloody commiſſion from the king and queen, to kindle up the fire of perſecution, as tho' it were not hot enough already; the contents of which commiſſion I thought here not to omit; nor for lack of matter, whereof I have too much; but that the reader may underſtand how kings and princes of this world, like as in the firſt perſecutions of the primitive church under Valerian, Decius, Maximinian, Diocleſian, Licinius, &c. ſo now alſo in theſe latter perilous days, have ſet out all their main force and power, with laws, policy and authority to the uttermoſt they could deviſe againſt Chriſt and his goſpel. And yet notwithſtanding all theſe laws, conſtitutions, injunctions, and terrible proclamations provided againſt Chriſt and his goſpel, Chriſt yet ſtill continueth, his goſpel flouriſheth, and truth prevaileth; kings and emperors in their own purpoſes overthrown, their devices diſſolved, their counſels confounded; as examples both of this and of all times and ages do make manifeſt. But now let us hear the intent of this commiſſion, in tenor as followeth.

A bloody Commiſſion given forth by King Philip and Queen Mary, to perſecute the poor Members of Chriſt.

PHilip and Mary, by the grace of God king and queen of England, &c. To the right reverend father in God, our right truſty and well-beloved counſellor, Thomas, biſhop of Ely, and to our right truſty and well-beloved William Windſore, knight, lord Windſore, Edward North, knight, lord North, and to our truſty and well-beloved counſellor, J. Bourn, knight, one of our chief ſecretaries, J. Mordaunt, knight, Francis Englefield, knight, maſter of our wards and liveries, Edward Walgrave, knight, maſter of our great wardrobe, Nicholas Hare, knight, maſter of the rolls, Thomas Pope, knight, Roger Cholmley, knight, Richard Rede, knight, Rowland Hill, knight, William Raſtal, ſerjeant at law, Henry Cole, clerk, dean of Paul's, William Roper, and Ralph Cholmley, eſquires, William Cook, Thomas Martin, John Story, and John Vaughan, doctors of the law, greeting.

Foraſmuch as divers deviliſh and ſlanderous perſons have not only invented, bruted, and ſet forth divers falſe rumours, tales, and ſeditious ſlanders againſt Us, but alſo have ſown divers hereſies and heretical opinions, and ſet forth divers ſeditious books within this Our realm of England, meaning thereby to ſtir up diviſion, ſtrife, contention, and ſedition, not only amongſt Our loving ſubjects, but alſo betwixt Us and Our ſaid ſubjects, with divers other outrageous miſdemeanors, enormities, contempts and offences, daily committed and done, to the diſquieting of Us and Our people: We, minding the due puniſhment of ſuch offenders, and the repreſſing of ſuch like offences, enormities, and miſbehaviours from henceforth, having ſpecial truſt and confidence in your fidelities, wiſdoms, and diſcretions, have authoriſed, appointed, and aſſigned you to be Our commiſſioners, and by theſe preſents do give full power and authority unto you, and three of you, to enquire as well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as by witneſſes and all other means and politic ways you can deviſe, of all and ſingular heretical opinions, lollardies, heretical and ſeditious books, concealments, contempts, conſpiracies, and all falſe rumours, tales, ſeditious and ſlanderous words or ſayings, raiſed, publiſhed, bruted, invented, or ſet forth againſt Us, or either of Us, or againſt the quiet governance and rule of Our people and ſubjects, by books, lyes, tales, or otherwiſe, in any county, key, bowing, or other place or places, within this Our realm of England, or elſewhere, in any place or places beyond the ſeas, and of the bringers in, utterers, buyers, ſellers, readers, keepers, or conveyers of any ſuch letter, books, rumour, and tale, and of all and every their coadjutors, counſellors, comforters, procurers, abettors, and maintainers, giving unto you and three of you full power and authority by virtue hereof, to ſearch out and take into your hands and poſſeſſions all manner of heretical and ſeditous books, letters, and writings, whereſoever they or any of them ſhall be found, as well in printers houſes and ſhops, as elſewhere, willing you and every of you to ſearch for the ſame in all places according to your diſcretions.

And alſo to enquire, hear and determine all and ſingular enormities, diſturbances, miſbehaviours, and negligences committed in any church, chapel, or other hallowed place within this realm, and alſo for and concerning the taking away or with-holding any lands, tenements, goods, ornaments, ſtocks of money, or other things belonging to every of the ſame churches and chapels, and all accounts and reckonings concerning the ſame.

And alſo to enquire and ſearch out all ſuch perſons as obſtinately do refuſe to receive the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, to hear maſs, or to come to their pariſh churches, or other convenient places appointed for divine ſervice, and all ſuch as refuſe to go on proceſſion, to take holy bread or holy water, or otherwiſe do miſuſe themſelves in any church or other hallowed places, whereſoever any of the ſame offences have been, or hereafter ſhall be committed within this Our ſaid realm.

Nevertheleſs, Our will and pleaſure is, that when, and as often as any perſon or perſons, hereafter being called or convented before you, do obſtinately perſiſt, or ſtand in any manner of hereſy, or heretical opinion, that then ye, or three of you, do immediately take order, that the ſame perſon or perſons, ſo ſtanding or perſiſting, be delivered and committed to his ordinary, there to be uſed according to the ſpiritual and eccleſiaſtical laws.

And alſo We give unto you, or three of you, full power and authority to enquire and ſearch out all vagabonds, ond maſterleſs men, barretours, quarrellers, and ſuſpected perſons, abiding within Our city of London, and ten miles compaſs of the ſame, and all affaults and affrays done and committed within the ſame city and compaſs.

And further to ſearch out all waſtes, decays, and ruins of churches, chancels, chapels, parſonages, and vicarages in the dioceſe of the ſame, being within this realm, giving you, and every of you, full power and authority by virtue hereof to hear and determine the ſame, and all other offences and matters above ſpecified and rehearſed, according to your wiſdoms, conſciences, and diſcretions, willing and commanding you, or three of you, from time to time, to uſe and deviſe all ſuch politic ways and means for the trial and ſearching out of the premiſes, as by you, or three of you, ſhall be thought moſt expedient and neceſſary: and upon enquiry and due proof had, known, perceived, and tried out, by the confeſſion of the parties, or by ſufficient witneſſes before you, or three of you, concerning the premiſes, or any part thereof, or by any other ways or means requiſite, to give and award ſuch puniſhment to the offenders, by fine, impriſonment, or otherwiſe, and to take ſuch order for redreſs and reformation of the premiſes, as to your wiſdoms, or three of you, ſhall be thought meet and convenient.

Further willing and commanding you, and every three of you, in caſe you ſhall find any perſon or perſons obſtinate or diſobedient, either in their appearance before you, or three of you, at your calling or aſſignment, or elſe in not accompliſhing, or not obeying your decrees, orders, and commandments in any thing or things, touching the premiſes or any part thereof, to commit the ſame perſon or perſons ſo offending to ward, there to remain,

remain, till by you, or three of you, he be diſcharged or delivered, &c.

The Apprehenſion of twenty-two Priſoners in Eſſex.

AFTER this bloody proclamation or commiſſion thus given out at London, which was the eighth day of February, in the third and fourth years of the reign of the king and queen, theſe new inquiſitors, eſpecially ſome of them, began to ruffle, and to take upon them not a little; ſo that all quarters were full of perſecution, and priſons almoſt full of priſoners; namely, in the dioceſe of Canterbury, whereof (by the leave of Chriſt) we will ſay more anon.

In the mean time, about the town of Colcheſter, the wind of perſecution began fiercely to riſe; inſomuch that three and twenty together, men and women, were apprehended at one clap; of which number one eſcaped; the other twenty-two were driven up like a flock of chriſtian lambs to London, with two or three leaders with them at moſt, ready to give their ſkins to be plucked off for the goſpel's ſake. Notwithſtanding the biſhops, afraid belike of the number, to put ſo many at once to death, ſought means to deliver them, and ſo they did, drawing out an eaſy ſubmiſſion for them, or rather ſuffering them to draw it out themſelves; notwithſtanding divers of them were afterward taken again and ſuffered, as (God willing) ye ſhall hear hereafter. Such as met them by the way coming up, ſaw them in the fields ſcattering in ſuch ſort, as that they might eaſily have eſcaped away. And when they entered into the towns, their keepers called them again into array, to go two and two together, having a band or line going between them, the holding the ſame in their hands, every one having another cord about his arm, as though they were tied. And ſo were theſe fourteen men and eight women carried up to London, the people by the way praying to God for them, to give them ſtrength. At their entering into London they were pinioned, and ſo came into the city, as the picture doth deſcribe. But firſt let us declare concerning their being taken, and their attachers, contained in the commiſſary's letter written to Bonner; then the indenture made between the commiſſioners and the popiſh commiſſary. The letter of the commiſſary is this:

AFTER my duty done in receiving and accompliſhing your honourable and moſt loving letters, dated Auguſt 7, be it known unto your Lordſhip, that the 28th of Auguſt the Lord of Oxenford, Lord Darcy, H. Tyrel, A. Brown, W. Bendelows, E. Tyrel, R. Weſton, R. Appleton, publiſhed their commiſſion, to ſeize the lands, tenements, and goods of the fugitives, ſo that the owners ſhould have neither uſe nor advantage thereof, but by inventory remain in ſafe keeping, until the cauſe were determined.

And alſo there was likewiſe proclaimed the queen's warrant for the reſtitution of the church goods within Colcheſter, and the hundred thereabout, to the uſe of God's ſervice. And then were called the pariſhes particularly, and the heretics partly committed to my examination. And that divers perſons ſhould certify me of the ornaments of their churches, betwixt this and the juſtices next appearance, which ſhall be on Michaelmas next. And the pariſhes which had preſented at two ſeveral times, to have all ornaments with other things in good order, were exonerated for ever, till they were warned again, and others to make their appearance from time to time. And thoſe names blotted in the indenture were indicted for treaſon, fugitives, or diſobedients, and were put forth by Mr. Brown's commandment. And before the ſealing, my Lord Darcy ſaid unto me apart and Mr. Bendelows, that I ſhould have ſufficient time to ſend unto your Lordſhip, yea, if need were; the heretics to remain in durance till I had an anſwer from you, yea, till the Lord legates graces commiſſioners come into the country.

And Mr. Brown came unto my Lord Darcy's houſe and parlour belonging unto Mr. Barnaby, before my ſaid Lord and all the juſtices, and laid his hand on my ſhoulder, with a ſmiling countenance, and deſired me to make his hearty commendations to your good Lordſhip, and aſked me if I would: and I ſaid, Yea, with a good will. Wherefore I was glad, and thought that I ſhould not have been charged with ſo ſudden a carriage.

But after dinner, the juſtices counſelled with the bailiffs, and with the goalers, and then after took me unto them, and made collation of the indentures, and ſealed them; and then Mr. Brown commanded me this afternoon, being the 30th of Auguſt, to go and receive my priſoners by and by. And then I ſaid, it is an unreaſonable commandment, for that I have attended on you here theſe three days, and this Sunday early I have ſent home my men. Wherefore I deſire you to have a convenient time appointed, wherein I may know, whether it will pleaſe my Lord my maſter to ſend his commiſſioners hither, or that I ſhall make carriage of them unto his Lordſhip. Then Mr. Brown ſaid, We are certified that the council have written to your maſter to make ſpeed, and to rid theſe priſoners out of hand: therefore go receive your priſoners in haſte. I anſwered, Sir, I ſhall receive them within theſe ten days. Then Mr. Brown ſaid, The limitation lieth in us, and not in you, therefore get you hence.

I replied, Sir, ye have indicted and delivered me by this indenture, whoſe faith or opinions I knew not, truſting that ye will grant me a time to examine them, lest I ſhould puniſh the catholics. Well, ſaid Mr. Brown, for that cauſe ye ſhall have time betwixt this and Wedneſday. And I ſay unto you, Mr. bailiffs, if he do not receive them at your hands on Wedneſday, ſet open your door, and let them go.

Then I ſaid, my Lord and maſters all, I promiſe to diſcharge the town and country of theſe heretics within theſe ten days. The Lord Darcy anſwered, Commiſſary, we do and muſt all agree in one. Wherefore do ye receive them on or before Wedneſday.

To which I replied, My Lord, the laſt I carried, I was going betwixt the caſtle and St. Katherine's chapel two hours and a half, and in great preſs and danger; wherefore this may be to deſire your Lordſhip to give in commandment unto Mr. Sayer, my bailiff, here preſent, to aid me through his liberties, not only with men and weapons, but that the town-clerk may be ready there with his book to write the names of the moſt buſy perſons, and this upon three hours warning; all which both my Lord and Mr. Brown commanded.

The 31ſt of Auguſt William Goodwin of Muchbirch, huſbandman, this bringer, and Tho. Alſey, of Copford, your Lordſhip's apparator of your conſiſtory in Colcheſter, covenanted with me, that they ſhould hire two other men at the leaſt, whereof one ſhould be a bowman, to come to me the next day about two of the clock in the afternoon, ſo that I might recite this bargain before Mr. archdeacon, and pay the money, that is forty-ſix ſhillings and eight pence. Wherefore they ſhould then go forth with me unto Colcheſter, and on Wedneſday, before three of the clock in the morning, receive there at my hand within the caſtle and mote-hall, fourteen men, and eight women, bound with cords and fetters, and drive, carry, or lead, and feed with meat and drink, as heretics ought to be found continually, unto ſuch time that the ſaid Goodwin and Alſey ſhall cauſe the ſaid two and twenty perſons to be delivered unto my Lord or London's officers, and within the ſafe keeping of my ſaid Lord, and then to bring unto me again the ſaid fetters, with a perfect token of or from my ſaid Lord, and then this covenant is void, or elſe, &c.

Mr.

Mr. Bendelows ſaid unto me in my Lord of Oxenford's chamber at the King's head, after I had ſaid maſs before the Lords, that on the morrow after the Holy-rood day, when we ſhall meet at Chelmsford for the diviſion of theſe lands, I think Mr. archdeacon, you and Mr. Smith, ſhall be fain to ride with certain of the jury to thoſe portions and manors in your part of Eſſex, and in like caſe divide yourſelves, to tread and view the ground with the queſt, or elſe I think they will not labour the matter, and ſo do you ſay unto Mr. archdeacon.

Alice, the wife of William Walley, of Colcheſter, hath ſubmitted herſelf, abjured her erroneous opinions, aſked abſolution, promiſed to do her ſolemn penance in her pariſh church at St. Peter's on Sunday next, and to continue a catholic and a faithful woman, as long as God ſhall ſend her life. And for theſe covenants her huſband ſtandeth bound in five pounds; which Alice is one of the nine women of this your indenture, and ſhe is big with child, wherefore ſhe remaineth at home, and this done in the preſence of the bailiffs, aldermen, and town-clerk. And becauſe Mr. Brown was certified there was no curate at Lexdon, he enquired who was the former? the anſwer was made, Sir Francis Jobſon. Who is the parſon? They of the queſt-men anſwered, Sir Roger Ghoſtlow. When was he with you? Not theſe fourteen years. How is your cure ſerved? Now and then. Who is the patron? My Lord of Arundel. And within ſhort time after, Sir Francis Jobſon came with great courteſy unto my Lord Darcy's place. And of all gentlemen about us, I ſaw no more come in,

Sir Robert Smith, prieſt, ſometime canon of Bridglington, now canon of Appledoore, in the wild of Kent, came to Colcheſter the 28th day of Auguſt, with his wife big with child, of late divorced, taken on ſuſpicion, examined by the Lords, and Mr. Brown told me that they have received letters from the council for the attachment of certain perſons, and eſpecially of one prieſt, whoſe name is Pullen (but his right name is Smith) doubting this prieſt to be the ſaid Pullen, although neither he nor his wife would confeſs the ſame.

Wherefore he lieth ſtill in priſon, but ſurely this is not Pullen. If it pleaſe your lordſhip to have in remembrance, that the houſholders might be compelled to bring every man his own wife to her own ſeat in the church in time of divine ſervice, it would profit much. And alſo there be yet ſtanding hoſpitals, and others of like foundation about Colcheſter, which I have not known to appear at any viſitation, as the maſters and lazars of Mary Magdalen in Colcheſter, the proctor of St. Katharine's chapel in Colcheſter, the hoſpital or breadhouſe of the foundation of the lord H. Harney in Laremarny, the hoſpital and beadman of Little Horkſley. Thus preſuming on your lordſhip's goodneſs, I am more than bold ever to trouble you with this worldly buſineſs, beſeeching Almighty God to ſend your honourable lordſhip a condign reward.

From Eaſtthrop this preſent 30th day of Auguſt.

We found a letter concerning the marriage of prieſts in the hands of the aforeſaid Sir Robert Smith. I alſo deſired Mr. Brown, the doer of all things, to require the audience to bring in their unlawful writings and books; who aſked me, if I had proclaimed the proclamation? I ſaid, Yea. Then he ſaid openly upon the bench, that they ſhould be proclaimed once every quarter. And then take the conſtables and officers, and they alone take and puniſh the offenders accordingly.

By your poor beadman,

John Kingſton, prieſt.

An Indenture made between the Lords and Juſtices within ſpecified, and Bonner's Commiſſary concerning the Delivery of the Priſoners abovenamed.

THIS indenture made the nineteenth day of Auguſt, in the third and fourth years of the reign of our ſovereign lord and lady, Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of England, Spain, France, both Cicils, Jeruſalem, and Ireland, defenders of the faith, archdukes of Auſtria, dukes of Burgundy, Millain and Brabant, counties of Haſburgh, Flanders and Tirol, between the right honourable lord John de Vere, earl of Oxford, lord high chamberlain of England, Thomas lord Darcy of Chich, Henry Tirel, knight, Anthony Brown, the king and queen's ſerjeant at law, William Bendelows, ſerjeant at law, Edmund Tirel, Richard Weſton, Roger Appleton, eſquires, juſtices of oyer and terminer, and of the peace within the ſaid county of Eſſex, to be kept of the one party, and John Kingſton, clerk, batchelor at law, commiſſary to the biſhop of London, of the other party, witneſſeth, that Ro. Colman, of Walton, in the county of Eſſex, labourer; Joan Winſeley, of Horſeley Magna, in the ſaid county, Spinſter; Stephen Glover, of Rayley, in the county aforeſaid, glover; Richard Clerke, of Much Holland, in the ſaid county, mariner; William Munt, of Much Bentley, in the ſaid county, huſbandman; Thomas Winſeley, of Much Horſeley, in the ſaid county, ſawyer; Margaret Field, of Rameſy, in the ſaid county, ſpinſter; Agnes Whitlock, of Dovercourt, in the ſaid county, ſpinſter; Alice Munt, of Much Bentley, in the ſaid county, ſpinſter; Roſe Allin, of the ſame town and county, ſpinſter; Richard Bongeor, of Colcheſter, in the ſaid county, currier; Richard Atkin, of Halſteid, in the ſaid county, weaver; Robert Barcock, of Wiſton, in the county of Suffolk, carpenter; Richard George, of Weſtbarhoult, in the county of Eſſex, labourer; Richard Jolley, of Colcheſter, in the ſaid county, mariner; Thomas Feerſanne, of the ſame town and county, mercer; Robert Debnam, late of Dedham, in the ſaid county, weaver; Ciſely Warren, of Cookſall, in the ſaid county, ſpinſter; Chriſtian Pepper, widow, of the ſame town and county; Allin Simpſon, Elen Euring, Alice the wife of William Wallis, of Colcheſter, ſpinſter; William Bongeor, of Colcheſter, in the ſaid county, glazier; being indicted of hereſy, are delivered to the ſaid John Kingſton, clerk, ordinary to the biſhop of London, according to the ſtatute in that caſe provided.

In witneſs whereof to the one part of this indenture remaining with the ſaid earl, lord, and other the juſtices, the ſaid ordinary hath ſet to his hand and ſeal; and to the other part remaining with the ſaid ordinary, the ſaid earl, lord, and other the juſtices have ſet to their ſeveral hands and ſeals, the day and year above-written.

Oxenford.	William Bendelows.
Thomas Darcy.	Edmund Tyrel.
Henry Tyrel.	Richard Weſton.
Anthony Brown.	Roger Appleton.

The twenty-two aforeſaid priſoners thus ſent from Colcheſter to London, were brought at length to biſhop Bonner: concerning whom Bonner himſelf writeth to cardinal Poole in the following manner.

A Letter of Biſhop Bonner to Cardinal Poole.

MAY it pleaſe your grace, with my moſt humble obedience, reverence, and duty, to underſtand, that going to London upon Thurſday laſt, and thinking to be troubled with Mr. Germaine's matter only, and ſuch other

other common matters as are accuſtomed, enough to weary a right ſtrong body, I had the day following to comfort my ſtomach withal, letters from Colcheſter, that either that day, or the day following, I ſhould have ſent thence twenty-two heretics, indicted before the commiſſioners, and indeed ſo I had, and compelled to bear their charges as I did of the others, both of which coſt me above twenty nobles, a ſum of money that I thought full evil beſtowed. And theſe heretics, notwithſtanding they had honeſt catholic keepers to conduct and bring them up to me, and in all the way from Colcheſter to Stratford-Bow did go quietly and obediently, yet coming to Stratford they began to take heart of grace, and to do as pleaſed themſelves, for they began to have their guard, which generally increaſed till they came to Aldgate, where they were lodged Friday night.

And albeit I took order that the ſaid heretics ſhould be with me very early on Saturday morning, to the intent they might quietly come and be examined by me; yet it was between ten and eleven of the clock before they would come, and no way would they take but through Cheapſide, ſo that they were brought to my houſe with about a thouſand perſons. Which thing I took very ſtrange, and ſpake to Sir John Greſſam then being with me, to tell the mayor and the ſheriffs that this thing was not well ſuffered in the city. Theſe naughty heretics all the way they came through Cheapſide, both exhorted the people to their part, and had much comfort from the promiſcuous multitude; and being entered into my houſe, and talked withal, they ſhewed themſelves deſperate, and very obſtinate; yet I uſed all the honeſt means I could, both of myſelf, and others, to have won them, cauſing divers learned men to talk with them; and finding nothing in them but pride and wilfulneſs, I thought to have had them all hither to Fulham, and here to give ſentence againſt them. Nevertheleſs, perceiving by my laſt doing that your grace was offended, I thought it my duty before I any thing further proceeded herein, to advertiſe firſt your grace hereof, and know your good pleaſure, which I beſeech your grace I may do by this truſty bearer. And thus moſt humbly I take my leave of your good grace, beſeeching Almighty God always to preſerve the ſame. At Fulham, Anno 1556.

Your grace's moſt bounden beadſman and ſervant,
Edmund Bonner.

By this letter of biſhop Bonner to the cardinal, is to be underſtood, what good will was in this biſhop to have the blood of theſe men, and to have paſſed with ſentence of condemnation againſt them, had not the cardinal ſomewhat (as it ſeemed) ſtayed his fervent headineſs. Concerning which cardinal, although it cannot be denied by his acts and writings, but that he was a profeſſed enemy, and no otherwiſe to be reputed but for a papiſt: yet again it is to be ſuppoſed, that he was none of the bloody and cruel ſort of papiſts, as may appear not only by ſtaying the rage of this biſhop, but alſo by the ſolicitous writing, and long letters written to Cranmer, alſo by the complaints of certain papiſts accuſing him to the pope, to be a bearer with the heretics, and by the pope's letters ſent to him upon the ſame, calling him up to Rome, and ſetting friar Peto in his place, had not queen Mary by ſpecial intreaty, kept him out of the pope's danger. All which letters I have (if need be) to ſhew: and beſides alſo, that it is thought of him that toward his latter end a little before his coming from Rome to England, he began ſomewhat to favour the doctrine of Luther, and was no leſs ſuſpected at Rome: Yea, and furthermore, did there at Rome convert a certain learned Spaniard from papiſm to Luther's ſide; notwithſtanding the pomp and glory of the world afterward carried him away to play the papiſt thus as he did. But of this cardinal enough.

To return now to this godly company again, firſt how they were brought up in bands to London, ye have heard; alſo how Bonner was about to have read the ſentence of death upon them, and how he was ſtayed by the cardinal, ye underſtand. As touching their confeſſion, which they articled up in writing, it were too tedious to recite the whole at length. Briefly touching the article of the Lord's ſupper (for which they were chiefly troubled) thus they wrote, as here followeth.

The Supper of the Lord.

WHEREAS Chriſt at his laſt ſupper, took bread, and when he had given thanks he brake it, and gave it to his diſciples, and ſaid, "Take, eat, this is my body." And likewiſe took the cup and thanked, &c. We do underſtand it to be a figurative ſpeech, as the moſt manner of his language was in parables and dark ſentences, that they which are carnally minded ſhould ſee with their eyes and not perceive, and hear with their ears, and not underſtand; ſignifying this, that as he did break the bread among them, being but one loaf, and they all were partakers thereof, ſo we through his body, in that it was broken, and offered upon the croſs for us, are all partakers thereof, and his blood cleanſeth us from all our ſins, and hath pacified God's wrath toward us, and made the atonement between God and us, if we walk henceforth in the light, even as he is the true light.

And in that he ſaid further, "Do this in remembrance of me," it is a memorial and token of the ſuffering and death of Jeſus Chriſt: and he commanded it for this cauſe, that the congregation of Chriſt ſhould come together to ſhew his death, and to thank and laud him for all his benefits, and magnify his holy name, and ſo to break the bread, and drink the wine, in remembrance that Chriſt had given his body, and ſhed his blood for us.

Thus you may well perceive, though Chriſt called the bread his body, and the wine his blood, yet it followeth not, that the ſubſtance of his body ſhould be in the bread and wine; as divers places in ſcripture are ſpoken by Chriſt and the apoſtles in like phraſe of ſpeech, as in John 15. "I am the true vine." Alſo in John 10. "I am the door." And as it is written in the ninth to the Hebrews, and in Exod. 24. how Moſes took the blood of the calves, and ſprinkled both the book and all the people, ſaying, "This is the blood of the covenant or Teſtament." And alſo in the fifth chapter of Ezekiel, how the Lord ſaid unto him concerning the third part of his hair, ſaying, This is Jeruſalem, &c.

Thus we ſee the ſcriptures how they are ſpoken in figures, and ought to be ſpiritually examined, and not as they would have us to ſay, that the bodily preſence of Chriſt is in the bread, which is a blaſphemous underſtanding of the godly word, and is contrary to all holy ſcriptures. Alſo we do ſee that great idolatry is ſprung out of the carnal underſtanding of the words of Chriſt, "This is my body," and yet daily ſpringeth, to the great diſhonour of God; ſo that men worſhip a piece of bread for God, yea, and hold that to be their maker.

After this confeſſion of their faith and doctrine being written and exhibited, they alſo deviſed a letter withal, in manner of a ſhort ſupplication, or rather an admonition to the judges and commiſſioners, requiring that juſtice and judgment, after the rule of God's word, might be miniſtered unto them. The copy of which their letter I thought here alſo to ſhew unto the reader in form as followeth.

A Supplication of the Priſoners to the Judges.

TO the right honourable audience, before whom theſe our ſimple writings, and the confeſſion of our faith ſhall come to be heard or ſeen, we poor priſoners being

being faſt in bonds upon the trial of our faith, which we offer to be tried by the ſcriptures, pray moſt heartily, that foraſmuch as God hath given you power and ſtrength over us as concerning our bodies, under whom we ſubmit ourſelves as obedient ſubjects in all things due, ye being officers and rulers of the people, may execute true judgment, keep the laws of righteouſneſs, govern the people according to right, and hear the poor and helpleſs in truth, and defend their cauſe.

God for his Son Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, give you the wiſdom and underſtanding of Solomon, David, Hezekiah, Moſes, with divers other moſt virtuous rulers, by whoſe wiſdom and moſt godly underſtanding, the people were juſtly ruled and governed in the fear of God, all wickedneſs was by them overthrown and beaten down, and all godlineſs and virtue did flouriſh and ſpring. O God which art the moſt higheſt, the creator and maker of all things, and of all men both great and ſmall, and careſt for all alike, who doſt try all men's works and imaginations, before whoſe judgment-ſeat ſhall come both high and low, rich and poor; we moſt humbly beſeech thee to put into our rulers hearts the pure love and fear of thy name, that even as they themſelves would be judged, and as they ſhall make anſwer before thee, ſo they may hear our cauſes, judge with mercy, and read over theſe our requeſts and confeſſions of our faith, with deliberation and a godly judgment.

And if any thing here ſeemeth to your honourable audience to be erroneous or diſagreeing to the ſcripture, if it ſhall pleaſe your lordſhips to hear us patiently, which do offer ourſelves to the ſcriptures, thereby to make anſwer, and to be tried, in ſo doing we poor ſubjects being in much captivity and bondage, are moſt bound to pray for your noble eſtate and long preſervation.

The requeſt of theſe men being ſo juſt, and their doctrine ſo ſound, yet all this could not prevail with the biſhop and other judges, but that ſentence ſhould have proceeded againſt them immediately, had not the goodneſs of the Lord better provided for his ſervants, than the biſhop had intended. For as they were now under the edge of the axe, ready to be condemned by ſentence, it was thought otherwiſe by the cardinal, and ſome other wiſer heads; fearing belike, leſt by the death of ſo many together, ſome diſturbance might riſe peradventure among the people; and ſo it was decreed among themſelves, that they ſhould rather make ſome ſubmiſſion or confeſſion, ſuch as they would themſelves, and ſo be ſent home again, as they were indeed; howbeit divers of them were afterward apprehended and put to death. But in the mean ſpace as touching their ſubmiſſion which they made, this it was, as in form here followeth:

The Submiſſion or Confeſſion of the aforeſaid Priſoners.

BECAUSE our Saviour Chriſt at his laſt ſupper took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it unto his diſciples, and ſaid, "Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you, this do in remembrance of me." Therefore according to the words of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, we do believe in the ſacrament to be Chriſt's body. And likewiſe he took the cup, gave thanks, and gave it to his diſciples, and ſaid, "This is my blood of the New Teſtament which is ſhed for many."

Therefore likewiſe we do believe that it is the blood of Chriſt, according as Chriſt's church doth adminiſter the ſame. Unto which catholic church of Chriſt we do in this like as in all other matters ſubmit ourſelves, promiſing therein to live as it becometh good chriſtian men, and here in this realm to uſe ourſelves as it becometh faithful ſubjects unto our moſt gracious king and queen, and to all other ſuperiors both ſpiritual and temporal, according to our bounden duties.

The names of thoſe who ſubſcribed to this ſubmiſſion, were theſe,

John Atkin, Alyn Symſon, Richard George, Thomas Firefanne, William Munt, Richard Joly, Richard Gratwicke, Thomas Winſſey, Richard Rothe, Richard Clark, Stephen Glover, Robert Colman, Thomas Merſe, William Bongeor, Robert Bercock, Margaret Hide, Elyn Euring, Chriſtian Pepper, Margaret Field, Alice Munt, Joan Winſly, Cicely Warren, Roſe Alin, Ann Whitelocke, George Barker, John Saxby, Thomas Locker, Alice Locker.

The Story of five godly Martyrs, burnt at one Fire in Smithfield, on the 12th Day of April, 1557.

TO proceed further in this hiſtory of perſecuted martyrs, next in order follow theſe five, namely,

Thomas Loſeby.	Margaret Hide,
Henry Ramſey.	and
Thomas Thirtell.	Agnes Stanley.

Who being, ſome by the lord Rich, ſome by other juſtices of peace, and conſtables (their own neighbours), at the firſt accuſed and apprehended for not coming to their pariſh churches, were in the end ſent unto Bonner biſhop of London, and by his commandment, the 27th day of January were examined before Dr. Darbiſhire, then chancellor to the ſaid biſhop, upon the former general articles mentioned.

Anſwers to the Articles.

WHOSE anſwers thereunto were, that as they confeſſed there was one true and catholic church, whereof they ſtedfaſtly believed, and thought the church of Rome to be no part or member: ſo in the ſame church they believed there were but two ſacraments, that is to ſay, baptiſm, and the ſupper of the Lord. Howbeit, ſome of them attributed the title and honour of a ſacrament to the holy eſtate of matrimony, which undoubtedly was done rather out of ſimple ignorance than of any wilful opinion, and are thereof to be adjudged as before is admoniſhed.

Moreover, they acknowledged themſelves to be baptized into the faith of that true church, as in the third article is ſpecified. And here in reading, as well of theſe articles, as alſo of the reſt, mark I beſeech you, the crafty ſubtilty of theſe catholic companions, who intermixing certain points of faith, and of the true church, with the idolatrous and ſuperſtitious maumetry of their Romiſh ſynagogue, cauſe the poor and ſimple people, for lack of knowledge, oftentimes to fall into their crafty nets.

For after they have made them grant a true church, with the ſacraments of the ſame, though not in ſuch number as they would have them, and alſo that they were chriſtened into the faith thereof, that is, In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, they craftily now in their other objections, deſcending, as it were, from the faith of the Trinity unto their idolatrous maſs and other ſuperſtitious ceremonies, would make them grant, that now in denying thereof they have ſevered themſelves from the faith of the true church, whereunto they were baptized, which is moſt falſe: for though the true light of God's goſpel and holy word, was marvellouſly darkened, and in a manner utterly extinguiſhed, yet the true faith of the Trinity, by the merciful providence of God, was ſtill preſerved, and into the faith thereof were we baptized, and not into the belief and profeſſion of their horrible idolatry and vain ceremonies.

Theſe things not thoroughly weighed by theſe poor, yet faithful and true members of Chriſt, cauſed ſome of them ignorantly to grant, that when they came to the years

Engraved for Fox's Book of Martyrs.

The Martyrdom of T. Lofeby, H. Ramfey, T. Thirtell, Margt Hide & Agnes Stanley *in* Smithfield.

The Burning of William Flower, *in* St Margaret's Church-Yard, Weſtminſter.

Publiſhed as the Act directs, by H. Tuppr Paternoſter Row.

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years of diſcretion, and underſtood the light of the goſpel, they did ſeparate themſelves from the faith of the church, meaning none other but only to ſeparate themſelves from admitting or allowing of ſuch their popiſh and erroneous traſh as they had now defiled the church of Chriſt withal, and not from their faith received in baptiſm, which in expreſs words in their anſwers to the other articles they conſtantly affirmed, declaring the maſs and ſacrament of the altar to be moſt wicked blaſphemy againſt Jeſus Chriſt, and contrary to the truth of his goſpel, and therefore utterly they refuſed to aſſent unto, and to be reconciled again thereunto.

Theſe anſwers in effect of them thus taken by the ſaid chancellor, they were for that time diſmiſſed: but the biſhop, taking the matter into his own hands, the 6th day of March, propounded unto them certain other new articles: the copy whereof followeth:

Other articles objected by Bonner, Biſhop of London, againſt Thomas Loſeby, Henry Ramſey, Thomas Thirtell, Margaret Hide, and Agnes Stanley, the ſixth Day of March, being the ſecond Time of Examination.

1. FIRST, That thou haſt thought, believed, and ſpoken, within ſome part of the city and dioceſe of London, that the faith, religion, and eccleſiaſtical ſervice, here obſerved and kept, as it is in the realm of England, is not a true and a laudable faith, religion, and ſervice, eſpecially concerning the maſs, and the ſeven ſacraments, nor is agreeable to God's word and teſtament, and that thou canſt not find in thy heart without murmuring, grudging, or ſcruple, to receive and uſe it, and to conform thyſelf unto it, as other ſubjects of this realm cuſtomably have done and do.

2. Item, That thou haſt thought, &c. that the Engliſh ſervice ſet forth in the time of king Edward the ſixth, here in this realm of England, was and is good and godly, and catholic in all points, and that it alone ought here in this realm to be received, uſed, and practiſed, and none other.

3. Item, Likewiſe thou haſt thought, &c. that thou art not bound to come to thy pariſh church, and there to be preſent, and hear matins, maſs, even-ſong, and other divine ſervice, ſung or ſaid there.

4. Item, Thou haſt thought, &c. that thou art not bound to come to proceſſion to the church upon days and and times appointed, and to go in the ſame with others of the pariſh, ſinging or ſaying then the accuſtomed prayers uſed in the church, nor to bear a taper or candle on Candlemas-day, nor take aſhes upon Aſh-wedneſday, nor bear palms upon palm-ſunday, nor to creep to the croſs upon days accuſtomed, nor to receive and kiſs the pax at maſs time, nor to receive holy water or holy bread, nor to accept and allow the ceremonies and uſages of the church, after the manner and faſhion as they are uſed in this realm.

5. Thou haſt thought, &c. that thou art not bound at any time to confeſs thy ſins to any prieſt, and to receive abſolution at his hands, as God's miniſter, nor to receive at any time the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, eſpecially as it is uſed in this church of England.

6. Item, Thou haſt thought, &c. that in matters of religion and faith, thou muſt follow and believe thine own conſcience only, and not give credit to the determination and common order of the catholic church, and the ſee of Rome, nor to any member thereof.

7. Item, Thou haſt thought, &c. that all things do chance of an abſolute and preciſe mere neceſſity, ſo that whether man do well or evil, he could not chuſe but do ſo, and that therefore no man hath any free will at all.

8. Item, Thou haſt thought, &c. that the faſhion and manner of chriſtening of infants is not agreeable to God's word; and that none can be effectually baptized, and thereby ſaved, except he have years of diſcretion to believe himſelf, and ſo willingly accept or refuſe baptiſm at his pleaſure.

6. Item, Thou haſt thought, &c. that prayers to ſaints or prayers for the dead are not available and not allowable by God's word, or profitable in any wiſe, and that the ſouls departed do ſtraitway go to heaven or hell, or elſe do ſleep till the day of doom, ſo that there is no place of purgation at all.

10. Item, Thou haſt thought, &c. that all ſuch as in the time of king Henry the eighth, or in the time of queen Mary in England, have been burned as heretics, were no heretics at all, but faithful and good chriſtian people: eſpecially Barnes, Garret, Jerome, Frith, Rogers, Hooper, Cardmaker, Latimer, Taylor, Bradford, Philpot, Cranmer, Ridley, and ſuch like; and that thou didſt and doſt allow, like, and approve all their opinions, and doſt miſlike their condemnations and burnings.

11. Item, Thou haſt thought, &c. that faſting and prayers uſed in this church of England, and the appointing of days for faſting, and the abſtaining from fleſh upon faſting-days, and eſpecially in the time of Lent, is not laudable or allowable by God's word, but is hypocriſy and fooliſhneſs; and that men ought to have liberty to eat at all times all kinds of meat.

12. Item, Thou haſt thought, &c. that the ſacrament of the altar is an idol, and to reſerve and keep it, or to honour it, is plain idolatry and ſuperſtition; and likewiſe of the maſs and elevation of the ſacrament.

13. Item, Thou haſt thought, &c. that thou or any elſe, convented before an eccleſiaſtical judge concerning matters of belief and faith, are not, nor is bound to make anſwer at all, eſpecially under an oath upon a book.

Their Anſwers to the Articles.

CONcerning the firſt, ſecond, third, fourth, fifth, ninth, tenth and twelfth, they generally granted unto, ſaying, that they denied the ſouls of the departed to ſleep till the day of judgment, as is mentioned in the ninth article.

And as concerning the ſixth objection, they thought themſelves bound to believe the true catholic church, ſo far forth as the ſame doth inſtruct them according to God's holy word, but not to follow the determinations of the erroneous and babylonic church of Rome.

As for the ſeventh, eighth and thirteenth, they utterly denied, that ever they were of any ſuch abſurd opinions as are contained therein; but they granted that man of himſelf, without the help and aſſiſtance of God's Holy Spirit, hath no power to do any good thing acceptable in God's ſight.

To the eleventh they ſaid, that true faſting and prayer, uſed according to God's word, are allowable and available in his ſight, and that by the ſame word every faithful man may eat all meats at all times, with thankſgiving to God for the ſame.

After this, the firſt day of April, they were again convented before the biſhop in his palace at London, where little appeareth to be done, except it were to know whether they would ſtand to their anſwers, and whether they would recant or no. But when they refuſed to recant, and deny the received and infallible truth, the biſhop cauſed them to be brought into the open conſiſtory, the third day of the ſame month of April in the forenoon, where firſt underſtanding by them their immutable conſtancy and ſtedfaſtneſs, he demanded particularly of every one what they had to ſay, why he ſhould not pronounce the ſentence of condemnation.

To

To whom Thomas Loſeby firſt anſwered, God give me grace and ſtrength to ſtand againſt you, and your ſentence, and alſo againſt your law, which is a devouring law, for it devoureth the flock of Chriſt. And I perceive there is no way with me but death, except I would conſent to your devouring law, and believe in that idol the maſs.

Next unto him anſwered Thomas Thirtell, ſaying, My lord, I ſay thus, if you make me an heretic, then you make Chriſt and all the twelve apoſtles heretics: for I am in the true faith, and right belief, and I will ſtand in it, for I know full well I ſhall have eternal life therefore.

The biſhop then aſked the like queſtion of Henry Ramſey; who ſaid again, My lord, will you have me to go from the truth that I am in; I ſay unto you, that my opinions be the very truth, which I will ſtand unto, and not go from them: and I ſay unto you further, that there are two churches upon the earth, and we (meaning himſelf and other true martyrs and profeſſors of Chriſt) be of the true church, and ye be not.

Unto this queſtion next anſwered Margaret Hide, ſaying, My lord, you have no cauſe to give ſentence againſt me, for I am in the true faith and opinion, and will never forſake it; and I do wiſh that I were more ſtrong in it than I am.

Laſt of all anſwered Agnes Stanley, and ſaid, I had rather every hair of my head were burned, if it were never ſo much worth, than that I will forſake my faith and opinion, which is the true faith.

The time being now ſpent, they were commanded to appear again in the afternoon in the ſame place; which commandment being obeyed, the biſhop firſt called for Loſeby, and after his accuſtomed manner ordered his articles and anſwers to be read: In reading whereof, when mention was made of the ſacrament of the altar, the biſhop with his colleagues put off their caps. Whereat Loſeby ſaid, My Lord, ſeeing you put off your cap, I will put on my cap; and therewithal did put on his cap. And after the biſhop continuing in his accuſtomed perſuaſions, Loſeby again ſaid unto him, My Lord, I truſt I have the ſpirit of truth, which you deteſt and abhor, for the wiſdom of God is fooliſhneſs unto you. Whereupon the biſhop pronounced the ſentence of condemnation againſt him.

And delivering him unto the ſheriff, called for Margaret Hide, with whom he uſed the like order of exhortations. To whom ſhe ſaid, I will not depart from my ſayings, till I be burned: and my Lord, quoth ſhe, I would ſee you inſtruct me with ſome part of God's word, and not to give me inſtructions of the holy bread and holy water, for it is no part of the ſcripture.

But he, being neither himſelf, nor any of his, able rightly to accompliſh her requeſt, to make ſhort work, uſed his final reaſon of convincement, which was the ſentence of condemnation. And therefore leaving her off, called for another, viz. Agnes Stanley, who, upon the biſhop's like perſuaſions, made this anſwer:

My Lord, where you ſay I am an heretic, I am none; neither yet will I believe you, nor any man that is wiſe will believe as you do. And as for theſe that ye ſay be burnt for hereſy, I believe are true martyrs before God: therefore I will not go from my opinion and faith as long as I live.

Her talk thus ended, ſhe received the like reward that the others had. And the biſhop then turning his tale and manner of enticement unto Thomas Thirtell, received of him likewiſe this final anſwer, My Lord, I will not hold with your idolatrous ways, as you do: for I ſay the maſs is idolatry, and will ſtick to my faith and belief, ſo long as the breath is in my body. Upon which words he was alſo condemned as an heretic.

Laſt of all Henry Ramſey was demanded if he would, as the reſt, ſtand unto his anſwers, or elſe recanting the ſame, come home again, and be a member of their church. Whereunto he anſwered, I will not go from my religion and belief as long as I live; and my Lord (quoth he) your doctrine is naught, for it is not agreeable to God's word.

After theſe words, the biſhop (to conclude) pronouncing the ſentence of condemnation againſt him and the reſt (as ye have heard) charged the ſheriffs of London with them: who being thereunto commanded, the twelfth day of the ſame month of April, brought them into Smithfield, where all together in one fire moſt joyfully and conſtantly they ended their temporal lives, receiving therefore the life eternal.

Three burned in St. George's Fields in Southwark.

IN the month of May following, William Morant, Stephen Gratwick, ———King, ſuffered in Saint George's Fields in Southwark.

Among other hiſtories of the perſecuted and condemned ſaints of God, I find the condemnation of none more ſtrange nor unlawful than of this Stephen Gratwick: who firſt was condemned by the biſhop of Wincheſter and the biſhop of Rocheſter, who were not his ordinaries.

Secondly, When he did appeal from theſe incompetent judges to his right ordinary, his appeal could not be admitted.

Thirdly, When they had no other ſhift to colour their inordinate proceedings withal, they ſuborned one of the prieſts to come in for a counterfeit and a falſe ordinary, and ſit upon him.

Fourthly, Being openly convinced and overturned in his own arguments, yet Dr. White, the ſaid biſhop of Wincheſter, neither would yield to the force of truth, nor ſuffer any of the audience aſſiſtant once to ſay, God ſtrengthen him.

Fifthly, As they brought in a falſe ordinary to ſit upon him, ſo they pretended falſe articles againſt him, which were no part of his examinations, but of their deviſing, to have his blood.

Sixthly and laſtly, Having no other ground nor juſt matters againſt him, but only for ſaying theſe words, "That which I ſaid, I have ſaid," they read the ſentence of death upon him.

And this was the dealing of theſe men, who needs will be reputed for catholic fathers of the ſpiritualty, ſucceeders of the apoſtles, diſciples of Chriſt, pillars of the holy church, and leaders of the people. Of whoſe proceedings, how agreeable they are to the example of Chriſt and his apoſtles, I leave to diſcuſs, referring the judgment hereof to them who know the inſtitution of Chriſt's religion and doctrine.

Now leſt peradventure the diſordered miſrule of theſe Chriſtmas Lords will not be credited upon the ſimple narration of the ſtory, ye ſhall hear the whole diſcourſe of this proceſs regiſtered by the hand of the martyr himſelf, who, as he could beſt tell what was done, ſo I am ſure he would not teſtify otherwiſe than the truth was, according as you ſhall hear by his own declaration here following.

The Declaration of Stephen Gratwick, concerning his own Story and Condemnation.

ON the 25th day of May, in the year 1557, I Stephen Gratwick came before Doctor White, biſhop of Wincheſter, in St. George's church in Southwark, at eight of the clock in the morning, and then he called me before him, and ſaid unto me:

Wincheſter. Stephen Gratwick, how ſtandeth the matter with thee now? Art thou contented to revoke thy hereſies, which thou haſt maintained and defended here within my dioceſe, oftentimes before me; and alſo upon

Sunday

Sunday laſt ye ſtood up in the face of the whole church, maintaining your hereſies, ſo that you have offended within the liberty of my dioceſe: and now I being your ordinary, you muſt anſwer me directly, whether you will revoke them, or not, which I have here in writing; and if ſo be that you will not revoke them, then I will excommunicate you, and therefore note well what you do, for now I read here the articles againſt you.

And ſo when he had ended, he bade me anſwer unto them.

Gratwick. My Lord, theſe articles which you have here objected againſt me, are not mine, but of your own making: for I never had any of mine examinations written at any time, and therefore theſe be the objections that you lay againſt me as a ſnare to get my blood. Wherefore I deſire your lawful favour, to allow my lawful appeal to mine ordinary; for I have nothing to do with you. And whereas you do burden me, that I have offended within your dioceſe, it is nothing ſo: for I have not enterpriſed either to preach or teach within your dioceſe, but was apprehended by mine own biſhop, and ſent priſoner into your dioceſe, by the conſent of the council, and mine own ordinary; and therefore I ſo being in your dioceſe, you have no cauſe to refuſe my lawful appeal.

And with that came the biſhop of Rocheſter, (whom the biſhop of Wincheſter gladly received) according to their determinate purpoſe before invented; and ſo followed the archdeacon of Canterbury; and then the biſhop again ſtarted up as man half raviſhed of his wits for joy, embracing him with many gentle words, and ſaid, that he was very glad of his coming, making ignorant thereof, as he thought it ſhould appear to me. Then ſaid Wincheſter;

Wincheſter. Sir, I am very glad of your coming; for here I have one before me who hath appealed unto you, being his ordinary. Then ſaid the archdeacon of Canterbury:

Archdeacon. I know this man very well. He hath been divers times before me. And then I anſwered and ſaid;

Gratwick. My Lord, I am not of his dioceſe by five miles: for his reacheth on that part no further than the clifts of Lewes; and I dwelt at Brighthelmſtone, five miles beyond, in the dioceſe of the biſhop of Chicheſter; and therefore I am not of his dioceſe.

Then the biſhop of Wincheſter, the biſhop of Rocheſter, and the archdeacon of Canterbury, caſt their heads together and laughed: and then they ſaid my ordinary would be here by and by, and ſo they ſent forth for a counterfeit inſtead of mine ordinary: and then I ſaw them laugh; and I ſpake to them, and ſaid:

Gratwick. Why do ye laugh? Are ye confederate together for my blood, and therein triumph? you have more cauſe to look weightily upon the matter; for I ſtand here before you upon my life and death. But you declare yourſelves what you are: for ye are cloathed in lamb's apparel, but I would to God ye had coats according to your aſſembly here, which is ſcarlet gowns, for I do here perceive you are bent to have my blood.

And then came ruſhing in that counterfeited biſhop, who was the hired ſervant to deliver me into the hands of the high prieſt: and the biſhop hearing him come, with haſte enquired of his man who was there: and he ſaid, My Lord of Chicheſter. Then the biſhop with haſte roſe up, and ſaid:

Wincheſter. Ye are moſt heartily welcome; and required him to ſit down: and then ſaid the biſhop of Wincheſter to me, Lo here is your ordinary; what have you now to ſay to him?

Gratwick. I have nothing to ſay to him. If he have nothing to ſay to me, I pray you let me depart. Then anſwered my counterfeit ordinary, and ſaid:

Counterfeit. Here you ſtand before my Lords and me in trial of your faith, and if you bring the truth, we ſhall by compulſion give place unto you, as it is to be proved by the word; and your doctrine to be heard and embraced for a truth.

Gratwick. Then I demanded of him whether he meant by authority, or by the judgment of the Spirit of God in his members.

And he anſwered me, By authority, as well as by the Spirit.

Then ſaid I, Now will I turn your own argument upon you: for Chriſt came before the high prieſts, ſcribes, and phariſees, bringing the truth with him, being the very truth himſelf, which truth cannot lye; yet both he and his truth was condemned, and took no place with them: And alſo the apoſtles, and all the martyrs that died ſince Chriſt: therefore I turn your own argument upon you: anſwer it if you can.

Then the ſaid counterfeit ordinary with great heat and choler, ſaid to the biſhop of Wincheſter, Object ſome articles againſt him, for he is obſtinate, and would fain get out of our hands; therefore hold him to ſome particular: ſo that no other anſwer could I have to this argument.

Then the biſhop of Wincheſter began to read objections of his own making againſt me, and he bade me anſwer to them.

And I ſaid; No, except you will ſet the law apart, becauſe I ſee you are mindful of my blood.

Wincheſter. Now you may ſee he will not anſwer to theſe, but as he hath aforeſaid.

Then ſpake the counterfeit ordinary again, and ſaid, My Lord, Aſk him what he ſaith to the ſacrament of the altar. Then the biſhop aſked me, as my counterfeit ordinary required him.

Gratwick. My Lord, I do believe that in the ſacrament of the ſupper of the Lord, truly adminiſtered in both kinds, according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, unto the worthy he eateth myſtically by faith the body and blood of Chriſt. Then I aſked him, if it were not the truth, and he ſaid, Yes. Then ſaid I, Bear witneſs of the truth.

Then the biſhop of Wincheſter, whoſe head being ſubtileſt to gather upon my words, ſaid, My Lord, ſee you not how he creepeth away with his hereſies, and covereth them privily? Note how he here ſeparateth the ſacrament of the altar from the ſupper of the Lord, meaning it not to be the true ſacrament, and alſo how he condemneth our adminiſtration in one kind, allowing that the unworthy receiver doth not eat and drink the body and blood of Chriſt; which before matters truly weighed, being covered very craftily with his ſubtil ſhifts and ſophiſtry; but he ſhall anſwer directly before he depart.

Gratwick. My lord, that is but your gathering of my words, for you before confeſſed the ſame ſayings to be the truth, and this you catch at me, and fain would have an advantage for my blood: but ſeeing you judge me not to mean the ſacrament of the altar, now come to the probation of the ſame ſacrament, and prove it to be the true ſacrament, and I am with you; or elſe if you can prove your church to be the true church, I am alſo with you.

But then he called to memory the laſt probation of the church and ſacraments, how he before was driven to forſake the ſcriptures, and to ſhew me by good reaſon how they might adminiſter the ſacrament in one kind: and his reaſon was this, Like as a man or woman dieth on a ſudden, and ſo when we have given him the body of Chriſt, in the mean time the party dieth, and ſo he eateth the body of Chriſt, and not drinketh his blood. And this was his ſimple ſhift in the proving of their ſacraments: ſo that he was now half aſhamed to begin that matter again.

But yet a little ſhift be brought in, and ſaid:

Wincheſter. What ſayſt thou by the adminiſtration of the prieſts every day by themſelves, and they miniſter in both kinds?

To that I anſwered, You have two adminiſtrations; for I am ſure at Eaſter you adminiſter but one kind, and therefore it is not according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, but after your own imaginations.

Wincheſter. Why then what ſayſt thou to theſe words, "Take, eat, this is my body." Theſe are the words of Chriſt. Wilt thou deny them?

Gratwick, My lord, they are the words of ſcripture, I affirm them, and not deny them.

Rocheſter. Why then thou doſt confeſs in the ſacrament of the altar to be a real preſence, the ſelf-ſame body that was born of the virgin Mary, and is aſcended up into heaven.

Gratwick. My lord, what do you now mean? do you not alſo mean a viſible body? for it cannot be, but of neceſſity, if it be a real preſence, and a material body, it muſt be a viſible body alſo.

Wincheſter. Nay, I ſay unto thee, it is a real preſence and a material body, and an inviſible body too.

Gratwick. My lord, then it muſt needs be a fantaſtical body, for if it ſhould be material and inviſible, as you affirm, then it muſt needs be a fantaſtical body: for it is apparent that Chriſt's human body was viſible and ſeen.

Then the biſhop brake out and ſaid, When didſt thou ſee him? I pray thee tell me.

To that I anſwered and ſaid, a ſimple argument it is; becauſe our corporal eyes cannot comprehend Chriſt, doth it prove or follow, that he is inviſible, becauſe we cannot ſee him?

And with that the biſhop began to grow weary of his argument, and removed his talk to Judas in eating the ſacrament, and ſaid, He eat him wholly, as the apoſtles did.

And then I aſked him, If he meant Chriſt's fleſh and blood, which he ſpeaketh of in the ſixth of John, and ſaith, "He that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life in me."

To that he anſwered and ſaid, Yea.

Then ſaid I, Of neceſſity Judas muſt needs be ſaved, becauſe he did eat the fleſh and drink the blood of Chriſt, as you have affirmed, and alſo all the ungodly that die without repentance, becauſe they have eaten your ſacrament, which you ſay is the fleſh and blood of Chriſt: therefore of neceſſity they ſhall receive the benefit thereof, that is, eternal life. Which is a great abſurdity to grant, and then of neceſſity it muſt follow, that all that eat not, and drink not of your ſacrament, ſhall finally periſh and be damned: for Chriſt ſaith, "Except ye eat my fleſh, and drink my blood, ye have no life in you." And you have aforeſaid that of your ſacrament, which you ſay is the ſame fleſh and blood which Chriſt ſpeaketh of: and here I prove that all children then that die under age to receive the ſacrament, by your own argument, muſt be damned, which is horrible blaſphemy to ſpeak. Now here I turn your own argument upon you, anſwer it if you can.

Wincheſter. My lord, do you not ſee what deceitful arguments he bringeth in here againſt us, mingled with ſophiſtry, and keepeth himſelf ſo that we can get no hold of him? But I ſay unto thee, thou perverſe heretic, I ſee now thou art a perverſe fellow. I had a better opinion of thee, but now I ſee we loſe our time about thee, yet I anſwer thee, St. Paul doth open the ſixth of John plainly, if thou wilt ſee: for he ſaith, "They eat Chriſt's body and drink his blood unworthily," and that was the cauſe of their damnation.

Gratwick. My lord, take heed you do not add to the text, for he that addeth to the text is accurſed of God; and I am ſure here you have brought more than Paul hath ſpoken: for he ſaith not, Becauſe they have eaten his body, and drank his blood unworthily; but Saint Paul ſaith, "Whoſoever ſhall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup unworthily, ſhall be guilty of the body and blood of Chriſt." Note, my lord, he ſaith not as you have affirmed, but clean contrary. And with that they were all in a great rage.

And the biſhop of Wincheſter ſaid I belyed the text.

And then I called for the text.

Wincheſter. I aſked thee even now if thou didſt underſtand Latin, and thy anſwer was, whether thou didſt or no, the people ſhall bear witneſs in Engliſh.

Gratwick. And ſo I called again for the Teſtament, whether it were Latin or Engliſh, for the trial of the text.

And then when the biſhop of Wincheſter ſaw that I cared not whether of the tranſlations I had, he ſtood up, thinking to beguile ſome ſimple man that had a book there, and bade him that had an Engliſh Teſtament to bring it in, that he might get ſome hold at him that ſhould bring a Teſtament: but God diſappointed him thereof, and ſo he flew away from his matter, and began to rail upon me, and ſaid, my ſubtil arguments ſhould not ſerve: for if I would not anſwer directly, I ſhould nevertheleſs be excommunicated. For (ſaid he) I ſee a mad toy in thine head; thou glorieſt much in thy talk, and thinkeſt now the people are come about thee, thou ſhalt encourage them with thy conſtant heretical opinion. For the laſt day when thou waſt before me upon Sunday in St. Mary Overy's church, thou there reprovedſt my ſermon, and hadſt a thouſand by thee at leaſt, to bid God ſtrengthen thee: but now let me ſee him here that dare open his mouth to bid God ſtrengthen thee; he ſhall die the death that thou ſhalt die.

To that I anſwered, My lord, I know your cruelty doth extend more largely than your pity. Good experience ſo I have to ſay, for you keep men in priſon a year or two, taking their books from them, permitting them not ſo much as a Teſtament to look upon for their ſoul's comfort, which all men ought to have: and ſo you treat them more like brute beaſts than chriſtian men.

Wincheſter. No, Sir, we will uſe you as we will uſe the child: for if the child will hurt himſelf with the knife, we will keep the knife from him. So becauſe you will damn your ſouls with the word, therefore you ſhall not have it.

Gratwick. My lord, a ſimple argument you bring to maintain and cover your fault. Are you not aſhamed to make the word the cauſe of our damnation? I never knew any man but only you that did not affirm our ſins to be the cauſe of our damnation, and not the word, as you ſay: and therefore if your argument be good, then this is good alſo: Becauſe that ſome men do abuſe drink, therefore the benefit of drink ſhould be taken from all men, or any other ſuch like good gift.

Wincheſter. My lords, we here loſe much time, for this fellow is perverſe, ſpeaking nothing but ſophiſtry and perverſe queſtions: ſo that we can get no advantage of him.

Then ſpake my counterfeit ordinary, as one half aſleep all this while; yet ſomewhat with haſte when he was awaked he began to tell his tale, and ſaid:

Counterfeit. Read theſe articles againſt him oncemore, and if he will not anſwer them, take him upon his firſt words; "That which I have ſaid, that I have ſaid."

Then the biſhop of Wincheſter began to read them again.

But I ſaid unto him, I would not anſwer them, becauſe they were none of mine examinations, but objections of their own making, becauſe they would have my blood. But yet I ſaid, if they would ſet the law apart, I would talk my conſcience freely to them.

Then my counterfeit ordinary began to ſpeak again, charging me with the ſaying of St. Peter, that I ſhould render account of ſuch hope as was in me.

Gratwick. So can I do, yet I ſhall not pleaſe you; for here I now render my hope, as St. Peter willeth me: I believe only in Jeſus Chriſt to have my ſalvation in him, by him, and through him; but I perceive you would have me render my faith in ſuch ſort, as you may have my blood, and therefore you bring good ſcriptures, and evil apply them.

Wincheſter. Why, this fellow is perverted, and we ſhall get no more at his hands than we have already; therefore let us pronounce ſentence againſt him, for we do but loſe our time.

Gratwick. Nay, my good lord, ſeeing you muſt needs have my blood, let me ſay a little more for myſelf.

Upon Sunday laſt, when I was before you, you preached this which was a truth, and agreeable to the doctrine of the apoſtle St. James, and ſaid, "If any man think himſelf a religious man, and in the mean time ſeduces his tongue or his heart, the ſame man's religion is a vain religion;" and ſo, my lord, you ſtanding there in the pulpit, in the mean time ſeduced your tongue to ſlander us poor priſoners being there preſent in iron bands, burdening us with the ſect of Arians, and with the ſect of Herodians, and with the ſect of Anabaptiſts, and with the ſect of Sacramentaries, and with the ſect of Pelagians.

And when we ſtood up to purge ourſelves thereof, you ſaid you would cut out our tongues, and cauſe us to be pulled out of the church by violence. But there you gave yourſelf a ſhrewd blow, for your tongue in the mean time ſlandered your neighbour. For I, my lord, will give my life againſt all theſe hereſies, which you there burdened us withal, even as I will give my life againſt that wherein I now ſtand before you. And with that he was raging angry, and caught my condemnation, and ſaid,

Wincheſter. Thou wilt grant here no more but this word, "That I have ſaid, I have ſaid:" And here I gather matter enough to condemn thee, for this is a confirmation of all that thou haſt heretofore ſaid.

Then I anſwered, If you can prove that ever any of mine examinations were written, it were enough: but you have nothing againſt me but objections of your own making.

Wincheſter. Have at thee now, if thou wilt not yield, I will pronounce ſentence againſt thee: and ſo he proceeded forward, curſing and banning in Latin; ſo that I told him, If the people might hear it in Engliſh, they would think you an uncharitable biſhop.

And then I ſaid, Stay my lord, and note what you do: for you have neither temporal law nor ſpiritual here againſt me in any cauſe.

Then ſtepped forth a gentleman, and ſaid unto my lord, Take heed what ye do: for he doth here ſay, that you have no title or cauſe why you ſhould condemn him.

Then the biſhop looked about him again, and aſked me if I would recant.

I aſked him, whereof I ſhould recant.

Then ſaid the biſhop, Are you there? Nay then I know what I have to do: and ſo proceeded forth in reading my condemnation. And there was another gentleman which began to ſnap and ſnatch at me: and then ſaid I, I would God I had known this ere I had come from home, I would ſurely have put on breeches, and not had my ſkin thus torn. And all this while the biſhop read on ſtill.

At laſt his chaplains cried, Stop, ſtop, my lord: for now he will recant. And then the biſhop aſked me again.

To which I anſwered, My lord, my faith is grounded more ſtedfaſtly than to change in a moment; it is no proceſs of time can alter me, unleſs my faith were as the waves of the ſea: and ſo the biſhop made an end, and delivered me into the hands of the ſheriff, to be again carried to the Marſhalſea. And when I was condemned, I deſired God with a loud voice, that he would not lay my blood to their charge, if it were his good will, and they refuſed my prayer, and ſent me away. Then I began to talk as I went, and they cried, Cut out his tongue, or ſtop his mouth; and ſo I was brought to the Marſhalſea, and bound in irons. And therefore I pray unto God that they unto whom this preſent writing ſhall come, may take example by my death and warfare. So be it.

By me Stephen Gratwick, condemned for God's everlaſting truth.

Here for want of time, I left out many matters, becauſe the Lord hath haſtened the time, ſo that I have written but the briefneſs of the matter, in probation of of faith, and the reward of faith, which the biſhop of Rocheſter and I debated upon; which matter I would have been very glad to have ſet down in writing.

Alſo much more talk there was, that the biſhop of Wincheſter and I had concerning my worldly friends and perſonal eſtate: for he played Satan with me, he carried me up to the mountains, and there told me my learning was good, and my eloquence, and alſo my knowledge, ſave that I did abuſe it, ſaid he; and then he fell to praiſing of my perſon, that it was comely, and worthy to ſerve a prince. Thus Satan flattered with me, to make me anſwer to ſuch objections as he would lay againſt me, that I might fall into his dioceſe.

Thus this chriſtian martyr, Stephen Gratwick, being wrongfully condemned by the biſhop of Wincheſter (as ye have heard) was burnt with W. Morant, and one named King, in St. George's fields, about the latter end of May.

The Hiſtory of ſeven godly Martyrs, five Women and two Men, burnt at Maidſtone, for profeſſing the true Religion of Chriſt.

I Shewed a little before, how after the univerſal proclamation was ſet forth by the king and queen in the month of February laſt, the ſtorm of perſecution began in all places to riſe (whereof ſome part is alſo declared before) but yet in no place more than in the dioceſe of Canterbury, by reaſon of the aforeſaid inquiſitors, being now armed with authority, but eſpecially by reaſon of Richard Thornton, ſuffragan of Dover, and the archdeacon of Canterbury, who of their own nature were ſo furious and fiery againſt the harmleſs flock of Chriſt, that there was no need of any proclamation to ſtir up the coals of their burning cruelty, by reaſon whereof many a godly ſaint lieth ſlain under the altar.

And now to return to the ſaid dioceſe of Canterbury again, in the next month following, being the 18th day of June, were ſeven chriſtian and true faithful martyrs of Chriſt burned at Maidſtone, whoſe names here follow:

Joan Bradbridge, of Staplehurſt.
Walter Appleby, of Maidſtone.
Petronil, his wife.
Edmund Allin, of Frytenden.
Katherine, his wife.
John Manning's wife, of Maidſtone.
Elizabeth, a blind maiden.

As concerning the general articles commonly objected to them in the public conſiſtory, and the order of their condemnation, it differeth not much from the uſual manner expreſſed before, neither did their anſwers in effect much differ from the others that ſuffered under the ſame ordinary in the aforeſaid dioceſe of Canterbury.

Now as touching their anſwers and manner of apprehenſion, and their private conflicts with the adverſaries, I find no great matter coming to my hands, ſave only of Edmund Allin ſome intimation is given me, how his troubles came, what was his cauſe and anſwers before the juſtices, as here conſequently ye ſhall underſtand.

The

The Examination of Edmund Allin.

THIS Allin was a miller of the pariſh of Frytenden in Kent, and in a dear year, when as many poor people were like to ſtarve, he fed them, and ſold his corn cheaper by half than others did; and did not only that, but alſo fed them with the food of life, reading to them the ſcriptures, and interpreting them. This being known to the popiſh prieſts dwelling thereabouts, by the procurement of them, namely, of John Taylor, parſon of Frytenden, and Thomas Henden parſon of Staplehurſt, he was ſoon complained of to the juſtices, and brought before Sir John Baker knight; who firſt ſending for them, committed both him and his wife to ward, but not long after they were let out, I know not how, and ſo went over to Calais: where, after he had continued ſome time, he began to be troubled in conſcience, and there meeting with one John Webb, from the ſame pariſh of Frytenden (who was likewiſe fled from the tyranny of Sir John Baker and parſon Taylor) ſaid unto him, that he could not be in quiet there, whatſoever the cauſe was; for God, ſaid he, had ſomething to do for him in England: and ſhortly after he returned to his pariſh of Frytenden, where was the cruel prieſt, parſon Taylor.

This parſon being informed by his brother ſexton, that Edmund Allin the miller and his wife were returned, and were not at maſs-time in the church; as he was the ſame time in the midſt of his maſs, upon a Sunday, a little before the elevation (as they term it) even almoſt at the lifting up of his Romiſh God, he turned him to the people in a great rage, and commanded them with all ſpeed to go unto their houſe, and apprehend them, and he would come unto them with as much haſte as he might poſſible. Which promiſe he well performed; for he had no ſooner made an end of Ite, miſſa eſt, and the veſtments off his back, but by and by he was at the houſe, and there laying hands on the ſaid Allin, cauſed him again to be brought to Sir John Baker, with a grievous complaint of his exhorting and reading the ſcriptures to the people, and ſo he and his wife were ſent to Maidſtone priſon. Witneſſed by Richard Fletcher vicar of Crambroke, and John Webb of Frytenden.

No ſooner were they in priſon but Mr. Baker immediately ſent certain of his men to their houſe, namely, John Dove, Thomas Beſt, Thomas Linley, Percival Barbar, with the aforeſaid John Taylor parſon of Frytenden, and Thomas Henden parſon of Staplehurſt, to take an inventory of all the goods that were in the houſe. Where they found in the bed-ſtraw a little cheſt locked with a padlock, wherein they found a ſackcloth bag of money, containing the ſum of thirteen or fourteen pound, partly in gold and partly in ſilver: which money after they had told, and put in the bag again, like good carvers for themſelves, they carried it away with them.

Beſides alſo they found there certain books, as pſalters, bibles, and others writings. All which books, with the money, were delivered to the aforeſaid prieſt Thomas Henden, parſon of Staplehurſt, and afterwards in the fifth year of the reign of queen Elizabeth it was by right law recovered from him again, as in records remaineth to be ſeen.

Thus good Edmund Allin and his wife, being maliciouſly accuſed, wrongfully impriſoned, and cruelly robbed and ſpoiled of all their goods, were brought, as is aforeſaid, before Sir John Baker the juſtice, to be examined; who taunting and reviling him without all mercy and pity, aſked him if thoſe were the fruits of his goſpel, to have conventicles to gather people together, to make conſpiracies to ſow ſedition and rebellion; and thus he began to reaſon with him.

A Conference between Sir John Baker, Collins his Chaplain, and Edmund Allin.

Baker. WHO gave thee authority to preach and interpret? Art thou a prieſt? Art thou admitted thereunto? Let me ſee thy licence.

Mart. Collins, Sir John Baker's ſchoolmaſter ſaid, Surely he is an arrant heretic, and worthy to be burned.

Allin. And it may pleaſe your honour to give me leave to anſwer in the cauſe of my faith, I am perſuaded that God hath given me this authority, as he hath given to all other chriſtians. Why are we called chriſtians, if we do not follow Chriſt, if we do not read his law, if we do not interpret it to others that have not ſo much underſtanding? Is not Chriſt our Father? Shall not the ſon follow the father's ſteps? Is not Chriſt our Maſter? and ſhall the ſcholar be inhibited to learn and preach his precepts? Is not Chriſt our Redeemer, and ſhall not we praiſe his name, and ſerve him that hath redeemed us from ſin and damnation? Did not Chriſt, being but twelve years of age, diſpute with the doctors, and interpret the prophet Iſaiah? and yet notwithſtanding he was neither of the tribe of Levi, which were prieſts, but of the royal tribe of Judah, neither had taken any outward prieſthood; wherefore if we be chriſtians we muſt do the ſame.

Collins. And it ſhall like your honour, what a knave is this, that compareth himſelf with Chriſt?

Baker. Let him alone, he will pump out anon an infinite number of hereſies. Haſt thou any more to ſay for thyſelf?

Allin. Yea, that I have. Adam was licenced of God, and Abraham was commanded to teach his children and poſterity, and ſo David teacheth in divers pſalms: and Solomon alſo preached to the people, as the book of the preacher very well proveth, where he teacheth that there is no immortal felicity in this life, but in the next. And Noah taught them that were diſobedient in his days, and therefore is called "The eighth preacher of righteouſneſs," in the ſecond epiſtle of Peter. Alſo in the 11th chapter of Numbers, where Moſes had choſen ſeventy elders to help him to teach and rule the reſt, Eldad and Medad preached in the tents, wherefore Joſhua being offended, complained to Moſes, that Eldad and Medad did preach without licence. To whom Moſes anſwered, and wiſhed that all the people could do the like. Why ſhould I be wrong? moſt of the prieſts were not of the tribe of Levi and Aaron.

Collins. Theſe are authorities of the Old Teſtament, and therefore abrogated; but thou art a fool, and knoweſt no ſchool points. Is not the law divided into the law ceremonial, moral, and judicial?

Allin. I grant that the ceremonies ceaſed when Chriſt came, as St. Paul proveth to the Hebrews, and to the Coloſſians, where he ſaith, "Let no man judge you in any part of the Sabbath-day, new moon, or other ceremonies, which are figures of things to come: for Chriſt is the body."

Collins. And are not the judicials abrogated by Chriſt?

Allin. They are confirmed both by Chriſt in the fifth chapter of Matthew, and by Paul in the firſt epiſtle to Timothy. The law, ſaith he, is not ſet forth for the virtuous and godly, but for man-ſlayers, perjured, adulterers, and ſuch like.

Collins. Thou art an heretic. Wilt thou call the judicials of Moſes again? Wilt thou have adultery puniſhed with death? diſobedient children to their parents to be ſtoned? wilt thou have Legem Talionis? But thou art an aſs. Why ſhould I ſpeak Latin to thee thou erroneous rebel? ſhall we now ſmite out eye for eye, tooth for tooth? thou art worthy to have thy teeth and tongue plucked out.

Allin. If we had that law, we ſhould neither have diſobedient children, neither adulterers, neither falſe witneſs bearers, neither ruffians.

Baker. Maſter Collins, let us return to our firſt matter. Why didſt thou teach the people, whom thou ſaidſt thou didſt feed both bodily and ſpiritually, being no prieſt?

Allin. Becauſe that we are all kings to rule our affections, prieſts to preach out the virtues and word of God, as Peter writeth, and lively ſtones to give light to others. For as out of flint ſtones cometh forth that which is able to ſet all the world on fire; ſo out of chriſtians ſhould ſpring the beams of the goſpel, which ſhould inflame all the world. If we muſt give a reckoning of our faith to every man, and now to you demanding it, then muſt we ſtudy the ſcriptures, and practiſe them. What availeth it a man to have meat, and will eat none; and apparel, and will wear none? or to have an occupation, and to teach none; or to be a lawyer, and utter none? Shall every artificer be ſuffered, yea and commanded to practiſe his faculty and ſcience, and the chriſtian forbidden to exerciſe his? Doth not every lawyer practiſe his law? Is not every chriſtian a follower of Chriſt? Shall ignorance, which is condemned in all ſciences, be practiſed by chriſtians? Doth not St. Paul forbid any man's ſpirit to be quenched? Doth he prohibit any man that hath any of theſe gifts, which he repeateth, 1 Cor. 14. to practiſe the ſame? Only he forbiddeth women, but no man. The Jews never forbad any. Read the Acts of the apoſtles. And the reſtraint was made by Gregory the ninth pope of that name, as I heard one, a learned man, preach in king Edward's days.

Collins. This villain (and it like your honour) is mad. By my prieſthood I believe that he will ſay, that a prieſt hath no more authority than another man. Doth not a prieſt bind and looſe?

Allin. No, my ſin bindeth me, and my repentance looſeth. God forgiveth ſin only, and no prieſt. For every chriſtian, when he ſinneth, bindeth himſelf, and when he repenteth, looſeth himſelf. And if any other be looſed from his ſin by my exhortation, I am ſaid to looſe him; and if he perſevere in ſin, notwithſtanding my exhortation, I am ſaid to bind him, although it is God that bindeth and looſeth, and giveth the increaſe. Therefore ſaith Chriſt, Matt. 18. "Whereſoever two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midſt of them; and whoſe ſoever ſins they forgive they are forgiven, and whoſe ſoever ſins they retain, they are retained." Neither hath the pope any keys ſave the keys of error; for the key that openeth the lock to God's myſteries and to ſalvation, is the key of faith and repentance. And as I have heard learned men reaſon, St. Auſtin, Origen, and others, are of this opinion.

Then they reviled him, and laid him in the ſtocks all the night. Wherewith ſome that were better minded, being offended with ſuch extremity, deſired Allin to keep his conſcience to himſelf, and to follow Baruch's counſel in the ſixth chapter; "Wherefore when ye ſee the multitude of people worſhipping them, behind and before, ſay ye in your hearts, O Lord, it is thou that ought only to be worſhipped."

Wherewith he was perſuaded to go to hear maſs the next day, and ſuddenly before the ſacring went out, and conſidered in the church-yard with himſelf, that ſuch a little cake between the prieſt's fingers could not be Chriſt, nor a material body, neither to have ſoul, life, ſinews, bones, fleſh, legs, head, arms nor breaſt, and lamented that he was ſeduced by the place of Baruch, which his conſcience gave him to be no ſcripture, or elſe to have another meaning: and after this he was brought again before Sir John Baker, who aſked why he did refuſe to worſhip the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar.

Allin. It is an idol.

Collins. It is God's body.

Allin. It is not.

Collins. By the maſs it is.

Allin. It is bread.

Collins. How proveſt thou that?

Allin. When Chriſt ſate at his ſupper, and gave them bread to eat.

Collins. Bread, knave?

Allin. Yea bread, which you call Chriſt's body. Sate he ſtill at the table, or was he both in their mouths, and at the table? If he were in their mouths, and at the table, then had he two bodies, or elſe had a fantaſtical body; which is an abſurdity to ſay it.

Baker. Chriſt's body was glorified, and might be in more places than one.

Allin. Then he had more bodies than one, by your own placing of him.

Collins. Thou ignorant aſs, the ſchoolmen ſay, that a glorified body may be every where.

Allin. If his body was not glorified till it roſe again, then was it not glorified at his laſt ſupper; and therefore was not at the table, and in their mouths by your own reaſon.

Collins. A glorified body occupieth no place.

Allin. That which occupieth no place, is neither God, nor any thing elſe: But Chriſt's body, ſay you, occupieth no place; therefore it is neither God, nor any thing elſe. If it be nothing, then is your religion nothing. If it be God, then have we four in one Trinity, which is the perſon of the Father, the perſon of the Son, the perſon of the Holy Ghoſt, the human nature of Chriſt. If Chriſt be nothing, which you muſt needs confeſs, if he occupieth no place, then is our ſtudy in vain, our faith fruſtrate, and our hope without reward.

Collins. This rebel will believe nothing but ſcripture. How knoweſt thou that it is the ſcripture but by the church? and ſo ſaith St. Auſtin.

Allin. I cannot tell what St. Auſtin ſaith, but I am perſuaded that it is ſcripture by divers arguments: Firſt, that the law worketh in me my condemnation. The law telleth me, that of myſelf I am damned; and this damnation, Mr. Collins, you muſt find in yourſelf, or elſe you ſhall never come to repentance. For as this grief and ſorrow of conſcience, without faith, is deſperation; ſo is a glorious and Romiſh faith, without the lamentation of a man's ſins, preſumption.

The ſecond is the goſpel, which is the power and Spirit of God. "This Spirit (ſaith St. Paul) certifieth my ſpirit that I am the Son of God, and that theſe are the ſcriptures."

The third are the wonderful works of God, which cauſe me to believe that there is a God, though we glorify him not as God, Rom. 1. The ſun, the moon, the ſtars, and other his works (as David diſcourſeth in Pſal. 19.) declare that there is a God, and that theſe are the ſcriptures, becauſe that they teach nothing elſe but God and his power, majeſty and might; and becauſe the ſcripture teacheth nothing diſagreeing from the preſcription of nature. And fourthly, becauſe that the word of God gave authority to the church in paradiſe, ſaying, that the ſeed of the woman ſhould break down the ſerpent's head. This ſeed is the goſpel; this is all the ſcriptures, and by this we are aſſured of eternal life; and theſe words, "The ſeed of the woman ſhall break the ſerpent's head," gave authority to the church, and not the church to the word.

Baker. I heard ſay that you ſpake againſt prieſts and biſhops.

Allin. I ſpake for them; for now they have ſo much living, and eſpecially biſhops, archdeacons and deans, that they neither can nor will teach God's word. If they had a hundred pounds a-piece, then would they apply their ſtudy; now they cannot for their affairs.

Collins. Who will then ſet his children to ſchool?

Allin. Where there is now one ſent to ſchool for that end, there would be forty; becauſe that one biſhop's living divided into thirty or forty parts, would find ſo

many as well learned men as the biſhops be now who have all this living, neither had Peter or Paul any ſuch revenue.

Baker. Let us diſpatch him; he will marr all.

Collins. If every man had a hundred pounds as he ſaith, it would make more learned men.

Baker. But our biſhops would be angry, if that they knew it.

Allin. It were for a common-wealth to have ſuch biſhopricks divided, for the further increaſe of learning.

Baker. What ſayeſt thou to the ſacrament?

Allin. As I ſaid before.

Baker. Away with him.

Then he was carried to priſon, and afterward burned. And thus much concerning the particular ſtory of Edmund Allin and his wife: who with the five other martyrs abovenamed, being ſeven, were altogether burned at Maidſtone, the 18th of June, 1557.

Another Story of like Cruelty, ſhewed upon Three Men and Four Women, who were burnt at Canterbury.

AMONG ſuch infinite ſeas of troubles in theſe moſt dangerous days, who can withhold from tears to ſee the mading rage of theſe pretended catholics, who being never ſatisfied with blood to maintain their carnal kingdom, preſume ſo highly to violate the preciſe law of God's commandments, in ſlaying the ſimple poor lambs of the glorious congregation of Jeſus Chriſt, and that for the true teſtimony of a good conſcience, in confeſſing the immaculate goſpel of their ſalvation? What heart will not lament the murdering miſchief of theſe men, who for want of work do ſo wrack their time on ſilly poor women, whoſe weakneſs the more ſtrength it lacketh by natural imperfection, the more it ought to be helped, or at leaſt pitied, and not oppreſſed of men that be ſtronger, and eſpecially of prieſts that ſhould be charitable.

But bleſſed be the Lord Omnipotent, who ſupernaturally hath indued from above ſuch weak creatures with ſuch manly fortitude, ſo conſtantly to withſtand the uttermoſt extremity of theſe mercileſs perſecutors: as he did before ſtrengthen the mother of the ſeven ſons in the Maccabees, and as he hath done ſince with divers other godly women in theſe our days, partly before-mentioned, and partly to be mentioned hereafter, as may appear by the martyrdom of the ſeven following, of which four were women and three men, burnt together at Canterbury, the 30th day of the ſaid month of June 1557, whoſe names are theſe:

John Fiſhcock,	Bradbridge's widow,
Nicholas White,	Wilſon's wife,
Nicholas Pardue,	Benden's wife,
Barbara Final, widow,	

As it were too tedious exactly and particularly to proſecute the ſeveral ſtories of every one of theſe martyrs; ſo I cannot paſs over untouched the cruel and unchriſtian handling of Alice Benden during her impriſonment, according as I have recited by the faithful relation of them who were beſt acquainted with her, and partly alſo ſome doers in the matter, being her own natural brethren. The ſtory is thus:

Alice Benden, wife of Edward Benden, of the pariſh of Staplehurſt in the county of Kent, was firſt brought before Mr. Roberts of Crambroke in the ſaid county, the 14th of October 1556, of whom ſhe was demanded why ſhe would not go to the church? To which ſhe anſwered, that ſhe could not do ſo with a good and clear conſcience, becauſe there was much idolatry committed againſt the glory of God. For which, with many mocks and taunts ſhe was ſent to priſon, where ſhe lay fourteen days: for on the 20th day of October, her huſband required his neighbours, the wealthy men of Staplehurſt, to write to the biſhop of Dover, who had the chief government of the tyrannical ſword in Kent for thoſe days, which they did, deſiring him to ſend her home.

Wherefore the biſhop called her before him, and aſked her if ſhe would go home, and go to the church. Whereunto ſhe anſwered, If I would have ſo done, I need not to have come hither. Then wilt thou go home, and be confeſſed by thy pariſh prieſt? And ſhe ſaid, No, that would ſhe not.

Well, ſaid he, go thy ways home, and go to the church when thou wilt. Whereunto ſhe anſwered nothing. But a prieſt that ſtood by, ſaid, She ſaith ſhe will, my lord. Wherefore he let her go, and ſhe came home forthwith.

On the Saturday following her huſband deſired her to go to the church; which ſhe refuſed to do: Wherefore on the Sunday fortnight after, he going to the church, came into the company of divers inhabitants of the ſame pariſh; among whom, through his fooliſh talk and behaviour, he procured her to be ſent to Sir John Gilford, who commanded her to priſon again: yea, and the more to utter his own ſhame, they ſaid her huſband took money of the conſtable to carry her to priſon, the price of his wife's blood, meaning indeed to carry her to priſon himſelf. But ſhe having much more care of his honeſt and good report, than he had regard (as it is eaſy to ſee) of his own infamy, and no leſs aſhamed of his unnatural doings, choſe rather to commit herſelf willingly into the hands of her enemies, than that the world ſhould bear witneſs againſt her huſband of ſo wicked a fact. Wherefore ſhe went to the conſtable, deſiring him to go with her: but he anſwered that he could not; but he granted her his boy to go with her, with whom ſhe went to priſon, namely, the caſtle of Canterbury, according to the commandment given.

Where this one thing is worthy to be noted, that while ſhe was in this priſon, ſhe practiſed with a fellow-priſoner of hers, the wife of Potkin, to live both of them on twopence half-penny a day, to try thereby how well they could ſuſtain penury and hunger, before they were put to it. For they had heard, that when they ſhould be removed from thence to the biſhop's priſon, their livings ſhould be but three farthings a-piece a day, and did indeed both ſo live for fourteen days ere ſhe was from thence removed.

The 22d day of January following, her huſband went again to the biſhop, deſiring him to deliver his wife out of priſon: but he ſaid ſhe was an obſtinate heretic, and would not be reformed; and therefore ſaid that he could not deliver her.

Then ſaid he, My lord, ſhe hath a brother, whoſe name is Roger Hall, who reſorteth unto her. If your lordſhip could keep him from her, ſhe would turn; for he comforteth her, giveth her money, and perſuadeth her not to return or relent.

This caution was no ſooner given but it was as quickly taken, and as cruelly put in execution. For the biſhop commanding her upon the ſame to a priſon called Monday's Hole, there alſo he gave a ſtrict charge, that if at any time her brother came, he ſhould be taken and apprehended.

This priſon was within a court where the prebends chambers were, being a vault beneath the ground, and being before the window incloſed with a pale about four foot and a half high, and three foot diſtant from the ſame, ſo that ſhe looking from beneath, might only ſee ſuch as ſtood at the pale. After this, her brother ſought often for her, with no leſs danger of life than diligence. But for the unknown ſituation of the place, it being alſo but rarely uſed for a priſon, and the matter as cloſely kept, as it was ſecretly done, he could never come to underſtand of her being there, until through God's merciful will and unſearchable providence, he coming thither very early in the morning, her keeper being gone to the church to ring (for he was a bell-ringer) happened to hear her voice, as ſhe was pouring out her ſorrowful complaints

complaints unto God, ſaying the pſalms of David: and there could he no otherwiſe relieve her, than by putting money in a loaf of bread, and ſticking the ſame on a pole, and ſo reached it to her; for neither with meat or drink he could ſuſtain her. And this was five weeks after her coming thither; all which time no creature was known to come at her more than her keeper.

Her lying in that priſon was only upon a litt'e ſtraw between a pair of ſtocks and a ſtone wall; being allowed three farthings a day, that is, an half-penny for bread, and a farthing for drink, neither could ſhe get any more for her money. Wherefore ſhe deſired to have her whole allowance in bread, and uſed water for her drink. Thus did ſhe lie nine weeks. During all which time ſhe never changed her apparel; whereby at laſt ſhe became a very piteous and lothſome creature to behold.

At her firſt coming into this place ſhe did grievouſly bewail, with great ſorrow and lamentation, and reaſoned with herſelf, why her Lord God did ſuffer her with ſo heavy juſtice to be ſequeſtered from her loving fellows into ſo extreme miſery.

In theſe dolorous mournings did ſhe continue, till on a night as ſhe was in her ſorrowful ſupplications, rehearſing this verſe of the Pſalm; "Why art thou ſo heavy, O my ſoul?" and again, "The right hand of the Moſt High can change all:" ſhe received comfort in the midſt of her miſery, and after that continued very joyful till her delivery from the ſame.

About the 25th day of March, in the year 1557, ſhe was called before the biſhop, who demanded of her, whether ſhe would now go home, and to the church or no, promiſing her great favour, if ſhe would be reformed and do as they did.

To whom ſhe anſwered, I am thoroughly perſuaded by the great extremity that you have already ſhewed me, that you are not of God, neither can your doings be godly; and I ſee that you ſeek my utter deſtruction; ſhewing how lame ſhe was by hunger and cold while ſhe lay in the diſmal priſon, whereby ſhe was not able to move herſelf without great pain.

Then the biſhop delivered her from that filthy hole, and ſent her to Weſt-gate, where being kept clean, her ſkin did peel and ſcale off as if ſhe had been poiſoned by ſome mortal venom. Here ſhe continued till the latter end of April, when ſhe was called before them, and with others condemned, and committed to a priſon called the Caſtle, where ſhe lay till the 19th day of June, and then ſhe reſigned her life in the flames.

When ſhe was at the ſtake ſhe threw her handkerchief to one John Banks, requiring him to keep it in memory of her, and from about her middle ſhe took a white lace, which ſhe gave to the keeper, deſiring him to give the ſame to her brother Roger Hall, and to tell him, that it was the laſt band that ſhe was bound with, except the chain. A ſhilling alſo of Philip and Mary ſhe took forth, which her father had bent and ſent her when ſhe was firſt ſent to priſon, deſiring that her ſaid brother ſhould with obedient ſalutations render the ſame to her father again, and ſhew him that it was the firſt piece of money that he ſent her after her troubles began, which (as ſhe proteſted) ſhe had kept, and now ſent to let him underſtand, that ſhe never wanted money while ſhe was in priſon.

Alice Benden and the other ſix before mentioned were burnt at the ſame time. Being brought to the place of martyrdom they all addreſſed themſelves joyfully to the fire, and being ready, they all ſeven (like the communion of ſaints) kneeled down, and made their humble prayers to the Lord with ſuch zeal and affection, as even the enemies of the croſs could not but like it. When they had made invocation together, they aroſe and went to the ſtake, where being ſoon encompaſſed with horrible flames of fire, they yielded their ſouls and lives glorioufly into the hands of the Lord.

This Bradbridge's wife had two children, the one named Patience, the other Charity, and when ſhe was condemned by the biſhop, ſhe deſired (if ſhe muſt needs be burnt) that he would take Patience and Charity (meaning her two children) and keep them. Nay, quoth the biſhop, by the faith of my body, I will meddle with neither of them.

The Troubles and Examinations of Matthew Plaiſe.

MAtthew Plaiſe of the pariſh of Stone, in the county of Kent, weaver, and a faithful chriſtian, being apprehended and impriſoned in the caſtle of Canterbury, was brought to examination in the year 1557, before Thornton biſhop of Dover, archdeacon Harpsfield, commiſſary Collins, and other inquiſitors, in the following manner:

Biſhop. Art thou of the dioceſe of Canterbury, and where dwelleſt thou?

Plaiſe. I am of the pariſh of Stone in Kent, and ſubject to the king and queen of England.

Biſhop. Thou wert indicted by twelve men at the ſeſſion at Aſhford for hereſy.

Plaiſe. That is ſooner ſaid than proved.

Biſhop. I have ſpoken the truth, and I can prove it.

Plaiſe. I deſire to hear it, and then I will anſwer to it.

Biſhop. No, no; ye ſhall anſwer to the article, yea or nay.

Plaiſe. You cannot prove it; for I was not at Aſhford, and therefore you have nothing to lay to my charge: but now I perceive you go about to lay a net to have my blood.

Harpsfield. Peace, peace, we do not deſire thy blood, but we are glad to hear that thou art no heretic, [with many other flattering words] yet thou art ſuſpected of hereſy; and if thou wilt be content to confeſs how thou doſt believe as concerning thoſe articles, we ſhall gladly teach thee.

Plaiſe. I do not think ſo, for I talked with one of your doctors, and after long talk, he would needs know how I believed in the ſacrament, and I recited unto him the text, and becauſe I would not make my expoſition to him upon it he would teach me nothing: yet I prayed him for my inſtruction, to write his mind, and if it were the truth I would believe him; and this I deſired of him for the love of God, but it would not be.

Harpsfield. I dare ſwear upon a book, that it is not ſo.

Plaiſe. Nay, I can prove it to be true.

Harpsfield. I will tell thee the truth [and he ſtood up with a long proceſs] I am ſure that the ſame doctor doth believe as I do.

Plaiſe. How do you know that? ſeeing St. Paul doth ſay, That no man knoweth what is in man, but the ſpirit which dwelleth in him: but if you knew what Chriſt meant by theſe words, "I require mercy and not ſacrifice," Matth. 12. you would not kill innocents.

Biſhop. I charge thee in the name of the king and queen and the lord cardinal, to anſwer yea or nay to the articles.

Plaiſe. I command you in the name of Him who ſhall come in flaming fire with his mighty angels to render vengeance to the diſobedient, and to all thoſe that believe not the goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who ſhall be puniſhed with everlaſting damnation, that you ſhall ſpeak nothing but the truth grounded upon Chriſt and his apoſtles, and then I will anſwer you, or elſe not.

Biſhop. Unleſs thou wilt anſwer to every article I will immediately condemn thee. [For the biſhop was very angry.]

Plaiſe. Well, if you do, you ſhall be guilty of my blood, and prove yourſelf a murderer.

Then the archdeacon took the articles in his hand, and read the ſecond article, which was, That I was a chriſtian man,

man, and did believe in their mother the catholic church, and the determination thereof.

Plaiſe. I am a chriſtian man indeed, and therefore you have nothing againſt me.

Harpsfield. What ſayſt thou to the catholic church, which hath ſo long continued, except it were nine or ten years, that this hereſy hath ſprung up here in this realm?

Plaiſe. No man can accuſe me of any thing ſpoken againſt the catholic church of Chriſt.

Biſhop. Doſt thou not believe the creed?

Plaiſe. Yes verily, I believe my creed, and all that is written in the Teſtament of Chriſt, with the reſt of the ſcriptures.

Biſhop. Thou doſt confeſs, that there is a catholic church, I am glad of that; but tell me, is the king and queen of that church, or no?

Plaiſe. Well, now I perceive you go about to be both mine accuſer, and alſo my judge, contrary to all right. I confeſs Chriſt hath a church upon earth, which is built upon the apoſtles and prophets, Chriſt being the head thereof; and as touching the king and queen, I anſwer, I have nothing to do with any man's faith but mine own: neither came I hither to judge; for I judge not myſelf, but the Lord muſt judge me.

Biſhop. Is there no part of that church here in England?

Plaiſe. Well, I perceive you would fain have ſomething to lay to my charge. I will tell you where. Chriſt ſaith, Where two or three be gathered together in his name, there is he in the midſt among them.

Then the archdeacon ſtood up with his mocks, to put me out of countenance, and ſaid to the people that I had no wit, but that I thought all they were deceived ſo long time, and that half a dozen of us ſhould have the truth in a corner, and that all they ſhould be deceived, with ſuch like taunts and mocks; but would not ſuffer me to ſpeak one word. Then he read the article of the ſacrament, and ſaid, I did deny the real preſence to be the ſacrament, after it was once conſecrated; and that I ſaid, Chriſt's body was in heaven, and no where elſe, and that the bread was nothing but a ſign, token, or remembrance,

Plaiſe. You have to ſhew where and what my words were. [Hereof we talked a great while.]

At laſt the biſhop was ſo angry, that he charged me in the names of the king, queen, and cardinal, before the mayor and his brethren, taking them to witneſs, if I did not ſay yea, or nay, he would condemn me.

Then ſaid I, Seeing you have nothing to accuſe me of, wherefore ſhould I ſo anſwer?

Then the archdeacon ſaid, I was guilty, and that I was like a thief at the bar, who would not confeſs his fault becauſe his accuſers were not preſent; with a great many more words, and would not let me open my mouth againſt him.

Then I ſaw whereabouts they went, granting to anſwer them by the word, or elſe I think they would have condemned me for holding of my peace; and this was my beginning, I believe that Chriſt took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his diſciples, and ſaid, "Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you, this do in remembrance of me."

Harpsfield. Doſt thou believe that Chriſt meant even as he ſaid?

Plaiſe. Chriſt was no diſſembler, but he ſpake the very truth.

Harpsfield. Thou haſt very well ſaid, we will take no advantage of thy words.

Then he praiſed me with many words, going about to prove it his body real and ſubſtantial, and ſaid, Chriſt called himſelf bread: and this to prove, when Chriſt ſaid, "This is my body," the bread was his body, ſaid he, indeed, real and ſubſtantial, not ſo long and ſo big as it hung on the croſs, as the Capernaites did think; but we eat it, as man's weak nature can eat Chriſt. Therefore when he had ſaid, This is my body, the bread was his body in very deed.

Plaiſe. What did Chriſt mean by theſe words, "which is given for you?"

Harpsfield. Chriſt ſpake that by the bread alſo.

Plaiſe. Is Chriſt's body made of bread? was bread given for our redemption? or was the bread crucified for us or not?

Harpsfield. No, by St. Mary, I ſay not ſo.

Plaiſe. You have ſaid the truth indeed, and even as I believe.

Then he ſtood up with a great many words, and ſaid, that I thought it but bare bread ſtill, as other bread is; but he was ſure Chriſt called it his body, and then it was his body indeed: for he would believe Chriſt.

When he had ſpoken his pleaſure by me, thinking to have condemned me by his law, I ſaid, he had not judged right of me, for I had not ſo ſpoken, but did believe the words of Chriſt as well as he, and as much as he could prove by the word.

Harpsfield. What doſt thou ſay it is?

Plaiſe. I do believe it was that which he gave them.

Harpsfield. What was that?

Plaiſe. That which he brake.

Harpsfield. What did he break?

Plaiſe. That which he took.

Harpsfield. What did he take?

Plaiſe. The text ſaith, "He took bread."

Harpsfield. Well then, thou ſay'ſt it was but bread that his diſciples did eat, by that reaſon.

Plaiſe. Thus much I ſay, look, what he gave them, they did eat it indeed.

Harpsfield. Why then was not that his body which they did eat?

Plaiſe. It was that which he brake.

Harpsfield. Well, I perceive thy meaning well enough; for thou doſt think it is but bread ſtill, and that he was not able to make it his body.

Plaiſe. That is your expoſition upon my mind.

Harpsfield. What didſt thou receive when thou didſt receive laſt?

Plaiſe. I do believe that I did eat Chriſt's fleſh and drink his blood. For he ſaith, "My fleſh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed."

Then he ſaid, I had anſwered well, thinking to have had ſome advantage over me, and prayed me to tell him how I did eat Chriſt's fleſh, and drink his blood.

Then I ſaid, I muſt anſwer you by the word which Chriſt ſaith, "He that eateth my fleſh, dwelleth in me, and I in him."

Then he faced out the matter with ſophiſtry, and ſaid, I did eat Chriſt as that church was in his eye, with many ſuch mocks, but would not let me anſwer one word.

Commiſſary Collins then aſked me, if I did not remember St. Paul, who rebuked the Corinthians for their evil behaviour, and becauſe they made no difference of the Lord's body, and brought in to prove his matter, how he called himſelf bread in the 6th of John. So Paul ſaith, "So oft as ye eat of this bread (meaning Chriſt's body) unworthily, ye eat and drink your own damnation, becauſe ye make no difference of the Lord's body." For thus ſaith Chriſt, "The bread that I will give you is my fleſh." Now it is no bread, but it is his fleſh. And thus he alledged every ſcripture falſe, to make up the matter.

Plaiſe. I believe the words of St. Paul very well, even as he hath ſpoken them. For thus he ſaith, "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, becauſe he maketh no difference of the Lord's body."

Collins. What is the cauſe that he eateth his own damnation?

Plaiſe. St. Paul declareth it plainly with theſe words, "If ye had judged yourſelves, ye ſhould not have been judged of the Lord."

Harpsfield. I marvel that you will not ſay, that he called the bread his body, ſeeing Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, with many others, called it his body.

Plaiſe. You have condemned them as heretics, and you would have me ſay with them, becauſe you would kill me.

Harpsfield. In that they ſaid it was his body, they ſaid the truth.

Plaiſe. Wherefore were they killed, ſeeing they ſaid the truth?

Biſhop. I had all their anſwers, and they did not believe as they ſaid. For they ſaid, Chriſt called it his body, but it was not his natural body; but thou ſhalt anſwer me by and by, whether it be his body or not, or elſe I will anger thee.

Plaiſe. I have anſwered you by the word already, and I believe it alſo; therefore if you condemn me for that, my life is not dear unto me, I am ſure you ſhall not eſcape unpuniſhed: for God will be revenged on ſuch murderers.

The then archdeacon intreated me to be ruled by him, and take mercy while it was offered; for if I were condemned, I muſt needs be burned. Yet he would not ſay but my ſoul might be ſaved; with many more words, and deſired me that I would believe him, for he would ſpeak the truth; beginning how Chriſt fed five thouſand people with four loaves, and how he turned the water into wine, even ſo Chriſt took bread, and bleſſed it; and when he had done, he brake it, and ſaid, "This is my body," and then he commanded them to eat it: and therefore it muſt needs be his body.

Plaiſe. I deſire you to ſpeak the text right, or elſe I will not believe you.

Then archdeacon Harpsfield ſtood up, and put off his cap, and thanked me for teaching him, and ſaid, I was a ſtubborn fellow, and took ſcorn to be taught.

Plaiſe. I ought to hold you accurſed, if you teach doctrine contrary to Chriſt and his apoſtles.

Harpsfield. Do you believe that Chriſt gave that he took, or not?

Plaiſe. I do believe as much as can be proved by the ſcripture, and more I will not believe.

Then he began with Moſes's rod, how God commanded him to lay it down, and it was turned into a ſerpent. Seeing that this was by Moſes, being but a man, how much more Chriſt, being both God and man, took one thing, and gave to his diſciples another?

Plaiſe. Your compariſon is nothing like, for Moſes's rod, when it was laid down, he ſaw that it was turned into a very ſerpent indeed; but in this ſacrament no man can ſee either quality or yet quantity to be changed.

Biſhop. Your opinion and faith is like unto the Capernaites.

Plaiſe. Yours is more like their opinion than mine.

Then Harpsfield aſked me, whether Chriſt took not one thing, and gave another?

Plaiſe. What he brake he gave unto them, and bade them eat; and no other anſwer will I make, contrary to the word.

Then the archdeacon ſaid, he marvelled why I would not believe them, ſeeing this learning had continued this fifteen hundred years; neither yet did ſay, as others had before, how Chriſt did call it his body.

Plaiſe. When Cranmer, who was here biſhop, was in authority, he ſaid, that he held the truth, and commanded us to believe him, and he hath given his life for his opinion, and would you have me to believe you, becauſe you ſay that you hold the truth? And that which makes me believe chiefly is the ſcripture, which I am ſure is the truth indeed.

Biſhop. I have ſpoken the truth, and you will not believe.

Plaiſe. If you do not now ſpeak the truth, I am ſure you have ſpoke the truth; [for he had before preached doctrine contrary to this.]

Then the reſt of my articles were read; which I anſwered, and in every article he had up his breaden god. And they ſent for a candle-light, and I thought they would have condemned me; but God would not ſuffer their cruel hearts to have their pleaſure that time: bleſſed be his name for evermore, Amen.

Then the archdeacon was angry, and began to chide with me, becauſe I would not deſire a day of the biſhop, and ſaid, I was a naughty and ſtubborn fellow, and that it had been my duty to have deſired him to have been good to me, that I might have a day.

Plaiſe. I have ſpoken the truth; and therefore I will not aſk him for a day, except he would give me a day of his own mind.

Then the commiſſary ſaid, Doſt thou not think that thou mayſt be deceived, ſeeing he may be deceived that hath gone to ſtudy all the days of his life?

Plaiſe. Yea I might be deceived in that I was a man; but I was ſure God's word could not be deceived.

Then the commiſſary prayed me to be content, and confeſſed that I might learn; and ſaid, they would be glad to teach me.

Plaiſe. I will be as glad to learn as any man.

And thus they roſe up, and went away, ſaying nothing.

What became of this Matthew Plaiſe afterwards, whether he died in priſon, or was executed, or delivered, I have as yet no certain knowledge.

The Hiſtory of Ten Martyrs, who were burnt in one Fire at Lewes.

IN the town of Lewes, on the 22d of June, the ten following perſons ſuffered in one fire.

Richard Woodman. George Stevens. W. Mainard. Alexander Hoſman, his ſervant. Thomaſin a Wood, Mainard's maid. Margery Moris. James Moris, her ſon. Dennis Burgis. Aſhdon's wife. Grove's wife.

Of which number Richard Woodman was the firſt, who by his occupation was an iron-maker, dwelling in the pariſh of Warbleton, in the county of Suſſex, and dioceſe of Chicheſter, about the age of thirty years. The occaſion of his firſt apprehenſion was this:

There was one Fairebanke, who had ſometime been a married prieſt, and ſerved the curate of Warbleton, where he had often perſuaded the people not to credit any other doctrine but that which he then preached, taught and ſet forth in king Edward's days. And afterward in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, the ſaid Fairebanke preached clean contrary to that which he had before taught.

Whereupon Richard Woodman hearing him preach ſo contrary to himſelf, admoniſhed him of his inconſtancy, how before time he had taught them one thing, and now another, and deſired him to teach them the truth. For which words he was apprehended, and brought before Mr. John Aſhburnham, Mr. Tonſton, Mr. Culpepper, and Mr. Roberts, juſtices of peace in the county of Suſſex, and by them committed to the King's-bench, where he continued from June, the ſpace almoſt of a year and half; and from thence was tranſferred by Dr. Story into biſhop Bonner's coal houſe, where he remained a month before he came to examination.

At length, the ſame day when Mr. Philpot was burned, which was the 18th of December, he with four other priſoners was ſet at liberty by biſhop Bonner. Notwithſtanding ſhortly after he was ſought for again, and at laſt taken by means of his father, brother, and other friends, and was ſent up again to biſhop Bonner, where he remained in the coal-houſe eight weeks. He was there ſix times examined, and 26 times before, ſo that his examinations were in all 32, from his apprehenſion to his condemnation. And foraſmuch as the matter is ſomething ſtrange, and will peradventure ſcarce find credit upon my narration with them who deny all things that do not pleaſe them, ye ſhall hear himſelf ſpeak and teſtify both of the manner of his troubles, and alſo his own examinations, as recorded by himſelf in the following manner:

A true Certificate written by Richard Woodman, of his Apprehenſion and Impriſonment, and how he was there uſed till he was brought before the Biſhop of Chicheſter at Black-Friars in London, together with his Examinations.

GEntle reader, you will here perceive how the ſcriptures be partly fulfilled on me, being one of the leaſt of his poor lambs. Firſt, you ſhall underſtand, that ſince I was delivered out of the biſhop of London's hands in the year 1555, and the ſame day that Mr. Philpot was burned, which was the 18th of December, I lay in his coal-houſe eight weeks lacking one day: and before that I was a year and a half almoſt in the King's-bench after my firſt apprehenſion, for reproving a preacher in the pulpit in the pariſh of Warbleton, where I dwelt. Wherefore I was at two ſeſſions before I was ſent to priſon, and carried to two more ſeſſions while I was in priſon, twice before the biſhop of Chicheſter, and five times before the commiſſioners; and then ſent to Bonner's coal-houſe, and many times called before him, as it appeareth by my examinations which I wrote.

And it pleaſed God to deliver me with four more out of the butcher's hands, requiring nothing elſe of us but that we ſhould be honeſt men, and members of the true catholic church that was built upon the prophets and apoſtles, Chriſt being the head of the true church; to which we all affirmed, that we were members of the true church, and purpoſed by God's help therein to die. And hereupon we were delivered: but he ordered us many times to ſpeak good of him. And no doubt he was worthy to be praiſed, becauſe he had been ſo faithful an aid in his maſter the devil's buſineſs. For he had burnt good Mr. Philpot the ſame morning, in whoſe blood his heart was ſo drunken (as I ſuppoſed) that he could not tell what he did, as it appeared to us both before and after. For but two days before he promiſed us that we ſhould be condemned that ſame day that we were delivered, yea, and the morrow after that he had delivered us, he ſought for ſome of us again, yea, and that earneſtly. He waxed dry after his great drunkenneſs, wherefore he is like to have blood to drink in hell as he is worthy, if he repent it not with ſpeed. The Lord turn all their hearts, if it be his will.

This have I written, chiefly to certify all people how we were delivered, becauſe many carnal goſpellers and papiſts have ſaid, that it was preſcribed that we ſhould be ſo delivered, becauſe they think that God is ſubject to man, and not man to God. For if they did they would not blaſpheme him as they do, or if they thought they ſhould give an account for it. Have not many of them read how God delivered Iſrael out of Egypt, Daniel out of the lion's den, Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abednego out of the burning oven; with divers other ſuch like examples? yea God is the ſame God that he was then. He is no older, nor leſs in power, as ſome count him, in wondering at his works. Now to the matter.

After I was delivered, the papiſts ſaid, that I had conſented to them, whereof they made themſelves glad; which was the leaſt part of my thought, (I praiſe God for it) as they well perceived, and knew the contrary in a ſhort time. For I went from pariſh to pariſh, and talked with them, to the number of thirteen or fourteen, and that of the chiefeſt in all the country; and I angered them ſo, that they with the commiſſioners complained on me to the lord chamberlain that was then to the queen, Sir John Gage, ſhewing him that I baptized children, and married people, with many ſuch lyes, to bring me into their hands again. Then the commiſſioners ſent out certain citations to bring me to court. The lord chamberlain had directed out three or four warrants for me, that if I had come there I ſhould have been attached, and immediately ſent to priſon; which was not God's will, for I had warning of their lying in wait for me, and went not thither, but ſent my deputy, and he brought me word, that the bailiffs waited for me there, but they miſſed of their prey for that time, whereupon they were diſpleaſed.

Then within three days after my lord ſent three of his men to take me, whoſe names were Dean, Jeffrey, and Francis. I being at plough with my folks, right in the way as they were coming to my houſe, leaſt miſtruſting them of all others, came and ſpake to them, aſking them how they did. And they ſaid they arreſted me in the name of the king and queen, and that I muſt go with them to their maſter the lord chamberlain. Which words made my fleſh to tremble and quake, being ſuddenly ſurpriſed. But I anſwered them, that I would go with them. Yet I deſired them that they would go with me to my houſe, that I might break my faſt, and put on ſome other apparel; and they ſaid I ſhould. Then I remembered myſelf, ſaying in my heart, Why am I thus afraid? they can lay no evil to my charge. If they kill me for well doing, I may think myſelf happy. I remembered how I was willing gladly before to die in that quarrel, and ſo had continued ever ſince; and ſhould I now fear to die? God forbid; for then were all my labour in vain.

So by and by I was perſuaded, I praiſe God, conſidering it was but the frailty of my fleſh, which was loth to forego my wife and children, and goods; for I ſaw nothing but preſent death before mine eyes. And as ſoon as I was perſuaded in my mind to die, I had regard to nothing in this world, but I was as merry and as joyful, I praiſe God, as ever I was. This battle laſted not a quarter of an hour; but it was ſharper than death itſelf for the time it laſted.

So when I had my breakfaſt, I deſired them to ſhew me their warrant, thinking thereby I ſhould have ſeen wherefore I was arreſted, to the intent I might the better anſwer for myſelf, when I came before their maſter. And one of them anſwered, they had not their warrant there. Which words made me aſtoniſhed, and it was put into my mind by God, that I need not go with them, unleſs they had their warrant. Then ſaid I to them, That is a wonder that you will come to take a man without a warrant. It ſeemeth to me that you come of your own mind to get thanks of your maſter; for indeed I heard ſay, ſaid I, that there were four or five warrants out againſt me, but they were all called in again, becauſe I had certified my lord and the commiſſary, by a letter that I had ſent to the commiſſary's court, that I was not faulty in that they had laid to my charge, which was baptizing of children, and marrying folks, which I never did; for I was never a miniſter appointed to do any ſuch thing: wherefore ſet your hearts at reſt, I will not go with you, ſaid I, unleſs you will carry me by force; and if you will do ſo, be it at your peril. And ſo I roſe from the table, and ſtepped into my chamber, meaning to go from them if I could poſſible, ſeeing God had made the way ſo open for me. I meant to play Peter's part with them, but God would not it ſhould be ſo, but ſent a fear amongſt them, that as ſoon as I was gone into my chamber, ere ever I could come out again, they were gone out of my houſe.

When I ſaw that, I knew it was God's doing to me at liberty once again. Yet was I compelled to ſpeak to them, and ſaid, If you have a warrant, I deſire you for God's ſake to ſhew it me, and I will go with you with all my heart: if not, I deſire you to depart in God's peace, and the king's: for ſurely I will not go along with you without the order of the law; for I have been too ſimple in ſuch things already. For before I was ſent to priſon firſt, I met the juſtices at two ſeſſions without any warrant or commandment, but had word by one of their men, and I went juſtly to them, and they ſent me to priſon, and kept me there almoſt a year and three quarters, without all right or equity, as it is openly known,

known, not hearing my cauſe gently debated. And it ſeemeth ſtrange to me, that I ſhould be thus evilly handled; and therefore I will go to none of them all henceforth, without the extremity of the law.

Then one of them anſwered me, and ſaid, We have not the warrant here, but it is at home at my houſe; the worſt is, you can but make us fetch it. Then ſaid I, Fetch it if you will, but if you come in my houſe before you have it, at your venture be it. So I ſhut my door, and went my way out at the other door. So they got help to watch my houſe, whilſt one of them fetched the conſtable, and many more, thinking to have found me in my houſe, and carried me away with a licence; but, as God would have it, I was gone before. Notwithſtanding they ſought every corner of my houſe, but to no purpoſe. I miſtruſted they would ſearch it that night again, and I kept myſelf abroad; and indeed there came ſeven of his men and the conſtable, and ſearched my houſe.

And when they ſaw that they could not meet with me, they were ready to rend their coats, that I had ſo eſcaped them, knowing that they would have a check from their maſter. When I heard that they had ſo ſought for me again, I perceiving that they were greedy of their prey, came home, and my wife told me all things.

Then I ſuppoſed that they would ſearch all the country for me, and the ſea coaſt, becauſe I ſhould not go over, and then I thought that they would not miſtruſt that I would dare be nigh home. So I told my wife, that I would take my lodging in a wood near my houſe, as indeed I did, even under a tree, and there had my bible, my pen, and mine ink, and other neceſſaries, and there I continued ſix or ſeven weeks, my wife bringing me meat daily, as I had need. Yea, I thought myſelf bleſſed of God, that I was counted worthy to lie in the woods for the name of Chriſt. Then there came word into the country, that I was ſeen and ſpoken with in Flanders; whereupon they left laying in wait for me; for they had ſought all the country for me, and the ſea coaſt from Portſmouth to Dover, even as God put it in my mind they would.

So when all was huſhed, I went abroad among our friends and brethren, and at length I went beyond the ſea, both into Flanders, and in France; but I thought every day ſeven years whilſt I was there; ſo I came home again as ſoon as it was poſſible. I was there but three weeks, before the prieſts of Baal diſcovered me, who procured out warrants againſt me, cauſing my houſe to be ſearched ſometimes twice in a week. This continued from St. James-tide to the firſt Sunday in Lent. Otherwhile I went privily, otherwhile openly, otherwhile I went from home a fortnight or three weeks, otherwhile I was at home a month or five weeks together, living there moſt commonly and openly, about my ordinary buſineſs, and yet all mine enemies could lay no hands on me, till the hour was full come: and then by the voice of the country, and by manifeſt proofs, mine own brother as concerning the fleſh, delivered me into their hands, by that he knew that I was at home.

For my father and he had as much of my effects in their hands, as I might have fifty-ſix pounds a year for clear. It was a lordſhip and an honour, and half an honour that I had delivered into their hands to pay my debts, and the reſt to remain with my wife and children. But they had reported that it would not pay my debts: which grieved me ſore; for it was two hundred pounds better than the debts came to; which cauſed me to ſpeak to ſome of my friends, that they would ſpeak to them to come to ſome reckoning with me, and to take all ſuch money again of me as they were charged with, and to deliver to me ſuch writings and writs as they had of mine again, or to whom I ſhould appoint them.

So it was agreed betwixt my father and me, that I ſhould have it again, and the day was appointed that the reckoning ſhould be made and ſent to me the ſame day that I was taken; my brother ſuppoſing that I ſhould have put him out of moſt of all his occupying that he was in; for it was all mine, in a manner, that he occupied, as all the country can, and do well know. Whereon (as it is reported) he told one Cardillar, my next neighbour, and he told ſome of Mr. Gage's men, or to Mr. Gage himſelf: and ſo he ſent to his brother, and his brother ſent twelve of his men (he being ſheriff) in the night before I was taken, and lay in the buſhes near my houſe, till about nine of the clock, even the hour that was appointed amongſt themſelves; for about the ſame time they thought to have had me within my houſe.

They had taken a man of mine, and two of my children that were abroad in the land, and kept them with them till their hour was appointed to come in; and then a little girl, one of my children, ſaw them come together, and came running in, and cried, Mother, mother, yonder cometh twenty men. I ſitting in my bed, and making of ſhoe-thongs, heard the words, and ſuſpecting ſtraitway that I was betrayed, I put on my hoſe, thinking to have gone out of the doors before they had come. My wife being amazed at the child's words, looked out at the door, and they were hard by. Then ſhe clapped to the door, and barred it faſt, even as I came out of my chamber into the hall, and ſo barred the other. They immediately beſet the houſe, and commanded the doors to be opened, or they would break them in pieces. Then I had no ſhift, but either I muſt ſhew myſelf openly, or make ſome other remedy.

So there was a place in my houſe which was never found out, which was at the leaſt, I dare ſay, ſearched twenty times, and ſometimes almoſt of twenty men at once; into which place I went. And when my wife opened the door, and they came in, and aſked for me; and ſhe ſaid I was not at home. Then they aſked her, why ſhe ſhut the door, if I was not at home. She ſaid, becauſe ſhe had been made afraid divers times with ſuch as came to ſearch us; and therefore ſhe ſhut the door: for it is reported (ſaid ſhe) that whoſoever can take my huſband, ſhall hang him, or burn him ſtraitway; and therefore I doubt they will ſerve me and my children ſo; for I think they may do ſo unto us, as well as to him, ſhe ſaid. Well, ſaid they, we know he is in the houſe, and we muſt ſearch it, for we be the ſheriff's men; let us have a candle; it is told us there are many ſecret places in your houſe. So ſhe lighted a candle, and they ſought up and down, in every corner that they could find, and had given over, and many of them were gone out of my houſe into the church-yard, and there talking with my father, and with ſome that he had brought with him.

Now when they could not find me, one of them went to him who informed them I was at home, and ſaid we cannot find him. Then he aſked them whether they had ſought over a window that was in the hall (as it was known afterward) for that ſame place I had told him of myſelf. For many times when I came home, I would ſend for him to bear me company; yet as it chanced, I had not told him the way into it. Then they began to ſearch anew. One looked up over the window, and ſpied a little loft, with three or four cheſts, and the way went in betwixt two of the cheſts, but no man could perceive it. Then he aſked my wife which was the way into it: here is a place that we have not ſought yet. When ſhe thought they would ſee it by one means or other, ſhe ſaid, the way into it was out of a chamber they were in even now. So ſhe ſent them up, and cried, Away, away. Then I knew there was no remedy, but made the beſt ſhift for myſelf that I could. The place was boarded over, and faſt nailed, and if I had come out that way that I went in, I muſt needs come out amongſt them

them all in the hall. Then I had no ſhift, but ſet my ſhoulders to the boards that were nailed to the rafters to keep out the rain, and brake them in pieces, which made a great noiſe; and they that were in the other chamber, ſeeking the way into it, heard the noiſe, and looked out of a window, and ſpied me, and made an out-cry. But yet I got out and leaped down, having no ſhoes on.

So I took down a lane that was full of ſharp cinders, and they came running after with a great cry, with their ſwords drawn, crying, Strike him, ſtrike him. Which words made me look back, and there was never a one nigh me by an hundred foot; and that was but one, for all the reſt were a great way behind. And I turned about haſtily to go my way, and ſtept upon a ſharp cinder with one foot, and ſaving of it, I ſtept into a great miry hole, and fell down withal, and before I could ariſe and get away, he was come in with me. His name is Parker the Wild, as he is counted in all Suſſex. But if I had had on my ſhoes, they had been like to have gone away errandleſs, if there had been five hundred more, if I had caught the plain ground once, to which I had not a ſtone's caſt: But it was not God's will; for if it had, I ſhould have eſcaped from them all, if there had been ten thouſand of them.

Then they took me and led me home again to put on my ſhoes, and ſuch cloaths as I had need of. Then ſaid John Fauconer, Now your maſter hath deceived you. You ſaid you were an angel, and if you had been an angel, why did you not flee away from us? Then ſaid I, Who be they that ever heard me ſay that I was an angel? It is not the firſt lye by a thouſand that they have made of me. Angels were never begotten of men, nor born of women: But if they had ſaid, they had heard me ſay, That I do truſt I am a ſaint, they had not ſaid amiſs. What, do you think to be a ſaint? Yea, that I do, and am already in God's ſight, I truſt in God; for he that is not a ſaint in God's ſight already, is a devil. Therefore he that thinketh ſcorn to be a ſaint, let him be a devil. And with that word they had brought me to mine own door where I met with my father, who deſired me to remember myſelf.

To whom I anſwered, I praiſe God, I am well remembered whereabout I go. This way was appointed of God for me to be delivered into the hands of mine enemies, but woe unto him by whom I am betrayed. It had been good for that man, that he had never been born, if he repent not with ſpeed. The ſcriptures are now fulfilled on me, "For the father ſhall be againſt the ſon, and the brother ſhall deliver the brother to death," as it is this day come to paſs. Then ſaid one, He doth accuſe his father, a good child indeed! I accuſe him not, but ſay my mind; for there was no man knew me at home, but my father, my brother, and one more, who I dare ſay would not hurt me for all the good in this town.

There was one George Beching that married one of my ſiſters, and he thought that I had meant him, that he had betrayed me; and he ſaid, Brother, I would you ſhould not think that I was the cauſe of your taking. To whom I anſwered, that I meant him not; I meant one that was nearer of my blood than he was. Then one from Lauſe ſaid, that I had been a goſpeller, and ſtood from them when I was brought to a ſeſſions at Lauſe, and he ſaid, I thought you would have been an honeſt man when you were at Lauſe, and I offered Huſſey the ſheriff to be bound for you, that you ſhould go home to your wife, and come to him again. Then I remembered what he was, and ſaid, Be you the pewterer? and he ſaid, Yea. Then ſaid I, It is happened to you according to the true proverb, as ſaith St. Peter, "The dog is turned to his vomit again, and the ſow that is waſhed, to wallow in the mire," and the end of all ſuch will be worſe than the beginning. Then his mouth was ſtopped, ſo that he had nothing to ſay.

All this time I ſtood the outſide of my door; for they would not let me go in. So I put on my ſhoes and my cloaths; then they put an harneſs about my arms made of a dog's ſlip, which rejoiced my heart that I was counted worthy to be bound for the name of God. So I took my leave of my wife and children, my father and other of my friends, never expecting to ſee them any more in this world. For it was ſo thought of all the country, that I ſhould not live ſix days after my apprehenſion; for they had ſo reported. But yet I knew it was not as they would, unleſs God would grant it; I know what God can do, but what he will do I know not; but I am ſure he will work all things for the beſt to them that love and fear him. So we drank and went our way, and came to Firle about three of the clock. And thus much touching the cauſes and effect of the troubles of Richard Woodman. Now let us ſee his examinations, which follow in this order.

The firſt Examination of Richard Woodman, before Dr. Chriſtopherſon, Biſhop of Chicheſter, Dr. Story, Dr. Cook, and others.

On the 12th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1557, I was ſent from the ſheriffs to London, and afterwards on the 14th of the ſame month I was brought before the biſhop of Chicheſter, Dr. Story, and Dr. Cook. So the ſheriff's men delivered my warrant and me to the biſhop. Then the biſhop aſked me what my name was. My name (quoth I) is Richard Woodman.

Chicheſter. I am ſorry for you, and ſo are all the worſhipful men of your country. For it hath been reported to me, that you have been a man of good eſtimation of all the country, amongſt the poor and rich, till now of late. Wherefore look well upon yourſelf, your wife and children, your father, and other of your friends, and be ruled. Think not yourſelf wiſer than all the realm. Be informed, and you ſhall have the favour of them all, as much as ever you had.

Woodman. You have charged me with many things wherein I have never offended: as if you will give me leave, I will ſhew you.

Chicheſter. Yes, I pray you ſay your mind.

Woodman. May it pleaſe you, you have charged me as though I made myſelf wiſer than all the realm; God doth know, I ſtand to learn of every man that will or can teach me the truth. And whereas you ſay, I have been well eſteemed both of the poor and rich, God doth know, I know not that I have given any juſt offence, either to rich or poor. And as for my wife and children, God doth know how I love them in him, and my life alſo. My life, my wife and my children are all in God's hands, and I have them all as I had them not, I truſt, according to St. Paul's words. But if I had ten thouſand pounds of gold, I had rather forego it all, than them, if I might be in choice, and not diſpleaſe God.

Chicheſter. The ſheriff took pains to come to me out of love, which he bare to you as to himſelf, and ſaid you were deſirous to ſpeak with me.

Woodman. I thought it meet to appeal to mine ordinary. For they go about to ſhed my blood unrighteouſly. For they have laid many unjuſt things to my charge. Wherefore I thought it meet to appeal to you, that if you can find any fault in me meet to be reformed by God's word, I ſtand to be reformed; and likewiſe if my blood ſhall be ſhed unrighteouſly, that it might be required at your hands, becauſe you have taken upon you to be the phyſician of our country.

Story. Is not this a perverſe fellow, to lay to your charge, that his blood ſhall be required at your hands? Thinkeſt thou that thou ſhalt be put to death unjuſtly, that thy blood ſhould be required? No, if he ſhould condemn an hundred ſuch heretics as thou art. I helped to rid a good many of you: and I promiſe thee, I will help to rid thee too the beſt that I can.

Then I would have answered him, but the bishop desired us both to give him place.

Chichester. Well, neighbour Woodman, I call you neighbour, because you be one of my diocese; and you are sent to me that I should give you spiritual counsel: for I am your spiritual pastor. Therefore hear what I shall say to you.

Woodman. First, I desire you to hear me a few words. You have said, you will give me spiritual counsel: Be you sure that you have the Spirit of God?

Chichester. No, I am not sure of that.

Woodman. No! be you not sure of that?

Chichester. No, by St. Mary, I dare not be so bold to say so; I doubt of that.

Woodman. Then you be like the waves of the sea, as saith St. James, that be tossed about with the wind, and be unstable in all your ways, and can look for no good thing at the Lord's hand: Yea, ye are neither hot nor cold, and therefore God will spue you out of his mouth, as saith St. John.

Then they were in a great fury, especially Dr. Story, who said,

What a perverse fellow is this? He hath the devil within him, and is mad. He is worse than the devil. Now I perceive that it is true that is reported by thee, and it is the pride of all such heretics to boast themselves.

Chichester. Yea surely, he is sent to me to learn, and taketh upon him to teach me.

Woodman. The Jews said to Christ, he had the devil, and was mad, as you have said here by me. But I know the servant is not above his master. And God forbid that I should learn of him, who confesseth that he hath not the Spirit of God.

Chichester. Why, do you think that you have the Spirit of God?

Woodman. I believe verily that I have the Spirit of God.

Chichester. You boast more than ever Paul did, or any of the apostles, which is great presumption.

Woodman. I boast not in myself, but in the gift of God, as Paul did; for he said he believed verily that he had the Spirit of God, making thereof no doubt, in 1 Cor. 7.

Chichester. It is not so, you belye the text.

Woodman. If it be not so, let me be burnt to-morrow.

Story. Thou shalt not be burned to-morrow, but thou shalt be burned within these six days, I promise thee.

Chichester. If it be so, it is wrong translated, as it is in a thousand places more.

Then one looked in a Latin Testament, and another in a Greek Testament, and they said it was in them both that Paul supposed that he had the Spirit of God, but he was not sure.

Chichester. Even so I hope and suppose that I have the Spirit of God, but am not sure.

Woodman. If that place be wrong translated, and so many places of the Bible as you say, then I may say with Christ, it cannot be avoided but offences must be given; but woe unto them by whom they come. I may say, woe unto false translators; for cursed are they that add or take away. But take you heed that you belye not the translators. I believe they had the fear of God more before their eyes, than you report of them. And yet if that place be wrong translated, I can prove by places enough, that Paul had the Spirit of God, as I myself and all God's elect have.

Chichester. How prove you that?

Woodman. "No man can believe that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost," 1 Cor. 7. I do believe that Jesus Christ is my Redeemer, and that I shall be saved from all my sins by his death and blood-shedding, as Paul and all the apostles did; and as all faithful people ought to do; which no man can do without the Spirit of God. And as there is no damnation to them that are in Christ Jesus; so is there no salvation to them that are not in Christ Jesus. "For he that hath not the Spirit of Christ, is none of his, but is a cast-away," as he saith in the same text. And again, "We have not received the spirit of bondage to fear any more, but we have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba Father. The same Spirit certifieth our spirits, that we are the sons of God." Here are proofs enough that Paul was sure that he had the Spirit of God. Also St. John saith, "He that believeth not that Christ is come in the flesh, is an Antichrist, and denieth both the Father and the Son:" which is sin against the Holy Ghost, which shall never be forgiven in this world, nor in the world to come. Besides all this, "He that believeth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in him." So that it is impossible to believe in God, unless God dwell in us. O good God! what more injury can be done unto thee, than to mistrust that we have received thy Holy Spirit by thy gift? Thus may all men see their blindness, and whose servants they be, as they do declare themselves both by their words and deeds.

Story. O my lord, what an heretic is this same? Why hear you him? Send him to prison to his fellows in the Marshalsea, and they shall be dispatched within these twelve days.

When I heard him say so I rejoiced greatly in my heart, desiring God, if it were his will, to keep him in that mind: for I looked surely to have gone to the bishop of London's coal-house, or Lollard's-Tower: yea, I thought myself happy if I might have gone to Lollard's-Tower: but it pleased God to put in their hearts to send me to the Marshalsea amongst our brethren and my old fellow-prisoners. So mercifully hath God dealt with me in easing of my burden that I looked for.

And when they perceived that I feared not imprisonment, but rather rejoiced, as they well perceived, the bishop said, Methinks he is not afraid of the prison.

Woodman. No, I praise the living God.

Story. This is an heretic indeed. He hath the right terms of all heretics: The living God! I pray you be there dead gods that you say the living God?

Woodman. Be you angry with me, because I speak the words that are written in the Bible?

Story. Bibble babble, bibble babble. What speakest thou of the Bible, there is no such word written in all the Bible.

Woodman. Then I am much to blame if it be not so written. "Behold, for the offences that you have done, you shall be carried away captive by Nebuchodonosor to Babylon, and there ye shall be seven generations: and when you be there, you shall see gods of gold, of silver, of wood, and of stone, borne before you and behind you upon men's shoulders, to cast out a fear among the heathen. When you shall see all these abominations, then say in your heart: It is the living God that ought to be worshipped." Here I prove my saying true, both that there is a living God, and that there be dead gods. Also David saith in the psalms, "My soul hath a desire and longing to enter into the courts of the Lord; my heart and my flesh rejoice in the living God;" with divers other places that I could recite. Wherefore I marvel that you rebuke me for speaking the truth.

Chichester. I do not deny but it is written, and is the truth, and I know it as well as you; but such is the speech of all heretics.

Story. My lord, I will tell you how you shall know an heretic by his words, because I have been more used to them than you have been; that is, they will say [the Lord] and [we praise God] and [the living God.] By these words you shall know an heretic.

Woodman. All these words are written for our learning, and we are commanded by the prophets to use them daily, as this; "The Lord's name be praised from the

riſing up of the ſun unto the going down of the ſame." Alſo, "As many as fear the Lord, ſay always the Lord be praiſed."

Story. My lord, ſend him to priſon, you ſhall do no good with him. I will go to church, and leave you here. This is an old heretic. Waſt thou never before me ere now?

Woodman. Yes forſooth, that I have.

Story. Yea, I thought ſo; and I ſent thee to the biſhop of London, and he releaſed thee, and thou promiſedſt him to be an honeſt man, and that thou wouldſt be of the true catholic church, which thou haſt not fulfilled.

Woodman. I promiſed him nothing but I have fulfilled it. No man is able to prove the contrary.

Story. Well, it will be tried well enough, My lord, I will take my leave, I fear you will do this man no good.

Chicheſter. I would not have you to uſe ſuch ſpeeches as you do, as, The Lord be praiſed, and The living God, with ſuch like words. Can you not ſay as well, Our Lord, or our God, as otherwiſe?

Woodman. I marvel why you ſhould reprove me for it, ſeeing they be the words of God. I do not refuſe to ſay, our God, or our Lord, when I talk of the ſcripture where it is written. If I ſhould, it muſt follow, that I denied the words of God, and muſt needs be an heretic; but I do not. Wherefore I marvel what you mean to find fault therein. It ſeemeth to me, that you miſtruſt that I believe not as you do.

Chicheſter. Yea, that is my meaning indeed.

Woodman. I believe in the living God, if you do not ſo, then our beliefs be not alike indeed. But if it pleaſe you to examine me upon any particular matter, now or at any other time, I will make anſwer thereto by God's help.

Chicheſter. Though you believe in God, I can prove you believe not as you ought to do, as I can ſhew you by your hand-writing. You have denied the catholic church. Wherefore he that erreth from the church, it cannot be ſaid that his faith is good. Wherefore be ruled by the church, from which ye have erred.

Woodman. I will not deny my hand by God's help. For I have written nothing at any time but the truth. There may be things written againſt me, reporting it to be mine, and yet be not: but my hand cannot well be counterfeited, there be enough that know my hand.

Chicheſter. Do you know it yourſelf if you ſee it?

Woodman. Yea, that I do.

Then he aroſe and fetched a great bundle of writings, and opened them, and bade me come ſee. I looked on them, and it was my hand indeed.

Chicheſter. How ſay you, is it not your own writing?

Woodman. Yes, ſurely it is.

Chicheſter. How ſay you to this, is not this your hand alſo?

Woodman. Yes, verily is it.

Chicheſter. Well, you know what it meaneth, I dare ſay.

Woodman. Yea, I know it very well; here is a great deal, which I had thought had been in my houſe, but I thank God that it is here: for in this you ſhall try whether it be true or not. For in this is contained all the talk that was betwixt the commiſſioners and me, when I was before them five times, and alſo before the biſhop of London divers times: and I am ſure, neither you nor they ſhall find any words falſe therein written: and I think the ſheriff's men, when they ſearched my houſe for me, when I was taken, found this, and carried it with them, but I never knew it before now. But I am not ſorry for it, but am rather glad: For herein you may ſee all the wrong that I received at their hands, and how long I was in priſon, and how I was toſſed up and down, and how I was delivered at length, and by this you may try whether it be ſo or not. I dare ſay they that found it, and they that brought it to you, had thought it would have turned me to diſpleaſure; but in very deed all things work for the beſt to them that fear God.

Chicheſter. Indeed, I find no great fault in this; but here is perillous gear, here is ſedition. This was ſet up upon the church door, you know it well enough.

Woodman. Indeed I wrote it to the prieſt, and to others that took upon them to fetch my child out of my houſe without my leave, and uſe it at their pleaſure, when they knew it was baptized already, as they were well certified before. Wherefore my conſcience compelled me to ſhew them my mind in writing, wherein is contained nothing but the ſcriptures of God, rebuking them for their folly.

Chicheſter. Yea, but it is terribly meant, and uncharitably. It is ſuch gear coupled together I promiſe you, as I never ſaw the like. But I promiſe you, I will make the beſt of it. And I proteſt before God, I would your ſhould do as well as mine own ſoul and body. Be contented to be reformed. God hath done his part on you. Caſt not yourſelf away. Remember your wife and children, and the poor that lack your occupying. Mean to follow your vocation. Remember that you are not called to be a teacher nor a preacher. St. Paul ſaith, "Let every man walk wherein he is called, and therein abide." Remember you are called to another vocation, for God's ſake walk therein. It is not your office to do as you have done. You might do as much good, by the report of worſhipful men, as any man might do in all the country by your example; and if you would follow the laws of the catholic church, it would be an occaſion to bring a great many into the true church, that are out, as you are.

Woodman. I would not that you ſhould ſay, that I am out of the church of God, for I am not, but do allow the church of God according to his word. Yea, if I were abroad, if I could win any into the true church, that be out, by any means that I could uſe, I ſhould be very glad. For God knoweth I love all people as myſelf. And where you ſay I have been a preacher, it is not ſo. I never took any ſuch thing upon me, as it is well known. But as for teaching I cannot deny; for it becometh every man to teach and inſtruct his houſhold in the fear of God, and all others (as far as he can) that deſire it of him. And whereas you have blamed me for reading the ſcripture, and leaving my vocation (as you ſay); I left not my vocation in reading the ſcripture, for I truſt I followed my vocation the better for it. And the greateſt cauſe that I was compelled to read the ſcriptures, was, becauſe the preachers and teachers were ſo changeable.

Chicheſter. No! Did you not preach at a fair?

Woodman. No ſurely, but it was ſo reported. I was at a fair indeed. While I was in priſon, I had leave of the council to go home to pay my debts, and then I went to a fair to ſell cattle, and there I met with divers poor men that I had ſet to work, who lovingly aſked me how I did, and how I could away with impriſonment. And I ſhewed them how God had dealt with me, and how he would deal with all them that put their truſt in him; and this they called preaching. And ſince that it hath been reported that I have baptized children, and married folks, which I never did; for I never was a miniſter. Wherefore if I had ſo done, I had done contrary to the order of the apoſtles, as God forbid I ſhould.

Chicheſter. I am well paid if you be faultleſs in theſe things: for I have heard the contrary.

Woodman. I have ſhewed you the truth, and that no man living ſhall be able to prove the contrary.

Chicheſter. You ſaid you do not diſallow the true catholic church.

Woodman. No, that I do not.

Chicheſter.

Chicheſter. Why do you not then go to the church? You come not there, it is informed me.

Woodman. I truſt I am in the true church every day. But to tell you the truth, I come not at the church where the moſt do reſort. For if I ſhould, I ſhould offend, and be offended: for the laſt time that I was there, I offended many, and was offended myſelf. Wherefore, for conſcience ſake I would not come there. For I was ſent to priſon for my coming there, and now I am ſent to you for biding thence. So they will not be pleaſed any way with me, for they ſeek my life. Wherefore look you to it, for I am now in your hands, and you ought to be an houſe of defence againſt mine enemies. For if you ſuffer them to kill me, my blood ſhall be required at your hands. If you can find any juſt cauſe in me worthy of death by God's word, you may condemn me yourſelf, and not offend God: wherefore look to it, the matter is weighty, deliver me not into their hands, and think ſo to be diſcharged.

Chicheſter. I tell you truth, I can do little in the matter. For I have not full authority as yet of mine office: but I will ſend for you, and talk with you, if I wiſt I ſhould do you any good.

Woodman. I would be glad to talk with you, and to ſhew you my mind in any thing that you ſhall demand of me, now, or at any other time.

So then he deſired the ſheriff's men to tarry and dine with him; that this man (ſaid he) may dine with me alſo: for it may be he may have no great ſtore of meat whither he ſhall go.

So we tarried to dinner with him, and had no further talk, neither how to prove where the true church of God is, nor of the ſacraments, nor of any other thing pertaining to me-ward, not for the ſpace of two hours or more: but he entered in talk with me, how I underſtood many ſcriptures, and for biſhops and prieſts marriages, and whether Paul had a wife, or not. To whom I anſwered, It is a thing that I have little to do with, as concerning marriages: but I am very well content to talk with you in the matter, as far as my poor learning will ſerve. So when he had talked with me of divers ſcriptures, he liked my talk well. He aſked me how I ſaid by St. Paul, whether he were married or not? to whom I anſwered, I can prove by the ſcriptures that he was never married.

Chicheſter. How prove you that?

Woodman. I will prove it well enough by God's help. But yet I will prove that Paul might have had a wife, as well as the other apoſtles had.

Chicheſter. Why, had the apoſtles wives?

Woodman. Yes, all, ſaving Paul and Barnabas, as I underſtand it. For theſe are Paul's words in the ninth chapter of the firſt to the Corinthians; "Am I not an apoſtle? am I not free? have I not ſeen Jeſus Chriſt? are not ye my work in the Lord? and if I be not an apoſtle to others, yet to you I am an apoſtle; for you are the ſeal of mine apoſtleſhip in the Lord. Mine anſwer to them that aſk me is this; Have we not power to eat and to drink? either have we not power to lead about a ſiſter to wife, as well as the other apoſtles have, and as the brethren of the Lord? either have not Barnabas and I power thus to do?" So this text proveth, that Paul and Barnabas were unmarried. But Paul declareth, that the reſt had wives, and that they had power likewiſe ſo to have, but they found no need thereof. But Paul declareth in the ſeventh chapter of the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, that he that hath no power over his fleſh, may marry: "For it is better to marry than to burn. Wherefore to avoid fornication (ſaith he) let every man have his wife." He ſaith, "Let every man have his wife, and every woman her huſband." By this place of ſcripture I underſtand, that biſhops and prieſts may have wives, becauſe they are men, rather than burn, or commit fornication. But I think verily he that can abſtain, having power of his own will, doth beſt; but if he marrieth he ſinneth not.

So then he debated the ſcriptures with me divers ways, that a biſhop or a prieſt ought not to have a wife: but I proved by divers ſcriptures both in the old law and in the new, that women were at firſt made for the help of men, which was ſpoken generally to all men. Wherefore (ſaid I) every man may have a woman, and ſin not, in honeſt matrimony, as well biſhops and deacons, as other men, which you call prieſts, if they be true miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, and of that order that biſhops and deacons were in Paul's time. For Paul declareth to Timothy, firſt and the third, "That a biſhop ſhould be the huſband of one wife," and how they ſhould be honeſtly apparelled, and how they ſhould bring up their children, and likewiſe the deacons. This (ſaid I) proveth more plainly, that both biſhops and deacons had wives in the apoſtles time; which he could not deny. But then he alledged, that no biſhop nor prieſt might take a wife, after he had taken upon him that office, but if he had a wife before he took the office, tried meet for the purpoſe of his life, and for his learning, he might keep his wife, and bring up his children according to St. Paul's meaning to Timothy, or elſe might they have no wives.

Then ſaid I, I think Paul's meaning in that place, was, that a man that hath had two wives might not be made a biſhop nor a deacon, if he had never ſo much learning. But that place maketh not that a biſhop or a deacon may not marry, after they be made biſhops and deacons. For I am ſure that Paul was in the ſtate of a biſhop, when he ſaid, "He had power to lead about a ſiſter to wife, as well as the other apoſtles had." Here Paul declares, that it was in his power to have a wife, after he had the office of a biſhop, which was not in his power, if he had been forbidden of God.

Thus have I ſhewed you my mind in this behalf, both of Paul, and alſo for the marriages of biſhops and prieſts, as I underſtand the ſcriptures. Howbeit, it is a thing which I have little to do withal: but as you required me to ſay my mind in that matter, ſo I have done.

Chicheſter. Marry, I am glad that you have ſaid as you have done. Many do affirm boldly, that Paul had a wife, and yet cannot prove whether he had or had not, by the ſcriptures: but you have ſaid very well. I am glad that ye are contented to be ruled by God's word. And if you will be contented likewiſe in other matters, no doubt you ſhall do well; therefore gentle goodman Woodman, be ruled. God hath given you a good wit. I proteſt before God, I would you ſhould do as well as mine own ſoul and body, and ſo would (I dare ſay) all the worſhipful men in the country, as they have reported to me.

Woodman. Why, my lord, I take God to record (whom I truſt to ſerve) that I would be as glad to live in reſt and peace, as any man in the world, if I might. And I ſtand to learn, and am contented to be reformed of any thing that I hold, if it can be proved that it be not agreeable to God's word. And the truth is ſo, I have talked with a dozen prieſts at the leaſt, ſince I was delivered out of priſon, of certain matters, and they have not been able to certify me in any thing that I have aſked them: and therefore they have complained on me to the ſheriff, and juſtices, making tales and lyes on me, to turn me to diſpleaſure, as much as in them lieth. I promiſe you, there be as many unlearned prieſts in your dioceſe, as in any one dioceſe in England I think; the more it is to be lamented.

Chicheſter. I promiſe you, I do much lament it myſelf: for I hear ſay no leſs, but it is true what you ſay. I would I could remedy it, but I cannot: but I will do the beſt that I can, when I come into the country, and I will be glad to talk with you ſome other time, when I am ſomewhat better at eaſe. You ſee I am very tender now, as I have been this half year or more. Come

to dinner: our dinner is ready. I cauſed you not to tarry for any great cheer that you ſhall have, nor would I you ſhould think that I go about to win you with my meat. But you be welcome with all my heart. Come ſit down.

Woodman. I thanked him, and went to dinner; and there dined with him a merchant man, one of the ſheriff's men, and I, and no more, and we had good cheer, God be praiſed therefore. We had no talk of the ſcriptures all the dinner while; but when dinner was done, the biſhop ſaid,

Chicheſter. Now call Mr. Story's man. For the commiſſioners have committed you to priſon: but I will ſend for you before it be long, and I pray God I may do you good. I would be very glad of it.

Woodman. If it pleaſe you to ſend for me, I would be very glad to talk with you, for I like your talk well. And then if it pleaſe your lordſhip to examine me upon any particular matter, I will ſhew you my mind therein, by God's grace, without diſſimulation. But I pray you let me have nothing to do with Mr. Story, for I think he is a man without reaſon.

Chicheſter. Well, before you go, how ſay you to the ſeven ſacraments? Let me hear what you ſay to them, that I may be the more willing to ſend for you again?

Woodman. I know not ſeven ſacraments.

Chicheſter. Then what ſhall I talk with you? How many do you know?

Woodman. I know but two; one the ſacrament of baptiſm, and the other the ſupper of the Lord. But if you can juſtly prove by God's word, that there be more than two, I ſtand to be reformed.

Chicheſter, If I prove not ſeven by God's word, then believe me not: and ſo he bade me farewel.

Then the ſheriff's two men, and one of Dr. Story's men, carried me to Dr. Cook's houſe, which Dr. Cook commanded them to carry me to the ſheriff's priſon in Southwark, ſaying, He ſhall be called before us again ſhortly, and all his fellows, and we ſhall diſpatch them from troubling the country any more.

And ſo I was brought to the Marſhalſea, where I now am merry (God be praiſed therefore) looking for judgment of my fleſh: for they intend to diſpatch me ſhortly, if God will give them leave: but God hath their hearts in his hands, and they can do nothing to me, but as God will give them leave. Wherefore I commit my cauſe to God only, and I am ſure there ſhall not one hair of my head periſh, without my heavenly Father's will, although I bide never ſo much trouble. Job periſhed not for all his trouble, although God gave the devil leave to trouble and try him divers and many ways, as God hath ſuffered his members to trouble and try me divers and many ways, I praiſe God. They ſhall as little prevail againſt my faith (I have no miſtruſt) as the devil prevailed againſt Job, whatſoever they do with my goods, life, or body. For he that kept Job in all his trouble, neither ſlumbereth nor ſleepeth, but keepeth me, and all his elect, that whether we live or die, it ſhall be to the praiſe and glory of God. For if we live, we live at the Lord's will, and if we die, we die to the Lord's will; ſo, whether we live or die, we are the Lord's, therefore bleſſed be his name.

Wherefore, dear brethren and ſiſters, to whom this my writing ſhall come, be of good cheer, and fear not what man can do unto you. For they can but kill the body: but fear him that hath power to kill both body and ſoul. And yet once again I bid you be of good cheer. For the ſheriff, with divers other gentlemen and prieſts, whilſt I was at the ſheriff's houſe, ſaid to me, that all the heretics in the country hung on me, as the people did in times paſt on St. Auguſtine, or St. Ambroſe, or ſuch like. Wherefore, ſaid they, look well on it, you have a great thing to anſwer for. To the which I anſwered, I pray God lay nothing more to my charge, than he will do for hereſy, as I am ſure he will not. For he hath ſet my ſins as far from me, as it is from the eaſt to the weſt: ſo that I am ſure they ſhall never come near to me any more. Yea, and that they call hereſy, we ſerve God withal. And I am ſure there is no man nor woman that hangeth on me, but on God. But yet that is their imaginations and thoughts, that if they might win me to them, they ſhould win a great many likewiſe; and thinking to kill me, if they cannot win me, as I truſt in God, and am ſure they ſhall never by God's grace, if it were poſſible for them to kill me ten times. For I am ſo linked to Chriſt in a chain by faith, that it is impoſſible for men to looſe us aſunder, neither for life nor death, I praiſe my Lord God therefore. And no doubt their full intent and purpoſe is to kill me, thinking thereby to make others afraid. Which death of my body were beſt of all for me, if God were ſo pleaſed. But if I may live for the comfort of others, his name be praiſed therefore: I know what he can do; but what he will do I know not. But if death be offered me, ſo that I cannot refuſe it without diſpleaſing of God, I truſt in God I ſhall not offend my brethren in receiving of death, but ſhall be rather an occaſion of the ſtrengthening of their faith, by chooſing and receiving of it, and that with joy. For as Chriſt hath given his life for us, ſo ought we to give our lives for the defence of the goſpel, and comfort of our brethren. And whereas the biſhop ſaith he will prove ſeven ſacraments, be you out of doubt he ſhall never be able to do it, no more than he hath proved other arguments with me already.

Thus fare ye well, from the Marſhalſea, where I now am, as a ſheep appointed to be ſlain, God be praiſed therefore.

The ſecond Examination of Richard Woodman before the Biſhop of Chicheſter, two of his Chaplains, and Dr. Story, on April 27.

FIRST, I was ſent to the Marſhalſea by Dr. Story, and was carried to his houſe, near to St. Nicholas Shambles; and when I had ſpoken to him, he ſent me to the biſhop of Chicheſter, and ſaid he would come to him himſelf ſtraightway: and when we were in the biſhop's hall, we had not tarried long but the biſhop ſent for me; and when I came before him, I did my duty to him.

Then ſaid the biſhop, You are welcome; how do you now?

Woodman. Well, I praiſe God, thanking your lordſhip for the gentle talk that you had with me at my laſt departing from you.

Chicheſter. Well, goodman Woodman, I have ſent for you of love and good will, to talk with you, and would have you to tell me your mind in few words. For indeed the laſt time that I talked with you, our talk was ſo long, that I fell into a great drought thereby, and have been the worſe in my body ever ſince. Wherefore I pray you ſhew me your mind briefly in thoſe particular matters that I ſhall demand of you, according to the promiſe that you made the laſt time you were with me. How ſay you, will you?

Woodman. Yea, forſooth, I will anſwer to any thing that you ſhall demand of me (by God's help) as well as I can.

Chicheſter. How ſay you by the ſeven ſacraments? for there we left off, and there we will begin again. You ſaid then there were but two. How ſay you now to it? will you deny all except two?

Woodman. I ſay now as I ſaid then. You ſaid, there be ſeven ſacraments; and I ſaid, I knew but two: but if you could prove ſeven by God's word, when I came before you again, I muſt needs grant them. And you ſaid, if you could not prove them by God's word, I ſhould not believe them: and now I am come to ſee how well you can prove them.

At which words the biſhop and his chaplains were moved.

Chicheſter. By God, and by troth, I believe he thinketh I cannot prove them. How ſay you to the ſacrament of matrimony?

Woodman. Why, my lord, St. Paul ſaith to Timothy, A biſhop ſhould be faultleſs, and you uſe much ſwearing, which is a great fault of a biſhop of all others, that ſhould be an example to the flock.

Then the biſhop and his prieſts were in a great rage with me, becauſe I reproved him for his ſwearing.

Chicheſter. What, I perceive this man is worſe than he was the laſt day: what, he taketh upon him to teach me to ſpeak, as though I could not tell what I had to do.

Prieſt. So methinketh, my lord, he is a ſtout fellow indeed, as we have ſeen.

Woodman. Yes, I am ſtout, becauſe I do what I am commanded. I dare not for my life hold my peace; for I ſhould bear your ſin, which I will not do for any of you all, I tell you plainly.

Chicheſter. Where find you that you are commanded to reprove me?

Woodman. "If thou ſee thy brother ſin, reprove him; if he repent, thou haſt won thy brother." But you repent it not, but rather go about to maintain the ſame. Chriſt ſaith, "He that breaketh one of the leaſt of my commandments, and teacheth men ſo, ſhall be called leaſt in the kingdom of heaven;" and you go about to teach men ſo, ſo far as I ſee.

Prieſt. Why, my lord, this man is paſt cure. I ſee no hope in him.

Chicheſter. No, ſo methinketh. I will never talk with him more. Go call Mr. Story; let him do with him what he will. He hath been with his fellows in the Marſhalſea, and now he is worſe than he was before. I had ſome hope in him the other day, but now I ſee none.

Woodman. No, I praiſe God, my faith hangeth upon no men, but upon God.

Prieſt. Nay, my lord, I think he is not the worſe for them: but I fear me they be the worſe for him; I know this man of old, before mine old lord.

Woodman. Well, my lord, look well to it: will you deliver me to other men to ſhed my blood, and ſo think to waſh your hands of me, as Pilate did by Chriſt? Nay, you cannot be ſo diſcharged.

Chicheſter. I have nothing to do with you: but of my gentleneſs I have ſent for you, becauſe you ſaid, you would declare your mind in any particular matter I would demand of you.

Woodman. Why, I do not deny but I will do ſo, if you do demand it of me. But you go about to deliver me to others to kill me: and I know there is none that hath to do with me but you.

Chicheſter. I am not yet conſecrated: wherefore my lord cardinal may examine you, and condemn you, or my lord of London: for you are now in his dioceſe.

Woodman. Yea, my lord, is the matter even ſo? Then I perceive whereabout you go. Nay, I will talk no more with you then, if you be at that point. Ask me what you will, but I will ſhew you nothing of my mind. I promiſe you I will not anſwer in particular matters, and ſo you to accuſe me to others, and they to kill me.

Chicheſter. I go not about to kill you, but would be glad to hear your mind in the ſacraments, and if you underſtand them not aright, I would be glad with all my heart to ſhew you my mind how I underſtand them. For I would tell you you ſhould do as well as mine own ſelf.

Woodman. If you would talk with me to do me good, I would be contented to hear you, and ſhew you my mind; otherwiſe I would be loth.

Chicheſter. Nay, I will promiſe you, if I can do you no good, I will do you no harm: for if I meant to do you harm, I would lay your own hand-writing againſt you, but I will not: wherefore be in no doubt of me. How ſay you to the ſacrament of matrimony? is it a ſacrament or no? How think you by it?

Woodman. I think it is an holy inſtitution, ordained of God in paradiſe, and ſo to continue to the world's end.

Chicheſter. Lo, now you ſhall ſee how you be deceived in that, as you be in all the reſt. Come hither. You can read Latin, I am ſure.

Woodman. Yea, I can read Latin, but I underſtand very little.

Chicheſter. Come to me, you ſhall ſee that Paul calleth it an holy ſacrament. For theſe be the words, "For this cauſe ſhall a man leave father and mother, and ſhall be joined to his wife: and two ſhall be made one fleſh;" This is a great ſacrament.

Woodman. I remember ſuch a ſaying, but St. Paul calleth it not a ſacrament. But he ſaith, "it is a great myſtery."

Chicheſter. Where ſaith he ſo?

Woodman. I am not ſure in what text it is, but I am ſure theſe be St. Paul's words, and that he calleth it not a ſacrament in all his writings.

Chicheſter. What, the laſt day ye were full of ſcriptures; here it is written, and there it is written; what, we can rehearſe the ſcriptures as well as you; wherefore, if we be ſure it is written, it is no great matter for the place. Come hither, I will ſhew you the place, I think, that you mean.

I looked, and it was written Sacramentum. I know it is a great myſtery, in the Engliſh tranſlation.

Chicheſter. I permit it to be a myſtery. What is a myſtery?

Woodman. A myſtery is (as I take it) unſeen; for he ſaith, he ſpeaketh betwixt Chriſt and the congregation: ſo the great myſtery that he ſpeaketh of, I take to be the faith of them that be married, which is hid in Chriſt, which we ſee not, but Chriſt. But the deed which is in the congregation, which is the outward marriage we ſee, but the inward part of the marriage of the heart we ſee not. Wherefore Paul calleth it a myſtery. And therefore if it be a ſacrament, it is inviſible to us: it is not ſeen, as other ſacraments be.

Chicheſter. Nay, I tell you it is a viſible ſacrament, ſeen as the others be: for is not the marriage ſeen? is not the man and woman ſeen?

Woodman. My lord, I pray you, what is a ſacrament?

Chicheſter. It it a ſign of a holy thing.

Woodman. Methinks you have certified me very well. There need not be a ſign of a holy thing, where the holy thing is itſelf.

Then his chaplains would have interrupted me, but I deſired my Lord I might ſay out my mind in the matter. So with much ado he bade me ſay what I could.

There need not be a ſign of a thing, where the thing is itſelf. Matrimony is an holy thing itſelf, and is ended outwardly, and need no more ſigns but themſelves; wherefore it cannot be a ſacrament as others be.

Chicheſter. Lo, how much you ſpeak againſt yourſelf. And for example, I come by an hoſier, and there hangeth a pair of hoſe, which be hoſe, and be a ſign of hoſe that be to ſell within.

Prieſt. How ſay you to this? Now my lord hath hit you home indeed.

Woodman. He hath hit me perilouſly, I tell you, with ſophiſtry to blind mine eyes withal. I marvel you are not all aſhamed of it. I can anſwer that to all your ſhames, if I might be juſtly heard, I tell you plainly.

Prieſt. What, you are angry, methinks.

Woodman. I am not angry, but I am in earneſt, I tell you, to ſee your blindneſs and folly. I talked of the ſcriptures that be written, and it is God's word, to prove my matter true by, and you will prove your matter true by a pair of hoſe. And you can as well prove it by that, as by God's word.

Prieſt. Why is there nothing true but what is written in the bible?

Woodman. St. Paul ſaith to the Galatians, chapter 1. "If an angel come from heaven, and preach any other doctrine than may be proved from God's word, hold him accurſed:" and ſo do I. I tell you plainly.

Prieſt. Here is a Teſtament in mine hand, if I hurl it in the fire, and burn it, have I burned God's word, or not? I will buy a new one for ſixteen pence.

Woodman. I ſay you have burned God's word, and I believe he that will burn a Teſtament willingly, would burn God himſelf, if he were here, if he could; for he and his word are all one.

Then they made a great laughing at him.

Woodman. Laugh on. Your laughing will be turned to weeping, and all ſuch joy will be turned to mourning, if you repent it not with ſpeed.

Then the biſhop began to cloak the prieſt's folly, ſaying, Why if my counting-houſe were full of books, and if my houſe ſhall be on fire by chance, and ſo burned, were God's word burned?

Woodman. No, my lord, becauſe they were burned againſt your will: but if you ſhould burn them willingly, and think it well, and not be ſorry for it, you burn God's word as well as he. For he that is not ſorry for a ſhrewd turn, doth allow it to be good.

Chicheſter. Follow your vocation; you have a little learning. "We have an altar whereof you may not eat." What meaneth St. Paul thereby?

Woodman. There is no man ſo fooliſh to eat ſtones, I ſuppoſe.

Chicheſter. What mockers and ſcorners be you, to ſay, no man will be ſo fooliſh to eat ſtones? it is a plain mock.

Woodman. Why, my lord, you ſaid I had no learning, nor knowledge, nor underſtanding: wherefore it becometh you to make things more plain to me, and not to aſk me ſuch dark queſtions, and yet blame me too; methinks it is too much.

Chicheſter. I dare ſay you know what it meaneth well enough. The greateſt fool in my houſe will underſtand my meaning better than you do.

There ſtood ſome of his men at at diſtance, talking together by a window. He called one of them by his name.

Chicheſter. Come hither, I ſay to thee, thou ſhalt not eat of this table. What do I mean thereby?

Chicheſter's man. Forſooth, my lord, you would not have me eat of this table, laying his hand thereon.

With this anſwer he made all them in the houſe to fall on laughing, and I could not hold it in, but burſt out with laughter, and ſaid.

Woodman. He hath expounded the matter almoſt as well as I.

Chicheſter. He meaneth well enough, if you would underſtand him.

Anſwer me again to make it more plain. I ſay to thee thou ſhalt not eat of this table. What mean I thereby?

Chicheſter's man. Forſooth, you would not have me eat this table.

Theſe words made them all laugh, wherewith the biſhop was almoſt angry, becauſe the anſwer proved no better, and ſaid,

Chicheſter. He meaneth that I would not have him eat any of the meat that is ſet upon this table. How ſayſt thou, doſt thou not mean ſo?

Chicheſter's man. Yes forſooth, my lord, this was my meaning indeed.

Woodman. Yea, my lord, now you have told him what you mean, he can ſay ſo too: and ſo could I have done (as little wit as I have) if you had ſaid, Paul meant that no man ſhould eat of that which was offered upon the altar, but the prieſts.

Chicheſter. Yea, I perceive you underſtand the meaning of Paul well enough, but that you liſt to cavil with me.

Woodman. Why, my lord, do you think I underſtand ſuch dark places of the ſcripture without learning? You ſaid even now, I had no knowledge nor learning, wherefore I anſwered you as you judged of me.

Chicheſter. Well, let this matter paſs, and let us turn to the principal again. How ſay you by the ſacrament of the altar?

Woodman. You mean the ſacrament of the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt.

Chicheſter. I mean the ſacrament of the altar, and ſo I ſay.

Woodman. You mean Chriſt to be the altar, do you not?

Chicheſter. I mean the ſacrament of the altar in the church. What is it ſo ſtrange to you?

Woodman. It is ſtrange to me indeed, if you mean the altar of ſtone.

Chicheſter. It is that altar that I mean.

Woodman. I underſtand not the altar ſo.

Chicheſter. No, I think ſo indeed: and that is the cauſe that you be deceived. I pray you, how do you underſtand the altar then?

Woodman. If you will give me leave till I have done, I will ſhew you how I underſtand the altar, and where it is.

Chicheſter. Yes, you ſhall have leave to ſay your mind, as much as you will.

Woodman. It is written, Matt. 18. "That whereſoever two or three be gathered together in Chriſt's name, there is he in the midſt among them: and whatſoever they aſk the Father upon earth, it ſhall be granted them in heaven." Agreeing to the fifth of Matthew, ſaying, "When thou comeſt to offer thy gift at the altar, and there remembereſt that thy brother hath ought againſt thee, leave there thy offering, and go firſt and be reconciled to thy brother, and then offer thy gift." The prieſts would have interrupted, but the biſhop bade them let me alone, for (ſaid he) you ſhall hear a pretty concluſion anon.

I pray you let me make an end, quoth I, and then find fault with me, if you can. Now to the matter. In theſe two places of ſcripture I prove that Chriſt is the true altar, whereon every chriſtian man and woman ought to come and offer their gifts. Firſt, whereſoever the people are gathered together in Chriſt's name, there is he in the midſt; and where he is, there is the altar, ſo that we may be bold to come and offer our gift, if we be in love and charity: if we be not, we muſt leave there our offering, and go firſt and be reconciled to our brother, and agree with him quickly, and ſo forth, and then come and offer our gift. Some will ſay, How ſhall I agree with mine adverſary, when he is not nigh by an hundred miles? May I not pray till I have ſpoken with him? To all ſuch I anſwer; If thou doſt preſume to pray among the faithful, wiſhing any evil to any man, woman, or child, thou aſkeſt vengeance upon thyſelf. For no ſuch asketh any thing elſe of the Lord in his prayer. Wherefore agree with thine adverſary, that is, make thy life agreeable to God's word. Say in thy heart without diſſimulation, that thou askeſt God and all the world forgiveneſs from the bottom of thy heart, intending never to offend them any more. Then all ſuch may be bold to come and offer their gift, their prayer on the altar, where the people of God are gathered together. Thus have I ſhewed you my mind, both of the altar and of the offering, as I underſtand it.

Chicheſter. Do you underſtand the offering and the altar ſo? I never heard any man underſtand it ſo, no not Luther, the great heretic, that was condemned by a general council, and his picture burned.

Woodman. If he were an heretic, I think he underſtood it not ſo indeed; but I am ſure all chriſtians ought to underſtand it ſo.

Chicheſter. O what vain-glory is in you, as though you underſtood all things, and other men nothing? Hear me,

me; I will ſhew you the true underſtanding both of the altar, and the offering on the altar. "We have an altar (ſaid Paul, Heb. 13.) that ye may not eat of." Meaning thereby, that no man might eat of that which was offered on the altar, but the prieſt. For in Paul's time all the living that the prieſt had, the people came and offered it on the altar, money or other things: and when the people came to offer it, and then remembered that they had any thing againſt their brother, then they left their offering upon the altar, and went and were reconciled to their brother; and they came again and offered their gift, and the prieſt had it. This is the true underſtanding of the place that you have rehearſed; wherefore you be deceived.

Woodman. My lord, that was the uſe in the old law. Chriſt was the end of that. But indeed I perceive by Paul's words, the ſacrifice was offered in Paul's time: yet that maketh not that was well done, but he rebuked it. Wherefore it ſeemeth to me that you be deceived.

Chicheſter. Who ſhall be judges betwixt us in this matter?

Woodman. The 12th of John declareth who ſhall be judge in the laſt day.

Chicheſter. You mean the word ſhall judge the word, how can that be!

Woodman. St. Peter ſaith, "The ſcripture hath no private interpretation;" but one ſcripture muſt be underſtood by another.

Chicheſter. You will underſtand it one way, I will underſtand it another way; and who ſhall be judge betwixt us then?

Woodman. The true church of God is able to diſcuſs all doubts: to whom I refer it.

Chicheſter. I am glad you ſay ſo, if you will ſay ſo indeed.

Woodman. My lord, I never meant otherwiſe.

Chicheſter. The church of God doth allow the ſacrament of the altar.

Woodman. What do you now offer upon the altar?

Chicheſter. We offer up in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, the body of Chriſt to pacify the wrath of God the Father; and therewith they all put off their caps to the abominable idol.

Woodman. St. Paul ſaith to the Hebrews, in the 10th chapter, "We are ſanctified by offering of the body of Jeſus Chriſt upon the croſs once for all: and every prieſt is daily miniſtering, and oftentimes offereth one manner of offering, which can never take away ſins; and that is the offering that you uſe to offer. As far as I can ſee, you be prieſts after the order of Aaron, that offered up ſacrifice for their own ſins, and the ſins of the people.

Chicheſter. Nay, Aaron's ſacrifice was with blood, which ſignifieth the death of Chriſt, the which was ended upon the croſs by his blood-ſhedding; but we are prieſts after the order of Melchiſedech, which offereth bread to the king in remembrance, and ſignifieth the giving of Chriſt's body in bread and wine at the laſt ſupper, which he gave to his diſciples, and commanded it to be uſed to the end of the world. This is the ſacrifice that we offer, according to his word.

Woodman. I think you have made the matter very plain to me, that as Chriſt was the end of all ſacrifices, ſo was he the beginning of the ſacraments, willing them to be uſed in remembrance of him, to the world's end.

Chicheſter. What, in remembrance of him, and not himſelf, as his word ſaith, "Take, eat, this is my body;" it is not the ſign only, but the thing itſelf. How ſay you? is it not his body, after the words are ſpoken by the prieſt? how ſay you? go briefly to work, for I cannot long tarry with you.

Woodman. My lord, if you will anſwer me to one ſacrament, I will anſwer you to another.

Chicheſter. Yes, I am very well content with that.

Woodman. If you ſay the words of baptiſm over the water, and there be no child there, is there true baptiſm?

Chicheſter. No, there muſt be the water, the word, and the child, and then it is baptiſm.

Woodman. Very well. Then if a child be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, it is not truly baptized.

Chicheſter. No: the child muſt be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, or elſe it is not truly baptized.

Woodman. Then there may be nothing added, nor taken away from the ſacraments; may there?

Chicheſter. No, ſaid the biſhop.

Woodman. Now my lord, I will anſwer to you, if it pleaſe you.

Chicheſter. Well, how ſay you, "Take, eat, this is my body;" is it not Chriſt's body, as ſoon as the words be ſaid?

Woodman. My lord, I will anſwer you by your own words, that you anſwered me, which is true; the water, the word, and the child, all theſe together make baptiſm; the bread, wine, and the word make the ſacrament; and the eater, eating in true faith, maketh it his body. Here I prove it is not Chriſt's body, but to the faithful receiver. For he ſaid, "Take, eat, this is my body."

He called it not his body before eating, but after eating. And St. Auguſtine ſaith, Believe and thou haſt eaten. And St. John ſaith, "He that believeth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in him:" Wherefore it is impoſſible to dwell in God, and to eat his body, without a true faith.

Prieſt. Then the faith of the receiver maketh it his body; and not his word, by your ſaying. I pray you what did Judas eat?

Woodman. Judas did eat the ſacrament of Chriſt, and the devil withal.

Prieſt. He eat the body of Chriſt unworthily, as St. Paul ſaith.

Woodman. Nay, St. Paul ſaith no ſuch thing. He ſpeaketh not of eating of his body unworthily, but of the ſacrament unworthily. For he ſaith, "Whoſoever eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, becauſe he maketh no difference of the Lord's body;" and not becauſe he eateth the Lord's body. If Judas had eat Chriſt's body, it muſt needs follow, that Judas is ſaved. For Chriſt ſaith in the 6th of John, "Whoſoever eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raiſe him up again at the laſt day."

Prieſt. My lord, this man is an interpreter after his own mind.

Chicheſter. I ſee it is but folly to talk with you; it is but loſt labour. How ſay you? do you not believe that after the words be ſaid, there remaineth neither bread nor wine, but the very body of Chriſt really? make me a plain anſwer, for I will talk no more with you.

Woodman. I will make you a direct anſwer, how I believe of the true ſacrament. I do believe, that if I come to receive the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt truly miniſtered, believing that Chriſt was born for me, and that he ſuffered death for me, and that I ſhall be ſaved from my ſins by his blood-ſhedding, and ſo receive the ſacrament in that remembrance, then I believe I do receive wholly Chriſt, God and man, myſtically by faith: this is my belief.

Chicheſter. Why, then it is no body without faith; God's word is of no force, as you count it?

Woodman. My lord, I have told you my mind without diſſimulation, and more you get not of me, without you will talk with me by the ſcriptures: and if you will do ſo, I will begin anew with you, and prove it more plainly three or four manner of ways, that you ſhall not ſay nay to that I have ſaid, yourſelf.

Then

Then they made a great laughing, and ſaid, this is an heretic indeed, it is time he were burned. Which words moved my ſpirit, and I ſaid to them, Judge not, leſt you be judged. For as you judge me, you ſhall be judged yourſelves. For that you call hereſy, I ſerve God truly with, as you all ſhall well know, when you ſhall be in hell, and have blood to drink, and ſhall be compelled to ſay for pain, This was the man that we jeſted on, and whoſe talk we thought fooliſhneſs, and his end to be without honour: but now we may ſee how he is counted among the ſaints of God, and we are puniſhed. Theſe words ſhall you ſay, being in hell, if you repent not with ſpeed, if you conſent to the ſhedding of my blood: wherefore look to it, I give you counſel.

Prieſt. What, you are angry, methinks. Now I will ſay more to you than I thought to have done. You were at Baxill a twelvemonth ago, and ſent for the parſon, and talked with him in the church-yard, and would not go into the church; for you ſaid it was the idol's temple. Yea, I was with mine old lord, when he came to the King's-bench to you, and you ſaid many ſtout words to him.

Woodman. That I ſaid, I ſaid, and where you ſaid I was angry, I take God to my record, I am not, but am zealous in the truth, and ſpeak out of the Spirit of God with chearfulneſs.

Prieſt. The Spirit of God? hough, hough, hough: think you that you have the Spirit of God?

Woodman. I believe ſurely that I have the Spirit of God, I praiſe God for it; and you be deceivers, mockers, and ſcorners before God, and be the children of hell, all the ſort of you, as far as I can ſee. And therewith came in Dr. Story, pointing at me with his finger, ſpeaking to the biſhop in Latin, ſaying at length.

Story. I can ſay nothing to him, but he is an heretic. I have heard you talk this hour and a half, and can hear no reaſon in him.

Woodman. Judge not, leſt you be judged: for as you judge, you ſhall be judged yourſelf.

Story. What, be you a preaching? you ſhall preach at a ſtake ſhortly with your fellows. My lord, trouble yourſelf no more with him.

With theſe words, one brought word that the abbot of Weſtminſter was come to dine with the biſhop, and many other gentlemen and women. Then there was ruſhing away with ſpeed to meet him.

Then ſaid Dr. Story to my keeper, Carry him to the Marſhalſea again; keep him cloſe, and let nobody come to ſpeak with him.

And ſo they departed. Then one of the prieſts began to flatter me, and ſaid, For God's ſake remember yourſelf. God hath given you a good wit: you have read the ſcriptures well, and have borne them well in memory. It were great pity you ſhould do amiſs.

Woodman. What a flatterer be you, to ſay my wit is good, and that I have read the ſcriptures well? and but even now you ſaid I was an heretic and deſpiſed me. If I be an heretic, I can have no good wit, as you have confeſſed. But I think your own conſcience doth accuſe you. God give you grace to repent, if it be his will.

Prieſt. I call it a good wit, becauſe you are expert in all queſtions.

Woodman. You may call it a wicked wit, if it agree not with God's word. Then one cried, Away, away, here come ſtrangers. So we departed, and I came again to the Marſhalſea with my keeper.

The third Examination of Mr. Woodman (copied with his own Hand) before Dr. Langdale, Chaplain to my Lord Montague, and Mr. James Gage, at my Lord Montague's Houſe, near St. Mary Overies in Southwark, May 12, 1557.

THE 12th of May the marſhal came to the Marſhalſea, and ſent for me to ſpeak with him. When I came before him and had done my duty, he aſked my name, and what countryman I was: I ſhewed him both. Then he aſked me when I was abroad in the city. To whom I anſwered, if it ſhall pleaſe your maſterſhip I was abroad in the city on Monday was ſevennight.

Marſhal. What made you abroad?

Woodman. The biſhop of Chicheſter ſent for me to talk with me at his houſe near St. Nicholas' Shambles.

Marſhal. Were you abroad no otherwiſe than ſo?

Woodman. No forſooth: I was never abroad ſince I was ſent hither, but then. For I have nothing to do abroad, unleſs they ſend for me.

Marſhal. This is a marvellous matter. I promiſe you I was not ſo rebuked theſe ſeven years, as I was for you within theſe three days. It is reported that you were abroad in the city at certain taverns, and ſpake ſeditious words both in the taverns and ſtreets as you went.

Woodman. Sir, the truth is, I was in never a houſe or tavern while I was abroad, but in the biſhop's houſe, as my keeper can, and will (I am ſure) teſtify: nor did I ever talk with any man in the ſtreets as I came, but with my keeper, except one man indeed, of the pariſh of Framfield in Suſſex, where Mr. James Gage dwelleth. His name is Robert Smith, being one of my greateſt enemies; who ſtood in a wain as we came by, and was unlading of cheeſe but a little way from the Marſhalſea. Indeed I bade him God ſpeed, and aſked him how he did: and he ſaid, well, and thanked me. And he aſked me how I did: and I ſaid, well, I praiſe God; and that was all the talk that we had. And theſe words were ſpoken as I came by him: I promiſe you, Sir, I ſtood not ſtill while I ſpake them, as my keeper can tell: and I think theſe words were not ſeditious words, but might be ſpoken well enough, I think, or elſe it were very ſtrait.

Marſhal. Then is it to be thought, that that man reported otherwiſe than it was. I am glad it is as you ſay. Well, make you ready: for you muſt go forth ſtraitway, where you ſhall be examined of that and of other things, where you ſhall anſwer for yourſelf. Go, make haſte, for I will tarry till you be ready.

So I departed, and went to my fellow-priſoners, and took my leave of them, deſiring them to pray for me, for I expected to ſee them no more. I did ſuppoſe I ſhould have gone before the council, becauſe the marſhal ſaid, he would tarry for me himſelf: and eſpecially becauſe he ſaid, it was reported that I had ſpoken ſeditious words, it made me imagine they had contrived falſe things againſt me to bring me to my end. I remembered what Chriſt ſaid, "The ſervant is not above his Lord." Seeing the Jews brought falſe witneſs againſt Chriſt, I thought they would do much more, or at leaſt do ſo to me, if God would ſuffer them, which made me think the worſt. But I was ſure that all the world could not juſtly accuſe me of any ſuch thing, the conſideration of which made me merry and joyful, being confident withal, that they could do no more againſt me than God would permit. I took my leave of my fellow-priſoners, and went to the marſhal in the porter's lodge, and he delivered me to one of his own men, and one of my lord Montague's men, and bade me go with them: and they carried me to my lord Montague's place in Southwark, not far from St. Mary Overy's, and brought me into a a chamber in my lord Montague's houſe; and there was one Dr. Langdale, chaplain to my lord. My keepers ſaid to the doctor, This is the man that we went for.

Langdale. Is your name Woodman?

Woodman. Yea, forſooth, that is my name.

Then he began with a great circumſtance, and ſaid, I am ſorry for you, that you will not be ruled, but ſtand ſo much in your own conceit, diſpleaſing your father and others, judging that all the realm doth evil, ſaving a few that do as you do: What think you of them that died long ago, your grandfather, with their fathers before them

them? You judge them to be damned, and all others that uſe the ſame that they did throughout all Chriſtendom, unleſs it be in Germany, and here in England a few years, and in Denmark; and yet they are returned again. Thus we are ſure this is the truth, and I would you ſhould do well. Your father is an honeſt man, and one of my pariſh, and hath wept to me divers times becauſe you would not be ruled: and he loveth you well, and ſo doth all the country, both rich and poor, if it were not for thoſe evil opinions that you hold; [with many ſuch like tales of Robin Hood.]

Woodman. I pray you give me leave to ſpeak a few words to you.

Langdale. Yes, ſay your mind.

Woodman. You have told a great long tale, as it were againſt me (as you think) ſaying, I hold this and that; I judge my father and my grandfather, and almoſt all the world, without it be a few that be of our ſect. But I judge no man. But the 12th of John declareth, who it is that judgeth, and ſhall judge in the laſt day. The father ſhall not bear the ſon's offences, nor the ſon the father's offences: but that ſoul that ſinneth ſhall die, as ſaith the prophet. And again, We may not follow a multitude to do evil, as ſaith the prophet: for the moſt go the wrong way. And Chriſt ſaith in the 12th of Luke, that his flock is a little flock. Here be places enough to diſcharge me, although I do not as the moſt do. But can any man ſay that I do not as I ought to do: where be my accuſers?

Langdale. What, you be full of ſcriptures methinks, and call your accuſers as though you were afraid to utter your mind to me. But I would have you not be afraid to talk with me, for I mean no more hurt to you than I do to myſelf, I take God to be my record.

Woodman. I cannot tell; it is hard truſting to fair words. When a man cannot truſt his father nor brother, nor others that have been his familiar friends, but they deceive him, a man may lawfully follow the example of Chriſt towards them that he never ſaw before, ſaying, "Be as wiſe as ſerpents, and as innocent as doves. Beware of men, for they go about to betray you." And it maketh me much to ſuſpect you, becauſe you blame me for anſwering with the ſcriptures. It maketh me to doubt that you would take advantage of me, if I ſhould ſpeak mine own words. Wherefore I will take as good heed as I can, becauſe I have been deceived already by them I truſted moſt. Wherefore blame me not though I anſwer circumſpectly. It ſhall not be ſaid, by God's help, that I will run wilfully into mine enemies hands, and yet I praiſe God my life is not dear to myſelf, but it is dear with God: wherefore I will do the uttermoſt that I can to keep it.

Langdale. You be afraid where no fear is, for I was deſired by maſter ſheriff and his brother, and other friends, to talk with you, and they told me that you were deſirous to talk with me, and now ye make the matter as though you had nothing to do with me, and as though you were ſent to priſon for nothing: for you call for your accuſers, as though there were no man to accuſe you. But if there were no man to accuſe you, your own hand-writing did accuſe you enough, that you ſet upon the church door (if you remember it) and other letters that you let fall abroad, ſome at one place and ſome at another. Wherefore you need not call for your accuſers. Your own hand will accuſe you, I warrant you; it is kept ſafe enough. I would not for two hundred pounds there were ſo much againſt me.

Woodman. I will not deny mine own hand; for it cannot eaſily be counterfeited. I do not deny but I wrote a letter to the prieſt, and others of the pariſh, declaring their folly and preſumption, to come into my houſe without my love or leave, and brought out my child, and uſed it at their pleaſure: which moved me to write my mind unto them: and becauſe I could not tell how to convey it to them, I let it on the church door: which letter my lord of Chicheſter hath; for he ſhewed it me when I was before him: wherein it contained nothing but the very ſcriptures, to their reproach. Let it be laid before me when you or he will, I will anſwer to it by the help of God, to all their ſhames that I wrote it to. And as for any other letters, I wrote none, as you ſaid I did, neither had I wrote that, if they had done like honeſt neighbours. Wherefore if they be offended with me for that, I will anſwer them with Chriſt's words, in the 18th of Matthew, "Woe unto themſelves, becauſe they gave me the occaſion.

And whereas you ſaid, I was deſirous to ſpeak with you, and that maſter ſheriff and his brother, and other of my friends willed you to talk with me, and that I fare now as though I had nothing to do with you, and as though I were ſent to priſon for nothing: the truth is, I know no more wherefore I am ſent to priſon, than the leaſt child in this town knoweth. And as for me, I deſired not maſter ſheriff to ſpeak with you; but indeed he deſired me that I would ſpeak with you, and utter my faith to you. For he ſuppoſed that I did not believe well, and he reported you to be learned. But I refuſed to talk with you at the firſt. For I remembered not that you were the parſon at Buxted: wherefore I ſaid to him, I would not utter my faith to any but to the biſhop. I ſaid, he is mine ordinary: wherefore I appeal unto him. I am commanded by St. Peter in the firſt epiſtle, the third chapter, to render account of my hope that I have in God, to him that hath authority; wherefore I will talk with none in that matter, but with him. Wherefore ſend me to him if you will, or elſe there ſhall no man know my faith I tell you plainly.

Theſe words then made the ſheriff angry, and he went his way; and when he was gone from me, I remembered that it was you that he would have me to talk with, and then I remembered that I had made the promiſe to my father and goodman Day of Veſield, not paſt a fortnight before I was taken, that whenſoever you came into the country, I would ſpeak with you by God's help, becauſe they praiſed you ſo much, that you were learned, and they would fain hear us talk.

So all theſe things called to remembrance, I deſired my keeper, which was the ſheriff's man, to ſhew his maſter, that I would fain ſpeak with him: for I had remembered things that were not in my mind before, when I ſpake to him. So he went to his maſter, and ſhewed him the matter, and he came to me; and then I told him my mind, and what promiſe I had made; and he ſaid, he would ſend for you on the morrow, as he did, and the meſſenger brought word you could not come; you preached before the Queen, he ſaid. Whereupon the ſheriff came up himſelf, and ſpake to the biſhop that he ſhould come down, but he was ſick. So when he came home again, he ſent me to the biſhop, and I have talked with him twice already, and I am ſure he can find no fault in me, if he ſay juſtly; and yet I know not wherefore I was ſent to priſon; for I was not guilty of that which was laid to my charge, that I had baptized children, the which I never did, as God knoweth; wherefore I had wrong to be thus handled.

Langdale. Indeed it hath been reported, that you have chriſtened children; and that you chriſtened your own child; but ſince I heard ſay, you would not have the child chriſtened, which is a damnable way, if you deny baptiſm: and they ſaid, your child was not chriſtened in a fortnight or three weeks after it was born, and the chiefeſt of the pariſh, were fained to fetch it out of your houſe againſt your will. Wherefore you wrote railing words againſt the prieſt and them for their good will: the which declareth that you allow not baptizing of children. And if the child had died it had been damned, becauſe it was not chriſtened, and you ſhould have been damned, becauſe you were the hindrance thereof.

Woodman. What abominable lyes have you told? be you not aſhamed to ſpeak ſuch words as you have done? Firſt you ſay, I chriſtened mine own child, and by and by you ſaid, I denied baptizing of children, and that my child was a fortnight or three weeks old before it was baptized. What abominable lyes be theſe! I neither baptized my child myſelf, neither held againſt the baptizing of it, but did moſt gladly allow it; for it was baptized as ſoon as it was born, and I was glad thereof; therefore you be to blame to report of me.

Langdale I pray you, who baptized it? ſome unthrift of your providing.

Woodman. Nay, ſurely, the midwife baptized it.

Langdale. But it was your mind that it ſhould be ſo.

Woodman. Nay ſure, I was not nigh home by almoſt twenty miles, nor heard that my wife was brought to-bed four days after the child was chriſtened. But it was not like to live: and therefore the midwife baptized it.

Langdale. Would you had it to church to have been chriſtened, if it had not been chriſtened?

Woodman. That is no matter what I would have done. I am ſure you cannot deny but it is ſufficiently done, if the midwife do it, and I hold not againſt the doing of it, neither did I it myſelf, as you ſaid I did.

Langdale. Wherefore were you diſpleaſed with them that carried it to church?

Woodman. Firſt tell me whether the child were not truly baptized by the midwife?

Langdale. Yes, it was truly baptized, if ſhe baptized it in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.

Woodman. Yes, that I am ſure ſhe did, and you grant that was ſufficient: and the cauſe that I blamed them for, was becauſe they did more to it than need was, by your own ſaying. Yea, they fetched it out of my houſe without my leave: which was not well done.

Langdale. They had it to church to confirm what was done.

Woodman. Yea, but that was more than needs. But God forgive them, if it be his will. But let that matter paſs. But I would you ſhould not ſay, that I hold againſt baptizing of children; for I do not, I take God to record; but do allow it to be moſt neceſſary, if it be truly uſed. But methought you ſpake words even now that were uncomely to be ſpoken; if a child die, and be not baptized, it is damned. How think you? be all damned that receive not the outward ſign of baptiſm?

Langdale. Yea, that they be.

Woodman. How prove you that?

Langdale. "Go, ſaith Chriſt, and baptize in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt: and he that believeth, and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved: and he that believeth not ſhall be damned." Theſe be the words of Chriſt, which are my warrant.

Woodman. Then by your ſaying, baptiſm bringeth faith, and all that be baptized in water ſhall be ſaved: ſhall they? how ſay you?

Langdale. Yea, that they ſhall; if they die before they come to diſcretion, they ſhall be ſaved every one of them: and all that be not baptized ſhall be damned every one of them.

Then my ſpirit was moved with him to reprove him ſharply, becauſe I had manifeſt ſcriptures freſh in my mind againſt his ſaying. Then ſaid I:

O Lord God! how dare you ſpeak ſuch blaſphemy againſt God and his word, as you do? how dare you for your life take upon you to preach, and teach the people, and underſtand not what you ſay? For I proteſt before God you underſtand not the ſcriptures, but as natural reaſon can comprehend. For if you did, you would be aſhamed to ſpeak as you do.

Langdale Wherein have I ſpoken amiſs; take heed, you have a toy in your head will make you deſpair: I dare ſay you cannot tell what you ſay. Wherefore reprove you me as you do?

Woodman. Becauſe you blaſpheme God; and as for deſpairing, take heed to yourſelf. For I cannot ſee but you be out of your wits already, and as for me, I praiſe God, I can tell what I ſay, and what you have ſaid: which ſhall turn to your ſhame, if you will talk by the ſcriptures with me.

So when he perceived that I ſpake earneſtly, and challenged him to talk by the word, his colour began to change, and his fleſh began to tremble and quake. And I ſaid:

Prove your ſayings true, if you can; for I will prove them falſe by God's help. You ſaid, All children, or others, that be not baptized with water, ſhall be damned. I dare not ſay ſo for all the good in the world. And you brought in the ſaying of Chriſt for your warrant. In Mark 16. it is written, "Whoſo believeth, and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved;" which words be very true: and whoſo believeth not ſhall be damned," which words be very true alſo. He ſays, "He that believeth not, ſhall be damned." Yea, St. John ſaith, "He that believeth not, is condemned already, becauſe he believeth not." But neither of theſe two ſcriptures, nor any other ſcripture in all the New Teſtament ſaith, That he that is not baptized ſhall be damned, or is damned already. "But if he believe not he ſhall be damned, and is damned already, as is aforeſaid. Then he would have interrupted me, and would have laid to my charge, that I was an Anabaptiſt. But I would give him no place to ſpeak, but ſaid:

Let me make an end, and then ſay what you can. You ſhall have as much to do, by God's help, with this matter, as ever you had to anſwer thing in your life. You know (I am ſure) it is no manners to pluck a tale out of a man's mouth, nor is it the order of reaſoning, as you know that better than I can tell you. Then Dr. Langdale bade me ſay on.

Woodman. My ſaying was, that they that believe not ſhall be damned, and be damned already. But I dare not ſay for all the goods under heaven; that all they that receive no material baptiſm by water ſhall be damned, as you have ſaid: yet I would you ſhould not gather of theſe words, that I deny baptiſm, as you were about to lay to my charge, before ever I had half told out my tale. But I would not have you, nor any man ſo raſh in judgment, to condemn the thing that they are not able to prove by the word, and to make it ſeem to the ſimple, that the outward waſhing of water were the cauſe of faith.

Langdale. Why, is it not ſo? will you deny it? How ſay you? will you deny it? I ſay, the child hath no faith before it is baptized; and therefore the baptizing bringeth faith. How ſay you to it? make me a plain anſwer to this queſtion.

Woodman. Now I perceive you go about nothing elſe, but to take advantage of my words: But by God's help, I will anſwer you ſo, that you ſhall well ſee your ſayings untrue. And yet I will not ſpeak mine own words, but the words of the Holy Ghoſt, out of the mouth of the prophets and apoſtles; and then aſk them whether they will deny it.

You ſaid, that faith cometh by baptiſm, had by the uſe of material water. I muſt be ſo bold to aſk you where Jacob was baptized before he had faith. St. Paul ſaith in the ninth chapter to the Romans, "Before ever the children were born, before ever they had done either good or bad, that the purpoſe of God, which is by election, might ſtand, not by the reaſon of works, but by the grace of the Caller, the elder ſhall ſerve the younger. Jacob have I loved, and Eſau have I hated." How think you, had this child faith before he were born, or no? anſwer to this if you can.

Langdale. What, you ſpeak of the old law. Jacob was not chriſtened, but circumciſed. I ſpeak of baptiſm, and you are gone from baptizing to the time of circumciſion; anſwer me to the baptizing. And methink by your talk, you deny original ſin, and free will, by the words that you brought in of St. Paul.

For

For if children can be ſaved without baptiſm, then it muſt needs follow, that children have no original ſin, which is put away in baptizing. But I think you know not what original ſin is, nor free will neither.

Woodman. Yes, I praiſe God (I think) I can tell them all better than you can. Firſt I pray you what free will hath man to do good of himſelf? tell me this firſt, and then I will anſwer to all other queſtions that you have objected againſt me.

Langdale. I ſay, that all men have as much free will now, as Adam had before his fall.

Woodman. I pray you how prove you that?

Langdale. Thus I prove it, that as ſin entered into the world, and by the means of one that ſinned all men became ſinners, which was by Adam; ſo by the obedience of one man, righteouſneſs came upon all men that had ſinned, and ſet them as free as they were before their fall, which was by Jeſus Chriſt, Rom. 5.

Woodman. O Lord, what an overthrow have you given yourſelf here in original ſin, and yet cannot ſee it? For in proving that we have free will, you have denied quite original ſin. For here you have declared that we be ſet as free by the death of Chriſt, as Adam was before his fall, and I am ſure that Adam had no original ſin before his fall. If we be as free now as he was then, I marvel wherefore Paul complained thrice to God, to take away the ſting of it, God making him anſwer, and ſaying, "My grace is ſufficient for thee."

Theſe words with divers others, prove original ſin in us; but not that it ſhall hurt God's elect people, but that his grace is ſufficient for all his. But you ſay in one place, it is not without baptiſm; and in another place, you put it away quite by the death of Chriſt; and in very deed you have ſpoken truer in the matter than you are aware of. For all that believe in Chriſt are baptized in the blood of Chriſt that he ſhed on the croſs, and in the water that he ſweat for pain, and putting away of our ſins at his death. And yet I ſay with David in the 51ſt Pſalm, "In ſin was I born, and in ſin hath my mother conceived me:" but in no ſuch ſin that ſhall be imputed, becauſe I am born of God by faith, as St. John ſaith, chap. 3. Therefore I am bleſſed, as ſaith the prophet, Pſal. 23. "Becauſe the Lord imputeth not my ſin," and not becauſe I have no ſin; but becauſe God hath not imputed my ſins. Not of our own deſerving, but of his free mercy he hath ſaved us. Where is now your free will become that you ſpake of? If we have free will, then our ſalvation cometh of our ownſelves, and not of God; which is great blaſphemy againſt God and his word.

For St. James ſaith, chap. 1. "Every good and perfect gift cometh from above, from the Father of light, with whom is no variableneſs, neither is he changed into darkneſs. Of his own will he begat us. For the wind bloweth where it liſteth, and we hear the ſound thereof," (as ſaith St. John, chap. 3.) but we cannot tell from whence it cometh, neither whither it goeth: even ſo is it with every one that is born of God." For St. Paul ſaith, Phil. 2. "It is God that worketh in us both to will and to do of his good pleaſure." Seeing then that every good and perfect gift cometh from above, and lighteneth upon whom it pleaſeth God, and that he worketh in us both to will and to do, methinks all the reſt of our own will is little worth, or naught at all, unleſs it be wickedneſs. So methinks here be places enow to prove that a man hath no free will to do good of himſelf; with an hundred places more that I could recite, if time did ſerve. And as for original ſin, I think I have declared my mind therein, how it remaineth in man; which you cannot deny, unleſs you deny the word of God. Now, if you will ſuffer me, I will prove my ſaying of Jacob and Eſau, that I brought in to prove that faith was before baptiſm, and you refuſed it, becauſe (you ſaid) Jacob was not baptized. If you will give me leave, you ſhall hear what I can ſay therein: for methinks you think my talk long. This I ſaid, becauſe I ſaw he was ſore offended at my ſayings.

Langdale. Say what you can; for it availeth me to ſay nothing to you. For I was deſired to ſend for you, to teach you, and there will no words of mine take place in you; but you go about to reprove me. Say what you will, for me.

Woodman. I take not upon me to teach you, but to anſwer ſuch things as you lay to my charge: and I ſpeak not mine own mind, but the mind of the Holy Ghoſt, written by the prophets and apoſtles. Will you give me leave to anſwer briefly in this matter, that you may report to others what I hold? And he ſaid he was contented. But I think it was for nothing but to have caught advantage at my words.

Firſt, if you remember, you ſaid, that if my child had died without baptiſm, if I had been the cauſe that it had not been baptized, the child ſhould have been damned, and I too. How ſay you?

Langdale. Yea that you ſhould.

Woodman. That is moſt untrue. For the prophet ſaith, "The father ſhall not bear the child's offences, nor the child the father's; but the ſoul that ſinneth ſhall die." What could the child have done withal, if it had died without baptiſm? the child could not do withal. How ſay you to this? And I am ſure, that which I brought in, in the old law, to prove that faith is before baptiſm, is not diſagreeable to the word. For circumciſion was a figure of baptiſm. And that I may bring to prove baptiſm by, as well as St. Peter did: for he brought in Noah's flood, which was a long time before Jacob and Eſau, to prove baptiſm, ſaying, "While the ark was preparing, wherein few (that is to ſay) eight ſouls were ſaved by water, like as baptiſm alſo now ſaveth us, not in putting away of the filth of the fleſh, but there is a good conſcience conſenting to God.

Here Peter proveth, that water had not ſaved Noah and the other ſeven, no more than it ſaved all the reſt, if it had not been for their faith, which faith now ſaveth us; not in putting away the filthy ſoil of the fleſh, by the waſhing of the water, but by a good conſcience conſenting unto God.

But you ſaid, If they be baptized with the water, if they die before they come to years of diſcretion, they be all ſaved; which St. Peter is clean againſt, unleſs you grant that children have faith before they be baptized.

Now I aſk you what conſent of conſcience the children have, being infants. For you ſay, they believe not before they be baptized: Ergo, they conſent not to be baptized, becauſe they believe not. And by this it followeth, that none ſhall be ſaved, although they be baptized. I would fain ſee how you can anſwer this.

Langdale. You are the moſt perverſe man that ever I knew. You know not what you ſay. The children are baptized in their godfathers and godmothers faith, and that is the good conſcience that St. Peter ſpeaketh of: and the chriſtening is the keeping of the law that St. Paul ſpeaketh of, ſaying, Neither is circumciſion any thing worth, nor uncircumciſion any thing worth, but keeping of the law is all together. Like as the circumciſion was the keeping of the old law, ſo is baptiſm the keeping of the new law.

Woodman. Ah, I thought if you would talk with me, you ſhould be fain to bring in the old law to maintain your ſayings by, for all that you refuſed it when I brought it in. But yet it ſerveth not for your purpoſe, ſo much as you think for: for here you have confeſſed, that neither circumciſion availeth, nor uncircumciſion; which you yourſelf have coupled with baptiſm, proving that neither of them prevaileth, but keeping of the law is all together: which law is kept (you ſay) by the outward ſigns; which is nothing ſo: for Abraham believed God, and that was counted to him for righteouſneſs, and this was before he was circumciſed. So the children believe before they be either circumciſed or baptized,

tized, according to my firſt ſaying of Jacob and Eſau, "Jacob I loved, but Eſau I hated." Theſe words declare, that Jacob had faith in his mother's womb: and John Baptiſt was ſanctified in his mother's womb; and therefore it was counted to them for righteouſneſs: and I am ſure, if they had died before they had either received circumciſion or baptiſm as concerning the outward deed. they ſhould have been ſaved. For God's gifts and callings are ſuch, that he cannot repent of them. But by your ſaying he doth both repent and change. For you ſay, keeping of the outward law is all together; but a bad cauſe is as good as none at all. And where you ſaid, the children be baptized in their godfathers and godmothers faith, they being all unbelievers, in what faith is that child baptized then: In none at all, by your own ſaying: which words made him ſtamp and ſtare.

Langdale. What! then you would count that there were very few believers, if there were not one of three that believeth. You enter into judgment againſt the people. Belike you think there be none that believe well, unleſs they be of your mind. Then indeed Chriſt's flock was a very little flock.

Woodman. Indeed theſe be Chriſt's words in the 12th of Luke, which we may ſee to be very true. Yea, you ſaid, if there were not one amongſt three, that were very few. But there is not one amongſt three hundred, for any thing that I can ſee. For if there were, there would not be ſo many that would ſeek their neighbours goods and lives as there be.

Langdale. Is the flock of Chriſt ſuch a little flock as you ſpeak of? You may call it a great flock. How many may there be of them, can you tell me?

Woodman. A pretty queſtion, I promiſe you, it is that you aſk me: as though I did make myſelf equal with God.

No, no, you ſhall catch no ſuch advantage of my words, nor do I know how many there be. But I will tell you as nigh as I can. For therefore you look. I am ſure that I ſhould enter into judgment.

Langdale. Yea, I pray you tell me as much as you can, ſeeing you be ſo cunning.

Woodman. You ſhall ſee my judgment in it by and by. Firſt the prophet ſaith, "Follow not a multitude to do evil, for they muſt go the wrong way." For the moſt go the wrong way. There is one point to know them.

Then Chriſt ſaith in the 7th of Matthew, "Broad is the way, and wide is the gate that leadeth into deſtruction, and many there be that go in thereat: and ſtrait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it." And in the 12th of Luke, it is written (which words were ſpoken of Chriſt) "Come you little flock, it is my Father's will to give you a kingdom." The third point is this, in the third of Mark, and ſecond of Matthew, "You (ſaith Chriſt) ſhall know the tree by the fruits. A good tree bringeth forth good fruits, and a bad tree bringeth forth bad fruits:" ſo by the fruits I know them: For every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, muſt be hewn down, and caſt into the fire (into hell I think Chriſt meant) and your fruits declare that you be one of them. Thus have I proved four ways, that the people who ſhall be ſaved is but a ſmall company in compariſon of the reſt. But if that be not enough for the proof thereof, I have twenty ways more to prove it by, and you were never the nearer of your purpoſe.

Langdale. What a naughty man are you? you would make the moſt patient man in the world angry with you. I think your talk is nothing but pride and vain-glory, with frumps and mocks, and deſpiſing and judging of men. It is time ſuch a fellow was taken indeed. Such a one is enough to trouble a whole country. I think he is bleſt of God that took you: for you are not fit to be in a common-wealth.

With divers other ſuch like words that I cannot recite; they came out ſo thick, with ſtamping and chafing, as though he had been out of his wits. I held my peace until he had made an end of his talk, and then I ſpake.

Wherein have I ſaid amiſs? or have I not anſwered you unto every queſtion that you have demanded of me? what fault can you find in one word that I have ſaid? I dare ſay you can find none. I marvel why you take on thus againſt me, having no cauſe ſo to do.

Langdale. No, no, you have not anſwered me to original ſin, you deny original ſin.

With theſe words Mr. James Gage came in at the door; and I think he ſtood at the door a good while before he came in; and that Doctor Langdale ſaw him: for his face was toward the door, and my face was from it.

Gage. Ah Woodman, methink Mr. Doctor and you cannot agree.

Woodman. Yes, Sir, methink we agree very well.

Langdale. Without doubt, Sir, he is the naughtieſt man that ever I talked with in all my life: for he will have his own way in all things.

Gage. Woodman, leave that pride. Do not truſt too much to your own wit. Hearken to this man, this is a learned man, I tell you. He is known to be learned, for elſe he ſhould not be allowed to preach before the queen's majeſty: and I dare ſay, he will tell thee nothing, nor will thee to do any thing, but that he will do himſelf: and I dare ſay, he will not go to the devil, to bring thee thither. How ſay you, Mr. Doctor? Thou mighteſt think us mad, if we would hurt ourſelves to hurt thee. No, I promiſe thee, my brother, neither I, nor any gentleman in the country, I think of my conſcience, but would thou ſhouldeſt do as well as their own bodies and ſouls, as a great many of them have ſaid to thy face whilſt thou waſt at my brother's, and which thou canſt not deny.

Woodman. Sir, I can ſay no otherwiſe but I was gently treated at your brother's, both with meat and drink, and gentle words, both by you and him, and divers other gentlemen: and I am ſure neither you nor they can ſay, that you found me unreaſonable at any time. For I ſaid, I was contented to learn of them that were able to teach me, and ſo I am, as God knoweth: and here Mr. Doctor (I think) can ſay no otherwiſe; for I dare ſay he can find no fault in the talk we have had.

Langdale. No marry, I can find nothing elſe in you. I promiſe you, Mr. Gage, if you had been here, you would have ſaid ſo yourſelf. He took me up indeed, and ſaid, he marvelled how I durſt preach. For he ſaid, I underſtood not the ſcripture, but as far as natural reaſon comprehended: as though he underſtood all, and I nothing. With divers other ſuch like words he made a great complaint to him of me, and ſaid to Mr. James Gage, he would make you believe that I could find no fault in him. Yes, I underſtand, he denies original ſin.

Gage. Yea, doth he ſo? by St. Mary that is a great matter: Woodman, leave your pride. That pride will come to nought. Can you live without ſin?

Woodman. Sir, now I perceive he will ſoon lye on me behind my back, when he will not ſtick to lye before my face.

He ſaith, I denied original ſin; and it was he himſelf, as I will let you be judge in the matter. For, as he went about to prove, that man hath free will, he ſaid, we were ſet as free by the death of Chriſt, as Adam was before his fall: which words prove plainly, that we have no original ſin: And I took him withal, and ſaid, Had Adam original ſin before his fall? and then he could not tell what to ſay, but cavilled with words, and ſaid he meant not ſo; and therefore I marvel he is not aſhamed to make ſuch lyes to my face. Theſe words made them both aſtoniſhed.

Gage. Mr. Doctor, he ſaid even now you could find no fault in all his talk. I will bid you aſk him a queſtion, and I will warrant you will find fault enough.

enough. I pray you ask him how he believeth in the ſacrament of the altar. I think he will make but a bad account thereof.

Woodman. Yes, I will make account good enough of that, by God's help.

Langdale. Well, how ſay you to the ſacrament of the altar?

Woodman. I ſay, I know no ſuch ſacrament, unleſs Chriſt be the altar that you mean.

Gage. Lo! I told you, you ſhould ſoon find fault in him, if you came to that point with him. You ſhould have begun with that firſt, and never have talked with him about other things. What! know you not the ſacrament of the altar?

Woodman. No ſure, I know no ſuch, unleſs Chriſt be the altar that you mean; for Chriſt is the altar of all goodneſs. And if you mean Chriſt to be the altar of the ſacrament you ſpeak of, you ſhall ſoon hear my mind and belief therein.

Langdale. Well, we mean Chriſt to be the altar. Say your mind, and go briefly to work; for I think it almoſt dinner time.

Woodman. Yes, you ſhall ſoon hear my mind therein, by God's help. I do believe, that whenſoever I come to receive the ſacrament of the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt, being duly adminiſtered according to Chriſt's inſtitution, I believing that Chriſt was born of the virgin Mary, and that he was crucified on the croſs, and ſhed his blood for the remiſſion of my ſins, and ſo take and eat the ſacrament of bread and wine in that remembrance, that then I do receive whole Chriſt, God and man, myſtically by faith. This is my belief of the ſacrament, which no man is able to diſprove.

Gage. By St Mary, I can find no fault in this. How ſay you, Mr. Doctor?

Langdale. Sir, you ſee not ſo much as I do. For he goeth craftily to work, I tell you as I have heard. For though he hath granted, that the faithful receiver receiveth the body of Chriſt, God and man, yet he hath not granted that it is the body of Chriſt before it be received, as you ſhall ſee by and by, I warrant you, by his own words. How ſay you? Is it the body of Chriſt as ſoon as the words be ſpoken by the prieſt, or not? for theſe words will try him more than all the reſt.

Woodman Doth the word ſay that it is his body before it is received? if it do, I will ſay ſo too.

Gage. Why, then we ſhall agree well enough, if you will be tried by the word.

Woodman. Yes indeed, that I will; God forbid elſe.

Gage. Why, the word ſaith it is his body before it is eaten.

Woodman. Theſe words would I fain hear; but I am ſure they be not in the Bible.

Langdale No! that you ſhall ſee preſently (ſays he to Mr. Gage) and then turned to the 22d of Luke, and there he read, "When ſupper was done, Chriſt took bread, gave thanks, and brake it, and gave to his diſciples, and ſaid; Take, eat, this is my body:" Then they ſpake both at once, Here he ſaith it is his body.

Woodman. Mr. Gage, I do not deny that he called it his body, but not before eating, as I ſaid before; wherefore I pray you mark the words. Chriſt ſaith, "Take, eat:" I pray you mark theſe words that he ſaid, "Take and eat," and then he ſaid, "it was his body." So you ſee eating goeth before. For he ſaith, "Eat, this is my body." So according to the very word, I do believe it is his body. Which words made them both aſtoniſhed.

Langdale. Why, then by your ſaying, Judas eat not the body of Chriſt. How ſay you, did he not?

Woodman. Nay, I aſk you. Did he?

Langdale. I ask you.

Woodman. And I ask you.

Langdale. And I ask you.

Woodman. Marry I ask you: and I bid you anſwer if you dare for your life; for whatſoever you anſwer, unleſs you ſay as I have ſaid, you will damn your own ſoul. For Mr. Gage, I proteſt before God, I would you ſhould do as well as mine own ſoul and body; and it lamenteth my heart to ſee how you be deceived by them; they be deceivers all the ſort of them. He cannot anſwer to this, but either he muſt prove Judas to be ſaved, or elſe he muſt prove that it is no body before it be received in faith, as you ſhall well perceive, by God's help. if he dare anſwer the queſtion.

Gage. Yes, I dare ſay he dareth; what, you need not threaten him ſo.

Woodman. Then let him anſwer if he can.

Then he ſaid, he knew what I would ſay to him; therefore he was much in doubt to anſwer the queſtion.

Langdale. Mr. Gage, I will tell you in your ear what words he will anſwer me, before I ſpeak to him.

Then he told Mr. Gage a tale in his ear, and ſaid: I have told Mr. Gage what you will ſay.

Gage. Yea, and I will ſpeak the truth for both parties.

Woodman, Well, how ſay you? Did Judas eat the body of Chriſt, or not?

Langdale. Yea, I ſay Judas did eat the body of Chriſt.

Woodman. Then it muſt needs follow that Judas hath everlaſting life: for Chriſt ſaith in the 6th of John, "whoſo eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raiſe him up at the laſt day." If Judas did eat Chriſt's body, I am ſure you cannot deny but that he did both eat his fleſh, and drink his blood, and then is Judas ſaved by Chriſt's own words. Therefore now you are compelled to ſay that it was not Chriſt's body, or elſe that Judas is ſaved.

Gage. Surely theſe be the very words that Maſter doctor told me in mine ear that you would ſay to him.

Woodman. Well, let us ſee how well he can avoid this argument.

Langdale. Judas is damned, and yet he eat the body of Chriſt; but he eat it unworthily: and therefore he is damned.

Woodman. Where find you that Judas did eat the body of Chriſt unworthily?

Langdale. They be Saint Paul's words, 1 Cor. 11.

Woodman. Maſter Gage, I deſire you for God's ſake mark my words well what I ſay. If Saint Paul ſpake any ſuch words there, or in any other place; if there be any ſuch words written in all the whole Bible, that ever any man eat the body of Chriſt unworthily, then ſay that I am the falſeſt man that ever you heard ſpeak with a tongue. But indeed, theſe be the words of Saint Paul, "Whoſo eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, becauſe he maketh no difference of the Lord's body;" that is, becauſe he preſumeth to eat the ſacrament of the Lord's body without faith, making no difference betwixt the ſacrament and other meat and drink. And that is Saint Paul's meaning, and not that any man doth or can eat the body of Chriſt unworthily. For whoſoever eateth the body of Chriſt, hath everlaſting life, as is aforeſaid in the ſixth of John. With theſe words one came for them to dinner in all haſte.

Gage. I am ſorry, I would fain hear more of this talk, but we ſhall have another day well enough.

Langdale. Nay, maſter Gage, I will never talk with him more; for he is the moſt unreaſonable man that ever I talked with in all my life.

Then Mr. Gage put off his cap, and deſired him that he would not refuſe to talk with me, and that it might not be grievous to him. For, ſaid he, we will ſeek all the means poſſible to make him an honeſt man, and to keep him from burning, if we could: for if it had not been for me and my brother, he had been burnt before this.

Langdale. Sir, for your ſake, and for my maſter your brother's ſake, and for his father's ſake, and other of his friends ſakes, that have ſpoken to me many times with weeping tears, I will do the beſt to him that I can; but

for no love nor favour that I bear to him, I tell you truth.

Gage. Woodman, you hear what maſter Doctor ſaith: when will you come again?

Woodman. Even when you will ſend for me. For I am a priſoner, and cannot come when I would. Or if I ſhould deſire to come, it will coſt me money, and I have none to give; but if you ſend for me, it will coſt me none.

Gage. Well, I will ſend for you on Friday or Saturday at fartheſt; for to-morrow I muſt ride out of town; and I would fain hear you talk.

Woodman. Sir, I would be very glad you ſhould hear our talk always, and I truſt in God you ſhall hear me ſay nothing, but the word of God ſhall be my warrant.

So Mr. Gage took his leave, and went away to his lodging, which was right in my way to the priſon; and when we came without my lord Montague's gates, there we met with one Hood of Burſted, a ſmith.

Then ſaid Mr. Gage: Woodman, I had forgot one thing that Hood had brought me in remembrance of as ſoon as I ſaw him; for he heard when the tale was told me. Hood, did not you hear when Smith of Farmfield told me that he ſaw Woodman abroad in the city at liberty?

Hood. Yea forſooth, that I did.

Gage. Yea ſurely, and I was very glad, for I had well hoped you had been conformable. But I heard otherwiſe afterwards again, that you had leave of the keeper to go abroad, and ſpeak openly in the ſtreets, as you went up and down.

Woodman. Indeed ſo the marſhal told me to-day. But indeed I was never abroad ſince I came to priſon, but when I was ſent for; and indeed the ſame time I was abroad with my keeper, coming from the biſhop, and as I was coming, even not far from the Marſhalſea, I ſaw goodman Smith ſtand in a wain unloading of cheeſe, and I aſked him how he did, even as I went by, and never ſtaid for the matter, and thereupon it did ariſe. So I departed from them with my keeper to the Marſhalſea again, where now I am merry, I praiſe God, as a ſheep appointed to be ſlain.

The fourth Examination of Richard Woodman, before the Biſhop of Wincheſter, the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and a certain Doctor, with divers other Prieſts and Gentlemen, May 25, 1557.

I Was brought from the Marſhalſea to the ſaid biſhops and prieſts, ſitting in St. George's church in Southwark, by one of the marſhal's men, and one of the ſheriff's men. When I came before them, and had done my duty to them as nigh as I could, then ſaid the biſhop of Wincheſter:

What is your name?

Woodman. My name is Richard Woodman, forſooth.

Wincheſter. Ah Woodman! you were taken and apprehended for hereſy about three years ago, and were ſent to priſon in the King's-bench, and there remained a long time. Mine old lord of Chicheſter, being a learned famous man, well known in this realm of England, and almoſt throughout all chriſtendom, I think came to priſon to you, and there, and at other places, called you before him divers times, travailing with you, and perſuading you many times (becauſe he was your ordinary) to pluck you from your hereſies that you held, but he could by no means advertiſe you.

Whereupon you were delivered to the commiſſioners, and they could do no good with you neither. Then they ſent you unto my lord of London. My lord of London calling you before him divers times, means was made to him by your friends, that you might be releaſed. My lord having a good hope in you, that you would become an honeſt man, becauſe he had heard ſo of you in times paſt, yea and of yourſelf promiſing him, that you would go home, and recant the hereſies which you held, delivered you; ſending alſo a letter of your recantation to the commiſſary, that he ſhould ſee it done. But as ſoon as you were out of his hands, you were as bad as ever, and would never fulfil your promiſe, but have hid yourſelf in the woods, buſhes, dens, and caves, and thus have you continued ever ſince, till it was now of late. Then the ſheriff of that county (being a worſhipful man) hearing thereof, ſent certain of his men, and took you in a wood, and ſo carried you to his houſe. I cannot tell his name. What is your ſheriff's name?

Woodman. Forſooth, his name is Sir Edward Gage.

Biſhop. Well, you were apprehended for hereſy, and being at maſter Gage's three weeks or more, ye were gently treated there: he and other gentlemen perſuading you divers times, little prevailed.

Then you appealed to the biſhop of Chicheſter that now is. The ſheriff, like a worſhipful man, ſent you to him, and he hath travelled with you, and others alſo, and can do no good with you, whereupon we have ſent for you.

Woodman. Then I ſpake to him: for I thought he would be long before he would make an end. I thought he was a year in telling of thoſe lyes againſt me there already. Yea, I kept ſilence from good words, but it was great pain and grief to me (as David ſaid.) At length the fire was ſo kindled in my heart, that I could not chuſe but ſpeak with my tongue; for I feared leſt any of the company ſhould have departed before I had anſwered to his lyes, and ſo the goſpel ſlandered by my long ſilence. So I ſaid, my lord, I pray you let me now anſwer for myſelf, for it is time.

Biſhop. I permit you to anſwer to theſe things that I have ſaid.

Woodman. I thank God for that, and I think myſelf happy (as Paul ſaid when he was brought before king Aprippa) that I may this day anſwer for myſelf. My lord, I promiſe you there is never a word of your ſayings true that you have alledged againſt me.

Biſhop. I cannot tell, but thus it is reported of you. As for me, I never ſaw you before this day; but I am ſure it is not all lyes that I have ſaid, as you report.

Woodman. Yes, my lord, there is never a true word of that you have ſaid. And further, where you ſaid you never ſaw me before this day, you have both heard me and ſeen me before this day, I dare ſay.

Biſhop. I think I heard you indeed on Sunday, where you played the malapert fellow; but I cannot tell that I ſaw you. But I pray you, were you not taken in the woods by the ſheriff's men?

Woodman. No, I was taken near my houſe, I being in my houſe when they came, wherefore that is not true.

Biſhop. Were you not three weeks at the ſheriffs?

Woodman. Yes that I was, juſt a month, and was gently treated by him: I can ſay no otherwiſe; for I had meat and drink enough, and fair words.

Biſhop. It is not all lyes then, as it chanced. For I ſpake but of three weeks, and you confeſs a month yourſelf.

Woodman. Yet your tale is never the truer for that: for you ſaid, I was there three weeks for hereſy, which is not ſo; for I was not apprehended for hereſy at the firſt, neither did mine old lord of Chicheſter travail with me to pull me from hereſy, as you ſaid; for I held none then, neither do I now, as God knoweth, neither was I ſent to the commiſſioners, nor to the biſhop of London for hereſy, neither was I delivered to him for any ſuch thing, nor promiſed him to recant, as you ſaid I did. Wherefore I marvel you be not aſhamed to tell ſo many lyes, being a biſhop, that ſhould be an enſample to others.

Biſhop. Lo, what an arrant heretic he is; he will deny God; for he that denieth his own hand, denieth God.

Woodman. My lord, judge not, leſt ye be judged yourſelf: for as you have judged me, you ſhall be judged, if you repent not: and if I have ſet my hand to any recantation, let it be ſeen to my ſhame before this audience; for I will never deny mine own hand, by God's help.

Biſhop. It is not here now, but I think it may be had well enough; but if it cannot be found, by whom will you be tried?

Woodman. By my lord of London; for he dealt like a good man with me in that matter for which I was ſent to priſon. For it was upon the breach of a ſtatute, as maſter ſheriff here can tell. For he was ſheriff then, as he is now, and can tell how I was toſſed up and down from ſeſſions to ſeſſions; and becauſe I would not conſent that I had offended therein, they ſent me to priſon again.

Then my lord of Chicheſter being mine ordinary, and I being his tenant, came to me, to perſuade me to conſent to them, and to find myſelf in fault, when I was in none: to which I would not agree; but I deſired that he would ſee me releaſed of my wrong; but he ſaid he could not; but willed me or my friends to ſpeak to the commiſſioners for me, becauſe it was a temporal matter: and when I came before them, they ſent me to my lord of London, and my lord of London was certified by the hands of almoſt thirty men, both eſquires, gentlemen, and yeomen, the chief of all the country where I dwelt, that I had not offended in the matter that I was ſent to priſon for: whereupon he delivered me, not requiring me to recant hereſies, for I held none (as God knoweth) neither do I now: nor do I know for what I was ſent to priſon, no more than any man here knoweth; for I was taken away from my work.

Biſhop. No? why then did you not appeal to my lord of Chicheſter, if it were not for hereſy?

Woodman. Becauſe there was laid to my charge that I had baptized children, and married folks, which I never did, for I was no where miniſter. Wherefore I appealed to mine ordinary, to clear myſelf thereof, which I have done. Wherefore if any man hath any thing againſt me, let them ſpeak; for I came not hither to accuſe myſelf, neither will I.

Biſhop. Maſter ſheriff, can you tell upon what breach of ſtatute he was ſent to priſon firſt?

Sheriff. Yea forſooth, my lord, that I can.

Woodman. My lord, if you will give me leave, I will ſhew you the whole matter.

Biſhop. Nay, maſter ſheriff, I pray you tell the matter, ſeeing you know it.

The ſheriff. My lord, it was for ſpeaking to a curate in the pulpit, as I remember.

Biſhop. Ah, like enough, that he would not ſtick to reprove a curate. For did you not ſee how he faſhioned himſelf to ſpeak to me in the pulpit on Sunday? he played the impudent fellow with me; and therefore it was no great marvel though he played that part with another.

Woodman. Why, you will not blame me for that, I am ſure. For we ſpeak no other cauſe, but to purge ourſelves of thoſe hereſies that you laid to our charge. For theſe were your words; Good people, theſe men that be brought before us, being here, deny Chriſt to be God, and the Holy Ghoſt to be God (pointing to us with your left hand) which might ſeem to the whole audience, that you meant us all. Wherefore to clear ourſelves thereof, we ſpake, and ſaid we held no ſuch thing. And you ſaid you would cut out our tongues. But I am ſure you have no ſuch law.

Biſhop. Yes, that we have, if you blaſpheme, and as it chanced, I found ſuch amongſt you.

Woodman. Indeed after we ſpake, you declared who they were, but not before; for you ſpake generally. Wherefore we blaſphemed not, but purged ourſelves.

Biſhop. But I pray you, how can you purge yourſelf for ſpeaking to the curate, that it is not hereſy?

Woodman. Forſooth theſe be the words of the ſtatute; Whoſoever doth interrupt any preacher or preachers lawfully authorized by the queen's majeſty, or by any other lawful ordinary, that all ſuch ſhall ſuffer three months impriſonment, and furthermore be brought to the quarter ſeſſions, there (being ſorry for the ſame) to be releaſed upon his good behaviour one whole year. But I had not ſo offended, as it was well proved; for he that I ſpake to was not lawfully authorized, nor had put away his wife. Wherefore it was not lawful for him to preach by your own law; and therefore I brake not the ſtatute, though I ſpake to him.

Biſhop. I am glad I perceive this man ſpeaketh againſt prieſts marriages; he is not contented with prieſts that have wives. He is an honeſter man than I took him for, maſter ſheriff, have him away. I am glad he loveth not prieſts marriages.

Woodman. Then I would have anſwered to his ſaying, but he would in no wiſe hear me, but bade the ſheriff have me away. So the ſheriff took me by the hand, and plucked me away, and would not let me ſpeak; but going out of the chancel door, I ſaid; I would ſhew him the whole matter, if he would have given me leave, but ſeeing he will not, if he will let me go ſo, they ſhall ſee whether I will not go home to my wife and children, and keep them, as my bounden duty is, by the help of God. So I was ſent to the Marſhalſea again, where I now am merry, I praiſe God therefore, as a ſheep appointed to be ſlain.

Moreover, I was credibly informed by one of our brethren that heard our talk, that the biſhop ſaid when I was gone, that they would take me whilſt I was ſomewhat good. Which words ſeemed to many of the people that were there, that I ſpeak againſt prieſts marriages, but I did not, but did only anſwer to ſuch queſtions as he aſked me, as you ſhall perceive well by the words, if you mark them; which words were theſe:

How can you purge yourſelf from hereſy, for talking to the curate in the pulpit, and not offend the ſtatute, ſaid the biſhop? meaning thereby, I think, to have taken advantage of my words; but it was not God's will that he ſhould at that time. For I anſwered him by the words of the ſtatute, which words be as hereafter followeth, (that is) Whoſoever doth interrupt any preacher or preachers, lawfully authorized by the queen's majeſty, or by any other lawful ordinary, that all ſuch ſhall ſuffer three months impriſonment. But I prove that this man was not lawfully authorized to preach (by their own law) becauſe he had not put away his wife. For their law is, that no prieſt may ſay maſs, nor preach with the maſs, but he muſt firſt be ſeparated from his wife. That is, becauſe honeſt marriages be good and commendable, and theirs naught and abominable; therefore they cannot dwell together.

Now I give you all to underſtand, that I did not reprove this prieſt becauſe he had a wife, but becauſe he taught falſe doctrine, which grieved my ſoul, becauſe he had been a fervent preacher againſt the maſs, and all the idolatry thereof ſeven years before, and then came and held with it again; for which cauſe I reproved him in the pulpit: and the words that I ſpake to him are written in divers of my examinations at my firſt impriſonment. But in very deed I knew not of the ſtatute, when I reproved him. But becauſe I was ſent to priſon upon the breach of it, I bought a ſtatute book, and when I had peruſed it, I perceived I had not offended by their own law; and therefore ſtill when I was called to anſwer, I anſwered them with their own law. But yet they kept me in priſon a year and almoſt three quarters before I was releaſed. I was at mine anſwer for that eighteen times. If any do think I do not allow biſhops and prieſts marriages, let them look in my firſt examination

tion before the biſhop of Chicheſter that now is during this my impriſonment, and there they ſhall find what I have ſaid in this matter. The truth is, I looked to be condemned with my brother that ſame day: but we may all ſee that they can do nothing but as God will permit them to do But when the time is full come, I truſt in God I ſhall run that joyful race that my brethren have done. Thus I commit you all into the hands of God, who is the preſerver, defender, and keeper of all his elect for evermore, Amen.

The fifth Examination of Richard Woodman before the Biſhop of Wincheſter, the Archdeacon of Canterbury, Dr. Langdale, a fat Prieſt, and others whoſe Names I know not, at St. Mary Overy's Church, in Southwark, June 15, 1557.

Wincheſter. WOODMAN, you were before us the laſt day, and would not be known in any wiſe that you were ſent to priſon for hereſy, and called for your accuſers, and ſtood ſtoutly in defending of yourſelf, and in your departing I had thought you had ſpoke againſt prieſts marriages, thinking by your words we ſhould have found you an honeſt man, and conformable, when we had called you before us again. You told ſuch a fair tale for yourſelf, as though you had been free from all that was laid to your charge: for you ſaid it was all lyes that I told againſt you; but ſince I have proved the contrary, as here is your own hand to ſhew. By which I have proved, that you reproved not the prieſt for lacking of authority, and becauſe he had not put away his wife, but becauſe you liked not his preaching. For indeed I took it, that you reproved him, becauſe he was not lawfully authorized, but I have proved the contrary ſince.

Woodman. I told you not that I did either reprove him for lack of authority, or becauſe I liked not his preaching, but I told you wherefore I was firſt ſent to priſon. For you ſaid it was for hereſy, and made a long tale againſt me. And indeed I told you that there was never a word of your ſayings true, but were all lyes, as they were indeed. For I never was ſent to priſon for hereſy, neither held I any then, nor do now, I take heaven and earth to witneſs; but I told you I was ſent to priſon upon the breach of a ſtatute, which was for ſpeaking to a prieſt in the pulpit, and for that cauſe the juſtices of that country thought that I had offended the ſtatute, and called me before them, and would have had me bound to my good behaviour, and becauſe I refuſed it they ſent me to priſon. And theſe be the words of the ſtatute, as I told you the laſt day. "If any man do interrupt any preacher or preachers, lawfully authorized by the queen's majeſty, or by any other lawful ordinary, that then every party that ſo offendeth, ſhall ſuffer three months impriſonment, and furthermore be brought to the quarter-ſeſſions, and there being ſorry for the ſame, and alſo bound for his good abearing one whole year, to be releaſed, or elſe to remain to priſon again."

And when I was in priſon I brought a ſtatute-book, which when I had peruſed over, I found by the words thereof that I had not offended, becauſe he was not lawfully authorized, as the biſhop of London was certified by the hands of almoſt thirty of the chief men in the country. For he had not put away his wife, and therefore the ſtatute took no place on me, as I told you the other day. Wherefore my lord of London, ſeeing me have ſo much wrong, did like a good man to me in that matter, and releaſed me. Now when I had told you this matter, you bade the ſheriff take me away; you ſaid you were glad I held againſt prieſts marriages, becauſe I anſwered to the queſtion you aſked me.

Fat prieſt. My lord, do you not hear what he ſaith by my lord of London? He ſaith he is a good man in that he releaſed him, but he meaneth that he is good in nothing elſe.

Woodman. What! can you tell what I mean? let every man ſay as he findeth; he did juſtly to me in that matter. I ſay, if he be not good in any thing elſe, as you ſay, he ſhall anſwer for it, and not I; for I have nothing to do with other matters.

Biſhop. Well, how ſay you? how liked you his preaching? I pray you tell us.

Woodman. That is no matter how I liked it. Howſoever I liked it, I offended not the ſtatute. Wherefore you have nothing to ſay to me for that I am ſure.

Biſhop. Well, how like you this then? Here is your own hand-writing. I am ſure you will not deny it. Will you look on it?

Woodman. It is mine own handy-work indeed, which by God's help I will never deny, nor ever yet did.

Biſhop. And here is good gear I tell you. I pray you hearken well to it: theſe be the words before the commiſſioners. How ſay you? do not you believe as ſoon as the words be ſpoken by the prieſt, that there remaineth neither bread nor wine, but only the very body of Chriſt, both fleſh and blood, as he was born of the virgin Mary. Theſe were the words of the commiſſioners.

And then thou ſaidſt, thou durſt not ſay otherwiſe than the ſcripture ſaith. I cannot find (ſay you) that it is the body of Chriſt before it is received by faith, bringing in the 22d of Luke, ſaying, Chriſt ſaid, "Take, eat, this is my body." So I cannot prove it is his body before it be eaten. Then ſaid the commiſſioners, did not Judas eat Chriſt's body? And if you can prove that Judas is ſaved (ſaid you) I muſt grant that he eat his body. For Chriſt ſaith in the ſixth of John, "Whoſo eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raiſe him up at the laſt day;" which words prove, ſaid you, that if Judas eat the body of Chriſt, he muſt needs be ſaved. How ſay you now? Did Judas eat the body of Chriſt or not?

Woodman. Then I perceived he went about nothing but to catch words of me in his dioceſe, to condemn me with. Though I ſhould confound him never ſo much, I perceived that he was fully bent thereto. To whom I anſwered and ſaid:

I will anſwer you to no ſuch thing, for I am none of your dioceſe; wherefore I will not anſwer to you.

Biſhop. Thou art within my dioceſe, and thou haſt offended within my dioceſe; and therefore I will have to do with thee.

Woodman. Have to do with me if you will; but I will have nothing to do with you, I tell you plainly. For though I be now in your dioceſe, I have not offended in your dioceſe; if I have, ſhew me wherein.

Biſhop. Marry here is thine own hand-writing, which thou affirmedſt in my dioceſe.

Woodman. I do not deny but it is mine own hand-writing; but that does not prove that I have offended in your dioceſe; for that doth but declare what talk there was betwixt the commiſſioners and me, which you have nothing to do withal.

Biſhop. No? hold him a book, and thou ſhalt ſwear whether thou holdſt it now or not, and whether thou didſt not write in my dioceſe, as I think thou didſt; lay thy hand on the book.

Woodman. I will not be ſworn for you; for I am not your dioceſe; and therefore you have nothing to do with me: and as for the writing of the ſame, I never wrote a word of it in your dioceſe.

Langdale. No, did you not? my lord, let me ſee; I will find where you wrote it.

Then he took it and looked on it, and anon he found that I was ſent for out of the King's-bench to come before the commiſſioners.

Langdale. My lord, here you may ſee it was in the King's-bench, which is in your dioceſe.

Woodman. Although I was fetched out of the King's-bench, that proveth not that I wrote it there; nor did I, I promiſe you truly.

The fat prieſt. Where wrote you it then?

Woodman. Nay, I owe you not ſo much ſervice as to tell you; find it out as well as you can: for I perceive you go about to ſhed my blood.

Biſhop. It is no matter where it was written, it is here, and he denieth not but he wrote it. You ſhall hear more of it. Here the commiſſioners aſked you, whether Judas did eat any more than bare bread, and you anſwered, that he eat more than bare bread.

Whereupon they ſent you away back to the King's-bench again, and aſked you nothing more, for which cauſe (as you have written here) you had a hell burning in your conſcience. For you had thought they would have ſent a diſcharge to the King's-bench, and ſo let me go (ſaid you) and regiſter my name in their books, that I had granted that Judas did eat the body of Chriſt, and ſo the goſpel ſhould have been ſlandered by me. For which cauſe I was in ſuch caſe, I could ſcarcely eat, drink, or ſleep for that ſpace, as all my fellow priſoners can teſtify. If all you, I ſay, that go to the church of Satan, and there hear the deteſtable doctrine that they ſpit and ſpue out in their churches and pulpits, to the great diſhonour of God, if all you, I ſay, that come there, had ſuch a hell burning in your conſcience for the time, as I had till I came before them again, and had uttered my conſcience more plainly, I dare ſay you would come there no more. All this is your writing; is it not? how ſay you?

Woodman. I do not deny but it was mine own deed.

Biſhop. And I pray you, where is there ſuch ſpitting and ſpewing out falſe doctrine as you ſpeak of?

Woodman. In the ſynagogue of Satan, where God is diſhonoured with falſe doctrine.

Biſhop. And I pray you, where is one of them?

Woodman. Nay, that judge yourſelf; I came not hither to be a judge.

Biſhop. Well, here you have affirmed, that Judas (your maſter) eat more than bread, but yet he eat not the body of Chriſt, as you have declared by your words. For, you had a hell burning in your conſcience, becauſe you were in doubt, that the commiſſioners underſtood by your words, that Judas had eaten the body of Chriſt, becauſe you ſaid, he eat more than bare bread. Therefore thou hadſt a great ſort of devils in thee: for in hell be many devils: and therefore the devil and Judas is thy maſter, by thine own words.

Woodman. Nay, I defy Judas and the devil, and his ſervants; for they be your maſters, and you ſerve them, for any thing that I can ſee, I tell you truth.

Biſhop. Nay, they be thy maſters. For the devil is maſter where hell is, and thou ſaidſt thou hadſt a burning hell in thee. I pray thee tell me, how thou canſt avoid it, but that the devil was in thee by thine own ſaying?

Woodman. The hell that I had, was the loving correction of God towards me, to call me to repentance, that I ſhould not offend God and his people in leaving things ſo dark, as I left that. For which cauſe my conſcience bare me record, I had not done well, as at all times I have felt the ſting of it, when I have broken the commandments of God by any means, as all God's people do, I dare ſay, and it is the loving kindneſs of God towards them, to drive them to repentance. But it is to be thought, that your conſcience is never troubled, how wickedly ſoever you do. For if it were, it ſhould not be ſo ſtrange to you as you make it, which declareth plainly whoſe ſervant you be.

Biſhop. What a naughty fellow is this? This is ſuch a perverſe villain as I never talked with in all my life. Hold him a book, I will make him ſwear to anſwer directly to ſuch things as I will demand of him; and if he will not anſwer, I will condemn him.

Woodman. Call you me a fellow? I am ſuch a fellow, I tell you, that will drive you all to hell, if you conſent to the ſhedding of my blood, and you ſhall have blood to drink, as ſaith St. John in his Revelation, chap. 9. and being in hell, you ſhall be compelled to ſay for pain of conſcience, This is the man that we have had in deriſion, and thought his life madneſs, and his end to be without honour; but now we may ſee how he is counted among the ſaints of God, and we are puniſhed. This ſhall you ſay in hell, if you repent it not, if you do condemn me. This you ſhall find in the fifth chapter of the book of Wiſdom; and therefore take heed what you do, I give you counſel.

Biſhop. Wiſdom! what ſpeakeſt thou of wiſdom? thou never hadſt it; for thou art as very a fool as ever I heard ſpeak.

Woodman. Do you not know, that the fooliſh things of this world muſt confound the wiſe things? Wherefore it grieveth me not to be called a fool at your hands.

Biſhop. Nay, thou art none of thoſe fools; thou art an obſtinate fool, and an heretic. Lay hand on the book, and anſwer to ſuch things as will lay againſt thee.

Woodman. I will lay hand on the book for none of you all. You be not my biſhop; and therefore I will have nothing to do with you.

Biſhop. I will have to do with you. This man is without law, he careth not for the king nor queen, I dare ſay; for he will not obey their laws. Let me ſee the king's commiſſion. I will ſee whether he will obey that, or not.

Woodman. I would you loved the king and queen's majeſty no worſe than I do, if it pleaſed God: you would not do as you do then.

Biſhop. Hold him a book, he is a rank heretic. Thou ſhalt anſwer to ſuch things as I will demand of thee.

Woodman. I take heaven and earth to record I am no heretic, neither can I tell wherefore I am brought to priſon, no more than any man here can tell; and therewith I looked round about on the people, and ſaid to the biſhop, If you have any juſt cauſe againſt me worthy of death, lay it againſt me, and let me have it; for I refuſe not to die (I praiſe God) for the truth's ſake, if I had ten lives. If you have no cauſe, let me go home, I pray you, to my wife and children to ſee them kept, and other poor people that I would ſet to work by the help of God. I have ſet to work an hundred perſons before this, all the year together, and was unjuſtly taken from them; but God forgive them that did it, if it be his will.

Biſhop. Do you not ſee how he looketh about for help? but I would ſee any man ſhew thee a chearful countenance, and eſpecially you that be of my dioceſe. If any of you bid God ſtrengthen him, or take him by the hand, or embrace him, or ſhew him a chearful countenance, you ſhall be excommunicated, and ſhall not be received in again, till you have done open penance; and therefore beware of it.

Woodman. I look for no help of men, for God is on my ſide, I praiſe him for it; and therefore I needed not to care who be againſt me, neither do I care.

Then they cried, Away with him, and bring us another. So I was carried again to the Marſhalſea, where I am now merry (I praiſe God therefore) as a ſheep appointed to be ſlain. But for want of time, I have left out much of our talk; but this is the chiefeſt of it.

The ſixth and laſt Examination of Richard Woodman, written with his own Hand.

"BE it known unto all men by this preſent writing, that I Richard Woodman, ſometime of the pariſh of Warbleton, in the county of Suſſex, was condemned for God's everlaſting truth, July 16, 1557, by the biſhop

of Wincheſter, in the church of St. Mary Overy's, in Southwark, there ſitting with him the ſame time the biſhop of Chicheſter, the archdeacon of Canterbury, Dr. Langdale, Mr. Roper, with a fat-headed prieſt, I can not tell his name. All theſe conſented to the ſhedding of my blood, upon this occaſion, as hereafter followeth.

I affirmed, that Judas received the ſacrament with a ſop and the devil withal; and becauſe I would not be ſworn upon a book, to anſwer directly to ſuch articles as he would declare to me; and becauſe I would not believe that there remained neither bread nor wine after the words of conſecration, and that the body of Chriſt could not be received of any but of the faithful: For theſe articles I was condemned, as hereafter ſhall follow more at large, by the help of God."

Firſt, the biſhop ſaid when I came before him.

Biſhop. You were before us on Monday laſt, and there you affirmed certain hereſies. How ſay you now? Do you hold them ſtill, or will you revoke them?

Woodman. I held no hereſies then, neither do I now, as the Lord knoweth.

Biſhop. No? did you not affirm, that Judas received bread? which is an hereſy, unleſs you tell what more than bread.

Woodman. Is it hereſy to ſay, Judas received no more than bread? I ſaid he received more than bare bread, for he received the ſame ſacrament that was prepared to ſhew forth the Lord's death, and becauſe he preſumed to eat without faith, he eat the devil withal, as the words of Chriſt declare; after he eat the ſop, the devil entered into him, as you cannot deny.

Biſhop. Hold him a book. I would have you anſwer directly, whether Judas did eat the body of Chriſt or no.

Woodman. I will anſwer no more, for I am not of your dioceſe; wherefore I will have nothing to do with you.

Biſhop. No? you be in my dioceſe, and you be of my dioceſe, becauſe you have offended in my dioceſe.

Woodman. I am not of your dioceſe, although I am in your dioceſe; and I was brought into your dioceſe againſt my will: and I have not offended in your dioceſe; if I have, tell me wherein.

Biſhop. Here is your own hand-writing, which is hereſy. Theſe be the words, "I cannot find (ſay you) that it is the body of Chriſt to any, before it is received in faith." How ſay you? is not this your own hand-writing?

Woodman. Yea, I do not deny but it is my own hand-writing; but when, or where was it written, or where were the words ſpoken?

Biſhop. Before the commiſſioners, and here is one of them; Maſter Roper, the words were ſpoken before you; were they not?

Roper. Yes indeed they were. Woodman, I am ſure you will not deny them; for you have written the words even as you ſpake them.

Woodman. No, Sir, indeed I will not deny but that I ſpake them, and am glad that you have ſeen it. For you may ſee by that whether I lye, or not.

Roper. Indeed the words be written word for word as you ſpake them.

Biſhop. Well, here you affirm, that it is your own deed. How ſay you now? will you be ſorry for it, and become an honeſt man?

Woodman. My lord, I truſt no man can ſay, but that I am an honeſt man; and as for that, I marvel that you will lay it to my charge, knowing that my lord of London diſcharged me of all matters that were laid againſt me, when I was releaſed of him.

Biſhop. You were releaſed, and it might happen, it was not laid to your charge then; therefore we lay it to your charge now, becauſe you be ſuſpected to be an heretic: and we may call you before us, and examine you upon your faith upon ſuſpicion.

Woodman. Indeed St. Peter willeth me to render an account of my hope that I have in God, and I am contented ſo to do, if it pleaſe my biſhop to hear me.

Chicheſter. Yes, I pray you let us hear it.

Woodman. I do believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things viſible and inviſible. And in one Lord Jeſus Chriſt my Saviour, very God and very man. I believe in God the Holy Ghoſt, the Comforter of all God's elect people, and that he is equal with the Father and the Son. I believe the true catholic church, and all the ſacraments that belong thereto. Thus have I rendered an account of my hope, that I have of my ſalvation.

Biſhop. And how believe you in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar? And with that they all put off their caps.

Woodman. I pray you be contented, for I will not anſwer to any more queſtions; for I perceive you go about to ſhed my blood.

Biſhop. No? hold him a book. If he refuſe to ſwear, he is an anabaptiſt, and ſhall be excommunicated.

Woodman. I will not ſwear for you, excommunicate me if you will. For you be not meet to take an oath; for you laid hereſies to my charge in yonder pulpit, which you are not able to prove; wherefore you be not meet to take an oath of any man. And as for me, I am not of your dioceſe, nor will have any thing to do with you.

Biſhop. I will have to do with thee, and I ſay thou art a ſtrong heretic.

Woodman. Yea, all truth is hereſy with you; but I am content to ſhew you my mind, how I believe on the ſacrament of the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt, without flattering. For that you look for, I am ſure. But I will meddle no further, but what I hold myſelf of it. I will not meddle with any other man's belief on it.

Harpsfield. Why, I am ſure all men's faith ought to be alike.

Woodman. Yea, I grant you ſo, that all true chriſtians faith out to be alike. But I will anſwer for myſelf.

Harpsfield. Well, let us hear what you ſay to it.

Woodman. I do believe, that when I come to receive the ſacrament of the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt, if it be truly miniſtered according to Chriſt's inſtitution, I coming in faith, as I truſt in God I will, whenſoever I come to receive it, I, believing that Chriſt was born for me, and that he ſuffered death for the remiſſion of my ſins, and that I ſhall be ſaved by his death and blood-ſhedding, and to receive the ſacrament of bread and wine in that remembrance, that then I do receive the whole Chriſt, God and man, myſtically by faith. This is my belief on the ſacrament.

Then they ſpake all at once, ſaying, Myſtically by faith!

Fat prieſt. What a fool art thou, Myſtically by faith! thou canſt not tell what myſtical is.

Woodman. If I be a fool, ſo take me: But God hath choſen ſuch fools of this world to confound ſuch wiſe things as you are.

Fat prieſt. I pray thee, what is myſtically?

Woodman. I take myſtically to be the faith that is in us, that the world ſeeth not, but God only.

Biſhop. He cannot tell what he ſaith. Anſwer to the ſacrament of the altar, whether it be not the body of Chriſt before it be received, and whether it be not the body of Chriſt to whomſoever receiveth it? Tell me, or elſe I will excommunicate thee.

Woodman. I have ſaid as much as I will ſay; excommunicate me if you will. I am none of your dioceſe. The biſhop of Chicheſter is mine ordinary. Let him do it if you will needs have my blood, that it may be required at his hands.

Chicheſter. I am not conſecrated yet, I told you when you were with me.

Woodman. No indeed, your kine bring forth nothing but cow-calves, as it now happeneth; meaning thereby he had not his bulls from Rome.

Then they were all in a great rage with me, and called me all to nought, and ſaid I was out of my wits, becauſe I ſpake fervently to every man's queſtion: all which I cannot remember, but I ſaid:

So Feſtus ſaid to Paul, when he ſpake the words of ſoberneſs and truth out of the Spirit of God, as I do. But as you have judged me, you be yourſelves. You will go to hell all the ſort of you, if you condemn me, if you repent it not with ſpeed.

Then my keeper, and the ſheriff's deputy Fuller, rebuked me, becauſe I ſpake ſo ſharply to them. And I ſaid, I pray you let me alone; I muſt anſwer for my life.

Then there was much ado that I ſhould keep ſilence, and ſo I held my peace. Then ſpake the biſhop of Winchester and the archdeacon of Canterbury, ſaying; We go not about to condemn thee, but go about to ſave thy ſoul, if thou wilt be ruled, and do as we would have thee.

Woodman. To ſave my ſoul? nay, you cannot ſave my ſoul. My ſoul is ſaved already, I praiſe God. There can no man ſave my ſoul, but Jeſus Chriſt; and he it is that hath ſaved my ſoul before the foundation of the world was laid.

Fat prieſt. What an hereſy is that, my lord! here is an hereſy. He ſaith his ſoul was ſaved before the foundations of the world were laid. Thou canſt not tell what thou ſayeſt. Was thy ſoul ſaved before it was?

Woodman. Yes, I praiſe God, I can tell what I ſay, and I ſay the truth. Look in the firſt of the Epheſians, and there you ſhall find it, where Paul ſaith, chap. 1. "Bleſſed be God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who has bleſſed us with all manner of ſpiritual bleſſings in heavenly things, by Chriſt, according as he hath choſen us in himſelf, before the foundation of the world was laid, that we ſhould be holy and without blame before him through love, and thereto were we predeſtinated." Theſe be the words of Paul, and I believe they be moſt true. And therefore it is my faith, in and by Jeſus Chriſt, that ſaveth, and not you or any man elſe.

Fat prieſt. What! Faith without works! St. James ſaith, Faith without works is dead, and we have free will to do good works.

Woodman. I would not have you think, that I diſallow good works. For a good faith cannot be without good works. Yet not of ourſelves, but it is the gift of God, as ſaith St. Paul to the Philippians, chap. 2. "It is God that worketh in us both to will and to do, even of his good pleaſure."

Biſhop. Make an end; anſwer to me. Here is your ordinary, the archdeacon of Canterbury; he is made your ordinary by my lord cardinal, and he hath authority to examine you of your faith upon a book, to anſwer to ſuch articles as he will lay to you: and I pray you refuſe it not; for the danger is great if you do. Wherefore we deſire you to ſhew yourſelf a ſubject in this matter.

Then they ſpake all, and ſaid; Lo, my lord deſireth you gently to anſwer to him, and ſo we do all. For if you refuſe to take an oath, he may excommunicate you. For my lord cardinal may put whom he will in the biſhop's office, until he is conſecrated.

Woodman. I know not ſo much. If you will give me time to learn the truth of it (if I can prove it to be as you ſay) I will tell you my mind in any thing that he ſhall demand of me, without any flattering.

Prieſt. My lord and all we tell thee it is true; and therefore anſwer to him.

Woodman. I will believe none of you all, for you be turncoats and changelings, and be wavering minded, as St. James ſaith; you be neither hot nor cold, as St. John ſaith, therefore God will ſpue you out of his mouth. Wherefore I can believe none of you all, I tell you truth.

Biſhop. What! be we turncoats and changelings? what meaneſt thou by that?

Woodman. I mean, that in king Edward's time you taught the doctrine that was ſet forth then, every one of you, and now you teach the contrary; and therefore I call you turncoats and changelings, as I may well enough. Which words made the moſt part of them to quake.

Biſhop. Nay, not all as it chanced.

Woodman. No? I pray where were you then?

Biſhop. I was in the Tower, as the lieutenant will bear me record.

Woodman. If you were in the Tower, it was not therefore, I dare ſay, it was for ſome other matter.

Then they all took heart of grace, and ſaid; My lord, he comes to examine you, we think: if he will not anſwer to the articles, you had beſt excommunicate him.

Biſhop. He is the naughtieſt varlet heretic that ever I knew. I will read the ſentence againſt him.

Then they ſpake all at once, and I anſwered them as faſt as I could. But I cannot remember all, the words came out ſo quick, I ſpared them not, I praiſe God therefore; for I ſpake freely.

Then they that ſtood by rebuked me, and ſaid; You cannot tell to whom you ſpeak, I think.

Woodman. No? think you ſo? they be but men. I am ſure I have ſpoken to as good as they be, and better than they will ever be, for any thing that I can ſee, if they repent not with ſpeed.

Biſhop. Give ear; for I will read ſentence againſt you.

Woodmam. Will you ſo? wherefore will you? you have no juſt cauſe to excommunicate me; and therefore if you do condemn me, you will be condemned in hell, if you repent not: and I praiſe God, I am not afraid to die for God's ſake, if I had a hundred lives.

Biſhop. For God's ſake? nay, for the devil's ſake. Thou ſayeſt that thou art not afraid to die; no more was Judas that hanged himſelf, as thou wilt kill thyſelf wilfully, becauſe thou wilt not be ruled.

Woodman. Nay, I defy the devil, Judas, and all their members. And Judas's fleſh was not afraid, but his ſpirit and conſcience was afraid, and there deſpaired and hung himſelf. But I praiſe God, I feel no lothſomeneſs in my fleſh to die, but a joyful conſcience, and a willing mind thereto. Wherefore my fleſh is ſubdued to it, I praiſe God; and therefore I am not afraid of death.

Chicheſter. Woodman, for God's ſake be ruled. You know what you ſaid to me at my houſe. I could ſay more, if I would.

Woodman. Say what you can; the moſt fault that you found in me was, becauſe I praiſed the living God, and becauſe I ſaid, I praiſe God, and the Lord; which you ought to be aſhamed of, if you have any grace; for I told you where the words were written.

Biſhop. Well, how ſay you? will you confeſs that Judas received the body of Chriſt unworthily? tell me plainly.

Woodman. My lord, if you, or any of you all can prove before all this audience, in all the Bible, that any man ever eat the body of Chriſt unworthily, then I will be with you in all things that you will demand of me; of which matter I deſire all this people to be witneſs.

Prieſt. Will you ſo? then we ſhall agree well enough. St. Paul ſaith ſo.

Woodman. I pray you where ſaith he ſo? rehearſe the words.

Prieſt. In the eleventh chapter of the firſt to the Corinthians he ſaith, "Whoſo eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, becauſe he makes no difference of the Lord's body."

Woodman.

Woodman. Do theſe words prove that Judas eat the body of Chriſt unworthily? I pray you let me ſee them. They were contented. Then ſaid I, Theſe be the words even that you ſaid: Good people hearken well to them, "Whoſo eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily:" he ſaith not, "Whoſo eateth of this body unworthily, or drinketh of this blood unworthily: but he ſaith, "Whoſo eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily (which is the ſacrament) eateth and drinketh his own damnation," becauſe he maketh no difference between the ſacrament which repreſenteth the Lord's body, and other bread and drink. Here (good people) you may all ſee they are not able to prove their ſayings true. Therefore I cannot believe them in any thing that they do.

Biſhop. Thou art a rank heretic indeed. Art thou an expounder? Now I will read ſentence againſt thee.

Woodman. Judge not leſt you be judged. For as you have judged me, you be yourſelf. Then he read the ſentence. Why, ſaid I, will you read the ſentence againſt me, and cannot tell wherefore?

Biſhop. Thou art an heretic, and therefore thou ſhalt be excommunicated.

Woodman. I am no heretic, I take heaven and earth to witneſs, I defy all heretics, and if you condemn me, you will be damned, if you repent not. But God give you grace to repent all, if it be his will; and ſo he read forth the ſentence in Latin, but what he ſaid, God knoweth, and not I. God be judge between them and me. When he had done, I would have talked my mind to them, but they cried, Away, away with him. So I was carried to the Marſhalſea again, where I am, and ſhall be as long as it ſhall pleaſe God; and I praiſe God moſt heartily, that ever he hath elected, and predeſtinated me to come to ſo high dignity, as to bear rebuke for his name's ſake; his name be praiſed therefore, for ever and ever, Amen.

And thus you have the examinations of this bleſſed Woodman, or rather Goodman; wherefore it may appear as well the great grace and wiſdom of God in that man, as alſo the groſs ignorance and barbarous cruelty of his adverſaries, eſpecially of Dr. White biſhop of Wincheſter. Now followeth likewiſe the effect of his letter.

A godly Letter of Richard Woodman, written to Mrs. Roberts of Hawkhurſt.

GRACE, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from his Son our alone Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, by the operation of the Holy Ghoſt, be multiplied plenteouſly upon you, dear ſiſter Roberts, that you may the more joyfully bear the croſs of Chriſt that ye are under, unto the end, to your only comfort and conſolation, and to all our brethren and ſiſters that are round about you, both now and ever, Amen.

In my moſt humble wiſe I commend me unto you, and to all our brethren and ſiſters in thoſe parts, that love our Lord unfeignedly, certifying you, that I and all my brethren with me are merry and joyful, we praiſe God, looking daily to be diſſolved from theſe our mortal bodies, according to the good pleaſure of our heavenly Father, praiſing God alſo for your conſtancy, and gentle benevolence, that you have ſhewed unto God's elect people, in this troubleſome time of perſecution, which may be a ſure pledge and token of God's good will and favour towards you, and to all others that hear thereof. For bleſſed are the merciful, for they ſhall obtain mercy. Wherefore the fruits declare alway what the tree is. For a good man or women, out of the good treaſure of their heart, bring forth good things.

Wherefore (dear ſiſter) it is not as many affirm in theſe days (the more to be lamented) that ſay God aſketh but a man's heart; which is the greateſt injury that can be deviſed againſt God and his word. For St. James ſaith; Shew me thy faith by thy deeds, and I will ſhew thee my faith by my deeds; ſaying, The devils believe and tremble for fear, and yet ſhall be but devils ſtill, becauſe their minds were never to do good. Let us not therefore be like them, but let our faith be made manifeſt to the whole world by our deeds, and in the midſt of a crooked and perverſe nation, as St. Paul ſaith, let our light ſhine as in a dark place.

O dear hearts, now is the goſpel of God overwhelmed with many black and troubleſome clouds of perſecution, for which cauſe very few go about to have their eyes made clear by the true light of the goſpel, for fear of loſing their treaſures of this world, which are but vain, and ſhall periſh.

Let us not therefore be like unto them who light their candle, and put it under a buſhel; but let us ſet our candle upon a candleſtick, that it may give light unto all men that are in the houſe: that is to ſay, let all the people of the houſhold of God ſee our good works, in ſuffering all things patiently that ſhall be laid upon us for the goſpel's ſake, if it be death itſelf. For Chriſt died for us, leaving us an example, that we ſhould follow his ſteps; and as he hath given his life for us, ſo ought we to give our lives for the defence of the goſpel, to the comfort of our brethren.

How is it then that ſome will ſay, that their faith is good, and yet they do all the deeds of antichriſt the devil, and be not aſhamed to alledge certain ſcriptures to maintain their wickedneſs? St. Paul ſaith; To believe with the heart juſtifieth, and to confeſs with the mouth maketh a man ſafe. Oh good God, here may all men ſee, that no man or woman can have a true faith, unleſs they have deeds alſo; and he that doubteth, is like the waves of the ſea toſſed about by the wind, and can look for no good thing at the Lord's hand. May not a man judge all ſuch to be like thoſe which St. John ſpeaketh of, that be neither hot nor cold; and therefore God will (ſaith he) ſpue them out of his mouth? if we judge evil of ſuch, have not they given us occaſion? had it not been better for them to have had a millſtone tied about their necks, and to have been caſt into the ſea, than they ſhould give ſuch offences to God's elect people in condemning them as they do, in going to the ſynagogues of Satan; and there to receive the mark of the beaſt, in that they ſee and hear God blaſphemed there, and hold their peace? Doth not that declare to the whole world, that they allow their doings to be good? and theſe do not only defile themſelves, but alſo be an occaſion to confirm the papiſts in their popery, and ſo be an occaſion of our weak brother's falling, which will be all required at their hands, which will be too heavy a burden for them to bear, if they repent it not with ſpeed. For they that know their maſter's will, and do it not, ſhall be beaten with many ſtripes. Oh, do we not perceive, that now is the acceptable time that Chriſt ſpeaketh of? yea even now is the axe put to the roots of the trees, ſo that every tree that bringeth not forth good fruits now, muſt be hewn down, and caſt into the fire.

Now is the Lord come with his fan in his hand, to try the wheat from the chaff. The wheat will he gather into his barn, and the chaff he will burn as aforeſaid. Now is the time come that we muſt go meet the bridegroom with oil in our lamps. We are alſo bidden to the feaſt, let us make no excuſes. Yea our maſter hath delivered his talents unto us, God give us grace to occupy them well, that at his coming he may receive his own with advantage. Yea, now is the Lord come to ſee if there be any fruit upon his trees; ſo that if the Lord come and find none, he will ſerve us as he did the wild fig-tree, that is, never fruit ſhall grow on him more; alſo, if we go to meet the bridegroom without oil in our lamps, and ſhould go to buy, the doubt is, we ſhould be ſerved as were the fooliſh virgins; that was, God ſaid to them, Depart, I know you not. Or if we ſhould make excuſes to come

to the feaſt, others ſhould be bidden in our rooms; if we occupy not our talents well, they ſhall be taken from us, and given to others, and all ſuch unprofitable ſervants ſhall be caſt into priſon in hell, where ſhall be weeping and gnaſhing of teeth.

Oh good God! what a ſort of fearful ſayings are here contained? what chriſtian heart will not hearken diligently hereto? Oh, may not all people perceive now that this is the time that our maſter Chriſt ſpeaketh of, that the father ſhould be againſt the ſon, and the ſon againſt the father, and one brother againſt another; that the brother ſhall deliver the brother to death: yea, and that the wicked ſhall ſay all manner of wicked ſayings againſt us for his name's ſake? which I have well found by experience, I praiſe God therefore, that hath given me ſtrength to bear it. For I think there can be no evil deviſed but it hath been imagined againſt me, and that of my familiar friends, as David ſaith: but I praiſe my Lord God, they are not able to prove any of their ſayings true, but that they go about to find fault in them that God hath choſen, becauſe they themſelves will not take up their croſs and follow Chriſt; and therefore they ſpeak evil of the thing that they know not, who ſhall give account for it before him that is ready to judge both the quick and the dead.

But my truſt is, that all the people of God will be ruled by the counſel of Saint John, ſaying; My ſheep will hear my voice, ſtrangers they will not hear: meaning thereby, that ye ſhould not believe ſtrangers, counting them ſtrangers that go about to ſubvert the goſpel. Wherefore mark well what they be, and try them well before you give credit to them, according to Saint John's counſel in his epiſtle, ſaying; Believe not every ſpirit, but try the ſpirits whether they be of God, or not; meaning thereby, that they that be not of God, will ſpeak good of none but of them that be as they be. Wherefore (dear ſiſter) be of good cheer, and give no credit to ſuch people, whatſoever you hear them ſay. For I have no miſtruſt, by God's help, but that all the world ſhall ſee and know that my blood ſhall not be dear in mine own ſight, whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe God to give mine adverſaries leave to ſhed it. I do earneſtly believe, that God, which hath begun this good work in me, will perform it to the end, as he hath given me grace, and will always, to bear this eaſy yoke and light burden; which I have always found, I praiſe my Lord God.

For when I have been in priſon, wearing ſometimes bolts, ſometimes ſhackles, ſometimes lying on the bare ground, ſometimes ſitting in the ſtocks, ſometimes bound with cords, that all my body has been ſwoln, much like to be overcome for the pain that hath been in my fleſh, ſometimes fain to lie without in the woods and fields, wandering to and fro, few, I ſay, that durſt keep my company for fear of the rulers, ſometimes brought before the juſtices, ſheriffs, lords, doctors, and biſhops, ſometimes called dog, ſometimes devil, heretic, whoremonger, traitor, thief, deceiver, with divers other ſuch like; yea, and even they that did eat of my bread, that ſhould have been moſt my friends by nature, have betrayed me: yet for all this I praiſe my Lord God that hath ſeparated me from my mother's womb, and all this that hath happened unto me hath been eaſy, light, and moſt delectable and joyful of any treaſure that ever I poſſeſſed; for I praiſe God they are not able to prove one jot or tittle of their ſayings true. But that way that they call hereſy, I ſerve my Lord God, and at all times before whomſoever I have been brought, God hath given me mouth and wiſdom, where-againſt all my adverſaries have not been able to reſiſt, I praiſe God therefore.

Wherefore (dear ſiſter) be of good comfort with all your brethren and ſiſters, and take no thought what you ſhall ſay, for it ſhall be given you the ſame hour, according to the promiſes, as I have always found, and as you and all other of God's elect ſhall well find, when the time is full come. And whereas I and many others have hoped, that this perſecution would have been at an end before this time, now I perceive God will have a further trial to root out all diſſemblers, that no man ſhould rejoice in himſelf, but he that rejoiceth, ſhall rejoice of God.

Wherefore if prophecy ſhould fail, and tongues ſhould ceaſe, yet love muſt endure. For fear hath painfulneſs, but a perfect love caſteth out all fear: which love I have no miſtruſt but God hath poured it upon you ſo abundantly, that nothing in the world ſhall be able to ſeparate you from God. Neither high nor low, rich nor poor, life nor death, ſhall be able to put you from Chriſt; but by him I truſt you ſhall enter into New Jeruſalem, there to live for ever, beholding the glory of God with the ſame eyes that you now have, and all other faithful people that continue to the end. Give all honour and glory to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghoſt, three perſons and one God, to be honoured now and ever, Amen.

After theſe examinations thus had and commenced between Richard Woodman and the biſhops, he was (as is aforeſaid) judged by ſentence of condemnation, and ſo deprived of his life; with whom alſo were burned nine others, to wit, five men, and four women, which were taken not paſt two or three days before their judgment. The names of which being alſo before expreſſed, here again follow in this order; Richard Woodman, George Stevens, William Maynard, Alexander Hoſman his ſervant, Thomaſine a Wood, his maid, Margery Moris, James Moris, her ſon, Denis Burgis, Aſhdowne's wife, Grove's wife.

Theſe perſons above-named were put to death at Lewes the 22d of June.

Of which number the eight laſt were apprehended (as is ſaid) either the ſame day, or the ſecond or third day before, and ſo with the ſaid Woodman and Stevens, were committed together to the fire; in which ſpace no writ could come down from London to the juſtices, for their burning. Wherefore what is to be ſaid to ſuch juſtices, or what reckoning they will make to God and to the laws of this realm, I refer that to them that have to do in the matter. The like whereof is to be found alſo of other juſtices, who without any lawful writ of diſcharge, or order of law, have unlawfully and diſorderly burnt the ſervants of Chriſt (whoſe blood the law both may and alſo ought to revenge;) eſpecially at Saliſbury, Canterbury, and Garnſey. But concerning theſe matters, though man's law do wink, or rather ſleep at them, yet they ſhall be ſure God's law will find ſuch murderers out at length. I pray God the doers may repent in time.

One Ambroſe died in Maidſtone priſon, about the ſame time.

The Condemnation of Mr. Richard Luſh.

IN the regiſters of Gilbert, biſhop of Bath and Wells, I find a certificate made to king Philip and queen Mary, of one Richard Luſh, there condemned and given to the ſecular power to be burned for the cauſe of hereſy, whoſe affirmations in the ſaid certificate be expreſſed in tenor and effect, as follows:

1. For denying the verity of the body and blood of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar.

2. Item, For denying auricular confeſſion to be made to the prieſt.

3. Item, For affirming only to be three ſacraments; to wit, of baptiſm, of the ſupper, and of matrimony.

4. Item, For refuſing to call the Lord's ſupper by the name of the ſacrament of the altar.

5. Item, For denying purgatory, and that prayer and alms profit not the dead body.

6. Item, That images are not to be ſuffered in the church, and that all that kneel to images at the church, be idolaters.

7. Item, That they which were burnt of late for religion, died God's ſervants and good martyrs.

8. Item, For condemning the ſingle life of prieſts, and other votaries.

9. Item, For denying the univerſal and catholic church, meaning belike the church of Rome.

For theſe aſſertions, as there are expreſſed, he was condemned, and committed to the ſheriffs, and alſo a certificate directed by the biſhop aforeſaid, to the king and queen.

A Note of John Hullier, Miniſter and Martyr, burned at Cambridge.

CONcerning the ſtory of John Hullier martyr, partly mentioned before, [Page 573.] for the more full declaration of the death and martyrdom of that good man, becauſe the ſtory is before but rawly and imperfectly touched; for the more perfecting thereof, I thought thereunto to add that which ſince hath come to my hand, as followeth.

Firſt, John Hullier was brought up at Eton-college, and after, according to the foundation of that houſe, he was elected ſcholar in King's College, where alſo not tarrying full three years of probation, before he was fellow of the college, he after ſome time was one of the ten conducts in the King's College, which was anno 1539. Then at length, in proceſs of time, he came to be curate of Babram, three miles from Cambridge, and went afterwards to Lynn; where he, having divers conflicts with the papiſts, was from thence carried to Ely, to Dr. Thurlby, then biſhop there; who, after divers examinations, ſent him to Cambridge caſtle, where he remained but a while.

From thence he was conveyed to the town priſon, commonly called the Tolbooth, lying there almoſt a quarter of a year, while at length he was cited to appear at Great St. Mary's on Palm-Sunday eve, before divers doctors, both divines and lawyers, amongſt whom was chiefeſt Dr. Shaxton, Dr. Young, Dr. Sedgewike, Dr. Scot, and others. Where after examination, becauſe he would not recant, he was firſt condemned, the ſentence being read by Dr. Fuller.

Then conſequently he was degraded after their popiſh manner, with ſcraping crown and hands. When they had degraded him, he ſaid cheerfully, This is the joyfulleſt day that ever I ſaw, and I thank you all, that ye have delivered and lightened me of all this paltry.

In the mean time whilſt it was doing, one ſtanding by, asked Hullier what book he had in his hand. Who anſwered, a Teſtament. Whereat this man in a rage took it and threw it violently from him. Then was he given over to the ſecular powers, Braſey being mayor, who carried him to priſon again, took from him all his books, writings, and papers.

On Maunday Thurſday coming to the ſtake, he exhorted the people to pray for him, and after holding his peace, and praying to himſelf, one ſpake to him, ſaying, The Lord ſtrengthen thee. Whereat a ſerjeant, named Brieſly, ſtayed, and bade him hold his tongue, or elſe he ſhould repent it.

Nevertheleſs Hullier anſwered and ſaid, Friend, I truſt that as God hath hitherto begun, ſo he will alſo ſtrengthen me, and finiſh his work upon me. I am bidden to a Maundy, whither I truſt to go, and there to be ſhortly. God hath laid the foundation, as I by his aid will end it.

Then going to a ſtool (prepared for him to ſit on) to have his hoſe plucked off, he deſired the people to pray for him again, and alſo to bear witneſs, that he died in the right faith, and that he would ſeal it with his blood, certifying them, that he died in a juſt cauſe, and for the teſtimony of the verity and truth, and that there was no other rock but Jeſus Chriſt to build upon, under whoſe banner he fought, and whoſe ſoldier he was; and yet ſpeaking, he turned himſelf toward the Eaſt, and exhorted the people there likewiſe.

George Boyes, Henry Barley, and one Gray, all three arch-prieſts of Trinity-College, Cambridge, ſtood on a bank hard by. This Boyes was one of the proctors of the univerſity that year. To whom Mr. Gray ſpake, ſaying, Hear ye not, maſter proctor, what blaſphemy this fellow uttereth? ſurely it is ill done to ſuffer him.

At whoſe words this Boyes ſpake with a loud voice. Mr. Mayor, what mean ye? if ye ſuffer him thus to take liberty, I tell ye, the council ſhall hear of it, and we take you not to be the queen's friend. He is a pernicious perſon, and may do more harm than you are aware of. Whereat ſimple Hullier, as meek as a lamb, taking the matter very patiently, made no anſwer, but made himſelf ready, uttering his prayer. Which done, he went meekly himſelf to the ſtake, and with chains being bound, was beſet with reed and wood, ſtanding in a pitch barrel, and the fire being ſet to, not marking the wind, it blew the flame to his back. Then he feeling it, began earneſtly to call upon God. Nevertheleſs his friends perceiving the fire to be ill kindled, cauſed the ſerjeants to turn it, and fire it to that place where the wind might blow it to his face.

That done, there was a parcel of books which were caſt into the fire, and by chance a communion book fell between his hands, who receiving it joyfully, opened it, and read ſo long till the force of the flame and ſmoak cauſed him that he could ſee no more; and then he fell again to prayer, holding his hands up to heaven, and the book between his arms, next to his heart, thanking God for ſending him it: and at that time the day being very fair and hot, yet the wind was ſomewhat up, and it cauſed the fire to be the fiercer, and when all the people thought he had been dead, he ſuddenly uttered theſe words; Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit, dying very meekly.

The place where he was burned, is called Jeſus Green, not far from Jeſus College. Seagar gave him certain gunpowder, but little to the purpoſe; for he was dead before it took fire. All the people prayed for him, and many a tear was ſhed for him. Which the papiſts ſeeing, cried, he was not to be prayed for, and being but a damned man, it could profit him nothing: nevertheleſs they continued praying; whereat the papiſts fell into ſuch a rage, that they menaced them with terrible threatnings to ward. His fleſh being conſumed, his bones ſtood upright, even as if they had been alive. Of the people, ſome took what they could get of him, as pieces of bones. One had his heart, which was diſtributed ſo far as it would go; one took the ſcalp, and looked for the tongue, but it was conſumed except the very root.

Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper burnt at Norwich.

IN the month of July next followed the martyrdom of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper. This Simon dwelling in the town of Lynn, a pious and zealous man in the knowledge of the Lord, and his truth, deteſting and abhorring the contrary enforced religion then ſet forth, came from Lynn to Norwich, where he ſtanding in the preſs, and hearing of the people, began to ask them, as they came out of the church from their popiſh ſervice, where he might go to have the communion. At which divers marvelled to hear and ſee his boldneſs.

One

One that was an evil-diſpoſed papiſt, hearing the ſame, ſaid, that if he would needs go to a communion, he would go bring him thither where he ſhould be ſped to his purpoſe. Whereupon he was brought to the chancellor of Norwich (whoſe name was Dunning) who, after a few words, and ſmall talk paſſed with this examinate, committed him to ward.

In the mean while as he was in examination, he had in his ſhoe his confeſſion, written in a certain paper, whereof a piece appearing above his ſhoe, was ſpied and taken out. The chancellor asking if he would ſtand to the confeſſion of the ſame faith therein contained, he conſtantly affirmed the ſame. Whereupon, as is ſaid, he was committed. Thus the ſaid Simon being in the biſhop's houſe, under the cuſtody of the keeper there called maſter Felow, how it happened is not certain, whether by gentleneſs of the keeper (who was ſomewhat gentle that way) or by leave given of the biſhop, or elſe whether he had condeſcended on purpoſe to their articles, he was diſmiſſed, and went home to his houſe at Lynn, where he continued a certain ſpace, while he had diſpoſed and ſet all things in order.

That done, he returned again to the biſhop's houſe to his priſon and keeper, till the time at length, he conſtantly abiding in his profeſſed purpoſe, and defence of God's truth, was, by the ſaid biſhop and his chancellor, condemned, and committed to the fire about the 13th day of July.

With this Simon Miller alſo was burnt one Elizabeth Cooper (as is aforeſaid) a pewterer's wife, dwelling in St. Andrew's pariſh in Norwich, where ſhe had before recanted; and being unquiet for the ſame, and greatly troubled inwardly, at the laſt ſhe came into the ſaid St. Andrew's church, the people being at their popiſh ſervice, and there ſtanding in the ſame, ſaid ſhe revoked her recantation, before made in that place, and was heartily ſorry that ever ſhe did it, willing the people not to be deceived, neither to take her doings before for an example, &c. Theſe or ſuch words ſhe ſpake in the church.

Then cried one Bacon of the ſaid pariſh, laying his arms abroad, ſaying, Mr. Sheriff, will you ſuffer this? and repeating the ſame, urged him to go from the church to her houſe, at whoſe knocking ſhe came down, and was taken and ſent to priſon.

The ſheriff (named Mr. Thomas Sutton) and ſhe had before been ſervants together in one houſe; and for the friendſhip he bare unto her, and more for the goſpel's ſake, he was very loth to do it, but that he was enforced by thoſe other perſons before mentioned, much againſt his own conſcience, which he now earneſtly repenteth.

This good woman being condemned with Simon Miller to be burnt at the ſtake, when the fire came to her, ſhe a little ſhrunk thereat, with a voice crying, Ah! When the ſaid Simon Miller heard the ſame, he put his hand behind him towards her, and deſired her to be ſtrong and of good cheer: for good ſiſter (ſaid he) we ſhall have a joyful and ſweet ſupper. At which ſhe being as it ſeemed, thereby ſtrengthened, ſtood as ſtill and quiet, as one moſt glad to finiſh that good work, which ſhe before had ſo happily begun. And thus ſhe and her companion joyfully ended their lives, committing their ſouls into the hands of Almighty God.

The Martyrdom of five Men and five Women at Colcheſter, ſix in the Forenoon, and four in the Afternoon.

AS it is no new thing in thoſe whom we call prelates and prieſts of the church, to be raiſers up of perſecution againſt Chriſt and his poor flock: ſo it is much to be marvelled, or rather lamented, that noble perſons, and men of honour and worſhip, ſhould be made ſuch miniſters, to ſerve the deſires of theſe tyrants, as is now common, as well in the ſorrowful reign of the late queen Mary, as namely in this preſent ſtory is to be remarked.

And firſt thou remembereſt, gentle reader, how mention was made a little before of twenty-two, which were ſent up priſoners together from Colcheſter to London, by the earl of Oxford, the lord Darcy, Mr. Tyrrel, of St. Oſithes, and other commiſſioners and juſtices, &c. which twenty-two, as aforeſaid, through a gentle ſubmiſſion put to them, were afterwards releaſed, and ſet at liberty.

In the number of theſe aforeſaid twenty-two, was one William Munt, of Muchbentley, in Eſſex, huſbandman, with Alice, his wife, and Roſe Allin, maid, daughter to the ſaid Alice Munt; who coming home again to their houſe at Muchbentley aforeſaid, refrained themſelves from the unſavoury ſervice of the popiſh church, and frequented the company of good men and women, who gave themſelves diligently to reading and calling upon the name of God through Chriſt: whereby they ſo fretted the wicked prieſt of the town, called Sir Thomas Tye, and others like unto him, that laying their heads togethers they made a ſupplication to the lord Darcy, in the name of the whole pariſh: the ſubſtance whereof is as followeth:

A Supplication to the Lord Darcy, and by him delivered to Sir John Kingſton, Prieſt and Commiſſary.

PLeaſeth your honourable lordſhip to be advertiſed, that we confeſs whilſt your good lordſhip lay here in the country, the people were ſtayed in good order, to our great comfort: but ſince your lordſhip's departure, they have made digreſſion from good order in ſome places, and namely in the pariſh of Muchbentley, by reaſon of three ſeditious perſons, William Munt, and his wife, and Roſe, her daughter, who by their colourable ſubmiſſion (as it doth appear) were diſmiſſed, and ſent down from the biſhop of London; and ſince their coming home they have not only in their own perſons ſhewed manifeſt ſigns and tokens of diſobedience, in not coming to the church, nor yet obſerving other good orders, but alſo moſt maliciouſly and ſeditiouſly have ſeduced many from coming to the church, and from obeying all other good orders; mocking alſo thoſe that frequent the church, and calling them church-owls, and blaſphemouſly calling the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar a blind god, with divers ſuch like blaſphemies. In conſideration whereof, may it pleaſe your honour, (for the love of God, and for the tender zeal your good lordſhip beareth to juſtice, and the common peace and quietneſs of the king and queen's majeſties loving ſubjects) to award out your warrant for the ſaid William Munt, his wife, and Roſe, her daughter, that they being attached and brought before your good lordſhip, we truſt the reſt fear to offend (their ringleaders of ſedition being apprehended) to the quietneſs of their obedient ſubjects.

Your daily orators, the pariſhioners of Muchbentley, Thomas Tye, prieſt, John Carter, Thomas Chandler, John Barker, Richard Mere, J. Painter, Will. Harris, John Richard, with others.

This being done, the ſaid Sir Thomas Tye bethought with himſelf where the ſaid perſecuted did reſort: for in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, for a twelvemonth and more he came not to the church, but frequented the company of godly men and women, who abſtained from the ſame, and, as they thought, he laboured to keep a good conſcience, but the ſequel ſhewed him to be a falſe brother.

Now (as I ſaid) he partly knowing the places of refuge for honeſt men, did further enquire of other men about the ſame: and being thereof ſufficiently (as he thought) inſtructed to this purpoſe, immediately about

the time the ſupplication above ſpecified was exhibited to the ſaid lord Darcy, wrote a letter ſecretly to biſhop Bonner, wherein he maketh his account how he had beſtowed his time, and complained of divers honeſt men, among which was the ſaid William Munt and his company: the tenor of which letter followeth:

A Letter from Sir Thomas Tye, Prieſt, to Biſhop Bonner.

RIGHT honourable lord, after my bounden duty done in moſt humble wiſe, theſe ſhall be to ſignify unto your lordſhip the ſtate of our parts concerning religion. And firſt ſince the coming down of the twenty-two rank heretics diſmiſſed from you, the deteſtable ſort of ſchiſmatics were never ſo bold ſince the king and queen's majeſties reign, as they are now at this preſent. In Muchbentley where your lordſhip is patron of the church, ſince William Munt, and Alice, his wife, with Roſe Allin, her daughter, came home, they do not only abſent themſelves from the church and ſervice of God, but do daily allure many others away from the ſame, which before did outwardly ſhew ſigns and tokens of obedience.

They aſſemble together upon the ſabbath-day in the time of divine ſervice, ſometimes in one houſe, ſometimes in another, and there keep their private conventicles and ſchools of hereſy. The jurates ſay, the lord's commiſſion is out, and they are diſcharged of their oath. The queſtmen in your archdeacon's viſitation alledged, that foraſmuch as they were once preſented and now ſent home, they have no more to do with them nor any other. Your officers ſay, namely Mr. Boſwell, that the council ſent them not home without a great conſideration. I pray God ſome of your officers prove not favourers of heretics. The rebels are ſtout in the town of Colcheſter.

The miniſters of the church are hem'd as in the open ſtreets, and called knaves. The bleſſed ſacrament of the altar is blaſphemed and railed upon in every houſe and tavern. Prayer and faſting is not regarded. Seditious talks and news are rife both in town and country, in as ample and large manner, as though no honourable lords and commiſſioners had been ſent for reformation thereof. The occaſion riſeth partly by reaſon of John Love of Colcheſter-heath (a perverſe place) which John Love was twice indicted of hereſy, and thereupon fled with his wife and houſhold, and his goods ſeized within the town of Colcheſter, to the king and queen's majeſties uſe. Nevertheleſs the ſaid John is come home again, and nothing ſaid or done to him. Whereupon the heretics are wonderfully encouraged, to the great diſcomfort of good and catholic people, which daily pray to God for the profit, unity, and reſtoration of his church again: which thing ſhall come the ſooner to paſs, through the travel and pains of ſuch honourable lords and reverend fathers as your lordſhip is, unto whom I wiſh long life and continuance, with increaſe of much honour. From Colcheſter, December 18.

Your humble bedeſman, Tho. Tye, prieſt.

When this wicked prieſt had thus wrought his malice againſt the people of God, within a while after the ſtorms began to ariſe againſt thoſe poor perſecuted Wm. Munt, and his company, whereby they were enforced to hide themſelves from the heat thereof. And continuing ſo a little ſpace, at laſt, the ſeventh day of March 1557, being the firſt Sunday in Lent, and by two of the clock in the morning, one Mr. Edmund Tyrrel (who came of the houſe of thoſe Tyrrels which murdered king Edward V. and his brother) took with him the bailiff of the hundred called Wm. Samuel, dwelling in Colcheſter, and the two conſtables of Muchbentley aforeſaid, named John Barker, and Wm. Harris, with many others; and beſetting the houſe of the ſaid Wm. Munt round about, called to them at length to open the door: which being done, Mr. Tyrrel with ſome of his company went into the chamber where the ſaid father Munt and his wife lay, willing them to riſe: for, ſaid he, you muſt go with us to Colcheſter-caſtle. Mother Munt hearing that, being very ſick, deſired that her daughter might fetch her ſome drink; for ſhe was (ſhe ſaid) very ill at eaſe.

Then he gave her leave and bade her go. So her daughter, the forenamed Roſe Allin, maid, took a ſtone pot in one hand, and a candle in the other, and went to draw drink for her mother: and as ſhe came back again thorough the houſe, Tyrrel met her, and willed her to give her father and mother good counſel, and advertiſe them to be better catholic people.

Roſe. Sir, they have a better inſtructor than me. For the Holy Ghoſt doth teach them, I hope, which I truſt will not ſuffer them to err.

Tyrrel. Why, ſaid Mr. Tyrrel, art thou ſtill in that mind, thou naughty houſewife? marry it is time to look upon ſuch heretics indeed.

Roſe. Sir, with which you call hereſy do I worſhip my Lord God, I tell you truth.

Tyrrel. Then I perceive you will burn goſſip, with the reſt, for company's ſake.

Roſe. No, ſir, not for company's ſake, but for Chriſt's ſake, if ſo I be compelled; and I hope in his mercy, if he call me to it, he will enable me to bear it.

So he turning to his company, ſaid, Sirs, this goſſip will burn: what do you think of her? Why truly, Sir, ſaith one, prove her, and you ſhall ſee what ſhe will do by and by.

Then that cruel Tyrrel, taking the candle from her, held her wriſt, and the burning candle under her hand, burning croſsways over the back thereof, ſo long, till the very ſinews cracked aſunder. Witneſs hereof, William Chandler, then dwelling at Muchbentley, who was there preſent and ſaw it. Alſo Mrs. Bright of Rumford, with Ann Starkey her maid, to whom Roſe Allin alſo declared the ſame, and the ſaid Mrs. Bright alſo miniſtered ſalve for the curing thereof, as ſhe lay in her houſe at Rumford, going up towards London with other priſoners.

In which time of his tyranny, he ſaid often to her, Why whore, wilt thou not cry? Thou young whore, wilt thou not cry? To which ſhe always anſwered, that ſhe thanked God ſhe had no cauſe, but rather to rejoice. But, ſhe ſaid, he had more cauſe to weep than ſhe, if he conſidered the matter well. In the end, when the ſinews (as I ſaid) brake, that all the houſe heard them, he then thruſt her violently from him, ſaying, A ſtrong whore, thou ſhameleſs beaſt, thou beaſtly whore, &c. with ſuch like vile words. But ſhe quietly ſuffering his rage for the time, at laſt ſaid, Sir, have ye done what ye will do? He ſaid, yea, and if thou think not well of it, then mend it.

Roſe. Mend it! nay, the Lord mend you, and give you repentance, if it be his will. And now, if you think it good, begin at the feet, and burn the head alſo: for he that ſet you on work, ſhall pay you your wages one day, I warrant you: and ſo went and carried her mother drink, as ſhe was commanded. Likewiſe, after ſearching of the houſe for more company, at laſt they found one John Thurſton, and Margaret, his wife, whom they alſo carried with the reſt to Colcheſter caſtle immediately.

And this ſaid Roſe Allin, being priſoner, told a friend of hers this cruel act of the ſaid Tyrrel; and ſhewing him the manner thereof, ſhe ſaid, while my own hand was a burning, I having a pot in my other hand, might have ſtruck him on the face with it, if I had had a mind, for no man held my hand to hinder me therefrom. But I thank God, ſaid ſhe, with all my heart, that I did it not.

Alſo being aſked of another, how ſhe could abide the painful burning of her hand, ſhe ſaid, at firſt it was ſome grief to her; but afterwards, the longer ſhe burned, the leſs ſhe felt, or well near none at all.

And becauſe Mr. Tyrrel ſhall not go alone in this kind of cruelty, you ſhall hear another like example of a blind harper's

harper's hand, burnt by biſhop Bonner, as is teſtified by the relation of Valentine Dingley, ſometime gentleman to the ſaid biſhop, who declared before credible witneſs, as followeth: How the ſaid biſhop Bonner, having this blind harper before him, ſpake thus unto him, That ſuch blind abjects, which follow a ſort of heretical preachers, when they come to the feeling of the fire, will be the firſt that will fly from it.

To whom the blind man anſwered, that if every joint of him were to be burnt, yet he truſted in the Lord he ſhould not fly. Then Bonner ſignifying privily to certain of his men about him what they ſhould do, they brought to him a burning coal; which coal being put into the poor man's hand, they cloſed it faſt again, which burned his hand moſt piteouſly. Amongſt the doers thereof was the ſaid Mr. Valentine Dingley, witneſs and reporter hereof, as is declared.

We read in Titus Livius, of the ſtory of king Porſenna, who after the burning of the right hand of Marcus Scevola, who came purpoſely to kill him, being only contented therewith, ſent him home to Rome again. But thus to burn the hands of poor men and women, who never meant any harm to them, and not contented with that, but alſo to conſume their whole bodies without any juſt cauſe, we find no example of ſuch barbarous tyranny, neither in Titus Livius, nor in any other ſtory among the heathen.

But to return to our Colcheſter martyrs again. With the ſaid William Munt and his family, was joined alſo in the ſame priſon at Colcheſter, another faithful brother, named John Johnſon, alias Aliker, of Thorp in the county of Eſſex, labourer, thirty-four years of age, having no wife alive, but three young children, who was alſo indicted with them of hereſy, and ſo all theſe four lay together in Colcheſter-caſtle.

The other ſix priſoners lay in Mote-hall in the ſaid town of Colcheſter, whoſe names were,

1. William Bongeor, of the pariſh of St. Nicholas in Colcheſter, glazier, of the age of ſixty years.

2. Thomas Benold of Colcheſter, tallow-chandler.

3. W. Purcas of Bocking in Eſſex, fuller, of the age of twenty years.

4. Agnes Silverſide, alias Smith, dwelling in Colcheſter, widow, of the age of forty years.

5. Helen Ewring, the wife of John Ewring miller, dwelling in Colcheſter, of the age of forty-five years or thereabouts, who was one of the twenty-two priſoners mentioned before, ſent up in bands from Colcheſter to London, and after being delivered with the reſt, repaired home to Colcheſter again to her huſband, where notwithſtanding ſhe enjoyed her liberty not very long: for ſhortly after her return, one Robert Maynard then bailiff of Colcheſter, met with her, who eſpying her, came to her, and kiſſed her, and bade her welcome home from London. Unto whom ſhe conſiderately anſwered again, and ſaid, That it was but a Judas kiſs: for in the end, quoth ſhe, I know you will betray me, as indeed it came to paſs: for immediately after that diſcourſe ſhe was apprehended by him, and was lodged with the reſt in the town priſon (as is aforeſaid) called the Mote-hall.

6. The ſixth of this company was Elizabeth Folks, a young maid, and ſervant in Colcheſter, of the age of twenty years. Theſe ſix were impriſoned in the town priſon of Colcheſter, called Mote-hall, as the other four beforementioned were in the caſtle.

Divers examinations theſe good men had at ſundry times before divers juſtices, prieſts, and officers, as Mr. Roper, John Kingſton, commiſſary, John Boſwel, prieſt, and Bonner's ſcribe, and ſeveral others, in the preſence of the two bailiffs of Colcheſter, Robert Brown and Robert Maynard, with divers other juſtices both of the town and country, and a great many other gentlemen: at which time and place, and before the ſaid perſons, they had ſentence of condemnation read againſt them, chiefly for not affirming the real preſence of the ſacrament in their altar. The effect of their words therein, was as follows:

Firſt, the Priſoners in Mote-hall.

WILLIAM Bongeor, of the pariſh of St. Nicholas in Colcheſter, glazier, ſaid, that the ſacrament of the altar was bread, is bread, and ſo remaineth bread; and that the conſecration made it not more holy, but rather the worſe. To this he did ſtand, as alſo againſt all the reſt of their popiſh doctrine: and ſo had ſentence read againſt him.

Thomas Benold, of Colcheſter, tallow-chandler, affirmed to the like effect as William Bongeor did: and ſo had ſentence alſo read againſt him.

W. Purcas of Bocking ſaid, that when he received the ſacrament, he received bread in an holy uſe, that preacheth the remembrance of Chriſt dying for him. To this he ſtood, and againſt other their popiſh matters: and ſo alſo had ſentence read againſt him.

Agnes Silverſide, alias Smith, ſaid, that ſhe loved no conſecration; for the bread and wine, ſhe ſaid, was made rather worſe thereby than better. This good old woman anſwered them with ſuch ſound judgment and boldneſs, to every thing they aſked her, that it rejoiced the hearts of many, and eſpecially to ſee the patience of ſuch a reverend old age, againſt the taunts and checks of her enemies. To this ſhe alſo ſtood, and had ſentence read againſt her in like manner.

Helen Ewring anſwered to the like effect, as the others did, utterly denying all the laws ſet forth by the pope, with her whole heart. This good woman was ſomewhat thick of hearing, but yet in the Lord's matters was quick of underſtanding, whoſe name therefore be praiſed. Againſt her alſo was ſentence read.

Elizabeth Folks, the young maiden, being examined whether ſhe believed the preſence of Chriſt's body to be in the ſacrament ſubſtantially and really, or no; anſwered, that ſhe believed it to be a ſubſtantial lye, and a real lye. At which words, the prieſts and others were very angry, and aſked her again, whether after the conſecration there remained not the body of Chriſt in the ſacrament. To which ſhe anſwered, that before conſecration and after, it is but bread; and the man that bleſſeth without God's word, is curſed and abominable by the word, &c. Then they examined her about confeſſion to the prieſt, of going to church to hear maſs, of the authority of the biſhop of Rome, &c. To all which ſhe anſwered, that, by the grace of God, ſhe would neither uſe nor frequent any of them all, but utterly deteſt and abhor them from the bottom of her heart, and all ſuch trumpery.

Then they read the ſentence of condemnation againſt her; at which, Dr. Chedſey wept, that the tears trickled down his cheeks. So the ſentence being read, ſhe kneeled down on her knees, lifting up her hands and eyes unto heaven, with fervent prayer and audible voice praiſing God, that ever ſhe was born to ſee that moſt bleſſed and happy day, that the Lord would count her worthy to ſuffer for the teſtimony of Chriſt: and Lord, ſaid ſhe, if it be thy will, forgive them that have done this againſt me, for they know not what they do. Then riſing up, ſhe exhorted all thoſe on the bench to repentance, eſpecially thoſe who brought her to priſon, as Robert Maynard the bailiff, and ſuch like; which Maynard commonly, when he ſate in judgment upon life and death, would ſit ſleeping on the bench oftentimes, ſo careful was his mind on his office.

Further, ſhe deſired halting goſpellers to beware of blood, for that would cry for vengeance, &c. And in the end ſhe told them all, laying her hand upon the bar, that if they did not repent their wicked doings therein, that undoubtedly the very bar would be a witneſs againſt them at the day of judgment, that they had that day ſhed innocent blood.

This Elizabeth Folks, the day before ſhe was condemned, was examined only by this article, Whether ſhe believed there was a catholic church of Chriſt, or not. To which ſhe anſwered, Yea. Then was ſhe immediately (by Boſwell's means the ſcribe) delivered unto her uncle Holt of the ſame town of Colcheſter to keep, who carried her home to his houſe: and ſhe being there might have departed thence many times, if ſhe had pleaſed; for there were means offered to convey her away. But ſhe hearing that ſome doubted that ſhe had yielded to the pope (although it was moſt untrue) would in no wiſe content herſelf, but wept, and was in ſuch anguiſh of mind and terror of conſcience, that (no remedy) ſhe would to the papiſts again for any perſuaſions that could be. And coming before them at Coſins's houſe at the White-Hart, in Colcheſter, ſhe was at utter defiance with them and their doctrine: and ſo had, as you have heard, in the end a papiſtical reward, as the reſt of her brethren had.

The Priſoners in Colcheſter Caſtle.

WILLIAM Munt of Muchbentley in Eſſex, of the age of 61 years ſaid, that the ſacrament of the altar was an abominable idol, and that if he ſhould obſerve any part of their popiſh proceedings, he ſhould diſpleaſe God, and bring his curſe upon him, and therefore for fear of his vengeance he durſt not do it. This good father was examined of many things, but God be thanked he ſtood to the truth, and in the end thereof had ſentence of condemnation read againſt him. John Johnſon of Thorp in Eſſex, widower, thirty-four years of age, was examined as the reſt, and made anſwer in ſuch ſort, as the papiſts counted him none of theirs, and therefore condemned him with their bloody ſentence, as they had done the reſt before. This John Johnſon affirmed, that in the receiving of the ſacrament according to Chriſt's inſtitution, he receiveth the body of Chriſt ſpiritually, &c.

Alice Munt, the wife of the ſaid William Munt, forty-one years of age, being alſo examined as the reſt, ſaid and confirmed the ſame in effect as her huſband did, and was therefore alſo condemned.

Roſe Allin, maid, daughter of the ſaid Alice Munt, of the age of twenty years, being examined of auricular confeſſion, going to the church to hear maſs, of the popiſh ſeven ſacraments, &c. anſwered ſtoutly, that they ſtank in the face of God, and ſhe durſt not have to do with them for her life, neither was ſhe (ſhe ſaid) any member of theirs; for they were the members of antichriſt, and ſo ſhould have, if they repented not, the reward of antichriſt. Being aſked further what ſhe could ſay of the ſee of the biſhop of Rome, whether ſhe would obey his authority, or no: ſhe anſwered boldly that ſhe was none of his. As for his ſee (ſaid ſhe) it is for crows, kites, owls and ravens to ſwim in, ſuch as you be: for by the grace of God I will not ſwim in that ſee while I live, neither will I have any thing to do therewith. Then they read the ſentence of condemnation againſt her, and ſent her to priſon again unto the reſt, where ſhe ſung with great joy, to the wonder of many.

Thus theſe poor condemned lambs, being delivered into the hands of the ſecular power, were all ſent to the priſon from whence they came, where they remained with much joy and great comfort (in continual reading and invocating the name of God) ever looking and expecting the happy day of their diſſolution. In which time the cruel papiſts left not their miſchievous attempts againſt them, although they would ſeem now to have no more to do with them. For bloody Bonner, whoſe throat never cried ho, ſhortly after got a writ for the burning of the aforeſaid perſons; and to ſhew the more diligence in his cauſe, he ſent a truſty man of his, named Edward Coſin, down with it, and with him alſo his letter, for the furtherance of the matter, the next month after the condemnation.

The writ being thus received by the ſaid bailiffs, and they having then no leaſure thereabouts, appointed the day of the execution thereof, to be the ſecond day of Auguſt next following. And becauſe the faithful ſouls were in two ſeveral priſons, as the caſtle was for the country, and Mote-hall for the town: therefore it was agreed among them, that they in Mote-hall ſhould be burnt in the forenoon, and thoſe at the caſtle, by the ſheriff of the ſhire, in the afternoon.

The ſecond day of Auguſt 1557, betwixt ſix and ſeven of the clock in the morning, was brought from Mote-hall unto a plat of ground, hard by the town-wall of Colcheſter on the outſide, William Bongeor, William Purcas, Thomas Benold, Agnes Silverſide alias Smith, Helen Ewring and Elizabeth Folks before-mentioned, who being there, and all things prepared for their martyrdom, they kneeled down, and made their humble prayers to God, but not in ſuch a manner as they would, for the cruel tyrants would not ſuffer them: eſpecially one Mr. Clere among the reſt (who ſometime had been a goſpeller) ſhewed himſelf very extreme unto them; the Lord give him repentance (if it be his good will) and grace to be a better man. When they made their prayers, they roſe, and made themſelves ready for the fire: and Elizabeth Folks, when ſhe had plucked off her petticoat, would have given it to her mother (who came and kiſſed her at the ſtake, and exhorted her to be ſtrong in the Lord) but the wicked there attending, would not ſuffer her to give it. Therefore taking the ſaid petticoat in her hand, ſhe threw it away from her, ſaying, farewel all the world, farewel faith, farewel hope; and ſo taking the ſtake in her hand, ſaid, welcome love, &c. Now ſhe being at the ſtake, and one of the officers nailing the chain about her, in the ſtriking of the ſtaple, he miſſed the place, and gave her a great ſtroke with the hammer on the ſhoulder bone: at which, ſhe turning her head, lifted up her eyes to the Lord, and ſmilingly praying, gave herſelf to exhorting the people again.

When they were all nailed to the ſtakes, and the fire about them, they clapped their hands for joy in the fire, that the ſtanders by, (which were by eſtimation thouſands) almoſt all cried, The Lord ſtrengthen them, the Lord comfort them, the Lord pour his mercies upon them, with ſuch like words, as was wonderful to hear.

Thus yielded they up their ſouls and bodies into the Lord's hand, for the teſtimony of his truth. The Lord grant we may imitate the ſame in the like quarrel, for his mercies ſake, Amen.

In like manner, the ſaid day in the afternoon, was brought forth into the caſtle-yard, to a place appointed for the ſame, William Munt, John Johnſon, Alice Munt and Roſe Allin aforeſaid: who after they had made their prayers, were joyfully tied to the ſtakes, calling upon the name of God, and earneſtly exhorting the people to flee from idolatry, ſuffered martyrdom with ſuch triumph and joy, that the people did no leſs ſhout thereat to ſee it, than at the others that were burnt the ſame day in the morning.

Thus theſe ten perſons happily ended their lives for the teſtimony of the goſpel. God grant we may well ſpend our years and days likewiſe to his glory, Amen.

You have heard before of the taking of John Thurſton at Muchbentley, in the houſe of William Munt of the ſame town; which ſaid John Thurſton, about the month of May 1557, died in Colcheſter-caſtle, a conſtant confeſſer of Jeſus Chriſt.

The

Engraved for Foxs Book of Martyrs

The Burning of Woodman, Stevens, Mainard, Hosman, Wood, M: & J: Morris, Burges, Asshdon, & Graves, at Lewes.

The Burning of Rose Allins Hand by Edmund Tyrill.

O. Terry sculp.

Pater noster Row.

Publish'd as the Act directs for H. Trapp, Pater noster Row, Cheapside.

The Hiſtory of George Eagles, otherwiſe called Trudge-over.

AMONG other martyrs of ſingular virtue and conſtancy, one George Eagles deſerveth much to be commended, for that he having little or no learning, moſt manfully ſerved and fought under the banner of Chriſt's church. For oftentimes the will and pleaſure of God is, to beautify and adorn his kingdom with the weak and ſimple inſtruments of this world; ſuch as Amos was in the Old Teſtament, who with many others of obſcure and unknown names, were called from the heards and folds to the honour of prophets; as likewiſe we read of the apoſtles, who were called from the fiſherman's craft, and put into churches. Wherefore this George Eagles is not to be deſpiſed for his baſe occupation, whom Chriſt hath called thence to ſet forth and declare abroad his goſpel. We ought rather to glorify God the more, who by his grace, in ſo blind a time, inſpired him with the gift of preaching, and conſtancy of ſuffering: who after he had uſed the occupation of a taylor, for ſome time, being eloquent and of good utterance, gave and applied himſelf to the ſervice of Chriſt's church.

Which man, as before in thoſe moſt bright and clear days of king Edward VI. he had not unfruitfully ſhewed and preached the power and force of the Lord, ſo afterward in the tempeſtuous time and fall of the church (at which time confeſſors of Chriſt and his goſpel were troubled, divers of them murdered, ſome baniſhed, and others through fear conſtrained from appearing publicly) he expreſſed and uttered his mind with courage. For he, wandering abroad into divers and far countries, where he could find any of his brethren, did there moſt earneſtly encourage and comfort them, now tarrying in this town, and ſometime abiding in that certain months together, as occaſion ſerved, lodging ſometimes in the country, and ſometimes for fear living in the fields and woods, who, for his immoderate and unreaſonable going abroad, was called Trudge-over. Oftentimes did he lie abroad in the night, without covert, ſpending the moſt part in devout and earneſt prayer.

His diet was ſo ſpare and ſlender above meaſure, that he uſed, almoſt for the ſpace of three years, to drink nothing but water, whereunto he was compelled through neceſſity in the time of perſecution: but when he perceived that by God's providence his body proved well enough with this diet, he thought beſt to inure himſelf to it againſt all neceſſities.

Now when he had profited Chriſt's church in this ſort, by going about and preaching the goſpel a year or two, eſpecially in Colcheſter and the places thereabout, that privy enemy which envieth always the ſalvation and bleſſed eſtate of the good, lurked and laid wait by all means poſſible for him, ſo that there were divers ſpies ſent out, who had in commandment, whereſoever they found him, to bring him either alive or dead. But when this their attempt could not prevail, but all was in vain (the ſaid Eagles with his brethren keeping in cloſe, and hiding themſelves in ſecret places, as in barns, thickets, holes, &c.) his adverſaries went about another way to compaſs this their enterprize of taking him.

For in the queen's name a grievous edict was proclaimed throughout four ſhires, Eſſex, Suffolk, Kent, and Norfolk, promiſing the perſon that took him twenty pounds for his pains; doubtleſs a worthy hire to entice any Jew to treachery. For being inflamed with greedy deſire of the money, they deviſed and invented all ways poſſible to be enriched with the hurt and deſtruction of this poor man.

At length it came to paſs, that he being ſeen at Colcheſter upon Mary Magdalen's-day, at which time they kept a fair in the town, would have been taken by his adverſaries, if he had not ſpeedily conveyed himſelf away, a great multitude purſuing after, and ſeeking diligently after him. Who firſt hid himſelf in a grove, and afterwards in a corn-field hard by, and ſo lay ſecretly couched from the violence of his enemies, inſomuch as they were all, except one, paſt hope of taking him, and therefore ready to depart their way.

This one, having more ſubtilty and wicked craft in his head than the reſt, would not depart thence with his fellows, but climbed up into a high tree, there to view and eſpy if he might ſee Eagles any where ſtir or move. The poor man thinking all ſure enough, by reaſon that he heard no noiſe abroad, roſe up on his knees, and lifting up his hand, prayed unto God. And whether it were for that his head was above the corn, or becauſe his voice was heard, the lurker perceiving his deſired prey that he haunted after, forthwith came down, and ſuddenly laying hands on him, brought him as priſoner to Colcheſter. Notwithſtanding the greedy and Judas knave, which had ſo much promiſed him, was fain to be contented with a very ſmall reward, and glad to take that too, leſt he ſhould have nothing at all.

George Eagles being thus taken, was committed to priſon at Colcheſter, and from thence within four days after conveyed to Chelmsford, where he abode all that night in devout prayer, and would not ſleep, neither would eat or drink but bread and water. The next day he was carried to London to the biſhop or the council, and there remained a certain time, and then was brought down to Chelmsford to the ſeſſions, and there was indicted and accuſed of treaſon, becauſe he had aſſembled companies together, contrary to the laws and ſtatutes of the realm in that caſe provided. For it was ordained a little before, to avoid ſedition, that if men ſhould flock ſecretly together, above the number of ſix, they ſhould be attached of treaſon. And albeit it was well known, that George Eagles did never any thing ſeditiouſly againſt the queen, yet to cloak an honeſt matter withal, and to cauſe him to be the more hated of the people, they turned religion into a civil offence and crime, and though he defended his cauſe ſtoutly and boldly, making a full declaration of his religion, or faith, before the judges; yet could he not bring it to paſs by any means, but that he muſt needs be indicted, as he ſaid, of treaſon; whoſe indictment did run much after this faſhion.

"George Eagles, thou art indicted by the name of George Eagles, otherwiſe Trudge-over the world, for that thou didſt ſuch a day make thy prayer that God ſhould turn queen Mary's heart, or elſe take her away."

He denied that he prayed that God ſhould take her away, but he confeſſed, he prayed that God would turn her heart in his prayer. Well, notwithſtanding he was condemned for a traitor, although the meaning thereof was for religion.

This being done, he was carried to the ſign of the Crown in Chelmsford, and being there, one Richard Potto the elder, an inn-holder, dwelling at the ſign of the Cock in the ſame town, did much trouble him, in perſuading him to confeſs he had offended the queen in his prayer, which he was condemned for, and to aſk her forgiveneſs.

To whom he ſaid, he had not offended her grace in that behalf. So in proceſs of time he was laid upon a ſled, with an hurdle on it, and drawn to the place of execution, being faſt bound, having in his hand a pſalm-book, of which he read very devoutly all the way with a loud voice, till he came there: and being on the ladder the aforeſaid Potto did much trouble him with the matter aforeſaid, but the ſheriff commanded Potto to hold his peace, and trouble him no more.

So he made his confeſſion, and ſtood very conſtant ſtill; then he was turned off the ladder. With him were caſt certain thieves alſo, and the next day, when they were brought out to be executed with him, there happened a thing that did much ſet forth and declare the innocency and piety of this man. For being led between

two thieves to the place where he ſhould ſuffer, when as he exhorted both them and all others to ſtand ſtedfaſtly to the truth, one of them turned the counſel he gave into a jeſting matter, and made but a flout at it.

Why ſhould we doubt to obtain heaven, ſaid he, foraſmuch as this holy man ſhall go before us, as captain and leader unto us in the way. We ſhall flee thither ſtrait as ſoon as he hath once made us the entry.

In this, George Eagles and the other did greatly reprove him, who on the other ſide gave good heed to George's exhortation, earneſtly bewailing his own wickedneſs, and calling to Chriſt for mercy. But the more that the firſt was bid to be ſtill, and to leave off his ſcoffing, the more perverſe he continued in his fooliſhneſs, and his wicked behaviour. At length he came to the gallows, where they ſhould be hanged, but George was carried to another place hard by to ſuffer. Between the two he went foremoſt who was moſt ſerious, who being upon the ladder, after he had exhorted the people to beware and to take heed to themſelves, how they did tranſgreſs the commandments of God, and then had committed his ſoul into God's hands, he ended his life after a godly and quiet manner.

The mocker's turn cometh next, who would have likewiſe ſaid ſomewhat, but his tongue faultered in his head, that he was not able to ſpeak a word. He would fain have uttered his mind, but he could not bring it out. Then the under-ſheriff bade him ſay the Lord's prayer, which he could not ſay neither but ſtutteringly, as a man would ſay, one word to-day and another to-morrow. Then one did begin to ſay it, and ſo bade him ſay after.

Such as were there and ſaw it, were much aſtoniſhed, eſpecially thoſe that beheld the juſt puniſhment of God againſt him that had mocked ſo earneſt a matter. George Eagles in the mean time, after he had hanged a ſmall ſpace, having a check with the haltar, immediately one of the bailiffs cut the haltar aſunder, and he fell to the ground, being ſtill alive, although much amazed with the check he had of the ladder. Then one William Swallow of Chelmsford, a bailiff, drew him to the ſled that he was drawn thither on, and laid his neck thereon, and with a cleaver, ſuch as is occupied in many men's kitchens, and blunt, did hackle off his head, and ſometimes hit his neck, and ſometimes his chin, and did foully mangle him, and ſo opened him. Notwithſtanding this bleſſed martyr of Chriſt abode ſtedfaſt and conſtant in the very midſt of his torments, till ſuch time as this tormentor William Swallow did pluck the heart out of his body. The body being divided into four parts, and his bowels burnt, was brought to the foreſaid Swallow's door, and there laid upon the fiſh-ſtalls before his door, till they had made ready a horſe to carry his quarters, one to Colcheſter, and the reſt to Harwich, Chelmsford, and St. Rouſes.

His head was ſet up at Chelmsford on the market-croſs on a long pole, and there ſtood, till the wind blew it down, and lying certain days in the ſtreet tumbled about, one cauſed it to be buried in the church yard in the night. Alſo a wonderful work of God was it that ſhewed on this wicked bailiff Swallow, who within ſhort ſpace after this was ſo puniſhed, that all the hair went well near off his head, his eyes were as it were cloſed up, and could ſcarcely ſee, the nails of his fingers and toes went clean off. He was in ſuch caſe of his body as though he had been a leper, and now in his laſt age almoſt a very beggar, and his wife, which he a little after married, God hath puniſhed with the falling-ſickneſs, or a diſeaſe like unto that: which may be a warning or glaſs for all men and women to look in, that be enemies to God's ſervants.

No leſs token of his marvellous judgment did God ſhew upon the aforeſaid Richard Potto, who did ſo much trouble this George Eagles in the inn, and at the place of execution, as is above ſpecified. He lived till the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, all which time he little joyed, and being on a time in a great chafe with two or three of his neighbours in his own houſe, feeling himſelf not well, he ſaid to one of his ſervants, go with me into the chamber, and when he came there, he fell down on a low bed, as heavy as it had been lead, and lay there foaming at the mouth, and could never ſpeak after, neither yet underſtood what was ſaid to him, but lay as ſenſeleſs as it had been a very dumb beaſt, and within three or four days died. God grant that this token ſent of God, with many more like, may be a warning to us ever hereafter, while we live unto the world's end.

Beſides this, God hath wonderfully ſhewed his work. For at a time when they had laid great wait for George Eagles, that it was thought impoſſible but that he ſhould be taken, being ſo beſet; his friends did put him into apprentice apparel, viz. watchet-hoſe, as their manner is, and an old cloak, and ſet him on a pack of wool, as though he had ridden to carry wool to the ſpinners, ſo he rode amongſt the midſt of his adverſaries, and eſcaped them all for that time. Another troubler of the ſaid George Eagles, was alſo juſtice Brown, who enjoyed not his cruelty many years after.

Alſo when he was at the ſeſſions at Chelmsford, there was a rumour raiſed, that he had accuſed divers honeſt men that did keep him in their houſes, and was converſant with him, and all to diſcredit him; which rumour was very falſe and untrue. Witneſs one Raynold, with divers others dwelling in Chelmsford.

The Examination of Richard Craſhfield of Weymundham, condemned to Death for the Teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt.

ABOUT this time ſuffered at Norwich, a godly man, named Richard Craſhfield, whoſe examinations before the chancellor, named Dunning, as he penned them with his own hand, ſo have we faithfully recorded the ſame.

How ſay you, Sirrah, ſaid the chancellor, to the ceremonies of the church?

Then ſaid I, what ceremonies?

He ſaid unto me, Do you not believe that all the ceremonies of the church were good and godly?

My anſwer was, I do believe ſo many as are grounded in the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt.

Tuſh, ſaid he, do you believe in the ſacrament of the altar?

I ſaid, I knew not what it was.

Then, ſaid he, Do you not believe that Chriſt took bread, gave thanks, brake it, and ſaid, "Take, eat, this is my body?"

Yes, verily, ſaid I, and even as Chriſt did ſpeak, ſo did he perform the work.

Tuſh, ſaid he, Do you not believe this, that after the words ſpoken by the prieſt, there is the ſubſtance of Chriſt's body, fleſh and blood? How ſay you, do you not believe this? ſpeak, man?

I do believe that Chriſt's body was broken for me upon the croſs, and his blood ſhed for my redemption, whereof the bread and wine is a perpetual memory, the pledge of his mercy, the ring and ſeal of his promiſe, and a perpetual memory for the faithful unto the end of the world. So then I was commanded into priſon until the next day.

Another Examination of Richard Craſhfield.

THE next day following I was brought forth. Then the chancellor ſaid unto me, Richard, how ſay you? Are you otherwiſe minded than you were yeſterday? He rehearſing all the words we had before, ſaid, Are not theſe your words? Whereunto I anſwered, Yes.

Then

Then ſaid he, How ſay you, can you not find in your heart, when you come to the church, to kneel down before the rood, and make your prayer?

I anſwered and ſaid, No; rehearſing the commandment of God forbidding the ſame.

He ſaid, Have you not read or heard, that God commanded an image to be made?

I anſwered, what image?

He ſaid, the brazen ſerpent.

I ſaid, yes, I have heard it read, how that God did command it to be made, and likewiſe to be broken down.

Then Dr. Bridges ſaid, wherefore did God command the Seraphins and Cherubins to be made?

I ſaid, I could not tell; I would fain learn.

Then ſaid the chancellor, but how ſay you to this? can you find in your heart to fall down before the picture of Chriſt, which is the rood?

I ſaid, no; I fear the curſe of God: for it is written, that God curſed his hands that made them, yea and the hands that made the tools wherewith they were carved.

Then Dr. Bridges raged and ſaid, liſt now what a piece of ſcripture he hath here gotten to ſerve his purpoſe, for he will not allow but where he liſteth.

Then ſaid the chancellor, how ſay you to confeſſion to the prieſt? when were you confeſſed?

I ſaid, I confeſs myſelf daily unto the eternal God, whom I moſt grievouſly offend.

Then the chancellor ſaid, Do you not then take confeſſion to the prieſt to be good?

I anſwered, no, but rather wicked.

Then the chancellor ſaid, how ſay you by yonder gear, yonder ſinging and yonder playing on the organs? is it not good and godly?

I ſaid, I could perceive no godlineſs in it.

Then he ſaid, why, is it not written in the pſalms, that we ſhould praiſe God with hymns and ſpiritual ſongs?

I ſaid, yes, ſpiritual ſongs muſt be had; but yonder is of the fleſh, and of the ſpirit of error. For to you it is pleaſant and glorious, but to the Lord it is bitter and odious.

Then ſaid the chancellor, why, is it not written, my houſe is an houſe of prayer?

I ſaid, yes. It is written alſo, that you have made my houſe of prayer a den of thieves.

With that the chancellor looked and ſaid, have we?

I anſwered and ſaid, Chriſt ſaid ſo. Then was I commanded to ward.

The Thurſday next following, was Dr. Bridges ſent to me to examine me of my faith. And he ſaid, countryman, my lord biſhop (for love he would have you ſaved) hath ſent me unto you, becauſe to-morrow is your day appointed: therefore my lord hath thought it meet, that you ſhould declare unto me your faith. For to-morrow my lord will not have much ado with you.

I anſwered and ſaid, hath my lord ſent you? It is not to you, whom I am diſpoſed to ſhew my mind.

Then he ſaid to me, I pray you ſhew me your mind concerning the ſacrament of the altar.

I anſwered, are you ignorant what I have ſaid?

He ſaid, no, for it was well written, except you believe, ſaith he, as the church hath taught, you are damned, both body and ſoul.

I anſwered and ſaid, judge not, leſt you be judged: condemn not, leſt you be condemned.

And he ſaid, lo we ſhall have a traitor as well as an heretic: for he will diſallow the king's judgment.

I ſaid, no, I do not diſallow the king's judgment, but yours I do diſallow. For I pray you tell me, how came you by this judgment?

He anſwered and ſaid, by the church: for the church hath power to ſave and condemn: for if you be condemned by the church, be ye ſure, that you be damned both body and ſoul.

Then I anſwered, if you have this power, I am ſore deceived. For I believe that Chriſt ſhall be our judge. But now I perceive that you will do much for him, that you will not put him to the pain.

Then he ſaid, ſtand nearer country-man: why ſtand ye ſo far off?

I ſaid, I am near enough, and a little too near.

Then he ſaid, did not Chriſt ſay, is not my fleſh meat, and my blood drink indeed?

I ſaid, to whom ſpake Chriſt thoſe words?

He ſaid, to his diſciples.

I (intending to rehearſe the text) ſaid, whereat did Chriſt's diſciples murmur inwardly?

He ſaid, no, they did not murmur, but they were the infidels, ſaith he, for the diſciples were ſatisfied with theſe words.

I ſaid, did not Chriſt ſay thus, as he taught at Capernaum, whereas his diſciples murmured, ſaying, this is an hard ſaying, who can abide the hearing of it? Jeſus perceiving their thoughts, ſaid, doth this offend you?

Then he raged and ſaid, oh, thou wreſteſt the text for thine own purpoſe: for the diſciples did never murmur, but unbelievers as thou art.

I ſaid, yes, but I perceive you know not the text.

Then he ſaid with much rage, I will lay my head thereon it is not ſo.

Then I ſaid, I have done with you.

To which he ſaid, what ſhall I tell my lord of you?

If you have nothing to tell him, your errand ſhall be ſooner done, ſaid I. And ſo departed.

Then on Friday I was brought forth to receive judgment, when the chancellor ſaid unto me, Are you a new man, or are you not?

I anſwered, I truſt I am a new man born of God.

God give grace you be ſo, ſaid he. So he rehearſed all my examination and ſaid, how ſay you, are not theſe your words?

I ſaid, Yes, I do not deny them.

Then he ſaid to Dr. Pere, ſtanding by, I pray you talk with him. Then he alledging to me many flattering words, ſaid, "Take, eat, this is my body." How ſay you to this? Do you not believe that it is Chriſt's body? Speak.

I ſaid, Have you not my mind, why do ye trouble me?

He ſaid, What did Chriſt give you, was it bread, or was it not?

I ſaid, Chriſt took bread, and gave thanks, and gave it, and they took bread, and did eat. And St. Paul maketh it more manifeſt, where he ſaith, "So oft as ye ſhall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye ſhall ſhew forth the Lord's death until he come." St. Paul ſaith not here as you ſay: for he ſaith, "So oft as ye ſhall eat of this bread." He doth not ſay, body.

So they intending that I ſhould go no further in the text, ſaid, Tuſh, you go about the buſh. Anſwer me to the firſt queſtion. Let us make an end of that.

What ſay you to the bread that Chriſt gave? Let me have your mind in that.

I anſwered, I have ſaid my mind in it.

Then ſaid the chancellor, No, we will have your mind more plainly: for we intend not to have many more words with you.

I ſaid, My faith is fully grounded and eſtabliſhed, that Chriſt Jeſus the Eaſter lamb hath offered his bleſſed body a ſacrifice to God the Father, the price of my redemption. For by that only ſacrifice are all the faithful ſanctified, and he is our only advocate and mediator, and he hath made perfect our redemption. This hath he done alone, without any of your daily oblations.

Then Dr. Bridges ſtarted up and ſaid, Truth, your words are true indeed: you take well the literal ſenſe: but this you muſt underſtand, that like as you ſaid that Chriſt offered his body upon the croſs, which was a bloody ſacrifice and a viſible ſacrifice; ſo likewiſe we daily offer the ſelf-ſame body that was offered upon the croſs, but not bloody and viſible, but inviſible, unto God the Father.

Do you offer Chriſt's body, I ſaid? Why then Chriſt's ſacrifice was not perfect. But Chriſt is true, when all men ſhall be lyars.

Then he ſaid, Thou ſhalt not fear him that hath power to kill the body: but thou ſhalt fear him that hath power to kill both body and ſoul.

I anſwered and ſaid, It is not ſo. But the text is thus; "Thou ſhalt not fear them that hath power to kill the body, and then have done what they can. But thou ſhalt fear him that hath power to kill both body and ſoul, and caſt them both into hell-fire, and not them.

He anſwered and ſaid, yes: for it is the church.

I anſwered, why, Chriſt ſaith, "I give my life for the redemption of the world. No man taketh my life from me, ſaith he, but I give it of my own power, and ſo have I power to take it again." Therefore Chriſt the Son of God did offer his body once for all. And if you will preſume to offer his body daily, then your power is above Chriſt's power. With that he was angry, and ſaid, What, ſhall we have doctrine? ye are not hitherto appointed.

Then the chancellor ſtood up and ſaid, Will ye turn from this wicked error, and be an example of goodneſs, as you have been an example of evil (for by your wicked reading you have perſuaded ſimple women to be in this error) and you ſhall have mercy.

And I ſaid, it is of God that I do crave mercy, whom I have offended, and not you.

Then the chancellor ſaid, When were you at your pariſh church? you have ſtood excommunicated theſe two years and more: wherefore you are condemned. And ſo I was condemned.

Thus haſt thou, gentle reader, the examinations of this pious young man, ſet forth and written with his own hand, who, ſoon after his condemnation, was brought to the ſtake by the ſheriffs and officers, where with much patience and conſtancy he entered his martyrdom. At whoſe burning, one Thomas Carman was apprehended, whoſe ſtory hereafter followeth in its order and place.

About the ſame time one named Fryer, with a woman accompanying him, who was the ſiſter of George Eagles, ſuffered the like martyrdom by the unrighteous papiſts, whoſe tyranny the Lord of his mercy abate and cut ſhort, turning that generation, if it be his will, to a better mind.

The Apprehenſion and death of Mrs. Joyce Lewes, the Wife of Thomas Lewes, of Manceter.

Miſtreſs Joyce Lewes, a gentlewoman born, was firſt married to one Appleby, and afterwards to Thomas Lewes, of Manceter. In the beginning of queen Mary's time ſhe went to church, and heard maſs as others did; but when ſhe heard of the burning of that moſt godly and learned martyr, Laurence Saunders, who ſuffered in Coventry, ſhe began to take more heed to the matter, and enquired earneſtly of ſuch as ſhe knew feared God, the cauſe of his death: and when ſhe perceived it was becauſe he refuſed to receive the maſs, ſhe began to be troubled in conſcience, and waxed very unquiet. And becauſe her houſe was even hard by Mr. John Glover's houſe, of whom mention was made before, a man of bleſſed memory, and a ſingular example of his unfeigned godlineſs, and manifold troubles which he ſuffered for the goſpel, ſhe did oftentimes reſort to him, and deſired him to tell her the faults that were in the maſs, and other things that at that time were urged as neceſſary to ſalvation.

Now he perceiving both her unquiet mind, and alſo the deſire ſhe had to know the truth, did moſt diligently inſtruct her in the way of the Lord, proving unto her out of God's holy word, that the maſs, with all other papiſtical inventions, were odious in God's ſight; and beſides this, reproved her, for that ſhe delighted in the vanities of this world ſo much. By which godly counſel, ſhe began to grow weary of the world, and thoroughly ſorrowful for her ſins, being inflamed with the love of God, and deſirous to ſerve him according to his word, purpoſing alſo to flee from thoſe things which diſpleaſed him. And becauſe ſhe had learned the maſs to be evil and abominable, ſhe began to hate it. And when at a time ſhe was compelled by the furiouſneſs of her huſband to come to the church, at the ſame time when the holy water was caſt, ſhe turned her back towards it, and ſhewed herſelf to be diſpleaſed with their blaſphemous holy water, injurious to the blood of Chriſt. Whereupon ſhe was accuſed before the biſhop, for deſpiſing of their ſacramentals.

Immediately, a citation was ſent for her to her huſband's houſe, to appear before the biſhop. The ſumner that brought the citation delivered it to her huſband, who looking upon it, and perceiving it, was moved with anger, willing the ſumner to take the citation with him again, or elſe he would make him eat it. The ſumner refuſed to take it again, for he thought no man durſt have been ſo bold to trouble him. But in the end Lewes compelled the ſaid ſumner to eat the citation indeed, by ſetting a dagger to his heart; and when he had eaten it, he cauſed him to drink it, and ſo ſent him away. But immediately after, the ſaid Lewes with his wife were commanded to appear before the biſhop, where the ſaid Lewes by and by ſubmitted himſelf, and deſiring the biſhop to be good to him, excuſing himſelf after the beſt faſhion he could. Whereupon the biſhop was content to receive his ſubmiſſion, with condition that his wife ſhould ſubmit herſelf alſo. But ſhe ſtoutly told the biſhop, that by refuſing of the holy water, ſhe had neither offended God, nor any part of his laws. At which words the biſhop being grievouſly offended, yet becauſe ſhe was a gentlewoman, he would not take her at the worſt (as he ſaid) he gave her one month's reſpite, binding her huſband in an hundred pound to bring her again unto him at the month's end, and ſo they were both let go.

When they came to their own houſe, the ſaid Mrs. Joyce Lewes gave herſelf to moſt diligent prayer, and invocating of the name of God, reſorting continually to the abovenamed man of God, Maſter John Glover, who did moſt diligently inſtruct her with God's word, willing her in any caſe not to meddle with that matter in reſpect of vain-glory, or to get herſelf a name, ſhewing her the great dangers ſhe was like to caſt herſelf in, if ſhe ſhould meddle in God's matter otherwiſe than Chriſt doth teach.

When the month was now almoſt expired, and the time at hand that ſhould be brought before the ſaid biſhop, her huſband being advertiſed by the ſaid Mr. John Glover and others, not to carry her to the biſhop, but to ſeek ſome ways to ſave her, or if the worſt ſhould come, to be content to forfeit ſo much money, rather than to caſt his own wife into the fire: he anſwered, he would not loſe or forfeit any thing for her ſake; and ſo, like a murderer of his own wife, he carried her to the bloody biſhop, where ſhe was examined, and found more ſtout, than ſhe was before death was threatened. And to begin withal, ſhe was ſent to ſuch a ſtinking priſon, that a certain maid, which was appointed to keep her company, did ſwoon in the ſame priſon.

Being thus kept in priſon, and oftentimes examined, at length ſhe was brought in judgement, and pronounced an heretic worthy to be burned. When the biſhop reaſoned with her, why ſhe would not come to the maſs, and receive the ſacraments and ſacramentals of the Holy Ghoſt: ſhe anſwered, becauſe I find not theſe things in God's word, which you ſo urge and magnify, as things moſt needful for mens ſalvation. If theſe things were in the word of God commanded, I would with all my heart, receive, eſteem, and believe them. The biſhop anſwered, if thou wilt believe no more than is in the ſcripture, concerning matters of religion, thou art in a damnable caſe. At which words ſhe was wonderfully amazed,

zed, and being moved by the Spirit of God, told the biſhop, that his words were ungodly and wicked.

After her condemnation, ſhe continued a whole twelvemonth in priſon, becauſe ſhe was committed to the ſheriff, that was of late choſen, who could not be compelled to put her to death in his time, as he affirmed; for which things, after her death, he was ſore troubled, and in danger of his life. All that time ſhe was in priſon, her behaviour was ſuch both in words and deeds, that all they that had any ſpark of godlineſs and honeſty, did greatly lament her caſe, that ſhe ſhould be put to death.

Now when the time drew near which God had appointed for her deliverance, the writ, De comburendo (as they term it) being brought down from London, ſhe deſired ſome of her friends to come to her, with whom when they came, ſhe conſulted how ſhe might behave herſelf, that her death might be more glorious to the name of God, comfortable to his people, and alſo moſt diſcomfortable to the enemies of God. As for death (ſaid ſhe) I do not greatly paſs; when I behold the amiable countenance of Chriſt my dear Saviour, the ugly face of death doth not greatly trouble me. In which time alſo ſhe reaſoned moſt comfortably out of God's word, of God's election and reprobation.

In the evening before her ſuffering, two of the prieſts of the cloſe of Litchfield came to the under ſheriff's houſe where ſhe lay, and ſent word to her by the ſheriff, that they were come to her confeſſion; for they would be ſorry ſhe ſhould die without. She ſent them word again, ſhe had made her confeſſion to Chriſt her Saviour, at whoſe hands ſhe was ſure to have forgiveneſs of her ſins. As concerning the cauſe for which ſhe ſhould die, ſhe had no cauſe to confeſs that, but rather to give moſt humble praiſe to God, that he did make her worthy to ſuffer death for his word: And as concerning that abſolution that they were able to give unto her, being authorized by the pope, ſhe did defy the ſame, even from the bottom of her heart.

Which when the prieſts heard, they ſaid to the ſheriff, Well, to-morrow her ſtoutneſs will be proved and tried: for although perhaps ſhe hath now ſome friends that whiſper her in her ears, to-morrow we will ſee who dare be ſo hardy as to come near her: and ſo they went their ways with anger, that their confeſſion and abſolution was nought ſet by.

All that night ſhe was wonderfully cheerful and merry, with a certain gravity, inſomuch that the majeſty of the Spirit of God did manifeſtly appear in her, who did expel the fear of death out of her heart, ſpending the time in prayer, reading and talking with them that were purpoſely come unto her, to comfort her with the word of God.

About three of the clock in the morning, Satan (who never ſleepeth, eſpecially when death is at hand) began to ſtir himſelf buſily, ſhooting at her that fiery dart, which he is wont to do againſt all that are at defiance with him, by queſtioning her, How ſhe could tell that ſhe was choſen to eternal life, and that Chriſt died for her: I grant that he died, but that he died for thee, how canſt thou tell? Whilſt ſhe was troubled with this ſuggeſtion, they that were about her counſelled her to follow the example of Paul, Gal. 2. where he ſaith, "which hath loved me, and given himſelf for me." Alſo, that her vocation and calling to the knowledge of God's word was a manifeſt token of God's love towards her, eſpecially that ſame holy Spirit of God working in her heart, that love and deſire towards God to pleaſe him, and to be juſtified by him through Chriſt, &c. By theſe and like perſuaſions, and eſpecially by the comfortable promiſes of Chriſt, brought out of the ſcripture, Satan was put to flight, and ſhe comforted in Chriſt.

About eight of the clock Mr. ſheriff came into her chamber, ſaying theſe words, Mrs. Lewes, I am come to bring you tidings of the queen's pleaſure, which is, that you ſhall live but one hour longer in this world: therefore it behoveth you to prepare yourſelf for it. At which words, being ſo groſly uttered, and ſo ſuddenly, by ſuch an officer as he was, made her ſomewhat caſt down. Wherefore one of her friends and acquaintance ſtanding by, ſaid theſe words: Mr. Lewes, you have great cauſe to praiſe God, who has vouchſafed ſo ſoon to take you out of this world, and make you worthy to be a witneſs of his truth, and to bear record unto Chriſt, that he is the only Saviour.

After which words, ſhe ſaid, Mr. ſheriff, your meſſage is welcome to me, and I thank my God that he had made me worthy to offer my life for his ſervice. At which words the ſheriff departed: but in the ſpace of an hour he came again, with ſwords and clubs; and when he came up in her chamber, one of her friends deſired him to give him leave to go with her to the ſtake, and to comfort her, which the ſheriff granted at that time; but afterwards, when ſhe was dead, he was ſore troubled for the ſame.

Now when ſhe was brought through the town by a number of bill-men, a great number of people being preſent, ſhe was led by two of her friends (namely, Mr. Michael Reniger, and Mr. Auguſtine Bernher) and ſo brought to the place of execution: and becauſe the place was far off, and the throng of the people great, and ſhe not acquainted with the freſh air (being ſo long in priſon) one of her friends ſent a meſſenger to the ſheriff's houſe for ſome drink: and after ſhe had prayed three ſeveral times, in which prayers ſhe deſired God moſt inſtantly to aboliſh the idolatrous maſs, and to deliver this realm from popery (at the end of which prayers moſt part of the people cried Amen; yea, even the ſheriff that ſtood hard by her, ready to caſt her into the fire for not allowing the maſs, at this her prayer ſaid with the reſt of the people, Amen;) when ſhe had thus prayed, ſhe took the cup into her hands, ſaying, I drink to all them that unfeignedly love the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and wish for the aboliſhment of popery. When ſhe had drank, they that were her friends drank alſo. After that a great number, eſpecially the women of that town, drank with her; who afterwards were put to open penance in the church by the cruel papiſts, for drinking with her.

When ſhe was chained to the ſtake, ſhe ſhewed ſuch a cheerfulneſs, that it paſſed man's reaſon, being ſo well coloured in her face, and being ſo patient, that moſt part of them that had honeſt hearts were moved, and even with tears bewailed the tyranny of the papiſts. When the fire was ſet to her, ſhe made no other reſiſtance than by lifting up her hands towards heaven, being dead very ſoon: for the under-ſheriff, at the requeſt of her friends, had provided ſuch ſtuff, that ſhe was ſuddenly diſpatched out of this miſerable world.

This, amongſt other things, is not to be forgotten, that the papiſts had appointed ſome to rail upon her, and to revile her, both as ſhe went to the place of execution, as alſo when ſhe was at the ſtake. Amongſt others, there was an old prieſt, who had a pair of writing-tables, wherein he ſet down the names of thoſe women that drank of the cup, (as before-mentioned) and alſo deſcribed her friends by their apparel, for he could not preſently learn their names, and afterwards enquired for them: and ſo immediately after proceſs was ſent out for them, both to Coventry, and other places: but God, whoſe providence ſleeps not, did defend them from the hands of theſe cruel tyrants. Unto which God, with the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, be honour and glory for ever. Amen.

The Martyrdom of Ralph Allerton, James Auſtoo, Margery Auſtoo, and Richard Roth, at Iſlington.

ABOUT the ſeventeenth day of September, were burned at Iſlington, near London, theſe four profeſſors of Chriſt, Ralph Allerton, James Auſtoo, Margery

gery Auſtoo, his wife, and Richard Roth. Among which, it firſt appeareth, that this Ralph Allerton was, more than a year before his condemnation, apprehended and brought before the lord Darcy of Chicheſter, and was there accuſed, as well for that he would not conſent to come unto the idolatry and ſuperſtition which then was uſed, as alſo that he had by preaching enticed others to do the like.

Being examined thereupon, he confeſſed that he coming into the pariſh of Bentle, and ſeeing the people ſitting there, either gazing about, or elſe talking together, he exhorted them that they would fall into prayer, and meditation of God's moſt holy word, and not ſit ſo idly: to which they willingly conſented. Then after prayer ended, he read to them a chapter out of the New Teſtament, and ſo departed.

In which exerciſe he continued until Candlemas, and then being informed that he might not do ſo by the law, (for that he was no prieſt or miniſter) he left off, and kept himſelf cloſe in the houſe till after Eaſter. At which time, certain ſworn men for the enquiry of ſuch matters came unto his houſe, and attached him for reading in the pariſh of Welley.

But when they underſtood that he had read but once, and that it was of obedience (whereunto he earneſtly moved the people) they let him for that time depart. Notwithſtanding for fear of their cruelty, he was not long after conſtrained to forſake his own houſe, and keep himſelf in woods, barns, and other ſolitary places, until the time of his apprehenſion.

After his examination, the lord Darcy ſent him up to the council; but they (not minding to trouble themſelves with him) ſent him unto Bonner, who by threatenings and other ſubtle means ſo abuſed the ſimple and fearful heart of this man, that within a ſhort time he won his moſt wicked will, and made him revoke and recant his former profeſſion, and thereupon ſet him at liberty of body: yet brought ſuch a bondage and terror of ſoul and conſcience, and ſo caſt him down, that except God (whoſe mercies are immeaſurable) had ſupported and lifted him up again, he had periſhed for ever.

But God, who never ſuffereth his children utterly to fall, caſting his pitiful eyes on his loſt ſheep, with his merciful and fatherly chaſtiſements, did, with Peter, raiſe him up again, giving unto him not only hearty and unfeigned repentance, but alſo a moſt conſtant boldneſs to profeſs again, even unto his death, his moſt holy name, and glorious goſpel. Wherefore at the procurement of Thomas Tye, prieſt, ſome time an earneſt profeſſor of Chriſt, but now a fierce perſecutor of the ſame (as appeareth more at large before in the hiſtory of William Munt, and his wife) he was again apprehended, and ſent to biſhop Bonner; before whom he was, the eighth day of April, and ſundry other times elſe examined. The report of which examination, written by his own hand with blood, for lack of ink, here followeth.

The Examination of Ralph Allerton, at his ſecond Apprehenſion, before the Biſhop of London, at Fulham, April 8, 1557.

Bonner. AH ſirrah, how chanceth it that you are come hither again on this faſhion? I dare ſay thou art accuſed wrongfully.

Ralph. Yea, my lord, ſo I am. For if I were guilty of ſuch things as I am accuſed of, then I would be very ſorry.

Bonner. By St. Mary that is not well done. But let me hear, art thou an honeſt man? for if I can prove no hereſy by thee, then ſhall thine accuſers do thee no harm at all. Go to, let me hear thee; for I did not believe the tale to be true.

Ralph. My lord, who did accuſe me? I pray you let me know, and what is mine accuſation, that I may anſwer thereunto.

Bonner. Ah, wilt thou ſo? Before God, if thou haſt not diſſembled, then thou needeſt not be afraid, nor aſhamed to anſwer for thyſelf. But tell me in faith, haſt thou not diſſembled?

Ralph. If I cannot have mine accuſers to accuſe me before you, my conſcience doth conſtrain me to accuſe myſelf before you: For I confeſs that I have grievouſly offended God in my diſſimulation at my laſt being before your lordſhip, for which I am very ſorry, as God knoweth.

Bonner. Wherein, I pray thee, didſt thou diſſemble, when thou waſt before me?

Ralph. Forſooth, my lord, if your lordſhip remember, I did ſet my hand to a certain writing, the contents whereof (as I remember) were, That I believe in all things as the catholic church teacheth, &c. In which I did not diſcloſe my mind, but ſhamefully diſſembled, becauſe I made no difference between the true church and the untrue church.

Bonner. Nay, but I pray thee let me hear more of this gear. For I fear me thou wilt ſmell of an heretic anon. Which is the true church, as thou ſayeſt? Doſt thou not call the heretic's church the true church, or the catholic church of Chriſt? Now which of theſe two is the true church, ſayſt thou? Go to, for in faith I will know of thee before I leave thee.

Ralph. As concerning the church of heretics, I utterly abhor the ſame, as deteſtable and abominable before God, with all their enormities and hereſies: and the church catholic is it that I only embrace, whoſe doctrine is ſincere, pure, and true.

Bonner. By Saint Auguſtine, but that is well ſaid of thee. For by God Almighty, if thou hadſt allowed the church of heretics, I would have burned thee with fire for thy labour.

Then ſaid one Morton, a prieſt, my lord, you know not yet what church it is that he calleth catholic. I warrant you he meaneth naughtily enough.

Bonner. Think you ſo? Now by our bleſſed lady, if it be ſo, he might have deceived me. How ſay you, ſirrah, which is the catholic church?

Ralph. Even that which hath received the wholeſome ſound, ſpoken of by Iſaiah, David, Malachi, and Paul, with many other more. Which ſound, as it is written, hath gone throughout all the earth in every place, and unto the ends of the world.

Bonner. Yea thou ſayſt true before God. For this is the ſound that hath gone throughout all Chriſtendom, and he that believeth not the ſound of the holy church, as Saint Cyprian ſaith, doth err. For he ſaith, that whoſoever is out of the church, is like unto them that were out of Noah's ſhip, when the flood came upon all the whole world; ſo the ark of Noah is likened unto the church: and therefore thou haſt well ſaid in thy confeſſion. For the church is not alone in Germany, nor was here in England in the time of the late ſchiſms, as the heretics do affirm. For if the church ſhould be there alone, then were Chriſt a lyar: for he promiſed that the Holy Ghoſt ſhould come to us, lead us to all truth, and remain with us unto the end of the world. So now if we will take Chriſt for a true ſayer, then muſt we needs affirm, that the way which is taught in France, Spain, Italy, Denmark, Scotland, and all Chriſtendom over, muſt needs be the true catholic church.

Ralph. My lord, if you remember, I ſpake of all the world, as it is written, and not of all Chriſtendom only, as methinks your lordſhip takes it, which kind of ſpeaking you do not find in all the Bible. For I am ſure, that the goſpel hath been preached and perſecuted in all lands: Firſt, in Jewry by the ſcribes and phariſees, and ſince that time by Nero, Diocleſian, and ſuch like, and now here in theſe our days by your lordſhip knoweth whom. For

For true it is that the church which you call catholic, is none other catholic than was figured in Cain, obſerved of by Jeroboam, Ahab, Jezabel, Nabuchodonoſor, Antiochus, Herod, with innumerable more of the like: and as both Daniel and Eſdras make mention of theſe laſt days, by a plain prophecy, and now fulfilled, as appeareth, and affirmed by our Saviour Chriſt and his apoſtles, ſaying; There ſhall come grievous wolves to devour the flock.

Bonner. Now, by the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, Mr. Morton, he is the rankeſt heretic that ever came before me. How ſay you? have you heard the like?

Morton. I thought what he was my lord at the firſt.

Bonner. Now by All-hallows thou ſhalt be burnt with fire for thy lying, thou whoreſon varlet and prick-louſe thou. Doſt thou find a prophecy in Daniel of us? Nay, you knave, it is of you that he ſpeaketh of, and of your falſe pretended holineſs. Go to, let me hear what is the ſayings of Eſdras, and take heed ye make not a lye, I adviſe you.

Ralph. The ſaying of Eſdras is this; "The heat of a great multitude is kindled over you, and they ſhall take away certain of you, and feed the idols with you, and he that conſenteth unto them, ſhall be had in deriſion, laughed to ſcorn, and trodden under foot: yea they ſhall be like mad men, for they ſpare no man; they ſhall ſpoil and waſte ſuch as fear the Lord, &c."

Bonner. And have you taken this thing to make your market good? Ah ſirrah, wilt thou ſo! by my faith a pretty inſtruction, and a neceſſary thing to be taught among the people. By my troth I think there be more of this opinion. I pray thee tell me: is there any that underſtandeth this ſcripture on this faſhion! Before God, I think there be none in all England, but thou.

Ralph. Yes, my lord, there are in England three religions.

Bonner. Sayſt thou ſo? which be thoſe three?

Ralph. The firſt is that which you hold; the ſecond is clean contrary to the ſame; and the third is a neuter, being indifferent: that is to ſay, obſerving all things that are commanded outwardly, as though he were of your part, his heart being ſet wholly againſt the ſame.

Bonner. And of theſe three which art thou? for now thou muſt needs be one of them.

Ralph. Yes, my lord, I am one of them; and that which I am of, is even that which is contrary to that which you teach to be believed under pain of death.

Bonner. Ah Sir, you were here with me at Fulham, and had good cheer, yea and money in your purſe when you went away, and by my faith I had a favour unto thee. But now I ſee thou wilt be a naughty knave. Why wilt thou take upon thee to read the ſcripture, and canſt underſtand never a word? for thou haſt brought a text of ſcripture, which maketh clean againſt thee. For Eſdras ſpeaketh of the multitude of you heretics, declaring your hate againſt the catholic church, making the ſimple or idle people believe, that all is idolatry that we do, and ſo entice them away, until you have overcome them.

Ralph. Nay, not ſo, my lord. For he maketh it more plain, and ſaith on this wiſe; "They ſhall take away their goods, and put them out of their houſes, and then ſhall it be known who are my choſen (ſaith the Lord) for they ſhall be tried, as the ſilver or gold in the fire." And we ſee it ſo come to paſs, even as he hath ſaid. For who is not now driven from houſe and home, yea, and his goods taken up for other men that never ſweat for them, if he do not obſerve as you command and ſet forth? Or elſe, if he be taken, then muſt he either deny the truth, as I did in diſſembling, or elſe he ſhall be ſure to be tried, as Eſdras ſaith, even as the gold is tried in the fire. Whereby all the world may know, that you are the bloody church, figured in Cain the tyrant, neither yet are ye able to abide it.

Morton. I promiſe you, my lord, I like him better now than ever I did, when he was here before you the other time. For then he did but diſſemble, as I perceived well enough; but now methinks he ſpeaketh plainly.

Bonner. Marry Sir, as you ſay indeed, he is plain. For he is a plain heretic, and ſhall be burned. Have the knave away. Let him be carried to Little-eaſe at London, until I come.

And ſo I was carried to London, unto Little-eaſe, and there remained that night, and on the next morrow I appeared before him again, the dean of Paul's and the chancellor of London being preſent. Then were brought forth certain writings that I had ſet my hand unto.

Bonner. Come on your ways, ſirrah. Is not this your hand, and this, and this?

Ralph. Yea, they are my hand all of them; I confeſs the ſame, neither yet will I deny any thing that I have ſet my hand unto. But if I have ſet my hand to any thing that is not lawful, therefore am I ſorry. Nevertheleſs, my hand I will not deny to be my doing.

Bonner. Well ſaid, now ye muſt tell me; were you never at the church ſince you went from me; at maſs, matins, &c?

Ralph. No, my lord, not at maſs, matins, nor any other ſtrange worſhipping of God.

Bonner. Yea, ſayſt thou ſo? Waſt thou never at thine own pariſh church, nor at any other? And doſt thou alſo ſay, that it is a ſtrange worſhipping? Why, I pray thee, wilt thou not believe the ſcripture to be true?

Ralph. Yea, my lord, I believe the ſcripture to be true, and in defence of the ſame I intend to give my life, rather than I will deny any part thereof, God willing.

Dean. My lord, this fellow will be an honeſt man, I hear by him. He will not ſtand in his opinion; for he ſheweth himſelf gentle and patient in his talk.

Bonner. Oh, he is a glorious knave. His painted terms ſhall no more deceive me. An whoreſon prick-louſe, doth not Chriſt ſay, This is my body? And how dareſt thou deny theſe words; for to ſay, I have a writing to ſhew, and thine own hand at the ſame? Let me ſee, Wilt thou deny this? Is not this thine own hand?

Ralph. Yes, my lord, it is mine own hand, neither am I aſhamed thereof, becauſe my confeſſion thereof is agreeable to God's word. And whereas you do lay unto my charge, that I ſhould deny the words of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt! Oh good Lord, from whence cometh this raſh, haſty, and untrue judgment? Forſooth, not from the Spirit of truth; for he leadeth men into all truth, and is not the father of lyars. Whereupon ſhould your lordſhip gather or ſay of me ſo diffamouſly? wherefore I beſeech you, if I deny the ſcriptures canonical, or any part thereof, then let me die.

Tye the prieſt. My lord, he is a very ſeditious fellow, and perſuadeth other men to do as he himſelf doth, contrary to the order appointed by the queen's highneſs, and the clergy of this realm. For a great many of the pariſh will be gathered one day to one place, and another day to another place, to hear him; ſo that very few come to church to hear divine ſervice: and this was not only before that he was taken, and brought into the council, but alſo ſince his return home again, he hath done much harm. For where both men and women were honeſtly diſpoſed before, by Saint Anne now are they as ill as he almoſt. And furthermore, he was not aſhamed to withſtand me before all the pariſh, ſaying. that we were of the malignant church of Antichriſt, and not of the true church of Chriſt, alledging a great many ſcriptures to ſerve his purpoſe, ſaying; Good people, take heed, and beware of thoſe blood-thirſty dogs, &c, And then I commanded the conſtable to apprehend him, and ſo he did. Nevertheleſs, after this apprehenſion. the conſtable let him go about his buſineſs all the next day, ſo that, without putting in of ſureties, he let him go

go into Suffolk, and other places, for no goodneſs, I warrant you, my lord. It were alms to teach ſuch officers their duty, how they ſhould let ſuch rebels go at their own liberty, after they be apprehended and taken, but to keep them faſt in the ſtocks until they bring them before a juſtice.

Ralph. As I ſaid before, ſo ſay I now again; thou art not of the church of Chriſt, and that I will prove, if I may be ſuffered. And where you ſaid, that you commanded the conſtable to apprehend me, you did ſo indeed, contrary to the laws of this realm, having neither treaſon, felony, nor murder to lay to my charge: No, neither had you precept, proceſs, nor warrant to ſerve on me; and therefore I ſay without a law was I apprehended. And whereas you ſeek to trouble the conſtable, becauſe he kept me not in the ſtocks three days and three nights, it doth ſhew in part what you are. And my going into Suffolk was not for any evil, but only to buy half a buſhel of corn for bread for my poor wife and children, knowing that I had no long time to tarry with them. But if I had run away, then you ſurely would have laid ſomewhat to his charge.

Bonner. Go to, thou art a merchant indeed. Ah ſirrah, before God thou ſhalt be burnt with fire. Thou knoweſt Richard Roth, doeſt thou not? Is he of the ſame mind that thou art of, or no? canſt thou tell?

Ralph. He is of age to anſwer, let him ſpeak for himſelf; for I hear ſay that he is in your houſe.

Bonner. Lo what a knave here is. Go Cluny, fetch me Roth hither. By my troth he is a falſe knave; but yet thou art worſe than he. Ah ſirrah, did you not ſet your hand to a writing, the tenor whereof was, that if you ſhould at any time ſay or do heretically, then it ſhould be lawful for me to take thee with a relapſe, and to proceed in ſentence againſt thee?

Ralph. Yea, that is ſo. But here is to be aſked, whether it is ſufficient, that my hand or name in writing be able to give authority to you or any other to kill me? For if I by writing can do ſo much, then muſt my authority be greater than yours. Nevertheleſs, I have neither ſaid nor done heretically, but like a true chriſtian man have I behaved myſelf. And ſo I was committed unto priſon again, and the 24th day of the ſame month I was brought before the biſhop, the lord North, doctor Story, and others, and after a long talk in latin amongſt themſelves (unto which I gave no anſwer, becauſe they ſpake not to me, although they ſpake of me) at laſt the biſhop ſaid:

Bonner. How ſay you, ſirrah? tell me briefly at one word, wilt thou be contented to go to Fulham with me, and there to kneel thee down at maſs, ſhewing thyſelf outwardly as though thou didſt it with a good will? Go to, ſpeak.

Ralph. I will not ſay ſo.

Bonner. Away with him, away with him.

The ſecond day of May I was brought before the biſhop, and three noblemen of the council, whoſe names I do not remember.

Bonner. Lo, my lords, this ſame is the fellow that was ſent unto me from the council, and did ſubmit himſelf, ſo that I had half a hope of him: but by St. Anne I was always in doubt of him. Nevertheleſs, he was with me, and fared well, and when I delivered him, I gave him money in his purſe. How ſayſt thou? was it not as I tell my lords here?

Ralph. Indeed my lord I had meat and drink enough, but I never came in bed all the while. And at my departing you gave me twelve-pence, howbeit I asked none, and would have none.

A lord. Be good to him, my lord. He will be an honeſt man.

Bonner. Before God, how ſhould I truſt him? He hath once deceived me already. But ye ſhall hear what he will ſay to the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar. How ſay you ſirrah? after the words of conſecration be ſpoken by the prieſt, there remaineth no bread, but the very body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, God and man, and none other ſubſtance, under the form of bread.

Ralph. Where find you that my lord written?

Bonner. Lo, Sir. Why? Doth not Chriſt ſay, "This is my body?" How ſayſt thou? Wilt thou deny theſe words of our Saviour Chriſt? Or elſe was he a diſſembler, ſpeaking one thing, and meaning another? Go to, now I have taken you.

Ralph. Yea, my lord, you have taken me indeed, and will keep me until you kill me. Howbeit, my lord, I marvel why you leave out the beginning of the inſtitution of the ſupper of our Lord? For Chriſt ſaid, "Take ye, and eat ye, this is my body." And if it will pleaſe you to join the former words to the latter, then ſhall I make you an anſwer. For ſure I am, that Chriſt was no diſſembler, neither did he ſay one thing, and mean another.

Bonner. Why? Then muſt thou needs ſay, that it is his body; for he ſaith it himſelf, and thou confeſſeſt that he will not lye.

Ralph. No, my lord; he is true, and all men are lyars. Notwithſtanding, I utterly refuſe to take the words of our Saviour ſo fantaſtically as you teach us to take them: for then ſhould we conſpire with certain heretics, called the Neſtorians; for they deny that Chriſt had a true natural body, and ſo methinks you do, my lord. If you will affirm his body to be there, as you ſay he is, then muſt you needs alſo affirm, that it is a fantaſtical body; and therefore look to it for God's ſake, and let theſe words go before; "Take ye, and eat ye," without which words the reſt are not ſufficient; but when the worthy receivers do take and eat, even then are fulfilled the words of our Saviour unto him, or every of them that receiveth.

Bonner. Ah, I feel well thou canſt not underſtand theſe words; I will ſhew thee a parable. If I ſhould ſet a piece of beef before thee, and ſay, eat; it is beef: And then take part of it away, and ſend it to my cook, and he ſhall change the faſhion thereof, and make it look like bread: What, wouldſt thou ſay that it were no beef, becauſe it had not the faſhion of beef?

Ralph. Let me underſtand a little further, my lord; ſhall the cook add nothing thereunto, nor take any thing therefrom?

Bonner. What is that to the matter, whether he do, or no, ſo long as the ſhape is changed into another likeneſs?

Ralph. Ah, will you ſo, my lord? your ſophiſtry will not ſerve; the truth will have the victory nevertheleſs, as Eſay ſaith; he that reſtraineth himſelf from evil, muſt be ſpoiled. And Amos hath ſuch like words alſo: For the wiſe muſt be fain to hold their peace; ſo wicked a time it is, ſaith he: Nevertheleſs, he that can ſpeak the truth, and will not, ſhall give a ſtrait account for the ſame.

A doctor. By my lord's leave, here methinks thou ſpeakeſt like a fool. Wilt thou be a judge of the ſcripture? Nay, thou muſt ſtand to learn, and not to teach; for the whole congregation hath determined the matter long ago,

A prieſt. No, by your leave, we have a church, and not a congregation. You miſtake that word, Mr. Doctor.

Ralph. Then ſaid I to my fellow priſoners ſtanding by; my brethren, do ye not hear how theſe men help one another? Let us do ſo alſo. But we never came all in together. Then was I carried away for that time. The 19th day of May I was brought before the biſhop of Rocheſter, and Chicheſter, with others.

Rocheſter. Were you a companion of George Eagles, otherwiſe called Trudge-over? My lord of London telleth me that you were his fellow companion.

Ralph. I know him very well, my lord.

Rocheſter.

Rocheſter. By my faith, I had him once, and then he was as drunk as an ape, for he ſtank ſo of drink, that I could not abide him; and ſo ſent him away.

Ralph. My lord, I dare ſay you took your mark amiſs. It was either yourſelf, or ſome of your own company, for he did neither drink wine, ale, nor beer, in a quarter of a year before that time; and therefore it was not he forſooth.

The reſt of mine examinations you ſhall have when I am condemned, if I can have any time after my coming into Newgate, which I truſt ſhall touch the matter a great deal more plainly; for the pithy matters are yet unwritten. Thus fare you well good friends all. Yea, I ſay, farewel for ever in this preſent world. Greet ye one another, and be joyful in the Lord. Salute the good widows among you, with all the reſt of the congregation in Barfold, and Dedham, and Colcheſter.

This promiſe of his, being either not performed, for that he might not thereto be permitted, or elſe if he did write, the ſame not coming to my hands, I am fain in the reſt of his examinations to follow the only report of the regiſter; who witneſſeth, that the 15th day of May, anno 1557, in the biſhop's palace at London, he was examined upon certain interrogatories, the contents whereof be theſe.

FIRST, that he was of the pariſh of Muchbentley, and ſo of the dioceſe of London.

Secondly, that the 10th day of January then laſt paſt, Mr. John Morant preaching at Paul's, the ſaid Ralph Allerton did there openly ſubmit himſelf unto the church of Rome, with the rites and ceremonies thereof.

Thirdly, that he did conſent and ſubſcribe as well unto the ſame ſubmiſſion, as alſo to one other bill, in which he granted, that if he ſhould at any time turn again unto his former opinions, it ſhould be then lawful for the biſhop immediately to denounce and adjudge him as an heretic.

Fourthly, that he had ſubſcribed to a bill, wherein he affirmed, that in the ſacrament, after the words of conſecration be ſpoken by the prieſt, there remaineth ſtill material bread and material wine; and that he believeth that the bread is the bread of thankſgiving, and the memorial of Chriſt's death; and that when he receiveth it, he receiveth the body of Chriſt ſpiritually in his ſoul, but material bread in ſubſtance.

Fifthly, that he had openly affirmed, and alſo adviſedly ſpoken that which is contained in the ſaid former fourth article laſt before ſpecified.

Sixthly, that he had ſpoken againſt the biſhop of Rome, with the church and ſee of the ſame, and alſo againſt the ſeven ſacraments and other ceremonies and ordinances of the ſame church, uſed then within this realm.

Seventhly, that he had allowed and commended the opinion and faith of Mr. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and others of late burned within this realm, and believed that their opinions were good and godly.

Eighthly, that he had divers times affirmed, that the religion uſed within this realm, at the time of his apprehenſion, was neither good, nor agreeable to God's word, and that he could not conform himſelf thereunto.

Ninthly, that he had affirmed, that the book of common prayer ſet forth in the reign of K. Edward VI. was in all parts good and godly; and that the ſaid Ralph and his company priſoners, did daily uſe amongſt themſelves in priſon ſome part of the book.

Tenthly, that he had affirmed, that if he were out of priſon, he would not come to maſs, matins, nor evenſong, nor bear taper, candle, or palm, nor go in proceſſion, nor would receive holy water, holy bread, aſhes, or pax, or any other ceremony of the church then uſed within this realm.

Eleventhly, that he had affirmed, that if he were at liberty he would not confeſs his ſins to any prieſt, nor receive abſolution of him; nor yet would receive the ſacrament of the altar, as it was then uſed.

Twelfthly, that he had affirmed, that praying to ſaints and prayers for the dead, were neither good nor profitable, and that a man is not bound to faſt and pray, but at his own will and pleaſure; neither that it is lawful to reſerve the ſacrament, or to worſhip it.

Thirteenthly, that the ſaid Allerton hath according to theſe his affirmations, abſtained and refuſed to come unto his pariſh church ever ſince the 10th of January laſt, or to uſe, receive, or allow any ceremonies, ſacraments, or other rites then uſed in the church.

To all theſe articles he anſwered affirmatively, denying preciſely none of them; ſaving to this clauſe contained in the 12th article, that a man is not bound to faſt and pray but at his own will and pleaſure, he ſaid, that he had affirmed no ſuch thing, but he confeſſed that he had not faſted nor prayed ſo oft as he was bound to do. And unto this anſwer he alſo ſubſcribed in this ſort.

Except it be proved otherwiſe by the holy ſcripture, I do affirm theſe articles to be true. By me, Ralph Allerton.

The next examination was the fourth day of July; the acts whereof, becauſe they do appear more amply in his other examination, on the 10th of Sept. I here omit, giving you farther to underſtand, that on the 7th of July, he was brought before Dr. Darbyſhire in the biſhop's palace, who examined him again on the former articles, and after perſuaded him to recant, threatening him that otherwiſe he ſhould be burned. To whom he boldly anſwered, I would I might be condemned even to-morrow; for I perceive my lord (meaning Bonner) doth nothing but ſeek men's blood. Upon which ſaying, Dr. Darbyſhire committed him again to priſon, and the 10th of Sept. the biſhop cauſed him (with the other three abovenamed) to be brought unto Fulham, and there in his private chapel within his houſe, he judicially propounded unto him certain other new articles; of which, the tenor of the 1ſt, 5th, 6th, and 7th, are already mentioned in the 2d, 3d, and 4th former objections: as for the reſt, the contents whereof here follow.

"Thou Ralph Allerton canſt not deny, but that the information given againſt thee, and remaining now in the acts of this court of thine ordinary, Edmund biſhop of London, was and is a true information."

This information was given by Thomas Tye, curate of Bentley (of whom you have already heard) and certain others of the ſame pariſh and affinity: as namely, John Painter, William Harris, John Barker, John Carter, Thomas Candeler, Jeffry Beſtwood, John Richard, Richard Meer.

The effect whereof was, that one Laurence Edwards, of Bentley aforeſaid, had a child that was unchriſtened, and being demanded by the ſaid Tye, why his child was not baptized? he made anſwer, it ſhould be when he could find one of his religion (meaning a true profeſſor of Chriſt's goſpel). Whereat the curate ſaid, Ah, ye have had ſome inſtructor that hath ſchooled you of late. Yea, quoth Edwards, that I have, and if your doctrine be better than his, then I will believe you; and thereupon fondly offered to fetch him.

Whereupon the conſtable going with him, they brought before the ſaid curate the ſaid Ralph Allerton; of whom in this information they made this report, that he was a ſeditious perſon, who ſince his coming down from the biſhop had ſet upon the conſtable's door certain ſeditious letters, moving and perſuading thereby the people to follow his malicious diſobedience; and that theſe his perſuaſions had taken effect in many: and farther, that the ſaid Ralph Allerton (the curate aſking him whether he had inſtructed this Lawrence Edwards, that it was againſt God's commandment to enter into the church), caſting his hands abroad, ſhould ſay, Oh, good people, now is fulfilled the ſaying of the godly prieſt and prophet Eſdras, who ſaith, 4 Eſd. 16. "The fire of a multitude is kindled againſt a few; they have taken away their

their houſes, and ſpoiled their goods, &c." Which of you all have not ſeen this day? who is he here amongſt you, that ſeeth not all theſe things done upon us this day? The church which they call us to, is the church of Antichriſt, a perſecuting church, and the church malignant. With theſe and many more words (ſaid they, moſt maliciouſly and falſly alledged out of the ſcriptures) he thus perſuaded a great multitude (as much as in him lay) unto diſobedience. For which cauſe the conſtables did apprehend him.

3. Item, Thou Ralph Allerton canſt not deny, but the letter ſent unto me by my lord Darcy, beginning with theſe words, Pleaſeth it your lordſhip, &c. was thine own letter, and was ſubſcribed by thine own hand.

The contents of the letter mentioned in this article, and written by Allerton unto the lord Darcy, was a confeſſion of his demeanour before his firſt apprehenſion, the effect and purport whereof, becauſe it appeareth in the beginning of his hiſtory, I do here omit.

4. Item, Thou Ralph Allerton canſt not deny, but that the other letter, ſent alſo to me from my ſaid lord Darcy, beginning thus, Pleaſeth it your lordſhip, &c. and ending with thoſe words, Whenſoever it be, is thine own letter, and ſubſcribed with thine own hand.

This was alſo another letter written by him unto the lord Darcy, the contents whereof were, that where the ſaid lord had commanded him to declare where he had been ever ſince Whitſuntide laſt before his firſt apprehenſion, this was to certify his lordſhip, that he was not able ſo to do, otherwiſe than as he had already ſhewed him by his former letters. And moreover, whereas he charged him to have read unto the people abroad in the woods, he certified him that he did never read any thing abroad, ſaving once when he was in company with George Eagles, and others, Richard Roth took a writing out of his boſom, and deſired the ſaid Ralph to read it, which requeſt he then accompliſhed; and demanding of him whoſe doing the ſame was, the ſaid Roth told that it was maſter Cranmer, late archbiſhop of Canterbury; and farther he would not ſhew him. Nevertheleſs, he was ready and willing to ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as his lordſhip ſhould think meet, deſiring yet that the ſame might be with favour and mercy, although he feared neither puniſhment nor death: praying the Lord, that it might be in his fear, whenſoever it ſhould be.

8. Item, Thou Ralph Allerton canſt not deny, but that the letters written with blood, beginning with theſe words, Grace, mercy and peace, and ending thus, Farewel in God, remaining now regiſtered in the acts of this court, were written voluntarily with thine own hand.

He wrote this letter in the priſon with blood for lack of other ink, and did mean to ſend the ſame unto Agnes Smith, alias Silverſide, at that time impriſoned, and afterward burnt at Colcheſter for the teſtimony of the goſpel of Chriſt, as before is mentioned. The copy of which letter here enſueth.

A Letter written by Ralph Allerton, unto Agnes Smith, Widow.

GRACE, mercy and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with the aſſiſtance of God's Holy Spirit, and the abundant health both of ſoul and body, I wiſh unto you, as to my own ſoul, as God knoweth, who is the ſearcher of all ſecrets.

Foraſmuch as it hath pleaſed Almighty God of his infinite mercy to call me to the ſtate of grace, to ſuffer martyrdom for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, although heretofore I have moſt negligently dallied therewith; and therefore far unworthy I am of ſuch an high benefit, to be crowned with the moſt joyful crown of martyrdom: nevertheleſs, it hath pleaſed God not ſo to leave me, but hath raiſed me up again according to his promiſe, which ſaith, "Although he fall, yet ſhall he not be hurt: for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand," Pſ. 37. Whereby we perceive God's election to be ſure, for undoubtedly he will preſerve all thoſe that are appointed to die. And as he hath begun this work in me, even ſo do I believe that he will finiſh the ſame, to his glory, and to my wealth, through Jeſus Chriſt, ſo be it.

Dearly beloved ſiſter, I am conſtrained ſo to call you, becauſe of your conſtant faith and love unfeigned; conſider, that if we be the true ſervants of Chriſt, then may not we in any wiſe make agreement with his enemy Antichriſt. For there is no concord and agreement between them, ſaith the ſcriptures, and a man cannot ſerve two maſters, ſaith Chriſt. And alſo it is prefigured unto us in the old law, whereas the people of God were moſt ſtraitly commanded that they ſhould not mingle themſelves with the ungodly heathen, and were alſo forbidden to eat, drink, or to marry with them. For as often as they did either marry unto their ſons, or take their daughters unto them, or to their ſons, even ſo often came the great and heavy wrath of God upon his own people, to overthrow both them and all their cities, with the holy ſanctuary of God; and brought in ſtrange princes to reign over them, and wicked rulers to govern them, ſo that they were ſure of hunger, ſword, peſtilence, and wild beaſts to devour them. Which plagues never ceaſed, until the good people of God were clean ſeparated from the wicked idolatrous people.

Oh dearly beloved, this was written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the ſcriptures might have hope. And is it not in like caſe happened now in this realm of England? For now are the people of God had in deriſion, and trodden under foot, and the cities, towns, and houſes where they dwelt, are inhabited with them that have no right thereunto, and the true owners are ſpoiled of their labours: yea, and the holy ſanctuary of God's moſt bleſſed word is laid deſolate and waſte, ſo that the very foxes run over it, &c. yet is it the food of our ſouls, the lantern of our feet, and the light unto our paths; and where it is not preached, the people periſh. But the prophet ſaith, "He that refraineth himſelf from evil, muſt be ſpoiled," Eſay 59. Why ſhould men then be abaſhed to be ſpoiled, ſeeing that it is told us before, that it muſt ſo happen unto them that refrain from evil? And thus I bid you farewel in God.

R. A.

9. Item, Thou Ralph Allerton canſt not deny, but that the letters written with blood, beginning with theſe words in the over part thereof, The angel of God, &c. and ended thus, Be with you, Amen. and having alſo this poſtſcript, Do ye ſuppoſe that our brethren. &c. remaining now regiſtered in the acts of this court, are thine own hand-writing.

For the better underſtanding of this article, I have alſo inſerted the copy of the letter mentioned in the ſame; which letter he wrote, by his own confeſſion, unto Richard Roth, then in danger of the ſubtle ſnares of that bloody wolf Bonner.

Another Letter written by Ralph Allerton unto Richard Roth, his Fellow-martyr.

THE angel of God pitch his tent about us, and defend us in all our ways, Amen, Amen.

O dear brother, I pray for you; for I hear ſay, that you have been divers times before my lord in examination. Wherefore take heed for God's ſake what the wiſe man teacheth you, and ſhrink not away when you are enticed to confeſs an untruth, for hope of life, but be ready always to give an anſwer of the hope that is in you. For whoſoever confeſſeth Chriſt before men, him will Chriſt alſo confeſs before his Father. But he that is aſhamed to confeſs him before men, ſhall have his reward with them that do deny him. And therefore, dear brother,

brother, go forward: ye have a ready way, ſo fair as ever had any of the prophets or apoſtles, or the reſt of our brethren, the holy martyrs of God. Therefore covet to go hence with the multitude while the way is full. Alſo, dear brother, underſtand that I have ſeen your letter, and although I cannot read it perfectly, yet I partly perceive your meaning therein, and very gladly I would copy it out, with certain comfortable additions thereunto annexed. The which as yet will not be brought to paſs for lack of paper, until my lord be gone from hence, and then your requeſt ſhall be accompliſhed, God willing, without delay. Thus fare you well in God. Our dear brother and fellow in tribulation, Robert Allin, ſaluteth you, and the fellowſhip of the Holy Ghoſt be with you, Amen.

Ralph Allerton.

P. S. Do ye ſuppoſe that our brethren and ſiſters are not yet diſpatched out of this world? I think that either they are dead, or ſhall be within theſe two days.

As for the other objection yet remaining, and not ſpecified, if it were not more ſomewhat to ſhew the folly of theſe bloody tyrants (which of ſo ſmall trifles take occaſions to quarrel with the ſaints of God), than for any weighty thing therein contained; I would neither trouble you with the reading thereof, not yet myſelf with writing. But that ye may judge of them as their actions do give occaſion, I will now proceed in the matter.

Item, Thou Ralph Allerton canſt not deny, but confeſſeſt that the writing of letters in a little piece of paper on both ſides of it, with this ſentence following on the one ſide; "Look at the foot of the ſtocks for a knife," and the following ſentence on the other ſide, "Look between the poſt and the wall for two books and two epiſtles, leave them here when ye go:" remaining now in the regiſter and acts of this court, is voluntarily written by thee, Ralph Allerton, with thine own hand.

Item, Thou Ralph Allerton canſt not deny, but that thou art privy to a certain writing, remaining now in the regiſter and acts of this court, the beginning whereof is with theſe words, "I would have men wiſe, &c." and ending thus, "From houſe to houſe."

Item, Thou Ralph Allerton canſt not deny, but that thou art privy, and by conſent and maintenance, to a certain great wood-knife, a long ſword, a hook, a ſtone, and of a trencher written upon with chalk, having this ſentence, "All is gone and loſt, becauſe of your folly." Alſo of two boards, written upon with chalk, the one having this ſentence, "Under the ſtone look:" and the other having this ſentence, "Whereas you bid me take heed, I thank you, I truſt in God that I ſhall be at peace with him ſhortly;" remaining now regiſtered in the acts of this court.

For anſwer unto all theſe articles, he granted that the firſt nine were true, as the regiſter recordeth. Howbeit, I find noted in the backſide of the information, ſpecified in the ſecond article, although croſſed out again, that he denied ſuch things as were there on information againſt him. Therefore it is not likely that he did ſimply grant the contents of the ſecond article, but that he only affirmed, that ſuch an information was given againſt him, and not that the ſame was true.

Thus much I thought to acquaint the reader of, leſt in miſtaking his anſwers, it might ſeem that he granted himſelf to be a ſeditious and a rebellious perſon; of which fact he was both clear and innocent. And being farther demanded upon the contents of the eighth article, where he had the blood he wrote that letter withal? He ſaid that Richard Roth, ſometime fellow-priſoner with him, did make his noſe bleed, and thereby he got the blood wherewith he did then write. The biſhop again aſked him, to whom he would have ſent the ſame. He anſwered, unto one Agnes Smith, alias Silverſide, of Colcheſter. Why, ſays the biſhop, Agnes Smith was an heretic, and burnt for hereſy. Nay, ſaid Allerton, ſhe is in better caſe, than either I myſelf, or any of us all. And being again demanded, upon the ninth objection, to whom he would have ſent the letter mentioned in the ſame: he anſwered, that he intended to have ſent it unto Richard Roth, at that time ſeparated from him. Whereupon the biſhop farther inquired, what he meant by theſe words, "Brethren and ſiſters," ſpecified in the ſaid letter? He anſwered, that he meant thereby, ſuch as were lately condemned at Colcheſter, and were like, at the writing thereof, ſhortly to be burned. As for the contents of the tenth and eleventh articles, he utterly denied them. But to the twelfth, he confeſſed, that he wrote upon the ſaid trencher and other boards, the words mentioned in the ſaid article, and that he did leave the ſame in the priſon-houſe, to the intent that Richard Roth ſhould read them. Bonner alſo bringing out the wooden ſword, mentioned in the ſaid articles, aſked him who made it, and for what purpoſe? Whereunto he anſwered, that he was the maker thereof, howbeit for no evil purpoſe. But being idle in the priſon, and finding there an old board, he thought the time better ſpent in making thereof, than to ſit and do nothing at all.

The forenoon being now ſpent, the reſt of this tragedy was deferred till the afternoon. Wherein was miniſtered unto him yet certain other objections, the tenor whereof was,

Firſt, That he had miſliked the maſs, calling upon ſaints, and carrying the croſs in proceſſion, with other ceremonies, calling them idolatry, and alſo had diſſuaded them therefrom.

2. Item, That he was much deſirous to have the people believe as he did; and therefore being in priſon with his fellows, did ſing pſalms and other ſongs againſt the ſacrament of the altar, and other ordinances of the church, ſo loud that the people abroad might hear them and delight in them.

3. Item, That he at divers times conſpired againſt his keeper, and had provided things to kill him, and ſo break the priſon, and eſcape away.

4. That he had railed againſt the biſhop, being his ordinary, calling him a bloody butcher, tyrant, and ravening wolf, and alſo againſt his officers, eſpecially Cluny his ſumner, calling him butcher's cur, with other ſuch names.

5. Item, That he had murmured, grudged, diſdained and miſliked, that the biſhop had proceeded againſt ſome of his dioceſe, and had condemned them as heretics, or that he ſhould proceed now againſt him and others yet remaining in errors, notwithſtanding that he and his chaplains had charitably admoniſhed and exhorted them from the ſame.

6. Item, That he ought faithfully to believe, that there is one catholic church, without which there is no ſalvation: which church of Jeſus Chriſt is the very high prieſt and ſacrifice, whoſe body and blood is really and truly contained in the ſacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine; the bread and wine being by the divine power tranſubſtantiated into his body and blood.

7. Item, That he had kept himſelf, and alſo diſtributed to others certain heretical and corrupt books, condemned and reproved by the laws of this realm.

8. Item, That he had contrary to the orders and ſtatutes of this realm kept company with that ſeditious heretic and traitor, George Eagles, commonly called Trudge-over, and had heard him read in woods and other places, yet not accuſing, but allowing and praiſing him.

Unto which articles, becauſe they were for the moſt part fooliſh and full of lyes, he would in a manner make no anſwer, ſaving he granted, that he miſliked their maſs and other ceremonies, becauſe they were wicked and naught. And moreover, he told the biſhop, that he and his accomplices did nothing but ſeek how to kill innocents.

The biſhop then aſked, whether he would believe in all points touching the ſacrament of the altar, as is contained in the general council holden and kept under Innocent the third, and therewithal he did read the decree of the ſaid council concerning the ſacrament.

Whereunto Allerton again made anſwer and ſaid; I believe nothing contained in the ſame council, neither have I any thing to do therewith; and it were alſo very neceſſary, that no man elſe ſhould have to do therewith.

Then, quoth Bonner, thou art of the opinion that the heretics lately burnt at Colcheſter were of.

Yea, ſaid he, I am of their opinion, and believe that they be ſaints in heaven.

This done, the biſhop perceiving that he would not recant, demanded what he had to ſay, why he ſhould not pronounce the ſentence of condemnation againſt him. To whom he anſwered, Ye ought not to condemn me as an heretic, for I am a good chriſtian. But now go to, do as you have already determined: for I ſee right well, that right and truth is ſuppreſſed, and cannot appear upon the earth.

Theſe words ended, the biſhop pronounced the ſentence of condemnation, and ſo delivered him unto the temporal officers: who kept him in their cuſtody till the 17th of September, at which time, both he and the other three before mentioned, were all burned, as ye have already heard. Of which other three, becauſe as yet little is ſaid, I will therefore now proceed to declare ſuch cauſe of their cruel deaths, as in the regiſter is recorded.

James Auſtoo, and Margery his Wife.

I Cannot find why theſe two perſons were firſt apprehended, howbeit, as the days then ſerved, it was no hard or ſtrange matter to fall into the hands of ſuch, as with cruelty perſecuted the true profeſſors of God's goſpel, eſpecially having ſo many promoters, and unkind neighbours to help them forwards. By which kind of people, it is not unlike theſe two godly yoke-fellows were accuſed and taken: and being once delivered into the mercileſs hands of biſhop Bonner, their examinations, ye may be ſure, were not long deferred. For the 16th of July, 1557, they were brought before him at London: where firſt he demanded of the ſaid James Auſtoo (among other queſtions) where he had been confeſſed in Lent, and whether he had received the ſacrament of the altar at Eaſter, or not?

To whom he anſwered, that indeed he had been confeſſed of the curate of All-hallows Barking, nigh to the Tower of London, but that he had not received the ſacrament of the altar; for he deſired it from the bottom of his heart.

Why, quoth the biſhop, doſt thou not believe, that in the ſacrament of the altar there is the true body and blood of Chriſt?

No, ſaid Auſtoo, not in the ſacrament of the altar, but in the ſupper of the Lord, to the faithful receiver is the very body and blood of Chriſt by faith.

Bonner not well pleaſed with this talk, aſked then the wife, how ſhe liked the religion then uſed in this church of England?

She anſwered, that ſhe believed, that the ſame was not according to God's word, but falſe and corrupted, and that they which did go thereunto, did it more for fear of the law, than otherwiſe.

Then he again aſked her, if ſhe would go to the church and hear maſs, and pray for the proſperous eſtate of the king, being then abroad in his affairs.

Whereunto ſhe ſaid, that ſhe defied the maſs with all her heart, and that ſhe would not come into any church wherein were idols.

After this the biſhop objected unto them certain articles, unto the number of eighteen. The tenor whereof (becauſe they touch only ſuch common and trifling matters as are already mentioned in divers places before) I do for brevity's ſake omit and paſs over; giving you yet thus much to underſtand, that in the matters of faith they were as ſound, and anſwered as truly as ever any did, eſpecially the woman, to whom the Lord had given the greater knowledge, and more fervency of ſpirit. Notwithſtanding according to the meaſure of grace that God gave them, they both ſtood moſt firmly unto the truth. And therefore to conclude, the 10th day of Sept. they were, with Ralph Allerton, brought again before the biſhop within his chapel at Fulham, where he ſpeaking unto them, ſaid firſt on this wiſe; Auſtoo, doſt thou know where thou art now, and in what place, and before whom, and what thou haſt to do?

Yea, quoth Auſtoo, I know where I am: for I am in an idol's temple.

After which words, their articles being again read, and their conſtancy in faith perceived, Bonner pronounced againſt either of them ſeverally the ſentence of condemnation, and delivering them unto the ſheriff there preſent did rid his hands, as he thought, of them; but the Lord in the end will judge that: to whom I refer his cauſe.

Richard Roth.

IN the godly fellowſhip of the forenamed three martyrs, was alſo this Richard Roth, as is already ſpecified; who being apprehended, and brought up to the biſhop of London, was by him examined the 4th day of July, at which time the biſhop earneſtly perſuaded him to believe that there were ſeven ſacraments in Chriſt's church, and that in the ſacrament of the altar, after the words of conſecration duly ſpoken, there remaineth the very ſubſtance of Chriſt's body and blood, and none other. Whereunto, at the preſent, he made only this anſwer; that if the ſcripture did ſo teach him, and that he might be by the ſame ſo perſuaded, he would ſo believe, otherwiſe not. But at another examination, which was the 9th of Sept. he declared plainly, that in the ſaid ſacrament of the altar, as it was then uſed, there was not the very body and blood of Chriſt, but that it was a dead God, and that the maſs was deteſtable, and contrary to God's holy word and will, from which faith and opinion he would not go or decline. The next day, being the tenth of the ſame month, the biſhop at his houſe at Fulham, by way of an article, laid and objected againſt him; That he was a comforter and ſupporter of heretics: and therefore had written a letter to that effect unto ſeveral that were burned at Colcheſter, the copy whereof followeth:

Richard Roth's Letter to his Friends at Colcheſter.

O Dear brethren and ſiſters, how much have you to rejoice in God, that he hath given you ſuch faith to overcome this blood-thirſty tyrant thus far? and no doubt he that hath begun that good work in you, will fulfil it unto the end. O dear hearts in Chriſt, what a crown of glory ſhall ye receive with Chriſt in the kingdom of God? O that it had been the good will of God that I had been ready to have gone with you. For I lie in my lord's little eaſe in the day, and in the night I lie in the coal-houſe, from Ralph Allerton, or any other: and we look every day when we ſhall be condemned. For he ſaid, that I ſhould be burned within ten days before Eaſter; but I lie ſtill at the pool's brink, and every man goeth in before me: but we abide patiently the Lord's leiſure, with many bonds, in fetters and ſtocks; by which we have received great joy in God. And now fare you well dear brethren and ſiſters, in this world, but I truſt to ſee you in the heavens face to face.

Oh

SEP 75

Engraved for Fox's Book of Martyrs.

The Burning of Margaret Thurſton *and* Agnes Bongeor. *at* Colcheſter.

The Martyrdom of Ralph Alderton Ja.s Auſtoo, Margery Auſtoo, & Rich.d Roth, *at* Iſlington.

The Burning of Cicely Ormes *at* Norwich.

G. Terry Sculp. N.o 34

Pater noſter Row.

Publiſhed as the Act directs, by H. Trapp Pater-noſter Row.

Oh brother Munt, with your wife and my ſiſter Roſe, how bleſſed are you in the Lord, that God hath found you worthy to ſuffer for his ſake? with all the reſt of my dear brethren and ſiſters known and unknown. O be joyful even unto death. Fear it not, ſaith Chriſt, for I have overcome death. O dear hearts, ſeeing that Jeſus will be our help, oh tarry you the Lord's leiſure. Be ſtrong, let your hearts be of good comfort, and wait you ſtill for the Lord. He is at hand. Yea, the angel of the Lord pitcheth his tent round about them that fear him, and delivereth them which way he ſeeth beſt. For our lives are in the Lord's hands; and they can do nothing unto us before God ſuffer them. Therefore give all thanks to God.

O dear hearts; you ſhall be cloathed with long white garments upon the mount Sion, with the multitude of ſaints, and with Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour, which will never forſake us. O bleſſed virgins, ye have played the wiſe virgins part, in that you have taken oyl in your lamps, that ye may go in with the bridegroom, when he cometh, into the everlaſting joy with him. But as for the fooliſh, they ſhall be ſhut out, becauſe they made not themſelves ready to ſuffer with Chriſt, neither go about to take up his croſs. Oh dear hearts, how precious ſhall your death be in the ſight of the Lord? for dear is the death of his ſaints. O fare you well, and pray. The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with you all, Amen, Amen. Pray, pray, pray.

By me Richard Roth, written with my own blood.

This letter he confeſſed indeed (upon the ſaid examination) that he had written with his blood, and that he meant to have ſent the ſame unto ſuch as were condemned at Colcheſter for the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and were afterwards burned there, as ye have already heard.

The biſhop then farther aſked him, what he thought his fellow-priſoner Ralph Allerton to be.

He anſwered, that he thought him to be one of the elect children of God; and that if at any time hereafter he happened to be put to death for his faith and religion, he thought he ſhould die a true martyr. And moreover, finding himſelf grieved with the biſhop's privy and ſecret condemning of God's people, he ſaid unto him in this ſort; My lord, becauſe the people ſhould not ſee and behold your doings, ye cauſe me and others to be brought to our examinations by night, being afraid (belike) to do it by day.

The biſhop, not greatly caring for his talk, proceeded to examine him of other matters, amongſt which this high and weighty thing was one, videlicet, how he did like the order and rites of the church then uſed here in England?

To whom he ſaid, that he ever had, and yet then did abhor the ſame with all his heart.

Then divers of the biſhop's complices intreated and perſuaded him to recant, and aſk mercy of the biſhop.

No (quoth Roth) I will not ask mercy of him that cannot give it. Whereupon he was (as the reſt before mentioned) condemned and delivered unto the ſheriff, and the 17th day of September, they all moſt joyfully ended their lives in one fire at Iſlington, for the teſtimony of Chriſt, as is before declared.

Agnes Bongeor, and Margaret Thurſton, two pious Women, burnt at Colcheſter, for the ſincere Profeſſion of Chriſt's Goſpel.

A Little before (gentle reader) mention was made of ten that ſuffered martyrdom at Colcheſter; at which time there were alſo two other women, one called Margaret Thurſton, and the other Agnes Bongeor, that ſhould have ſuffered with them, and were likewiſe condemned at the ſame time and place, for the like cauſe with the other ten before-mentioned, and anſwered alſo in their examinations to the ſame effect as the others did. But the one, namely Margaret Thurſton, the morning ſhe ſhould ſuffer with thoſe that went from the caſtle, was for that time deferred. What the cauſe was, the teſtimony of Joan Cook ſhall declare unto us. Which Joan Cook, now the wife of John Spark, being then in the caſtle of Colcheſter for religion, did demand of this widow Thurſton, whoſe huſband died in the priſon, being impriſoned for religion, wherefore the ſaid Margaret, being a condemned woman, ſhould be reſerved when the others ſuffered in the caſtle Baily? She anſwered, that it was not for any fear of death; but being prepared, as the reſt were that ſuffered the ſame day, ſhe was taken with a great ſhivering and trembling of the fleſh; whereupon, forſaking the company, ſhe went aſide to pray; and whilſt ſhe was a praying, ſhe thought that ſhe was lifted up by a mighty wind that came round about her. Even at that inſtant came in the gaoler and company with him, and whilſt ſhe turned herſelf to fetch her pſalter, they took the other priſoners and left her alone. Shortly after ſhe was removed out of the caſtle, and put into the town priſon, where ſhe continued until Friday ſevennight after her company were burnt. That day, not two hours before her death, ſhe was brought to the caſtle again, where ſhe declared thus much to the aforeſaid Joan Cook.

The other, named Agnes Bongeor, who ſhould have ſuffered in like manner with the ſix that went out of Motehall, was alſo kept back at that time, but not in like ſort, becauſe her name was wrong written within the writ.

The ſame morning, the ſecond of Auguſt, that the ſaid ſix in Motehall were called out to go to their martyrdom, Agnes Bongeor was alſo called with them, by the name of Agnes Bower. Wherefore the bailiffs, underſtanding her to be wrong named within the writ, commanded the ſaid Agnes Bongeor to priſon again, as you have heard in the letter before-mentioned, and ſo that day ſent her from Motehall to the caſtle, where ſhe remained till her death.

But when ſhe ſaw herſelf ſeparated from her fellow-priſoners in ſuch manner, oh! what piteous complaint that good woman made; how bitterly ſhe wept; what ſtrange thoughts came into her mind, how naked and deſolate ſhe eſteemed herſelf, and to what plunge of deſpair and care her poor ſoul was brought, was both ſad and moving to behold: and all came becauſe ſhe went not with them to give up her life for the cauſe of Chriſt; for of all things in the world, life was the leaſt thing that ſhe expected. For the morning, on which ſhe was kept back from burning, ſhe had put on a ſmock that ſhe had prepared only for that purpoſe. And alſo having a child, a little young infant ſucking on her, whom ſhe kept with her tenderly all the time ſhe was in priſon, that day likewiſe did ſhe ſend away to another nurſe, and prepared herſelf preſently to give herſelf for the teſtimony of the glorious goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. So little did ſhe look for life, and ſo greatly did God's gifts work in her above nature, that death ſeemed much better welcome than life. But this took not effect at that time as ſhe thought it would, and therefore (as I ſaid) ſhe was greatly troubled.

Being in this great perplexity of mind, a friend of hers came to her, and required to know whether Abraham's obedience was accepted before God, for that he did ſacrifice his ſon Iſaac, or in that he would have offended him? unto which ſhe anſwered thus:

I know, ſaid ſhe, that Abraham's will before God was allowed for the deed, in that he would have done it, if the angel of the Lord had not ſtayed him: but I (ſaid ſhe) am unhappy, the Lord thinketh me not worthy of this dignity, and therefore Abraham's caſe and mine is not alike.

Why, ſaid her friend, would ye not willingly have gone with your company, if God ſhould ſo have ſuffered it?

Yes,

Yes, ſaid ſhe, with all my heart, and becauſe I did not, it is now my chief and greateſt grief.

Then ſaid her friend; my dear ſiſter, I pray thee conſider Abraham and thyſelf well, and thou ſhalt ſee thou doeſt nothing differ from him in will at all.

Alas, ſaid ſhe, there is a far greater matter in Abraham than in me; for Abraham was tried with the offering of his own child, but ſo am not I; and therefore our caſes are not alike,

Good ſiſter, ſaid her friend, weigh the matter but indifferently. Abraham, I grant, would have offered his ſon: and have not you done the like in your little ſucking babe? but conſider further than this, my good ſiſter (ſaid he) where Abraham was commanded but to offer his ſon, you are heavy and grieved becauſe you offer not yourſelf, which goeth ſomewhat more near you than Abraham's obedience did; and therefore before God, aſſuredly, is no leſs accepted and allowed in his holy preſence; which further the preparing of your ſhroud alſo doth argue full well, &c. After which talk between them, ſhe began a little to ſtay herſelf, and gave her whole exerciſe to reading and prayer, wherein ſhe found a great deal of comfort.

In the time that theſe aforeſaid two good women were priſoners, one in the caſtle, and the other in Motehall, God by a ſecret means called the ſaid Margaret Thurſton unto his truth again; who having her eyes opened by the working of his Spirit, did greatly ſorrow and lament her backſliding before, and promiſed faithfully to the Lord in hope of his mercies, never more while ſhe lived to do the like again, but that ſhe would conſtantly ſtand to the confeſſion of the ſame; againſt all the adverſaries of the croſs of Chriſt. After which promiſe made, came in a ſhort time a writ from London for the burning of them, which was accordingly executed the 17th day of September, in the year aforeſaid.

Now when theſe aforeſaid women were brought to the place at Colcheſter where they ſhould ſuffer, they fell down upon their knees, and made their humble prayers to God, which being done, they roſe, and went to the ſtake joyfully, and were immediately chained thereto, and after the fire had compaſſed them about, they with great joy and glorious triumph gave up their ſouls, ſpirits, and lives, into the hands of the Lord, under whoſe government and protection, for Chriſt's ſake we beſeech him to grant us his holy defence and help for evermore, Amen.

John Kurde, Martyr.

IN the ſtory before, ſome things were mentioned of a certain ſhoe-maker ſuffering at Northampton, being un-named, when becauſe we underſtand by a letter ſent from the ſaid parties, that he ſuffered in this year 1557, and in the month of September, therefore we thought there to place him. His name was John Kurde, a ſhoemaker, late of the pariſh of Syrſam, in Northamptonſhire, who was impriſoned in Northampton caſtle, for denying the popiſh tranſubſtantiation, for which cauſe William Binſley, batchelor of law, and chancellor unto the biſhop of Peterborough, and now archdeacon of Northampton, did pronounce ſentence of death againſt the ſaid Kurde, in the church of All-ſaints, in Northampton, in Auguſt, 1557, and in September following, at the commandment of Sir Thomas Treſham, ſheriff then of the ſhire, he was led by his officers without the north-gate of Northampton, and in the ſtonepits was burned. A popiſh prieſt ſtanding by, whoſe name was John Rote, vicar of St. Giles's in Northampton, did declare unto him, that if he would recant, he was authoriſed to give him his pardon. His anſwer was, that he had his pardon by Jeſus Chriſt, &c.

A true Certificate of the apprehending of John Noyes, of Laxefield, in the county of Suffolk, Shoe-maker, April 19th, 1557.

IN the month of September this preſent year, or (as ſome report) in the year paſt, ſuffered the bleſſed martyr, John Noyes, whoſe ſtory here followeth.

Firſt, Mr. Thomas Lovel, being then chief conſtable of Hoxton hundred, in the county aforeſaid, and one John Jacob, and William Stannard, then being underconſtables of the aforeſaid town of Laxefield, and Wolfren Dowſing, and Nicholas Stannard, of the ſame town, being then accounted faithful and catholic chriſtians, though undoubtedly they proved moſt cruel hinderers of the true profeſſors of Chriſt and his goſpel, with others, were commanded to be that preſent day before the juſtices, whoſe names were Mr. Thurſton, Sir John Tyrrel, and Mr. Kene, and Sir Jo. Silliard being high-ſheriff.

Theſe ſitting at Hoxton, in the county of Suffolk aforeſaid, and there the ſaid townſmen aforeſaid having commandment of the ſaid juſtices to inquire in their town if there were any that would neglect to come to their ſervice and maſs, further to examine the cauſe why they would not come, and thereupon to bring the true certificate to the ſaid juſtices within fourteen days then next enſuing; they then coming homeward, being full of hatred againſt the truth, and deſirous to get promotion, without any ſuch commandment of the juſtices (as far as we can learn) took counſel one with another how to attach the ſaid John Noyes without any more delay.

This deviliſh enterprize agreed upon, chiefly through the counſel of Mr. Thomas Lovel, Wolfren Dowſing, and Nicholas Stannard aforeſaid, with expedition his houſe was beſet on both ſides. This done, they found the ſaid John Noyes on the backſide of the ſaid houſe going out, and Nicholas Stannard called to the ſaid John, and ſaid, Whither goeſt thou? and he ſaid, To my neighbour's. And the ſaid Nicholas Stannard ſaid, Your maſter hath deceived you; you muſt go with us now. But the ſaid John Noyes anſwered, No, but take you heed your maſter deceive not you. And ſo they took him, and carried him to the juſtices the next day. After his appearance, and ſundry cauſes alledging, the juſtices and the ſheriff together caſt him into Eye dungeon, and there he lay a certain time, And then was carried from thence to Norwich, and ſo came before the biſhop, where were miniſtered unto him theſe poſitions following:

Firſt, Whether he believed that the ceremonies uſed in the church were good and godly, to ſtir up mens minds to devotion.

2. Item, Whether he believed the pope to be ſupreme head of the church here in earth.

3. Item, Whether he believed the body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt to be in the ſacrament of the altar under the forms of bread and wine, after the words of conſecration.

Whereunto he anſwered, that he thought the natural body of Chriſt to be only in heaven, and not in the ſacrament, &c.

For which, ſentence at laſt was read by the biſhop againſt him in the preſence of theſe there ſitting the ſame time, Dr. Dunning, chancellor, Sir W. Woodhouſe, Sir Thomas Woodhouſe, Mr. George Heyden, Mr. Spenſer, W. Farrar, alderman of Norwich, Mr. Thurſton, Wineſden, with divers others.

More of his examination than this came not to our hands.

In the mean time, his brother-in-law, Nicholas Fiſk, of Dennington, going to comfort him at ſuch a time as he remained priſoner in the Guildhall of Norwich, after chriſtian exhortation, asked him if he did not fear death when the biſhop gave judgement againſt him, conſidering the terror of the ſame; and the ſaid Noyes anſwered, he thanked

thanked God he feared death no more at that time, than he or any other did, being at liberty. Then the ſaid Nicholas required him to ſhew the cauſe of his condemnation. Upon which requeſt, the ſaid John Noyes writ with his own hand as followeth:

I ſaid, that I could not believe, that in the ſacrament of the altar there is the natural body of Chriſt, the ſame body that was born of the virgin Mary. But I ſaid, that the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt is received of chriſtian people in remembrance of Chriſt's death, as a ſpiritual food, if it be miniſtered according to Chriſt's inſtitution.

But they ſaid, I could not tell what ſpiritual meant. The biſhop ſaid, that the ſacrament was God, and muſt be worſhipped as God. So ſaid the chancellor alſo.

Then anſwered I, My lord, I cannot ſo believe.

Then ſaid the biſhop, why? then ſay thou doſt believe. Notwithſtanding theſe colluſions could not prevail.

Now being condemned, he was ſent again from Norwich to Eye priſon, and upon the 21ſt day of September about midnight, he was brought from Eye to Laxefield to be burned, and on the next morning was brought to the ſtake, where was ready againſt his coming, the aforeſaid juſtice Mr. Thurſton, one Mr. Waller then being under-ſheriff, and Mr. Thomas Lovel being high-conſtable, as is before expreſſed, who commanded men to make ready all things meet for that ſinful purpoſe. Now the fire in moſt places of the ſtreet was put out, ſaving a ſmoak was eſpied by the ſaid Thomas Lovel proceeding out from the top of a chimney, to which houſe the ſheriff and Granmow his man went, and brake open the door, and thereby got fire, and brought the ſame to the place of execution. When John Noyes came to the place where he ſhould be burned, he kneeled down, and ſaid the 50th Pſalm, wth other prayers, and then they making haſte, bound him to the ſtake, and being bound, the ſaid John Noyes ſaid, "Fear not them that can kill the body, but fear him that can kill both body and ſoul, and caſt it into everlaſting fire."

When he ſaw his ſiſter weeping and making moan for him, he bade her that ſhe ſhould not weep for him, but weep for her ſins.

Then one Nicholas Cadman brought a faggot, and ſet againſt him; and the ſaid John Noyes took up the faghot, and kiſſed it, and ſaid; bleſſed be the time that ever I was born to come to this.

Then he delivered his pſalter to the under-ſheriff, deſiring him to be good to his wife and children, and to deliver to her that ſame book; and the ſheriff promiſed him that he would, notwithſtanding he never as yet performed his promiſe. Then the ſaid John Noyes ſaid to the people, They ſay they can make God of a piece of bread, believe them not.

Then ſaid he; Good people, bear witneſs that I do believe to be ſaved by the merits and paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt, and not by mine own deeds; and ſo the fire was kindled, and burned about him, then he ſaid, Lord have mercy upon me. Chriſt have mercy upon me. Son of David have mercy upon me.

And ſo he yielded up his life, and when his body was burned, they made a pit to bury the coals and aſhes, and amongſt the ſame they found one of his feet that was unburned, whole up to the ancle with the hoſe on, and that they buried with the reſt.

Now while he was a burning, there ſtood one John Jarvis by, a ſervant in the ſame town, a plain fellow, which ſaid; Good Lord, how the ſinews of his arms ſhrink up. And there ſtood behind him Granmow and Benet, the ſheriff's men, and they told their maſter, that John Jarvis ſaid, What villain wretches are theſe? and their maſter ordered them to apprehend him, and they took him and pinioned him, and carried him before the juſtice that ſame day, and the juſtice did examine him of the words aforeſaid, but he denied them, and anſwered that he ſaid nothing but this, Good Lord, how the ſinews of his arms ſhrink up. But for all this the juſtice did bind his father and his maſter in 5l. a-piece, that he ſhould be forthcoming at all times. And on the Wedneſday next he was brought again before the juſtices, Mr. Thurſton and Mr. Kene, they ſitting at Freſingfield in Hoxton hundred, and there they did appoint and command, that the ſaid John Jarvis ſhould be ſet in the ſtocks the next market day, and whipt about the market naked. But his maſter, one William Jarvis, did after crave friendſhip of the conſtables, and they did not ſet him in the ſtocks till Sunday morning, and in the afternoon they did whip him about the market with a dog-whip, having three cords, and ſo they let him go.

The Copy of a certain Letter that he ſent to comfort his Wife at ſuch Time that he lay in Priſon.

WIFE, you deſired me that I would ſend you ſome tokens that you might remember me. As I did read in the New Teſtament, I thought it good to write unto you certain places of the ſcripture for a remembrance. Saint Peter ſaith, 1 Pet. 4. "Dearly beloved, be not troubled with this heat that is now come among you to try you, as though ſome ſtrange thing had happened unto you, but rejoice, inſomuch as ye are partakers of Chriſt's ſufferings, that when his glory appeareth ye may be merry and glad. If ye be railed on for the name of Chriſt, happy are ye, for the Spirit of glory, and the Spirit of God reſteth upon you.

"It is better, if the will of God be ſo, that ye ſuffer for well doing than for evil doing. 1 Pet. 4."

So 1 Pet. 4. "See that none of you ſuffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or an evil-doer, or as a buſy body in other mens matters; but if any man ſuffer as a chriſtian man, let him not be aſhamed, but let him glorify God in this behalf; for the time is come that judgment muſt begin at the houſe of God. If it firſt begin at us, what ſhall the end of them be that believe not the goſpel of God? wherefore let them that ſuffer according to the will of God, commit their ſouls to him in well doing."

St. Paul ſaith, 2 Tim. 3. "All that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, muſt ſuffer perſecution."

St. John ſaith, 1 John, 2. "See that ye love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, as the luſt of the fleſh, the luſt of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world, which vaniſheth away, and the luſt thereof, but he that fulfilleth the will of God abideth for ever."

St. Paul ſaith, Col. 3. "If ye be riſen again with Chriſt, ſeek thoſe things which are above, where Chriſt ſitteth on the right hand of God. Set your affection on things that are above, and not on things which are on earth."

Our Saviour Chriſt ſaith, Matt. 18. "Whoſoever ſhall offend one of theſe little ones that believe in me, it were better for him that a mill-ſtone were hanged about his neck, and that he were caſt into the ſea."

The Prophet David ſaith, Pſal. 34. "Great are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of all."

"Fear the Lord, ye his ſaints: for they that fear him lack nothing."

"When the righteous cry, the Lord heareth them, and delivereth them out of all their troubles: but miſfortune ſhall ſlay the ungodly, and they that hate the righteous ſhall periſh."

"Hear, O my people. I aſſure thee, O Iſrael, if thou will hearken unto me, there ſhall no ſtrange God be in thee, neither ſhalt thou worſhip any other God. Oh that my people would obey me: for if Iſrael would walk in my ways, I ſhould ſoon put down their enemies, and turn my hand againſt their adverſaries."

Our

Our Saviour Chriſt ſaith; "The diſciple is not above his Maſter, nor yet the ſervant above his Lord. It is enough for the diſciple to be as his maſter is, and that the ſervant be as his lord is. If they have called the maſter of the houſe belzebub, how much more ſhall they call them of his houſhold ſo? fear them not therefore."

St. Paul ſaith, 2 Cor. 4. "Set yourſelves therefore at large, and bear not a ſtranger's yoke with the unbelievers: for what fellowſhip hath righteouſneſs with unrighteouſneſs? what company hath light with darkneſs? either what part hath the believer with the infidel, &c? Wherefore come out from among them, and ſeparate yourſelves now (ſaith the Lord, and touch none unclean thing; ſo will I receive you, and I will be a Father unto you, and ye ſhall be my ſons and daughters, ſaith the Lord Almighty."

"For neither eye hath ſeen, nor the ear hath heard, neither can it enter into the heart of man what good things the Lord hath prepared for them that love him, 1 Cor. 2."

"Ye are bought neither with ſilver nor gold, but with the precious blood of Chriſt, 1 Pet. 1."

"There is none other name given to men wherein we muſt be ſaved, Acts 4."

"So fare ye well wife and children; and leave "worldly care, and ſee that ye be diligent "to pray.

"Take no thought (ſaith Chriſt, Matt. 6.) ſaying, what ſhall we eat, or what ſhall we drink, or wherewith ſhall we be cloathed? (for after all theſe things ſeek the Gentiles) for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all theſe things, but ſeek ye firſt the kingdom of heaven, and the righteouſneſs thereof, and all theſe things ſhall be miniſtered unto you."

The Martyrdom of Cicely Ormes, at Norwich.

ABOUT the 23d day of the ſaid month of September, next after the others above-mentioned, ſuffered at Norwich, Cicely Ormes, wife of Edmund Ormes, worſted weaver, dwelling in St. Laurence pariſh in Norwich: ſhe being of the age of thirty-two or more, was taken at the death of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper above-mentioned, in a place called Lollards pit without Biſhopſgate, at the ſaid Norwich, for that ſhe ſaid ſhe would pledge them of the ſame cup that they drank of. For ſo ſaying, one Mr. Corbet, of Sprowſon, by Norwich, took her, and ſent her to the chancellor. When ſhe came before him, he aſked her what ſhe ſaid unto the ſacrament of Chriſt's body. And ſhe ſaid, ſhe did believe it was the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt. Yea, ſaid the chancellor, but what is that that the prieſt holdeth over his head? ſhe anſwered him, and ſaid, it is bread: and if you make it any better, it is worſe. At which words the chancellor ſent her to the biſhop's priſon, to the keeper called Fellow, with many threatnings and hot words, as a man being in great rage.

The twenty-third of July ſhe was called before the chancellor again, who ſat in judgment with Mr. Bridges and others. The chancellor offered her, if ſhe would go to the church and keep her tongue, ſhe ſhould be at liberty, and believe as ſhe would. But ſhe told him, ſhe would not conſent to his wicked deſire therein, do with her what he would; for if ſhe ſhould, ſhe ſaid, God would ſurely plague her. Then the chancellor told her, he had ſhewed more favour to her, than ever he did to any, and that he was loth to condemn her, conſidering ſhe was an ignorant, unlearned, and fooliſh woman. But ſhe, not weighing his words, told him, if he did, he ſhould not be ſo deſirous of her ſinful fleſh, as ſhe would (by God's grace) be content to give it in ſo good a quarrel. Then he roſe and read the bloody ſentence of condemnation againſt her, and ſo delivered her to the ſecular power of the ſheriffs of the city, Mr. Thomas Sutherton, and Mr. Leonard Sutherton, brethren, who immediately carried her to Guildhall, in Norwich, where ſhe remained until her death.

This Cicely Ormes was a very ſimple woman, but yet zealous in the Lord's cauſe, being born in Eaſt Deram, and was the daughter of one Thomas Haund, taylor. She was taken the fifth day of July, and did for a twelve-month before ſhe was taken recant, but never after was ſhe quiet in conſcience, until ſhe was utterly driven from all their popery. Between the time that ſhe recanted, and that ſhe was taken, ſhe got a letter made to give to the chancellor, to let him know that ſhe repented her recantation from the bottom of her heart, and would never do the like again while ſhe lived. But before ſhe exhibited her bill, ſhe was taken and ſent to priſon as is before ſaid. She was burnt the twenty-third of September, between ſeven and eight in the morning, the ſaid two ſheriffs being there, and to the number of two hundred people. When ſhe came to the ſtake, ſhe kneeled down, and made her prayers to God: that being done, ſhe roſe up and ſaid, Good people, I believe in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghoſt, three perſons, and one God.

This do I not, nor will I recant; but I recant utterly from the bottom of my heart the doings of the pope of Rome, and all his popiſh prieſts I utterly refuſe, and never will have to do with them again by God's grace. And good people, I would you ſhould not think of me, that I believe to be ſaved in that I offer myſelf here unto the death for the Lord's cauſe, but I believe to be ſaved by the death and paſſion of Chriſt; and this my death is and ſhall be a witneſs of my faith unto you all here preſent. Good people, as many of you as believe as I believe, pray for me.

Then ſhe came to the ſtake, and laid her hand on it, and ſaid, "Welcome the croſs of Chriſt." Which being done, ſhe looking on her hand, and ſeeing it blacked with the ſtake, ſhe wiped it upon her ſmock, for ſhe was burnt at the ſame ſtake that Simon Miller and Eliz. Cooper was. Then after ſhe had touched it with her hand, ſhe came and kiſſed it, and ſaid, "Welcome the ſweet croſs of Chriſt," and ſo gave herſelf to be bound thereto. After the tormentors had kindled the fire to her, ſhe ſaid, "My ſoul doth magnify the Lord, and my ſpirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour;" and in ſaying ſo ſhe ſet her hands together right againſt her breaſt, caſting her eyes and head upward, and ſo ſtood, heaving up her hands by little and little, till the very ſinews of her arms did break aſunder, and then they fell; but ſhe yielded her life unto God as quietly as if ſhe had been in a ſlumber, or as one feeling no pain; ſo wonderfully did the Lord work with her; his name therefore be praiſed for evermore, Amen.

After the death and martyrdom of Mrs. Joyce Lewes, a little above ſpecified, divers good men and women in the ſame town of Litchfield were had up before the biſhop and his chancellor, for kiſſing the ſaid Joyce Lewes, and drinking with her about the time of her death; the names of which perſons were theſe; Joan Love, Elizabeth Smith, Margaret Biddel, Helen Bouring, Margaret Cootesfort, Nicholas Bird, John Hariſtone and his wife, Agnes Glyn, Agnes Glover, Agnes Penifather, &c. Theſe with others were produced to their examination before the biſhop and his chancellor for the cauſe above-named, and therefore adjudged for heretics, becauſe they did pray and drink with the ſaid Mrs. Lewes, but eſpecially Agnes Penifather ſuſtained the moſt trouble, for that ſhe accompanied the ſaid Joyce Lewes going to her death. Which Agnes being examined further of the ſaid biſhop, what words ſhe had ſpoken to two prieſts of the church of Litchfield, called John Ady, and James Fox, concerning the ſaid Joyce Lewes after her burning, ſaid as followeth, That ſhe being aſked by the ſaid two prieſts being at her father's houſe in the city of Litchfield, at ſuch time as ſhe came from the burning of the ſaid Joyce Lewes, why ſhe the ſaid Agnes did weep for ſuch an heretic, meaning Joyce Lewes, whoſe ſoul they ſaid was in hell; the ſaid Agnes Penifather to their demand made this anſwer, That ſhe thought the bleſſed martyr to be in better caſe than the ſaid two prieſts were.

With

With which words being charged, and desired to submit herself as the others had done above rehearsed to such penance as they should enjoin unto her, she refused so to do, and therefore was commanded to close prison, the sheriffs being charged with her under pain of a hundred pounds, that none should have any access unto her. At length, at the persuasion of her friends she was compelled to do as the others had done before. And thus much concerning things done at Litchfield.

And now from Litchfield to come to Chichester, although we have but little to report thereof, for want of certain relation and records of that country, yet it seemeth no little trouble and persecution to have there raged also, as in other countries. For what place was there almost in all the realm, where the pope's ministers did not bestir them, murdering some or other, as in the acts of this ecclesiastical history may sufficiently appear? Wherefore as this plague of the pope's tyranny was general to all other people and countries of England, so likewise in the diocese of Chichester, divers and many there were condemned and martyred for the true testimony of righteousness within the compass of queen Mary's reign. In the number of whom were these: John Foreman of Eastgrenested. John Warner of Berne. Christian Grover of the archdeaconry of Lewes. Thomas Athoth, priest. Thomas Avington of Erdingly. Dennis Burgis of Buxsted. Thomas Ravensdale of Rie. John Mimes of Hellinglegh. Nicholas Holden of Withiam. John Hart of Withiam, Margery Morice of Hethfield. Anne Try of Eastgrenested. John Oseward of Woodmancote. Thomas Harland of Woodmancote. James Morice of Hethfield. Thomas Dougate of Eastgrenested. John Asnedon of Katherfield.

The greatest actor against these faithful martyrs, were these: Christopherson the bishop of Chichester, Richard Briefly doctor of law, and chancellor of Chichester, Robert Taylor batchelor of law, his deputy, Thomas Paccard civilian, Anth. Clarke, Albane Langdale batchelor of divinity, &c.

The Examination of Thomas Spurdance one of Queen Mary's Servants, before the Chancellor of Norwich.

THE bishop's chancellor asked me if I had been with the priest, and confessed my sins unto him.

And I said, No, I had confessed my sins to God, and God saith, In what hour soever a sinner repenteth and is sorry for his sins, and asketh forgiveness, willing no more so to do, he will no more reckon his sin unto him, and that is sufficient for me.

Then said the chancellor, Thou denyest the sacrament of penance.

I said, I deny not penance, but I deny that I should shew my sins unto the priest.

Then said the chancellor, That is a denying of the sacrament of penance.

Write this article.

Have you received the blessed sacrament of the altar (said he) at this time of Easter?

And I said, No.

And why have not, saith he?

I said, I dare not meddle with you in it, as you use it.

Why, do we not use it truly, said he?

I said, No: for the holy supper of the Lord serveth for the christian congregation, and you are none of Christ's members: and therefore I dare not meddle with you, lest I be like unto you.

Why are we none of Christ's members, said the chancellor?

I said, Because you teach laws contrary to God's laws.

What laws are those, said he?

I said, These three articles that you swear the people unto here, be false and untrue, and you do evil to swear the people unto them.

Then said he, Good people take no heed unto his words; for he is an heretic, and teacheth you disobedience: and so he would no more speak of that matter.

Then said he, How believest thou in the blessed sacrament of the altar: dost thou not believe that after it is consecrated, it is the very same body that was born of the virgin Mary?

I said, No, not the same body in substance; for the same body hath a substance in flesh, blood, and bones, and was a bloody sacrifice, and this is a dry sacrifice.

And I said, Is the mass a sacrifice?

Unto which a doctor answered that sate by him, It is a sacrifice both for the quick and the dead.

Then said I, No, it is no sacrifice; for St. Paul saith, that Christ made one sacrifice once for all: and I do believe in none other sacrifice, but only in that one sacrifice that our Lord Jesus Christ made once for all.

Then said the doctor, That sacrifice that Christ made, was a wet sacrifice, and the mass is a dry sacrifice.

Then said I, That same dry sacrifice is a sacrifice of your own making, and it is your sacrifice, it is none of mine.

Then said the chancellor, He is an heretic, he denieth the sacrament of the altar?

Then said I, Will ye know how I believe in the holy supper of our Lord?

And he said, Yea.

Then said I, I believe that if I come rightly and worthily as God hath commanded me, to the holy supper of the Lord, I receive him by faith, by believing in him. But the bread being received is not God, nor the bread that is yonder in the pix is not God. God dwelleth not in temples made with hands, neither will be worshipped with the works of men's hands. And therefore you do very evil to cause the people to kneel down and worship the bread; for God did never bid you hold it above your heads, neither had the apostles such use.

Then said the chancellor, He denieth the presence in the sacrament. Write this article also. He is a very heretic.

Then said I, The servant is not greater than his master. For your predecessors killed my master Christ, the prophets and apostles, and holy virtuous men, and now you also kill the servant of Christ, so that all the righteous blood that hath been shed, even from righteous Abel, until this day, shall be required at your hands.

Well, said the chancellor, Have him away.

Another Examination of Spurdance, before the Bishop in his House.

Bishop. SIRRAH, dost thou not believe in the catholic faith of the holy church?

Spurdance. I believe Christ's catholic church.

Bishop. Yea in Christ's church, of which the pope is the head? dost thou not believe that the pope is supreme head of the catholic church?

Spurdance. No. I believe not he should be above the apostles, if he take them to be his predecessors. For when there came a thought among the apostles, who should be the greatest when their master was gone, Christ answered them unto their thoughts, "The kings of the earth bear dominion above other, but ye shall not so do, for he that will be greatest among you shall become servant unto you all. How is it then (said I) that he will climb so high above his fellows? And also we were sworn in my master king Henry's time, that we should to the utmost of our power, never consent to him again. And therefore as he hath nothing to do here in England, so neither in his own country more, than a bishop hath in his diocese.

Bishop. Yea, what of that? we were then in error and sin, and now we are in the right way again, and therefore thou must come home again with us, and acknowledge thy

thy fault, and become a chriſtian man, and be ſworn unto the pope as our ſupreme head. Wilt thou thus be ſworn unto the pope? how ſayeſt thou?

Spurdance. No, I warrant you, by the grace of God not as long as I live. For you cannot prove by the ſcripture that the pope is head of the church, and may do therein what he pleaſeth.

Biſhop. No? yes I trow: for as the bellweather which weareth the bell, is head of the flock of ſheep, even ſo is the pope the head of the church of Chriſt. And as the bees in the hive have a maſter bee, when they are gone out, to bring them home again to the hive: even ſo the pope when we be gone aſtray and wandered from the fold, from the hive, &c. then is ordained our head by ſucceſſion of Peter, to bring us home again to the true church. As thou now, my good fellow, haſt wandered long out of the way like a ſcattered ſheep, &c. hear therefore that bellweather, the maſter bell, &c. and come home with us to thy mother the church again.

Spurdance. My lord, all this is but natural reaſon, and no ſcripture: but ſince ye cannot prove the pope to be authorized by ſcripture, ye anſwer not me as I thought ye would.

Biſhop. Ha, I ſee well ye be ſtout, and will not be anſwered: therefore ye ſhall be compelled by law whether ye will or no.

Spurdance. My lord, ſo did your forefathers intreat Chriſt and his apoſtles. They had a law, and by their law they put him to death; and ſo likewiſe, you have a law which is tyranny, and by that would ye enforce me to believe as you do: but the Lord I truſt will aſſiſt me againſt all your beggarly ceremonies, and make your fooliſhneſs known to all the world one day.

Biſhop. When were you at church and went in proceſſion, and did the ceremonies of the church?

Spurdance. Never ſince I was born.

Biſhop. No? how old are you?

Spurdance. I think about forty.

Biſhop. Why, how did you uſe yourſelf at church 20 years ago?

Spurdance. As you do now.

Biſhop. And even now, you ſaid you did not uſe the ceremonies ſince you were born.

Spurdance. No more I did, ſince I was born anew; as Chriſt ſaid unto Nicodemus, "Except ye be born anew, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven."

Then ſaid a doctor that ſat by, He is a very anabaptiſt: for that is their opinion plain.

No, Sir, you ſay falſly, ſaid I: for I am no anabaptiſt: for they deny children to be baptized, and ſo do not I.

Biſhop. Well, why doſt thou not go to the church, and do the ceremonies?

Spurdance. Becauſe they be contrary to God's word and laws, as you yourſelf have taught: but now you ſay it is good again: and I think if there were a return tomorrow, you would ſay that falſe again which you hold now. Therefore, I may well ſay, there is no truth in you.

Biſhop. Then thou art a ſtubborn fellow, and an heretic, and a traitor.

Spurdance. No, I am no traitor, for I have done, I think, better ſervice to the crown imperial of England, than you.

Biſhop. If you had done ſo good ſervice, you would be obedient to the laws of the realm.

Spurdance. So I am. There is no man alive, I thank God, that can accuſe me juſtly that ever I was diſobedient to any civil laws. But you muſt conſider, my lord, that I have a ſoul and a body, and my ſoul is none of the queen's, but my body and my goods are the queen's. And I muſt give God my ſoul, and all that belongeth unto it, that is, I muſt do the laws and commandments of God; and whoſoever commandeth me contrary to God's laws, I may not do them for loſing of my ſoul, but muſt rather obey God than man.

Biſhop. Why doſt thou not theſe laws then? are they not agreeable to God's law?

Spurdance. No, you cannot prove them to be God's laws.

Biſhop. Yes, that I can.

Spurdance. Then if you can prove by the word of God that you ſhould have any graven images made to ſet in your churches for laymen's books or to worſhip God by them, or that you ſhould have any ceremonies in your church as you have, prove them by the word of God, and I will do them.

Biſhop. Then it is a good and decent order to furniſh the church: as when you ſhall go to dinner, you have a cloth upon the table to furniſh the table before the meat ſhall come upon it; ſo are all theſe ceremonies a comely, decent order to be in the church among chriſtian people.

Spurdance. Theſe are inventions and imaginations out of your own brain, without any word of God to prove them. For God ſaith, Look what you think good in your own eyes, if I command the contrary, it is abominable in my ſight. And theſe ceremonies are againſt God's laws. For St. Paul ſaith, They be weak and beggarly, and rebuketh the Galatians for doing them.

Biſhop. Well, if you will not do them, ſeeing they be the laws of the realm, you are an heretic and diſobedient: and therefore come home again and confeſs your faults with us, that you have been in error, &c. Will you do ſo?

Spurdance. No, I have been in no error; for the ſpiritual laws were never more truly ſet forth than in my maſter king Edward's time, and I will truſt unto God I ſhall never leave them while I live.

Then came a gentleman to ſee me and ſaid, Are ye wiſer than all men? and have ye more knowledge than all men? will ye caſt away your ſoul willingly? my lord and other men alſo, would fain you would ſave yourſelf: therefore chuſe ſome man where you will, either ſpiritual or temporal, and take a day, my lord will give it you.

Spurdance. If I ſave my life, I ſhall loſe it; and if I loſe my life for Chriſt's ſake, I ſhall find it in life everlaſting. And if I take a day, when that day cometh, I muſt ſay then even as I do now, except I will lye, and therefore that needeth not.

Well, then have him away, ſaid the biſhop.

This abovenamed Thomas Spurdance, was one of queen Mary's ſervants, and was taken by two of his fellows, the ſaid queen's ſervants, named John Haman, otherwiſe called Barker, and George Looſon, both dwelling in Codman, in the county of Suffolk, who carried him to one Mr. Goſnal, dwelling in the ſaid Codman, and by him he was ſent to Bury, where he remained in priſon, and afterwards burned in the month of November.

The Martyrdom of John Hallingdale, William Sparrow, and Richard Gibſon.

SOON after the martyrdom of the two good women at Colcheſter, the three above-mentioned perſons were put to death in Smithfield at London, the 18th of November: Who being brought before Bonner biſhop of London, the 5th day of November, 1557, the following articles were exhibited unto them.

Articles miniſtered unto John Hallingdale.

FIRT, That the ſaid John Hallingdale is of the dioceſe of London, and ſo ſubject to the juriſdiction of the biſhop of London.

2. That the ſaid John, before the time of the reign of king Edward VI. late of England, was of the ſame faith and

and religion that was then obſerved, believed, taught, and ſet forth in the realm of England.

3. That during the reign of the ſaid king Edward VI. the ſaid John Hallingdale, upon occaſion of the preaching of certain miniſters in that time, did not abide in his former faith and religion, but did depart from it, and ſo did and doth continue till this preſent day, and ſo determineth to do, as he ſaith, till his life's end.

4. That the ſaid John Hallingdale hath thought, believed, and ſpoken divers times, that the faith, religion, and eccleſiaſtical ſervice received, obſerved, and uſed now in this realm of England, is not good and laudable, but againſt God's commandment and word, eſpecially concerning the maſs and the ſeven ſacraments; and that he the ſaid John will not in any wiſe conform himſelf to the ſame, but ſpeak and think againſt it during his natural life.

5. That the ſaid John abſenteth himſelf continually from his own pariſh church of St. Leonard's, neither hearing matins, maſs, nor even-ſong, not yet confeſſing his ſins to the prieſt, or receiving the ſacrament of the altar at his hands, or uſing other ceremonies as they are now uſed in this church and realm of England: and as he remembereth, he never came but once in the pariſh church of St. Leonard, and careth not if he never come there any more, the ſervice being as it is there, and ſo many abuſes being there, eſpecially the maſs, the ſacraments, and the ceremonies and ſervice ſet forth in Latin.

6. That the ſaid John, when his wife, called Alice, was brought to-bed of a man-child, cauſed the ſaid child to be chriſtened in Engliſh after the ſame manner and form in all points, as it was uſed in the time of the reign of king Edward VI. aforeſaid, and cauſed it to be called Joſue, and would not have the ſaid child chriſtened in Latin, after the form and manner as it is now uſed in the church and realm of England, nor will have it, by his will, to be confirmed by the biſhop.

Unto all which articles the ſaid John Hallingdale made anſwer, confeſſing them all, and every part of them to be true, and ſaying, that he would not revoke his ſaid anſwers, but ſtand unto them according as it was in every article above written.

Furthermore, the ſaid John Hallingdale, being demanded by the ſaid Bonner, whether he firmly believed, that in the ſacrament, commonly called the ſacrament of the altar, there is really and truly the very body and blood of our Saviour Chriſt, or no? made anſwer, that he neither in the time of the ſaid king Edward VI. nor at that preſent did believe, that in the ſaid ſacrament there is really the very body and blood of Chriſt. For he ſaid, that if he had ſo believed, he would, as others had done, have received the ſame, which he did not, becauſe he had and then did believe, that the very body of Chriſt is only in heaven and no where elſe. And furthermore the ſaid John Hallingdale ſaid, that Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and generally all that of late have been burned for heretics, were no heretics at all, becauſe they did truly preach the goſpel; upon whoſe preaching he grounded his faith and conſcience, as he ſaid, according to the ſaying of St. John, Rev. 18. where he ſaith, That the blood of the prophets, and of the ſaints, and of all that were ſlain upon the earth, was found in the Babylonical church, by which, he ſaid, is underſtood the church where the pope is the head. After which examination, the ſaid John was ſent to priſon again: and the next day, being the 6th of the ſaid month, he was called before the biſhop again, who perſuading him with ſome wretched ſentences of the ſcripture, the ſaid John Hallingdale anſwered, Becauſe I will not, ſaith he, come to your Babylonical church, therefore (ſpeaking unto Bonner) you go about to condemn me. And being further demanded by biſhop Bonner, whether he would perſevere and ſtand in his opinions or no: he made anſwer, That he would continue and perſiſt in them unto the death. Then Bonner read the ſentence of condemnation. At which time the ſaid John affirmed openly, that, thanking God, he never came into the church ſince the abomination came into it: and ſo he was ſent to priſon again. Upon the ſame forenoon, William Sparrow was brought before the biſhop, and had the following articles laid to him.

Articles miniſtered to William Sparrow.

1. THAT thou William Sparrow waſt in times detected and preſented lawfully unto thy ordinary the biſhop of London, called Edmund, who alſo is now thine ordinary of the ſaid dioceſe, and thou waſt preſented and detected unto him for hereſy, error and unlawful opinions, which thou didſt believe ſet forth and hold.

2. That thou before the ſaid ordinary didſt openly and judicially confeſs the ſaid hereſies, errors and unlawful opinions, as appears plainly in the acts of the court, had and made before the ſaid ordinary.

3. That thou after the premiſes, didſt make thy ſubmiſſion in writing, and didſt exhibit and deliver the ſame as thy deed, to thy ſaid ordinary; openly confeſſing and recognizing thy hereſies, errors, unlawful opinions, and thine offences and tranſgreſſions in that behalf.

4. That thou after the premiſes didſt promiſe unto thy ſaid ordinary voluntarily and of thine own mind, that always after the ſaid ſubmiſſion, thou wouldſt in all points conform thyſelf unto the common order of the catholic church obſerved and kept here in this realm of England, and in no wiſe fall again to hereſies, errors, or unlawful opinions.

5. That thou ſince thy ſaid ſubmiſſion, haſt willingly fallen into certain hereſies and errors, and haſt holden and ſet forth divers unlawful opinions, to the right great hurt of thine own ſoul, and alſo to the hinderance and loſs of ſeveral others, eſpecially againſt the ſacrament of the altar, againſt auricular confeſſion, with other the ſacraments of the catholic church.

6. That thou ſince the ſaid commiſſion, haſt willingly gone about divers places within the dioceſe of London, and ſold divers heretical, erroneous, and blaſphemous ballads about, and waſt apprehended and taken with the ſaid ballads about thee, and committed to priſon.

Unto the 1ſt, 2d, 3d, and 4th articles, he anſwered affirmatively. To the 5th article he anſwered, That if he had ſpoke againſt them, he had ſpoke but the truth: for they be naught, meaning the contents of the ſaid article. To the 6th, he granted to the article, adding, that he did ſell the ſaid ballads, and that the ſame did contain God's word.

After which anſwers, the ſaid William Sparrow was ſent unto priſon. And the ſame day in the afternoon, being brought before the biſhop again, and there charged with his ſaid ſubmiſſion made the year before unto the biſhop, he anſwered thus; I am ſorry, ſaid he, that ever I made it, and it was the worſt deed that ever I did: adding further unto them, Hold up your abomination ſo long as you can. Alſo being laid unto him, and charged by the biſhop that he went to church, and there was confeſſed and heard maſs: he made anſwer and confeſſed, that he did ſo, but with a troubled conſcience, he ſaid, God knoweth. And being further demanded of Bonner, whether he would perſiſt and continue in the ſame? he made anſwer, That he would not go from his opinions: and adding thereunto, he ſaid, That which you call hereſy, ſpeaking to the biſhop, is good and godly, and if every hair of my head were a man, ſaid he, I would burn them all, rather than go from the truth.

Then being demanded what ground of learning he had to cleave to his opinions: he made anſwer and ſaid, That all the laws now uſed (meaning the eccleſiaſtical laws) are naught and abominable. Which words being ſpoken, the biſhop immediately read the ſentence

of condemnation upon him, and ſo delivered him to the ſecular power, by whom he was ſent to priſon again.

Richard Gibſon, Martyr.

WITH the other two abovenamed, ſuffered alſo in the ſame fire Richard Gibſon, who firſt was caſt into the Compter in the Poultry (where he had been priſoner for the ſpace of two years for ſuretiſhip in a matter of debt, and then ſtood upon his deliverance) then upon ſuſpicion and evil-will was accuſed to biſhop Bonner, becauſe he was never confeſſed in the priſon, nor received at the popiſh altar: by reaſon whereof he was called for, and ſuſtained divers conflicts and examinations in the cauſe of his faith and religion. But firſt he ſeemed to make a certain ſubmiſſion which he alſo exhibited with the other 28 abovementioned: but becauſe it ſeemed ſomething in words to differ from the other, it appeared not to be received: or whether it was received or no, it is not fully certain. This is certain, that although his ſubmiſſion was recorded in the biſhop's regiſter, yet he was not delivered out from impriſonment till the day of his burning. The great matter which he was charged withal, was for not coming to confeſſion, being thereunto required, for not receiving of the ſacrament of the popiſh making, and for that he would not ſwear to anſwer to their interrogatories laid againſt him. Notwithſtanding after this his firſt examinations he continued in the priſon of the Compter from the month of May to November, when he was again produced againſt the final judiciary. Where is to be noted, that Mr. Gibſon being a very big and tall man, of a perſonable and heroical ſtature, was ſent for by Bonner, by a little man, a promoter, like Robin Papiſt, called Robin Caley.

This Robin Caley having the conducting of the ſaid gentleman from the Poultry, would needs hale him through Cheapſide, the gentleman deſiring him to turn ſome other way. But the more the gentleman intreated, the more fierce was he upon him; and drawing and holding him by the arm, would needs hale him through the high-ſtreet, that all the world might ſee what he could do in his office. Mr. Gibſon deſirous to be led without holding, intreated him to let his arm looſe, and he would go quietly with him whither he would, only craving that he might go by him freely without noting of the people. But he ſaucily anſwered him, Nay, thou ſhalt not eſcape me ſo, come on thy ways: thou ſhalt not chooſe, but come; and ſo reaching at his arm, would needs drag him unto the biſhop. The gentleman content to go, yet loth to be noted in the ſtreets, gently requeſted again and again, that refraining his hold, he would ſuffer him to go of his own free will, he ſhould not need to fear him, for he would not ſtart from him. To which he replied, Come on thy way, I will hold thee faſt, ſpite of thy beard, and whether thou wilt or no. Mr. Gibſon beholding his intolerable bragging, and greatly moved therewith, could bear no longer; but ſaid, Wilt thou? adding moreover, that if he did not immediately pluck away his hand, he would wring his neck from his body. Whereupon he let go his hold, and ſo they proceeded unto the biſhop to be examined again before him.

After this, another day being aſſigned him to appear again, much talk paſſed between him and Darbyſhire, then chancellor. But in fine, being required to ſwear that he ſhould anſwer unto all they would demand, he denied to anſwer unto all things the biſhop ſhould command him as ordinary: for he is not, ſaith he, mine ordinary, and ſo bad him go tell the biſhop. Before which biſhop, be being then commanded to appear the Friday following, was brought unto the Juſtice-hall without Newgate, where he had the like conflicts with the aforeſaid biſhop, and divers other juſtices. At length he was aſſigned the Saturday following, to be preſent at the biſhop's conſiſtory court, to hear his final ſentence. At which day and place, the ſaid examinate appearing as he was commanded, the biſhop, after other matter of communication, aſked him if he knew any cauſe why the ſentence ſhould not be read againſt him. To whom Mr. Gibſon anſwered, That the biſhop had nothing whereof juſtly to condemn him. The biſhop's reaſon was again objected to him, that men ſaid he was an evil man. To whom Gibſon replying again, Yea, ſaid he, and ſo may I ſay of you alſo. To be ſhort, after this, and ſuch other talk, the biſhop haſted on to the ſentence. Which being read, Gibſon yet again admoniſhed him to remember himſelf, and to ſave his ſoul, ſaid, That he would not hear the biſhop's babbling; and ſaid moreover, boldly proteſting and affirming that he was contrary, and an enemy to them all in his mind and opinion, although he had before kept it ſecret in his mind, for fear of the law. And ſpeaking to the biſhop, Bleſſed, ſaid he, am I, that am curſed at your hands. We have nothing now, but thus will I: for as the biſhop ſaith ſo muſt it be. And no hereſy it is to turn the truth of God's word into lyes, and that do you, meaning the biſhop and his fellows.

Thus this valiant ſoldier, fighting for the goſpel and ſincere doctrine of Chriſt's truth and religion, againſt falſhood and error, was committed, with his fellows, to the ſecular power.

And ſo theſe three godly men, John Hallingdale, Wm. Sparrow, and Mr. Gibſon, being thus appointed to the ſlaughter, were the 12th day after their condemnation (which was the 18th day of November) burnt in Smithfield. And being brought thither to the ſtake, after their prayer made, they were bound thereunto with chains, and wood ſet unto them, and after wood, fire, in which being compaſſed about, and the fiery flames conſuming their fleſh, at laſt they yielded glorioufly and joyfully their ſouls and lives into the holy hands of the Lord, to whoſe tuition and government I commend thee, good reader, Amen.

The Death of John Rough, Miniſter, and Margaret Mearing, burned at London, December 22.

JOHN Rough was born in Scotland, who (as himſelf confeſſeth in his anſwers to Bonner's articles) becauſe ſome of his kinsfolk would have kept him from his right of inheritance which he had to certain lands, did at the age of 17 years, in deſpite, and rather to diſpleaſe his friends, profeſs himſelf into the order of the black frier at Sterling, in Scotland; where he remained the ſpace of ſixteen years, until ſuch time as the lord Hamilton, earl of Arran, and governor of the realm of Scotland (caſting a favour unto him) did uſe unto the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, to have him out of his profeſſed order, that as a ſecular prieſt he might ſerve him for his chaplain. At which requeſt the archbiſhop cauſed the provincial of that houſe, having thereto authority, to diſpenſe with him for his habit and order. This ſuit being thus obtained by the earl, the ſaid Rough remained in his ſervice, one whole year: during which time it pleaſed God to open his eyes, and to give him ſome knowledge of his truth, and thereupon was by the ſaid governor ſent to preach in the freedom of Ayre, where he continued four years; and then after the death of the cardinal of Scotland, he was appointed to abide at St. Andrews, and there had aſſigned unto him a yearly penſion of 20 pounds from Henry VIII. king of England. Howbeit, at laſt weighing with himſelf his own danger, and alſo abhorring the idolatry and ſuperſtition of the country, and hearing of the freedom of the goſpel within this realm of England, he determined with himſelf not to tarry any longer there: and therefore, ſoon after the battle of Muſcleborough, he came firſt to Carliſle, and from thence unto the duke of Somerſet, then lord protector of England, and by his aſſignment he appointed unto him out

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of the king's treaſury 20 pounds of yearly ſtipend, and was ſent, as a preacher, to ſerve at Carliſle, Berwick and Newcaſtle, where he married. From whence he was called by the archbiſhop of York that then was, unto a benefice in the town of Hull, where he continued till the death of good king Edward VI.

But in the beginning of the reign of queen Mary (perceiving the alteration of religion, and the perſecution that would thereupon ariſe, and feeling his own weakneſs) he fled with his wife into Frizeland, and dwelt there at a place called Norden, labouring truly for his living, in knitting of caps, hoſe, and ſuch like things, till about the end of the month of October before his death. At which time lacking yarn, and other ſuch neceſſary proviſion for the maintenance of his occupation, he came again over into England, here to provide for the ſame, and the tenth day of November arrived at London. Where, hearing of the ſecret ſociety, and holy congregation of God's children there aſſembled, he joined himſelf unto them, and afterwards being elected their miniſter and preacher, did continue moſt virtuouſly exerciſed in that godly fellowſhip, teaching and confirming them in the truth of the goſpel of Chriſt. But in the end (ſuch was the providence of God, who diſpoſing all things to the beſt) the 12th day of December, he, with Cutbert Symſon and others, through the crafty and traiterous ſuggeſtion of a falſe hypocrite and diſſembling brother, named Roger Sergeant, a taylor, were apprehended by the vice-chamberlain of the queen's houſe, at the Saracen's head in Iſlington, where the congregation had then purpoſed to aſſemble themſelves to their accuſtomable exerciſes of prayer, and hearing the word of God: which pretence, for the ſafeguard of all the reſt, they yet at their examinations covered and excuſed, by hearing of a play that was then appointed to be at that place. The vice-chamberlain, after he had apprehended them, carried Rough and Symſon unto the council, who charged them to have aſſembled together to celebrate the communion of the ſupper of the Lord, and therefore after ſundry examinations they ſent unto the biſhop of London, with a letter ſigned with their hands, the copy whereof here follows.

A Letter ſent from the queen's Council to Bonner Biſhop of London, concerning the Examination of John Rough, Miniſter.

AFTER our hearty commendations to your good lordſhip, we ſend you here incloſed the examination of a Scotiſh man, named John Rough, who by the queen's command is juſt ſent to Newgate, being of the chief of them that upon Sunday laſt, under the colour of coming to ſee a play at the Saracen's head at Iſlington, had prepared a communion to be celebrated and received there among certain other ſeditious and heretical perſons. And foraſmuch as by the ſaid Rough's examination, containing the ſtory and progreſs of his former life, it well appeareth of what ſort he is: the queen's highneſs hath willed us to remit him unto your lordſhip, to the end that being called before you out of priſon, as oft as your lordſhip ſhall think good, ye may proceed. both to his further examination, and otherwiſe ordering of him according to the laws, as the caſe ſhall require. And thus we bid your lordſhip heartily well to fare. From St. James's, Decem. 15, 1557. Your lordſhip's loving friends, Nicholas Ebor. F. Shrewſbury, Ed. Haſtings, Anth. Mountague, John Bourne, Henry Iernegam.

Bonner, now minding to make quick diſpatch, did within three days after the receipt of the letter, ſend for Rough out of Newgate, to be examined before him and others; who when they perceived his conſtancy, determined a day after to bring him openly into the conſiſtory, there to adjudge and condemn him as an heretic. Which purpoſe they accompliſhed: for the twentieth day in the afternoon, in the preſence of the biſhops of London and St. David's, with Fecknam, abbot of Weſtminſter, and others, he was there produced. Where, after many perſuaſions Bonner read unto him the articles and anſwers, in which they charged him to have received the orders of the church, and therefore might not marry; and that he had refuſed to conſent to the Latin ſervice then uſed in the church. Whereunto he then anſwered, and ſaid, That their orders were nothing at all, and that he being a prieſt, might lawfully marry, and that the children which he had by his wife were lawful. And concerning the ſervice then uſed, he utterly deteſted it, ſaying, That if he ſhould live as long as did Methuſalah, yet he would never come to the church to hear the abominable maſs and other ſervice being as it was then. Upon which words the biſhop proceeded to the degradation of the ſaid Rough, and after condemning him as an heretic, committed his body to the ſecular power, who taking him into their cuſtody, carried him unto Newgate.

Moreover, as touching the ſaid Mr. Rough, this is further to be noted, that he being in the north country in the days of king Edward VI. was the cauſe of ſaving Dr. Watſon's life (who in queen Mary's days was biſhop of Lincoln) for a ſermon that he had preached there. The ſaid Watſon after that, being with Bonner at the examination of the ſaid Mr. Rough, to requite him in ſaving his life, detected him there to be a pernicious heretic, who did more hurt in the north parts than an hundred beſides of his opinion. Unto whom Mr. Rough ſaid, Why, Sir, is this the reward I have for ſaving your life, when you preached erroneous doctrine in the days of Edward VI. This Mr. Rough ſaid, he had lived thirty years, and yet had never bowed his knee to Baal; and being before Bonner, among other talk, he affirmed, that he had been twice at Rome, and there had ſeen plainly with his eyes, which he had many times heard of before, namely, that the pope was the very antichriſt; for there he ſaw him carried on men's ſhoulders, and the falſe-named ſacrament borne before him. Yet there was more reverence given to him, than to that which they counted to be their god. When Bonner heard this, riſing up, and making as though he would have torn his garment, Haſt thou, ſaid he, been at Rome, and ſeen our holy father the pope, and doſt thou blaſpheme him after this ſort; and with flying upon him, he plucked off a piece of his beard, and after making ſpeedy haſte to his death, he burnt him half an hour before ſix of the clock in the morning, becauſe the day belike ſhould not be far ſpent, before he had done a miſchievous deed.

A Letter written by John Rough, to ſome of his Friends, confirming and ſtrengthening them in the Truth, which he had before taught.

THE comfort of the Holy Ghoſt make you able to give conſolation to others in theſe dangerous days, when ſatan is let looſe, but to the trial only of the choſen, when it pleaſeth our God to ſift his wheat from the chaff. I have not leiſure and time to write the great temptations I have been under. I ſpeak to God's glory; my care was to have the ſenſes of my ſoul open, to perceive the voice of God, ſaying, whoſoever denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father and his angels. And to ſave the life corporal, is to loſe the life eternal, And he that will not ſuffer with Chriſt, ſhall not reign with him. Therefore moſt tender ones, I have by God's Spirit given over the fleſh, with the fight of my ſoul, and the ſpirit hath the victory. The fleſh ſhall now before it be long, leave off to ſin, the ſpirit ſhall reign eternally. I have choſen death, to confirm the truth by me taught. What can I do more? Conſider with yourſelves, that I have done it for the confirmation of God's truth. Pray that I may continue unto the end. The greateſt part of the aſ-

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fault is paſt, I praiſe my God. I have in all my aſſaults felt the preſent aid of my God, I give him moſt hearty thanks therefore. Look not back, nor be aſhamed of Chriſt's goſpel, nor of the bonds I have ſuffered for the ſame, thereby ye may be aſſured it is the true word of God. The holy ones have been ſealed with the ſame mark. It is no time for the loſs of one man in the battle, for the camp to turn back. Up with mens hearts; blow down the dawbed walls of hereſy. Let one take the banner, and the other the trumpet; I mean not to make corporal reſiſtance, but pray, and ye ſhall have Elias his defence, and Elizeus's company to fight for you. The cauſe is the Lord's. Now my brethren, I can write no more, time will not ſuffer, and my heart with pangs of death is aſſaulted; but I am at home with my God yet alive. Pray for me, and ſalute one another with the holy kiſs. The peace of God reſt with you all, Amen. From Newgate priſon in haſte, the day of my condemnation.

John Rough.

Another Letter of John Rough, written unto the Congregation two Days before he ſuffered.

THE Spirit of conſolation be with you, aid you, and make you ſtrong to run to the fight that is laid before you, wherewithal God in all ages hath tried his elect, and hath found them worthy of himſelf, by coupling to their head Jeſus Chriſt; in whom, whoſo deſireth to live godly, the ſame muſt needs ſuffer perſecution. For it is given unto them, not only to believe, but alſo to ſuffer. And the ſervant or ſcholar cannot be greater than his lord and maſter: but by the ſame way the head is entered, the members muſt follow: no life is in the members which are cut from the body: likewiſe we have no life but in Chriſt: for by him we live, move, and have our being. My dear ſon, now departing this life to my great advantage, I make change of mortality with immortality, of corruption to put on incorruption, to make my body like to the corn caſt into the ground, which except it die firſt, it can bring forth no good fruit. Wherefore death is to me great advantage: for thereby the body ceaſeth from ſin, and after turneth into the firſt original: but after ſhall be changed, and made brighter than the ſun or moon. What ſhall I write of this corporal death, ſeeing it is decreed of God, that all men ſhall once die? Happy are they that die in the Lord, which is, to die in the faith of Chriſt, profeſſing and confeſſing the ſame before many witneſſes. I praiſe my God I have paſſed the ſame journey by many temptations, the devil is very buſy to perſuade, the world to entice with promiſes and fair words: which I omit to write leſt ſome might think I did hunt after vain-glory, which is fartheſt from my heart. Laſtly, the danger of ſome falſe brethren, who before the biſhop of London purpoſed to confeſs an untruth to my face: yet the God that ruled Balaam, moved their hearts: where they thought to ſpeak to my accuſation, he made them ſpeak to my purgation. What a journey (by God's power) I have made theſe eight days before this day, it is above fleſh and blood to bear: but as St. Paul ſaith, I may do all things in him which worketh in me, Jeſus Chriſt. My courſe, brethren, have I run, I have fought a good fight, the crown of righteouſneſs is laid up for me, my day to receive it is not long to. Pray brethren, for the enemy doth yet aſſault. Stand conſtant unto the end, then ſhall you poſſeſs your ſouls. Walk worthily in that vocation wherein you are called. Comfort the brethren. Salute one another in my name. Be not aſhamed of the goſpel of the croſs, by me preached, nor yet of my ſuffering; for with my blood I affirm the ſame. I go before, I ſuffer firſt the baiting of the butcher's dogs; yet I have not done what I ſhould have done: but my weakneſs, I doubt not, is ſupplied in the ſtrength of Jeſus Chriſt; and your wiſdom and learning will accept the ſmall talent, which I have diſtributed unto you (as I truſt) as a faithful ſteward: and what was undone, impute that to frailty and ignorance, and with your love cover that which is and was naked in me. God knoweth ye are all tender unto me, my heart burſteth for the love of you. Ye are not without your great paſtor of your ſoul, who ſo loveth you, that if men were not to be fought out (as God be praiſed, there is no want of men) he would cauſe ſtones to miniſter unto you. Caſt your care on that rock, the wind of temptation ſhall not prevail: faſt and pray, for the days are evil. Look up with your eyes of hope, for the redemption is not far off (but my wickedneſs hath deſerved that I ſhall not ſee it.) And alſo that which is behind of the blood of our brethren, which ſhall alſo be laid under the altar, ſhall cry for your relief. Time will not ſuffer me to write long letters. The Spirit of God guide you in and out, riſing and ſitting, cover you with the ſhadow of his wings, defend you againſt the tyranny of the wicked, and bring you happily unto the port of eternal felicity, where all tears ſhall be wiped from your eyes, and you ſhall always abide with the Lamb.

John Rough.

Margaret Mearing, Martyr.

IT is before declared, that in company of John Rough, was burned one Margaret Mearing, who, as the regiſter maketh mention, was at one time and day brought with the ſaid Rough forth to examination: where the biſhop having no private matters to charge her withal, did the eighteenth day of December object againſt her thoſe common and accuſtomable articles mentioned before. To which ſhe anſwered as follows.

1. That there is here in earth a catholic church, and that there is the true faith of Chriſt obſerved and kept in the ſame church.

2. Item, That there were only two ſacraments in the church, namely, the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, and the ſacrament of baptiſm.

3. Item, That ſhe was baptized in the faith, and belief of the ſaid church, renouncing there, by her godfathers and godmothers, the devil and all his works, &c.

4. Item, That when ſhe came to the age of fourteen years, ſhe did not know what her true belief was, becauſe ſhe was not then of diſcretion to underſtand the ſame, neither yet was taught it.

5. Item, That ſhe had not gone from the catholic faith at any time; but ſhe ſaid that the maſs was abominable before the ſight of God, and before the ſight of all true chriſtian people, and that it is the plain cup of fornication, and the whore of Babylon. And as concerning the ſacrament of the altar, ſhe ſaid, ſhe believed there was no ſuch ſacrament in the catholic church. Alſo ſhe ſaid, that ſhe utterly abhorred the authority of the biſhop of Rome, with all the religion obſerved in the ſame antichriſt's church.

6. Item, She anſwered to the ſixth article, as to the firſt, before ſpecified.

7. Item, That ſhe hath refuſed to come to her pariſh-church, becauſe the true religion of Chriſt was not then uſed in the ſame: and further ſaid, That ſhe had not come unto the church by the ſpace of one year and three quarters then laſt paſt, neither yet did mean any more to come into the ſame in theſe idolatrous days.

8. Item, As touching the manner of her apprehenſion, ſhe ſaid, That Cluney, the biſhop's ſumner, did fetch her to the biſhop.

Theſe anſwers being then regiſtered, they were again (with the ſaid articles) propounded againſt her the twentieth day of December, and there being demanded, if ſhe would ſtand unto thoſe her anſwers, ſhe ſaid, I will ſtand to them unto death; for the very angels of heaven do

do laugh you to ſcorn, to ſee your abomination that you uſe in the church. After which words the biſhop pronounced the ſentence of condemnation againſt her; and then delivering her unto the ſheriffs, ſhe was with the beforenamed John Rough carried unto Newgate. From whence they were both together led unto Smithfield, the twenty-ſecond of December, and there moſt joyfully gave their lives for the profeſſion of Chriſt's goſpel.

The Sufferings and cruel Torments of Cutbert Symſon, Deacon of the Chriſtian Congregation in London.

CUTBERT SYMSON was a man of a faithful and zealous heart to Chriſt and his true flock, inſomuch that he never ceaſed labouring, and ſtudying moſt earneſtly, not only how to preſerve them without corruption of the popiſh religion, but alſo his care was very vigilant how to keep them together without peril or danger of perſecution. The pains, travail, zeal, patience, and fidelity of this man, in caring and providing for this congregation, as it is not eaſily to be expreſſed, ſo it is wonderful to behold the providence of the Lord by viſion, concerning the troubles of this faithful miniſter and godly deacon, as in this here following may appear.

The Friday night before Mr. Rough, miniſter of the congregation (of whom mention was made before) was taken, being in his bed, he dreamed, that he ſaw two of the guards leading Cutbert Symſon, deacon of the ſaid congregation, and that he had the book about him, wherein were written the names of all them which were of the congregation. Whereupon, being ſore troubled, he awaked, and called his wife, ſaying, Kate, ſtrike a light, for I am much troubled with my brother Cutbert this night. When ſhe had ſo done, he gave himſelf to read in his book awhile, and there feeling ſleep to come upon him, he put out the candle, and ſo gave himſelf again to reſt. Being aſleep, he dreamed the like dream again; and, awaked therewith, he ſaid, Oh Kate, my brother Cutbert is gone. So they lighted a candle again, and roſe. And as the ſaid Mr. Rough was making him ready to go to Cutbert to ſee how he did, in the mean time the ſaid Cutbert came in with the book containing the names and accounts of the congregation. Whom when Mr. Rough had ſeen, ſaid he, brother Cutbert, you are welcome; for I have been ſore troubled with you this night, and ſo told him his dream. After he had ſo done, he deſired him to lay the book away from him, and to carry it no more about him. Unto which Cutbert anſwered, he would not do ſo; for dreams, he ſaid, were but phantaſies, and not to be credited. Then Mr. Rough ſtraitly charged him in the name of the Lord to do it. Whereupon the ſaid Cutbert took ſuch notes out of the book as he had deſired him to do, and immediately left the book with Mr. Rough's wife.

The next day following, in the night, the ſaid Mr. Rough had another dream in his ſleep, concerning his own trouble. The matter whereof was this: he thought in his dream that he was carried himſelf forcibly to the biſhop, and that the biſhop pluckt off his beard, and caſt it into the fire, ſaying theſe words, Now I may ſay, I have had a piece of an heretic burned in my houſe, and ſo accordingly it came to paſs.

Now to return to Cutbert again; as we have touched ſomething concerning theſe viſions, ſo now remaineth to mention his pains and ſufferings upon the rack and otherwiſe, like a good Laurence for the congregations ſake, as he wrote it with his own hand.

A true Report how he was uſed in the Tower of London, being ſent thither by the Council, the thirteenth Day of December,

ON the Thurſday after, I was called into the warehouſe, before the conſtable of the Tower, and the recorder of London, Mr. Cholmley; they commanded me to tell whom I did will to come to the Engliſh ſervice. I anſwered, I would declare nothing. Whereupon I was ſet in a rack of iron, the ſpace of three hours, as I judged.

Then they aſked me if I would tell them. I anſwered as before. Then was I looſed, and carried to my lodging again. On the Sunday after I was brought into the ſame place again before the lieutenant and the recorder of London, and they examined me. As before I had ſaid, I anſwered. Then the lieutenant did ſwear by God I ſhould tell. Then did they bind my two foreſingers together, and put a ſmall arrow betwixt them, and drew it through ſo faſt that the blood followed, and the arrow brake.

Then they racked me twice. Then was I carried to my lodging again, and ten days after the lieutenant aſked me if I would not confeſs that which they had before aſked me. I ſaid, I had ſaid as much as I would. Then five weeks after he ſent me unto the high prieſt, where I was greatly aſſaulted, and at whoſe hand I received the pope's curſe, for bearing witneſs of the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt. And thus I commend you unto God, and to the word of his grace, with all them that unfeignedly call upon the name of Jeſus, deſiring God of his endleſs mercy, through the merits of his dear Son Jeſus Chriſt, to bring us all to his everlaſting kingdom, Amen. I praiſe God for his great mercy ſhewed upon us. Sing Hoſanna unto the higheſt with me Cutbert Symſon. God forgive me my ſins. I ask all the world forgiveneſs, and I do forgive all the world, and thus I leave this world, in hope of a joyful reſurrection.

A Note of Cutbert Symſon's Patience.

NOW as touching this Cutbert Symſon, this further is to be noted, that Bonner in his conſiſtory ſpeaking of Cutbert Symſon, gave this teſtimony of him there to the people, ſaying, Ye ſee this man, ſaith he, what a perſonable man he is; and after he had thus commended his perſon, added moreover, And furthermore concerning his patience, I ſay unto you, that if he were not an heretic, he is a man of the greateſt patience that yet ever came before me: for I tell you, he hath been thrice racked upon one day in the Tower, Alſo in my houſe he hath felt ſome ſorrow, and yet I never ſaw his patience broken, &c.

It is thought and ſaid of ſome, that that arrow which was grated betwixt his fingers, being tied together, was not in the Tower, but in the biſhop's houſe.

The day before the bleſſed deacon and martyr of God, Cutbert Symſon, after his painful racking, ſhould go to his condemnation before Bonner to be burned, being in the biſhop's coal-houſe there in the ſtocks, he had a certain viſion or apparition very ſtrange, which he himſelf with his own mouth declared to the learned man Mr. Auſten, to his own wife, and Thomas Symſon, and to others beſides, in the priſon of Newgate, a little before his death. The relation whereof I ſtand in no little doubt whether to report abroad or not, conſidering with myſelf the great diverſity of mens judgments by the reading of hiſtories, and variety of affections. Some I ſee will not believe it, ſome will deride the ſame, ſome alſo will be offended with ſetting forth things of that ſort uncertain, eſteeming all things to be uncertain and incredible, whatſoever is ſtrange from the common order of nature.

Others

Others will be perchance grieved, thinking with themſelves, or elſe thus reaſoning with me, that although the matter were as is reported, yet forſomuch as the common error of believing raſh miracles, phantaſies, viſions, dreams, and apparitions, thereby may be confirmed, more expedient it were the ſame to be unſet forth.

Theſe, and ſuch like, will be, I know, the ſayings of many. Whereunto briefly I anſwer, granting firſt, and admitting with the words of Baſil, Not every dream is ſtraitway a prophecy. Again, neither am I ignorant, that the papiſts in their books and legends of ſaints have their prodigious viſions and apparitions of angels, of our lady, of Chriſt, and other ſaints: which as I will not admit to be believed for true, ſo will they ask me again why ſhould I then more require theſe to be credited of them, than theirs of us.

Firſt, I write not this, binding any man preciſely to believe the ſame, as they do theirs, but only report of it as it hath been heard of perſons known, naming alſo the parties who were the hearers thereof, leaving the judgment thereof notwithſtanding free unto the arbitrement of the reader. Albeit, it is no good argument, proceeding from the ſingular or particular, to the univerſal, to ſay that viſions be not true in ſome: ergo, they be true in none. And if any ſhall muſe, or object again, Why ſhould ſuch viſions be given to him, or a few other ſingular perſons, more than all the reſt, ſeeing the other were in the ſame cauſe and quarrel, and died alſo martyrs as well as he? To this I ſay, concerning the Lord's times and doings I have not to meddle nor make, who may work where and when it pleaſeth him. And what if the Lord thought chiefly above the other, with ſingular conſolation to reſpect him, who is chiefly above the other, and ſingularly did ſuffer moſt exquiſite torments for his ſake? What marvel herein? But, as I ſaid, of the Lord's ſecret times I have not to reaſon. This only which hath out of the man's own mouth been received, ſo as I received it of the parties, I thought here to communicate to the reader, for him to judge thereof as God ſhall rule his mind. The matter is this.

The day before Symſon was condemned, he being in the ſtocks, Cluney his keeper cometh in with the keys, about nine of the clock at night (after his uſual manner) to view the priſon, and ſee whether all were preſent, who when he eſpied the ſaid Cutbert to be there, departed again, locking the doors after him. Within two hours after, about eleven of the clock toward midnight, the ſaid Cutbert (whether being in a ſlumber, or being awake, I cannot ſay) heard one coming in, firſt opening the outward door, then the ſecond, after the third door, and ſo looking in to the ſaid Cutbert, having no candle or torch that he could ſee, but giving a brightneſs and light moſt comfortable and joyful to his heart, ſaying unto him, Ha, and departed again. Who it was he could not tell, neither dare I define. This that he ſaw he himſelf declared four or five times to the ſaid Mr. Auſten, and to others. At the ſight whereof he received ſuch joyful comfort, that he alſo expreſſed no little ſolace in telling and declaring the ſame.

A Letter of Cutbert Symſon to his Wife, written in the Coal-houſe.

DEarly beloved in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. I cannot write as I do wiſh unto you.

I beſeech you with my ſoul, commit yourſelf under the mighty hand of our God, truſting in his mercy, and he will ſurely help us, as ſhall be moſt unto his glory, and our everlaſting comfort, being ſure of this, that he will ſuffer nothing to come unto us, but that which ſhall be moſt profitable for us.

For it is either a correction for our ſins, or a trial of our faith, or to ſet forth his glory, or for all together; and therefore muſt needs be well done. For there is nothing that cometh to us by fortune or chance, but by our heavenly Father's providence. And therefore pray unto our heavenly Father, that he will ever give us his grace to conſider it. Let us give him moſt hearty thanks for theſe his fatherly corrections; for as many as he loveth he correcteth. And I beſeech you now be of good cheer, and count the croſs of Chriſt greater riches than all the vain pleaſures of England. I do not doubt (I praiſe God for it) but that you have ſupped with Chriſt at his Maundy, I mean, believe in him: for that is the effect, and then muſt you drink of his cup, I mean his croſs (for that doth the cup ſignify unto us). Take the cup with a good ſtomach, in the name of God, and then ſhall you be ſure to have the good wine, Chriſt's blood, to thy poor thirſty ſoul. And when you have the wine, you muſt drink it out of this cup. Learn this when you come to the Lord's Supper. In all things give thanks.

In the name of Jeſus Chriſt ſhall every knee bow,
Cutbert Symſon.

Hugh Foxe and John Deveniſh.

WITH Cutbert Symſon likewiſe was apprehended and alſo ſuffered (as is before mentioned) Hugh Foxe, and John Deveniſh; who being brought unto their examinations with the ſaid Cutbert, before Bonner biſhop of London, March 19, had articles and interrogatories miniſtered to them by the ſaid officer.

The general Anſwers of Cutbert Symſon, Hugh Foxe, and John Deveniſh, to the articles propoſed to them by the biſhop.

TO the firſt article they all anſwered affirmatively; but John Deveniſh added, That that church is grounded upon the prophets and apoſtles, Chriſt being the head corner-ſtone, and how in that church there is the true faith and religion of Chriſt.

To the ſecond article they all confeſſed and believed, That in Chriſt's catholic church there are but two ſacraments, namely, baptiſm, and the ſupper of the Lord; otherwiſe they do not believe the contents of this article to be true in any part thereof.

To the third, fourth and fifth article they all anſwered affirmatively.

To the ſixth article they all anſwered, and denied to acknowledge the authority of the ſee of Rome to be lawful and good, either yet his religion.

To the ſeventh article they all anſwered affirmatively, that they have and will ſtill do while they live; and John Deveniſh adding thereto, ſaid that the ſacrament of the altar, as it is now uſed, is no ſacrament at all.

To the eighth article they all confeſſed, and believed all things above by them acknowledged and declared to be true, and that they be of the dioceſe of London, and juriſdiction of the ſame.

Theſe three above-named perſons, Cutbert, Foxe, and Deveniſh, as they were altogether apprehended at Iſlington, ſo they all three ſuffered together in Smithfield, about the 28th day of March, in whoſe perfect conſtancy the ſame Lord (in whoſe cauſe and quarrel they ſuffered) giver of grace, and governor of all things, be exalted for ever, Amen.

The Martyrdom of William Nichol at Haverford-weſt, in Wales.

WE find in all ages from the beginning, that ſatan hath not ceaſed at all times to moleſt the church of Chriſt with one affliction or other, to the trial of their faith, but yet never ſo apparently at any time to all the world, as when the Lord hath permitted him power over the bodies of his ſaints to the ſhedding of their blood, and

and perceiving of their religion; for then ſleepeth he not, I warrant you, from the murdering of the ſame, unleſs they will fall down with Ahab and Jezebel to worſhip him, and ſo kill and poiſon their own ſouls eternally; as in theſe miſerable latter days of queen Mary we have felt, heard, and ſeen practiſed upon God's people. Among whom we find recorded an honeſt poor man, named William Nichol, who was apprehended by the champions of the pope, for ſpeaking certain words againſt the cruel kingdom of antichriſt, and the 9th day of April, 1558, was burnt in Wales, ending his life in a moſt happy and bleſſed ſtate, glorioufly giving his ſoul into the hands of that God, whoſe goodneſs be praiſed for ever, Amen.

This William Nichol (as we are informed) was ſo ſimple a good ſoul, that many eſteemed him half fooliſh. But what he was in that reſpect we know not, but this we are ſure, that he died a good man, and in a good cauſe, whatſoever they judge of him. And the more ſimplicity and feebleneſs of wit appeared in him, the more beaſtly and wretched doth it declare their cruel tyrannical act therein. The Lord give them repentance, if it be his bleſſed will, Amen, Amen.

The Martyrdom of William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudſon, at Norwich, in the County of Norfolk.

IMmediately after William Nichol, ſucceeded in that honourable and glorious vocation of martyrdom three conſtant godly men at Norwich in Norfolk, who were cruelly put to death for the true teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, the 19th of May, in the year 1558, whoſe names be theſe; William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudſon.

William Seaman was an huſbandman, of the age of twenty-ſix years, dwelling in Mendleſham, in the county of Suffolk, who was divers times ſought for at the command of Sir John Tyrrel knight, and at laſt he himſelf ſearched his houſe and other places for him; notwithſtanding he ſomewhat miſſed of his purpoſe, God be thanked. Then he gave charge to his ſervants, Robert Baulding and James Clarke, with others, to ſeek for him. Who, having no officer, went in the evening to his houſe, he being at home, they took him and carried him to their maſter Sir John Tyrrel. This Baulding being Seaman's near neighbour, and one whom Seaman truſted as an extraordinary friend, notwithſtanding to do his maſter a pleaſure, now became an enemy to his chief friend, and was one of the buſieſt in the taking of him. And as they were going to carry him to their maſter Sir John Tyrrel in the night, it is credibly reported that there fell a light between them out of the element, and parted them, this Baulding being in company with the reſt when the light fell; and although he was then in the prime of his age, yet after that time never enjoyed a good day, but pined away even to death.

Well, for all that ſtrange ſight, as I ſaid, they carried him to their maſter. Who, when he came, aſked him why he would not go to maſs, and receive the ſacrament, and ſo to worſhip it: to which William Seaman anſwered, denying it to be a ſacrament, and ſaid it was an idol, and therefore would not receive it. After which words Sir John Tyrrel ſent him to Norwich, to Hopton, then biſhop, and there after conference and examination had with him, the biſhop read his bloody ſentence of condemnation againſt him; and afterward delivered him to the ſecular power, who kept him to the day of martyrdom.

The ſaid William Seaman left behind him when he died, a wife and three children very young: and with the ſaid young children his wife was perſecuted out of the ſaid town of Mendleſham, becauſe ſhe would not go to hear maſs, and all her corn and goods ſeized and taken away by Mr. Chriſtopher Cole's officers, he being lord of the ſaid town.

Thomas Carman (who, as is ſaid, pledged Richard Craſhfield at his burning, and thereupon was apprehended) being priſoner in Norwich, was about one time with the reſt examined and brought before the ſaid biſhop, who anſwered no leſs in his maſter's cauſe than the others; and therefore had the like reward that the others had, which was the biſhop's bloody bleſſing of condemnation, and delivered alſo to the ſecular power, who kept him with the others until the day of ſlaughter, which was not long after.

Thomas Hudſon was of Aileſham in Norfolk, by his occupation a glover, a very honeſt poor man, having a wife and three children, labouring always truly and diligently in his vocation, being of thirty years of age, and bearing ſo good a will to the goſpel, that he in the days of king Edward VI. two years before queen Mary's reign learned to read Engliſh of Anthony and Thomas Norgate of the ſame town, wherein he greatly profited about the time of alteration of religion: for when queen Mary came to reign, and had changed the ſervice in the church, putting in for wheat, chaff and darnel, and for good preaching, blaſphemous crying out againſt truth and godlineſs; he then avoiding all their ceremonies of ſuperſtition, abſented himſelf from his houſe, and went into Suffolk a long time, and there remained travelling from once place to another, as occaſion was offered. At laſt he returned back again to his houſe at Aileſham, to comfort his wife and children, being heavy and troubleſome with his abſence.

Now when he came home, and perceiving his continuance there would be dangerous, he and his wife deviſed to make him a place among his faggots to hide himſelf in, where he remained all the day reading and praying continually, for the ſpace of half a year, and his wife like an honeſt woman being careful for him, uſed herſelf faithfully and diligently towards him.

In the mean time came the vicar of the town (who was one of the biſhop's commiſſaries, a very wicked man) and inquired of Thomas Hudſon's wife for her huſband. Unto whom ſhe anſwered, as not knowing where he was. Then the ſaid Berry waxed angry, and threatened to burn her, becauſe ſhe would not tell where her huſband was. After that when Hudſon underſtood it, he grew every day more zealous than other, and continually read and ſang pſalms, the people openly reſorting to him, to hear his exhortations and prayers.

At laſt he walked abroad for certain days openly in the town, crying out continually againſt the maſs and all their trumpery, and in the end coming home in his houſe, he ſate him down, having his book by him, reading and ſinging pſalms continually without ceaſing for three days and three nights together, to the great wonder of many.

Then one John Crouch his next neighbour went to the conſtables, Robert Marſham and Robert Lawes in the night, to certify thereof: for Berry commanded openly to watch for him, and the conſtables underſtanding the ſame, went to catch him at break of day, the 22d of April 1558.

And when Hudſon ſaw them come in, he ſaid, Now mine hour is come: welcome friends, welcome. You be they that ſhall lead me to life in Chriſt. I thank God for it, and the Lord enable me thereto for his mercies ſake. Then they took him and led him to Berry the commiſſary, who was vicar of the town, and the ſaid Berry aſked him firſt where he kept his church for four years before. To which the ſaid Hudſon anſwered thus, whereſoever he was, there was the church.

Doſt thou not believe, ſaid Berry, in the ſacrament of the altar? What is it?

Hudſon. It is worms meat: my belief is in Chriſt crucified.

Berry. Doſt thou not believe the maſs to put away ſins?

Hudſon.

Hudſon. No, God forbid; it is a patched monſter, and a diſguſted puppet, more tedious a piecing than ever was Solomon's temple.

At which words Berry ſtamped, fumed, and ſhewed himſelf as a mad man, and ſaid, Well, thou villain, thou: I will write to the biſhop, my good lord, and truſt unto it, thou ſhalt be handled according to thy deſerts. O, Sir, ſaid Hudſon, there is no Lord but God, though there be many lords and many gods. With that Berry thruſt him back with his hand. And one Richard Cliffar ſtanding by, ſaid, I pray you, Sir, be good to the poor man. At which words Berry was more mad than before, and would have had Cliffar bound in a recognizance of forty pounds for his good behaviour both in word and deed; but his deſire took no effect. Then he asked Hudſon whether he would recant, or not: to which Hudſon anſwered, The Lord forbid! I had rather die many deaths than do ſo.

Then after long talk, the ſaid Berry, ſeeing it to no purpoſe to perſuade him, took his pen and ink, and wrote letters to the biſhop thereof, and ſent this Hudſon to Norwich bound like a thief to him, which was eight miles from thence, who went thither ſinging with joy, as merry as ever he was in his life before. He was a month in priſon, where he ſpent his time in reading and invocating the name of God.

Theſe three chriſtians and conſtant martyrs, William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudſon, after they were (as ye have heard) condemned the 19th day of May 1558, were carried out of priſon to the place where they ſhould ſuffer, which was without Biſhopſgate at Norwich, called Lollard's pit. And being all there, they made their humble petitions to the Lord. That being done, they aroſe and went to the ſtake, and ſtanding all there with their chains about them, immediately Thomas Hudſon came forth from them under the chain, to the great ſurpriſe of all the ſpectators; many doubted his conſtancy, fearing he ſhould recant; others thought he wanted a reprieve for further conference; and ſome imagined he came forth to ask his parents bleſſing. In the midſt of this confuſion his two companions at the ſtake did all they could to comfort and encourage him, exhorting him in the bowels of Chriſt to be of good cheer, &c. But alas! he felt more in his conſcience than they could conceive, for he was encompaſſed with intolerable grief of mind, not for fear of death, but for lack of an inward ſenſible feeling of the love of his Saviour: and therefore, being very careful, he humbly fell upon his knees, and vehemently prayed to God, who at laſt, according to his old mercies, ſent him comfort; and then he aroſe in extaſy of joy, as a new man changed even from death to life, and ſaid; Now I thank God I am ſtrong, and care not what man can do unto me. So going again to his companions at the ſtake, they all ſuffered death moſt joyfully, conſtantly, and manfully together, to the terror of the wicked, the comfort of good people, and the glory of God, whom be praiſed for ever, Amen.

After this, the aforeſaid commiſſary Berry made a great ſtir about others who were ſuſpected in the town of Aileſham, and cauſed 200 to creep to the croſs at Pentecoſt, beſides other puniſhments which they ſuſtained. On a time this Berry gave a poor man of his pariſh of Marſham a blow with a flail, for a word's ſpeaking, that preſently thereon he died; and it is reported that the ſaid Berry held up his hand at the bar for the ſame. At another time one Alice Oxes of the ſame pariſh came to his houſe, and going into the hall he met her, and began in an ill humour, ſtruck her with his fiſt, whereupon ſhe was fain to be carried home, and the next day was found dead in her chamber. The number of whores and concubines he had is incredible to all but thoſe who lived near him: he was rich, and of great authority, and as great a reprobate, perſecuting the goſpel, and compelling men to idolatry; he burnt all the good books he could lay his hands on, and divorced many men and women for religion. When he heard that queen Mary was dead, and the glory of their triumph quailed, the Sunday after (being the 19th of November 1558) he made a great feaſt, and had one of his concubines there, with whom he was in his chamber until even-ſong: then he went to church where he had miniſtered baptiſm, and in his return home from even-ſong, between the church-yard and his houſe, being but a little ſpace (about the breadth of a church-yard) he fell down ſuddenly to the ground with a heavy groan, and never ſtirred after, neither ſhewed any one token of repentance. And thoſe that had his great riches ſince his death have ſo conſumed with them, that they be poorer now than they were before they had them. Now let the reader obſerve the difference between the end of a martyr, and the end of a perſecutor.

About this time Joan Seaman, mother to the aforeſaid William Seaman, being of the age of 66 years, was perſecuted by the ſaid Sir John Tyrrel alſo, becauſe ſhe would not go to maſs and receive againſt her conſcience: which good old woman being from her houſe, was glad ſometimes to lie in buſhes, groves, and fields, and ſometimes in her neighbour's houſe when ſhe could. And her huſband being at home about the age of eighty years, fell ſick, and ſhe hearing thereof, with ſpeed returned home to her houſe again, not regarding her life, but conſidering her duty, and ſhewed her diligence to her huſband moſt faithfully till God took him away by death. Then by God's providence ſhe fell ſick alſo, and died in her own houſe ſoon after. When one Mr. Symons the commiſſary heard of it, he dwelling in a town hard by called Thorndon, commanded that ſhe ſhould not have chriſtian burial, as they termed it, and her friends were compelled to lay her in a pit under a mote's ſide. Her huſband and ſhe kept a good houſe, and had a good report among their neighbours, willing always to receive ſtrangers, and to comfort the poor and ſick, and lived together in the holy eſtate of matrimony very honeſtly above forty years; and ſhe departed this life willingly and joyfully, with a ſtedfaſt faith and a good remembrance of God's promiſe in Chriſt Jeſus.

A woman called mother Bennet, a widow, who lived in the town of Wetherſet, near Mendleſham, was perſecuted out of the town for not going to maſs, but at laſt ſhe returned home again ſecretly to her houſe, and there departed this life joyfully. But Sir John Tyrrel and maſter Symons the commiſſary would not let her be buried in the church-yard. So was ſhe laid in a grave by the highway ſide.

This good old woman met one of mother Seaman's neighbours, and aſked her how mother Seaman did; and the neighbour anſwered, that ſhe did very well, God be thanked. O, ſaid mother Bennet, mother Seaman hath ſtepped a great ſtep before me; for ſhe was never covetous that I could perceive.

Her huſband in his mirth would ſay unto her; O woman, if thou wert ſparing, thou mighteſt have ſaved me an hundred marks more than thou haſt. To which ſhe would gently anſwer, O man be content, and let us be thankful, for God hath given us enough, if we can ſee it. Alas, good huſband, would ſhe ſay, I tell you truth, I cannot firken up my butter, and keep my cheeſe in the chamber, waiting for a great price, and let the poor want, and ſo diſpleaſe God. But, huſband, let us be rich in good works, and ſo ſhall we pleaſe the Lord, and have all good things given us, &c.

In the month of May likewiſe, William Harris, Richard Day, and Chriſtian George, ſuffered at Colcheſter, and there joyfully and fervently made their prayers to God. And being ſettled at the ſtake, and chained to the poſts, with the fire flaming fiercely round about them, they like conſtant chriſtians triumphantly praiſed God within the ſame, and offered up their bodies a lively ſacrifice unto his holy majeſty, in whoſe habitation they have

have now their everlaſting tabernacles: his name be therefore praiſed for evermore, Amen.

The ſaid Chriſtian George's huſband had another wife burnt before this Chriſtian, whoſe name was Agnes George, who ſuffered, as you have heard, at Stratford the Bow. And after the death of the ſaid Chriſtian, he married an honeſt godly woman again, and ſo they both (I mean the ſaid Richard George and his laſt wife) in the end were taken alſo, and laid in priſon, where they remained till the death of queen Mary, and at laſt were delivered by our moſt gracious ſovereign lady queen Elizabeth.

In the month of June came out a proclamation from the king and queen, againſt wholeſome and godly books, which under the falſe title of hereſy and ſedition were wrongfully condemned in the ſaid proclamation.

By the King and Queen.

WHEREAS divers books, filled both with hereſy, ſedition and treaſon, have of late, and be daily brought into this realm out of foreign countries and places beyond the ſeas, and ſome alſo covertly printed within this realm, and caſt abroad in ſundry parts thereof, whereby not only God is diſhonoured, but alſo an encouragement given to diſobey lawful princes and governors: the king and queen's majeſties, for redreſs hereof, do by this preſent proclamation declare and publiſh to all their loving ſubjects, that whoſoever ſhall after the proclaiming hereof, be found to have any of the ſaid wicked and ſeditious books, or finding them, do not forthwith burn the ſame, without ſhewing or reading the ſame to any other perſon, ſhall in that caſe be reputed and taken for a rebel, and ſhall without delay be executed for that offence, according to the order of martial law.

Given at our manor of St. James's, the 6th day of June.

John Cawood, Printer.

The Apprehenſion of certain godly Men and Women praying together in the Fields about Iſlington.

SEcretly in a back cloſe in the field by Iſlington, were gathered together a company of innocent perſons, to the number of forty men and women. Who were ſitting together at prayer, and virtuouſly occupied in the meditation of God's holy word, firſt cometh a certain man to them unknown, who looking over unto them, ſtayed and ſaluted them, ſaying, that they looked like men that meant no hurt. Then one of the ſaid company aſked the man, if he could tell whoſe cloſe that was, and whether they might be ſo bold as to ſit there. Yea, ſaid he, becauſe ye ſeem unto me ſuch perſons as intend no harm; and ſo departed. Within a quarter of an hour after, came the conſtable of Iſlington, named King, with ſix or ſeven more, one with a bow, another with a bill, and the reſt with weapons. Six or ſeven of this company were left behind in a private place, to be ready in caſe they were wanted, while the conſtable and one with him went before to view them; they both went amongſt them, looking and viewing what they were doing, and what books they had; and ſo going a little forward, and returning back again, ordered them to deliver their books. They underſtanding that he was a conſtable, refuſed not ſo to do. Then came up the reſt of their fellows, before-mentioned, who bad them ſtand and not depart. They anſwered again, they would be obedient and ready to go whitherſoever they would have them; and they were firſt carried to a brew-houſe at a ſmall diſtance, while ſome of the company went to the neareſt juſtice, but he being not at home, they were carried before Sir Roger Cholmley. In the mean time ſome of the women eſcaped away from them, ſome in the cloſe where they ſat, and others before they came to the brew-houſe. For ſo they were carried, ten with one man, eight with another, with ſome more, with others leſs, in ſuch a manner as it was not hard for them to eſcape that would. In fine, they that were carried to Sir Roger Cholmley, were twenty-ſeven, and Sir Roger and the recorder taking their names in a bill, and calling them one by one, ſo many as anſwered to their names, he ſent to Newgate, which were twenty-two out of the twenty-ſeven. They continued in priſon ſeven weeks; and before they were examined, word was ſent by Alexander the keeper, that if they would hear a maſs, they ſhould all be delivered, but thirteen of them were burnt, ſeven in Smithfield, and ſix at Branford; two died in priſon, and the other ſeven, with much trouble (through God's providence) eſcaped death. Their names were theſe:

John Willes. Thomas Hinſhaw. R. Baily, woolpacker. Rob. Willes. Hudleys. T. Coaſt, haberdaſher, Roger Sandy.

The names of the ſeven martyrs that were apprehended amongſt others, in the cloſe at Iſlington, and afterwards burnt in Smithfield, were as follows:

Henry Pond. Rainol Eaſtland. Robert Southam. Matthew Ricarby. John Floyd. John Holiday. Roger Holland.

Theſe ſeven godly men had ſeveral articles adminiſtered to them by biſhop Bonner, in the uſual form; to which they returned their anſwers, and abſolutely refuſing to acknowledge the doctrine of the Romiſh church, were altogether condemned, the ſentence being read againſt them, and ſo all ſeven by ſecular magiſtrates being ſent all to Newgate the 17th of June, not long after, about the 27th of the ſaid month were brought to Smithfield, and there ended their lives in the glorious cauſe of Chriſt's goſpel. Their particular examinations never came to our hands, except only thoſe of Roger Holland, which here follow in the order and manner as we have received them by the information of ſome that were there preſent at the ſame.

The Examination and Condemnation of Rog. Holland.

THIS Roger Holland, a merchant-taylor of London, was firſt an apprentice with one Mr. Kempton, at the Black-boy in Watling-ſtreet, where he ſerved his apprenticeſhip with much trouble to his maſter, in breaking him of the licentious liberty which he had before been trained and brought up in, giving himſelf to riot, as dancing, fencing, gaming, banqueting, and wanton company; and beſides all this, being a ſtubborn and an obſtinate papiſt, far unlike to come to any ſuch end as God called him unto. His maſter, notwithſtanding his lewdneſs, truſted him with his accompts; and on a time he received the ſum of thirty pounds for his maſter, and falling into ill company, loſt every groat at dice, being paſt all hope which way to anſwer it, and therefore he propoſed to convey himſelf beyond the ſeas, either into France or Flanders. Having determined with himſelf thus to do, he called betimes in the morning on a ſervant in the houſe, an ancient and diſcreet maid, whoſe name was Elizabeth, who profeſſed the goſpel, with a life agreeing unto the ſame, and at all times much rebuking the wilful and obſtinate papiſtry, as alſo the licentious living of this Roger Holland. To whom he ſaid, Elizabeth, I would I had followed thy gentle perſuaſions and friendly rebukes; which if I had done, I had never come to this ſhame and miſery which I am now fallen into; for this night I have loſt thirty pounds of my maſter's money, which to pay him, and to make up mine accounts, I am not able. But this much I pray you deſire my miſtreſs, that ſhe would intreat my maſter to take this note of my hand, that I am thus much indebted unto him; and if ever I be able, I will ſee him paid, deſiring him that the matter may paſs with ſilence,

and that none of my kindred and friends may ever underſtand this my lewd part: for if it ſhould come to my father's ears, it would bring his grey hairs with ſorrow to the grave: and ſo was he departing.

The maid conſidering that it might be his utter ruin: Stay, ſaid ſhe, and having a ſum of money by her, which was left her by a kinſman at his death, who was thought to be Dr. Redman, ſhe brought unto him thirty pounds, ſaying, Roger, here is thus much money, I will let thee have it, and I will keep this note. But ſince I do thus much for thee to help thee, and to ſave thy honeſty, thou ſhalt promiſe me to refuſe all lewd and wild company, all ſwearing and ribaldry talk; and if ever I know thee to play one twelve-pence at either dice or cards, then will I ſhew thy note unto my maſter. And furthermore thou ſhalt promiſe me to reſort every day to the lecture at All-hallows, and the ſermon at Paul's every Sunday, and to caſt away all thy books of popery and vain ballads, and get thee the Teſtament and book of ſervice, and read the ſcriptures with reverence and fear, calling unto God ſtill for his grace to direct thee in his truth. And pray fervently to God, deſiring him to pardon thy former offences, and not to remember the ſins of thy youth; and ever be afraid to break his laws, or offend his majeſty. Then ſhall God keep thee, and ſend thee thy heart's deſire.

After this time, within one half year, God had wrought ſuch a change in this man, that he was become an earneſt profeſſor of the truth, and deteſted all popery and ill company, ſo that he was in admiration to all the that had known him, and ſeen his former life and wickedneſs. Then he repaired to his father in Lancaſhire, and brought divers good books with him, and beſtowed them among his friends, ſo that his father and others began to taſte the ſweetneſs of the goſpel, and to deteſt the maſs, idolatry, and ſuperſtition; and in the end his father gave him fifty pounds to begin the world withal. Then he came to London again, and went to the maid that lent him the money to pay his maſter withal, and ſaid unto her, Elizabeth, here is thy money that I borrowed of thee, and for the friendſhip, good will, and good counſel I have received at thy hands, to recompence thee I am not able, otherwiſe than to make thee my wife; and ſoon after they were married, which was in the firſt year of queen Mary. And having a child by her, he cauſed Mr. Roſe to baptize it in his own houſe. Notwithſtanding he was bewrayed to the enemies, and he being gone into the country to convey the child away, that the papiſts ſhould not have it in their anointing hands, Bonner cauſed his goods to be ſeized on, and moſt cruelly uſed his wife.

After this he remained cloſely in the city, and in the country, in the congregations of the faithful, until the laſt year of queen Mary. Then he with the ſix others before named, were in, or not far from St. John's Wood, and ſo brought to Newgate upon May-day in the morning, 1558.

They being called before the biſhop, Doctor Chedſey, both the Harpsfields, and certain others, after many other fair and crafty perſuaſions of Doctor Chedſey, to allure him to their Babylonical church; thus the biſhop began with him.

Holland, I for my part do wiſh well unto thee, and the more for thy friend's ſake. And as Dr. Standiſh telleth me, you and he were both born in one pariſh, and he knoweth your father to be a very honeſt catholic gentleman: and Mr. doctor told me that he talked with you a year ago, and found you very wilfully addicted to your own conceit. Divers of the city have alſo ſhewed me of you, that you have been a great procurer of mens ſervants to be of your religion, and to come to your congregations; but ſince you be now in danger of the law, I would wiſh you to play a wiſe man's part; ſo ſhall you not want any favour I can do or procure for you, both for your own ſake, and alſo for your friends, who are men of worſhip and credit, and wiſh you well, and by my troth, Roger, ſo do I.

Then ſaid Mr. Egleſton, a gentleman of Lancaſhire, and near kinſman to Roger, being there preſent; I thank your good lordſhip; your honour meaneth good unto my couſin, I beſeech God he have the grace to follow your counſel.

Holland. Sir, you crave of God you know not what. I beſeech God to open your eyes to ſee the light of his word.

Egleſton. Roger, hold your peace, leſt you fare the worſe at my lord's hands.

Holland. No, I ſhall fare as it pleaſeth God, for man can do no more than God doth permit him.

Then the biſhop and the doctors, with Johnſon the regiſter, caſting their heads together, in the end ſaid Johnſon, Roger, how ſayſt thou? wilt thou ſubmit thyſelf unto my lord, before thou be entered into the book of contempt?

Holland. I never meant but to ſubmit myſelf unto the magiſtrate, as I learnt of St. Paul to the Romans, chap. 13. and ſo he recited the text.

Chedſey. Then I ſee you are no anabaptiſt.

Holland. I mean not yet to be a papiſt; for they and the anabaptiſts agree in this point, not to ſubmit themſelves to any other prince or magiſtrate, than thoſe that muſt firſt be ſworn to maintain them and their doings.

Chedſey. Roger, remember what I have ſaid, and alſo what my lord hath promiſed he will perform with further friendſhip. Take heed, Roger, for your ripeneſs of wit hath brought you into theſe errors.

Holland. Mr. doctor, I have yet your words in memory, though they are of no ſuch force to prevail with me.

Then they whiſpered together again, and at laſt Bonner ſaid, Roger, I perceive thou wilt not be ruled by good counſel, for any thing that either I or your friends can ſay.

Holland. I may ſay to you, my lord, as Paul ſaid to Felix and to the Jews, as doth appear in the 22d of the Acts, and in the 15th of the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians. It is not unknown to my maſter whom I was apprentice withal, that I was of this your blind religion that now is taught, and therein did obſtinately and wilfully remain, until the latter end of king Edward, in manner, having that liberty under your auricular confeſſion, that I made no conſcience of ſin, but truſted in the prieſt's abſolution, he for money doing alſo ſome penance for me: which after I had given, I cared no further what offences I did, no more than he minded after he had my money, whether he taſted bread and water for me, or no: ſo that lechery, ſwearing, and all other vices, I counted no offence of danger, ſo long as I could for money have been abſolved. So ſtraitly did I obſerve your rules of religion, that I would have aſhes upon Aſhwedneſday, though I had uſed never ſo much wickedneſs at night. And albeit I could not of conſcience eat fleſh upon the Friday, yet in ſwearing, drinking, or dicing all the night long, I made no conſcience at all. And thus was I brought up, and herein have I continued till now of late, that God hath opened the light of his word, and called me by his grace to repentance of my former idolatry and wicked life; for in Lancaſhire their blindneſs and whoredom is much more than may with chaſte ears be heard. Yet theſe my friends, which are not clear in theſe notable crimes, think the prieſt with his maſs can ſave them, though they blaſpheme God, and keep concubines beſides their wives, as long as they live. Yea, I know ſome prieſts very devout, my lord, yet ſuch as have ſix or ſeven children by four or five ſundry women.

Mr. doctor, now to your antiquity, unity and univerſality (for theſe Dr. Chedſey alledged as notes and tokens of their religion) I am unlearned. I have no ſo-

phiſtry

phiſtry to ſhift my reaſons withal; but the truth I truſt I have, which needeth no painted colours to ſet her forth. The antiquity of our church is not from pope Nicholas, or pope Joan, but our church is from the beginning, even from the time that God ſaid unto Adam, that the ſeed of the woman ſhould break the ſerpent's head: and and ſo to faithful Noah? to Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, to whom it was promiſed, that their ſeed ſhould multiply as the ſtars in the ſky; and ſo to Moſes, David, and all the holy fathers that were from the beginning unto the birth of our Saviour Chriſt. All they that believed theſe promiſes were of the church, though the number were oftentimes but few and ſmall, as in Elias's days, when he thought there was none but he that had not bowed their knees to Baal, when God had reſerved ſeven thouſand that never had bowed their knees to that idol: as I truſt there be ſeven hundred thouſand more than I know of, that have not bowed their knees to that idol your maſs, and your god Maozim: the upholding whereof is your bloody cruelty, while you daily perſecute Elias, and the ſervants of God, forcing them (as Daniel was in his chamber) cloſely to ſerve the Lord their God; and even as we by this your cruelty are forced in the fields to pray unto God, that his holy word may be once again truly preached amongſt us, and that he would mitigate and ſhorten theſe idolatrous and bloody days wherein all cruelty reigneth. Moreover our church hath been the apoſtles and evangeliſts, the martyrs and confeſſors of Chriſt, that have at all times and in all ages been perſecuted for the teſtimony of the word of God. But for the upholding of your church and religion, what antiquity can you ſhew? Yea, the maſs, that idol and chief pillar of your religion, is not yet four hundred years old, and ſome of your maſſes are younger, as that of St. Thomas Becket the traitor, wherein you pray, That you may be ſaved by the blood of St. Thomas. And as for your Latin ſervice, what are we of the laity the better for it? I think he that ſhould hear your prieſts mumble up their ſervice, although he did well underſtand Latin, yet ſhould he underſtand few words thereof, the prieſts do ſo champ them and chew them, and poſt ſo faſt, that they neither underſtand what they ſay, nor they that hear them; and in the mean time the people, when they ſhould pray with the prieſt, are ſet to the beads to pray our Lady's pſalter. So crafty is Satan to deviſe theſe his dreams, which you defend with faggot and fire, to quench the light of the word of God: which, as David ſaith, ſhould be a lanthorn to our feet. And again, wherein ſhall a young man direct his ways, but by the word of God? And yet you will hide it from us in a tongue unknown. St. Paul had rather to have five words ſpoken with underſtanding, than ten thouſand in an unknown tongue; and yet you will have your Latin ſervice and praying in a ſtrange tongue, whereof the people are utterly ignorant, to be of ſuch antiquity.

The Greek church, and a great part of chriſtendom beſides never received your ſervice in an unknown tongue, but in their own natural language, which all the people underſtand, neither yet your tranſubſtantiation, your receiving in one kind, your purgatory, your images, &c.

As for the unity which is in your church, what is it elſe but treaſon, murder, poiſoning one another, idolatry, ſuperſtition, wickedneſs? What unity was in your church when there were three popes at once? Where was your head of unity when you had a woman pope? Here he was interrupted, and could not be ſuffered to proceed.

The biſhop ſaid, Roger, theſe thy words are very blaſphemy, and by the means of thy friends thou haſt been ſuffered to ſpeak, and art over malepart to teach any here. Therefore keeper take him away.

The ſecond Examination of Roger Holland.

THE day that Henry Pond and the reſt were brought forth to be again examined, Dr. Chedſey ſaid, Roger, I truſt you now have better conſidered of the church than you did before.

Holland. I conſider thus much: that out of the church there is no ſalvation, as divers ancient doctors ſay.

Bonner. That is well ſaid. Mr. Egleſton, I truſt your kinſman will be a good catholic man. But Roger, you mean, I truſt, the church of Rome.

Holland. I mean that church which hath Chriſt for her head; which alſo hath his words and his ſacraments according to his word and inſtitution.

Then Chedſey interrupted him, and ſaid, Is that a Teſtament you have in your hand?

Holland. Yea, Mr. doctor, it is the New Teſtament. You will find no fault with the tranſlation, I think. It is our own tranſlation; it is according to the great Bible.

Bonner. How ſay you? How do you know that it is the Teſtament of Chriſt, but only by the church? For the church of Rome hath and doth preſerve it, and out of the ſame hath made decrees, ordinances, and true expoſitions.

No, ſaith Roger, the church of Rome hath and doth ſuppreſs the reading of the Teſtament. And what a true expoſition, I pray you, did the pope make thereof, when he ſet his foot on the emperor's neck, and ſaid, "Thou ſhalt walk upon the lion and the aſp: the "young lion and the dragon ſhalt thou tread under thy "foot, Pſal. 91."

Then ſaid the biſhop; ſuch unlearned wild heads as thou and others, would be expoſitors of the ſcripture. Would you then the ancient learned, as there be ſome here as well as I, ſhould be taught of you?

Holland. Youth delighteth in vanity. My wildneſs hath been ſomewhat the more by your doctrine, than ever I learned out of this book of God. But, my lord, I ſuppoſe ſome old doctors ſay, If a poor lay-man bring his reaſon and argument out of the word of God, he is to be credited before the learned, tho' they be never ſo great doctors. For the gift of knowledge was taken from the learned doctors, and given to poor fiſhermen. Notwithſtanding I am ready to be inſtructed by the church.

Bonner. That is very well ſaid, Roger. But you muſt underſtand that the church of Rome is the catholic church. Roger, for thy friend's ſake, I promiſe thee, I wiſh thee well, and I mean to do thee good. Keeper, ſee that he want nothing. Roger, if thou lackeſt any money to pleaſure thee, I will ſee thou ſhalt not want. This he ſpake upon him alone, his companions being apart, with many other fair promiſes, and ſo he was ſent to priſon again.

The laſt Examination of R. Holland.

THE laſt examination of Roger Holland was, when he with his fellow priſoners were brought into the conſiſtory, and there all excommunicated, except Roger, and ready to have their ſentence of judgment given, with many threatening words to affright them withal: the lord Strange, Sir Thomas Jarret, M. Egleſton, eſquire, and divers others of worſhip, both of Cheſhire and Lancaſhire, that were Roger Holland's kinſmen and friends, being there preſent, who had been earneſt ſuitors to the biſhop in his favour, hoping of his ſafety of life. Now the biſhop hoping yet to win him with his fair and flattering words, began after this manner:

Bonner. Roger, I have divers times called thee before home to my houſe, and have conferred with thee, and being not learned in the Latin tongue, it doth appear unto me that thou haſt a good memory, and very ſenſible

ble in talk, but ſomething over haſty, which is a natural impediment incident to ſome men. And ſurely they are not the worſt natured men. For I myſelf ſhall now and then be haſty, but mine anger is ſoon over. So Roger, ſurely I have a good opinion of you, that you will not with theſe lewd fellows caſt yourſelf headlong from the church of your parents and your friends that are here, very good catholics, as it is reported unto me. And as I mean thee good, ſo, Roger, play the wiſe man's part, and come home with the loſt ſon, and ſay, I have run into the church of ſchiſmatics and heretics, from the catholic church of Rome; and you ſhall, I warrant you, not only find favour at God's hands, but the church that hath authority, ſhall abſolve you, and put new garments upon you, and kill the fatling to make thee good cheer withal, that is, in ſo doing, as meat doth refreſh and cheriſh the mind, ſo ſhalt thou find as much quietneſs of conſcience in coming home to the church, as did the hungry ſon that had been fed before with the hogs, as you have done with theſe heretics that ſever themſelves from the church. I give them a homely name, but they be worſe [putting his hand to his cap out of reverence] than hogs: for they know the church, and will not follow it. If I ſhould ſay thus much to a Turk, he would, I think, believe me. But, Roger, if I did not bear thee and thy friends good will, I would not have ſaid ſo much as I have done, but I would have let mine ordinary alone with you.

At theſe words his friends there preſent thanked the biſhop for his good will, and for the pains he had taken in his and their behalf.

Then the biſhop proceeded, ſaying, Well, Roger, how ſay you? Do you not believe, that after the prieſt had ſpoken the words of conſecration, there remaineth the body of Chriſt really and corporally under the forms of bread and wine? I mean the ſelf-ſame body as was born of the virgin Mary, that was crucified upon the croſs, that roſe again the third day.

Holland. Your lordſhip ſaith, the ſame body which was born of the virgin Mary, which was crucified upon the croſs, which roſe again the third day: but you leave out, which aſcended into heaven; and the ſcripture ſaith, he ſhall there remain until he come to judge the quick and the dead. Then he is not contained under the forms of bread and wine, by Hoc eſt corpus meum, &c.

Bonner. Roger, I perceive my pains and good-will will not prevail, and if I ſhould argue with thee, thou art ſo wilful, as all thy fellows be, ſtanding in thine own ſingularity and fooliſh conceit, that thou would'ſt ſtill talk to no purpoſe this ſeven years, if thou mighteſt be ſuffered. Anſwer whether thou wilt confeſs the real and corporal preſence of Chriſt's body in the ſacrament, or wilt not.

Holland. My lord, altho' God by his ſufferance hath here placed you, to ſet forth his truth and glory in us his faithful ſervants, notwithſtanding your meaning is far from the zeal of Chriſt; and for all your words, you have the ſame zeal that Annas and Caiaphas had, truſting t their authority, traditions and ceremonies, more than to the word of God.

Bonner. If I ſhould ſuffer him, he would fall from reaſoning to raving, as a frantic heretic.

Roger, ſaith the lord Strange, I perceive my lord would have you tell him, whether you will ſubmit yourſelf to him, or no.

Yea, ſaid Bonner, and confeſs this preſence that I have ſpoke of.

With this Roger turned to the lord Strange and the reſt of his kinſmen and friends, and very cheerfully kneeled down upon his knees, and ſaid, God by the mouth of his ſervant St. Paul hath ſaid, "Let every ſoul ſubmit himſelf unto the higher powers, and he that reſiſteth receiveth his own damnation; and as you are a magiſtrate appointed by the will of God, ſo do I ſubmit myſelf unto you, and to all ſuch as are appointed for magiſtrates.

Bonner. That is well ſaid, I ſee you are no anabaptiſt. How ſay you then to the preſence of Chriſt's body and blood in the ſacrament of the altar?

Holland. I ſay and beſeech you all to mark and bear witneſs with me, for ſo you ſhall do before the judgment-ſeat of God, what I ſpeak; for here is the concluſion: And ye my dear friends, turning to his kinſmen, I pray you ſhew my father what I do ſay, that he may underſtand I am a chriſtian man. I ſay and believe, and am therein fully perſuaded by the ſcriptures, that the ſacrament of the ſupper of our Lord, miniſtered in the holy communion according to Chriſt's inſtitution, I being penitent and ſorry for my ſins, and minding to amend and lead a new life, and ſo coming worthily unto God's board in perfect love and charity, do there receive by faith the body and blood of Chriſt. And tho' Chriſt in his human nature ſit at the right hand of his father, yet by faith I ſay, his death, his paſſion, his merits are mine, and by faith I dwell in him, and he in me. And as for the maſs, tranſubſtantiation, and the worſhipping of the ſacrament, they are mere impiety, and horrible idolatry.

I thought ſo much, ſaid Bonner, ſuffering him to ſpeak no more, now he would prove a very blaſphemous heretic as ever I heard. How irreverently doth he ſpeak of the bleſſed maſs? And ſo read his ſentence of condemnation, adjudging him to be burned.

All this while Roger was very patient and quiet, and when he ſhould depart, he ſaid, My lord, I beſeech you ſuffer me to ſpeak two words. The biſhop would not hear him, but bade him away. Notwithſtanding, being requeſted by one of his friends, he ſaid, Speak, what haſt thou to ſay?

Holland. Even now I told you, that your authority was from God, and by his ſufferance: and now I tell you, God hath heard the prayer of his ſervants, which hath been poured forth with tears for his afflicted ſaints, whom you daily perſecute, as now you do us. But this I dare be bold in God to ſpeak (by whoſe Spirit I am moved to ſay) that God will ſhorten your hand of cruelty, that for a time you ſhall not moleſt his church. And this you ſhall in a ſhort time well perceive, my dear brethren, to be moſt true. For after this day, in this place ſhall there not be any by him put to the trial of fire and faggot: And after that day there were none that ſuffered in Smithfield for the truth of the goſpel.

Then ſaid Bonner, Roger, thou art, I perceive, as mad in theſe thy hereſies as ever was John Butcher. In anger and fume thou wouldſt become a railing prophet. Though thou and all the reſt of would ſee me hanged, yet I ſhall live to burn, yea, I will burn all the ſort of you that come into my hands, that will not worſhip the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, for all thy prattling: And ſo he went his way.

Then Roger Holland began to exhort his friends to repentance, and to think well of them that ſuffered for the teſtimony of the goſpel, and with that the biſhop came back, charging the keeper that no man ſhould ſpeak to them without his licence, and if they did, they would be committed to priſon. In the mean time Henry Pond and Roger ſpake ſtill unto the people, exhorting them to ſtand in the truth: adding moreover, that God would ſhorten theſe cruel and evil days for his elects ſake.

The day they ſuffered, a proclamation was made, that none ſhould be ſo bold to ſpeak or talk any word unto them, or receive any thing of them, or to touch them, upon pain of impriſonment, without either bail or mainprize; with other cruel threatening words contained in the ſame proclamation. Notwithſtanding, the people cried out, deſiring God to ſtrengthen them: and they likewiſe ſtill prayed for the people, and the reſtoring of his word. At length Roger embracing the ſtake and the reeds, ſaid theſe words:

"Lord, I moſt humbly thank thy majeſty, that thou haſt called me from the ſtate of death, unto the light of thy heavenly word, and now unto the fellowſhip of thy ſaints,

Engraved for Fox's Book of Martyrs.

The Martyrdom of R. Milles, S. Collins R. Dynes, S. Wight, J. Slade, & W. Pikes, at Brainford.

The Burning of W. Seaman, T. Carman, & T. Hudson, at Norwich.

The Burning of John Noyes, at Laxfield.

The Martyrdom of John Kurde, at Northampton.

Terry sculp.

Publish'd as the Act directs for H. Trapp, Paternoster Row.

Pater-Noster-Row.

ſaints, that I may ſing and ſay, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hoſts. And Lord into thy hands I commit my ſpirit. Lord bleſs theſe thy people, and ſave them from idolatry." And ſo he ended his life, looking up into heaven, praying to, and praiſing God, with the reſt of his fellow ſaints. For whoſe joyful conſtancy the Lord be praiſed.

The Martyrdom of Six, who ſuffered at Branford for the true Teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt.

THESE ſix martyrs were of the company of thoſe who were apprehended in a cloſe near Iſlington, as is above-mentioned, and ſent to priſon. Whoſe names here follow:

Robert Mills,	Stephen Wright,
Stephen Cotton,	John Slade,
Robert Dynes,	William Pikes, a tanner.

Theſe ſix martyrs were burnt at Branford, ſeven miles from London, on the 14th of July, 1558. They had their articles miniſtered to them by T. Darbyſhire, Bonner's chancellor, at ſundry times, to which they made their anſwers much after the ſame manner as others have done before.

When theſe good men came before Bonner's chancellor, Thomas Darbyſhire, and had the articles miniſtered unto them, and they anſwered unto the ſame; in the end the chancellor commanded them to appear before him again the eleventh day of July at Paul's. Where when they came, he required of them, whether they would turn from their opinions to the mother holy church; and if not, that then, whether there were any cauſe to the contrary, but that he might proceed with the ſentence of condemnation? Whereunto they all anſwered, That they would not go from the truth, nor relent from any part of the ſame while they lived. Then he charged them to appear before him again the next day in the afternoon, between one and two of the clock, to hear the definitive ſentence read againſt them, according to the eccleſiaſtical laws then in force. At which time he ſitting in judgment talking with theſe godly and virtuous men, at laſt came into the ſaid place Sir Edward Haſtings and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, knights, two of queen Mary's officers of her houſe, and being there, they ſate them down over-againſt the chancellor, in whoſe preſence the chancellor condemned thoſe poor innocent lambs, and delivered them over to the ſecular power, who received, and carried them to priſon immediately, and there kept them in ſafety till the day of their death.

In the mean time this naughty chancellor ſlept not, I warrant you, but that day in which they were condemned, he made a certificate under the lord chancellor's office, from whence the next day after a writ was ſent to burn them at Branford, which accordingly was accompliſhed. Whereunto being brought, they made their humble prayers to the Lord Jeſus, undreſſed themſelves, went joyfully to the ſtake, whereunto they were bound, and the fire flaming about them, they yielded their ſouls, bodies, and lives into the hands of the omnipotent God, for whoſe cauſe they did ſuffer, and to whoſe protection I commend the gentle reader, Amen.

Among theſe ſix was one William Pikes a tanner, as ye have heard, who ſome time dwelt in Ipſwich, a very godly man, and of a virtuous diſpoſition, a good keeper of hoſpitality, and beneficial to the perſecuted in queen Mary's days. In the third year of queen Mary, a little after Midſummer, he then being at liberty, went into his garden, and took with him a Bible of Roger's tranſlation, where he, ſitting with his face towards the ſouth, reading in the ſaid Bible, ſuddenly fell down upon his book, between eleven and twelve of the clock, at mid-night, four drops of freſh blood, and he knew not from whence it came. At which he was ſore aſtoniſhed, and could by no means learn, as I ſaid, from whence it ſhould fall: and wiping out one of the drops with his finge, he called his wife and ſaid, In the virtue of God, wife, what meaneth this? Will the Lord have four ſacrifices? I ſee well enough the Lord will have blood: his will be done, and give me grace to abide the trial. Wife, let us pray, for I fear the day draweth nigh. Afterwards he daily expected to be apprehended, and it came to paſs accordingly, as ye have heard. Thus much I thought good to write, in order to ſtir up our dull minds in conſidering the wonderful works of the Lord, and reverently to honour the ſame.

When he was ſo ſick in Newgate that nobody expected him to live ſix hours, he expreſſed a great deſire of martyrdom, ſaying, that he had been twice in perſecution before, and that now he deſired the Lord, if it were his will, that he might glorify his name at the ſtake; and ſo as he prayed it came to paſs at Branford.

Verſes upon Bonner's Effigy.

MUSE not ſo much that nature's work
Is thus deformed now
With belly blown, and head ſo ſwoln,
For I ſhall tell you how:
This cannibal in three years ſpace
Two hundred martyrs ſlew:
They were his food, he ſo lov'd blood,
He ſpared none he knew,
It ſhould appear that blood feeds fat,
If men lie well and ſoft;
For Bonner's belly waxt with blood
Tho' he ſeem to faſt oft.
O bloody beaſt bewail the death
Of thoſe that thou haſt ſlain:
In time repent, ſince thou canſt not
Their lives reſtore again.

The ſcourging of Thomas Hinſhaw, by Biſhop Bonner.

WHEN biſhop Bonner found that his examinations, perſuaſions, threats, and impriſonments, were to no purpoſe with Thomas Hinſhaw, he, the ſaid biſhop, took him with him to Fulham, where immediately after his coming, he was ſet in the ſtocks remaining there all the firſt night with bread and water.

The next morning the biſhop came and examined him himſelf, and perceiving no yielding to his mind, he ſent Mr. Harpsfield to talk with him; who, after long talk, in the end fell to raging words, calling the ſaid Thomas Hinſhaw peeviſh boy, and aſked him whether he thought he went about to damn his ſoul or no, &c. Unto which the ſaid Thomas anſwered, that he was perſuaded that they laboured to maintain their dark and deviliſh kingdom, and not for any love to truth. Then Harpsfield, being in a mighty rage, told the biſhop thereof. Whereat the biſhop fumed and fretted, that for anger being ſcarce able to ſpeak, he ſaid, Doſt thou anſwer my archdeacon ſo, thou naughty boy? I ſhall handle thee well enough, be aſſured; ſo he ſent for a couple of rods, and cauſed him to kneel againſt a long bench in an arbor in his garden, where the ſaid Thomas, without any inforcement of his part, offered himſelf to the beating, and did abide the fury of the ſaid Bonner, ſo long as the fat panched biſhop could endure with breath, and till for wearineſs he was fain to ceaſe, and give place to his ſhameful act. He had two willow rods, but he waſted but one, and ſo left off.

Now after this ſcourging, the ſaid Thomas Hinſhaw notwithſtanding did ſuſtain divers conflicts and examinations ſundry times. At laſt being brought before the ſaid biſhop in his chapel at Fulham, there he had procured witneſſes, and gathered articles againſt him, which the young man denied, and would not affirm, or conſent to

any interrogatory there and then miniſtered, do what they could.

About a fortnight after he fell ſick of a burning ague, whereby he was delivered upon entreaty unto his maſter Martin Pugſon in Paul's church-yard; for then the biſhop thought verily he was more like to die than to live. Which his ſickneſs endured a twelve-month or more, ſo that in the mean time queen Mary died. Then he ſhortly after recovered health, and eſcaped death, being at the writing of this, both witneſs and reporter of the ſame, the Lord therefore be praiſed, Amen.

The ſcourging of John Willes, by Biſhop Bonner.

BESIDES the above-named, was ſcourged alſo by the hands of the ſaid biſhop, one John Willes a capper, a right faithful and true honeſt man in all his dealings and conditions, who was brother to the aforeſaid Rich. Willes burned at Branford, as is before ſaid. Who alſo was apprehended in the ſame number with them at Iſlington, as alſo is mentioned before: and being brought before Bonner, and there examined, was commanded to the coal-houſe, with the aforeſaid Thomas Hinſhaw, where they remained one night in the ſtocks. From thence he was ſent to Fulham, where he, with the ſaid Hinſhaw, remained eight or ten days in the ſtocks; during which time he ſuſtained divers conflicts with the ſaid Bonner, who had him often in examination, urging him, and with a ſtick which he had in his hand, oft-times rapping him on the head, and flirting him under the chin, and on the ears, ſaying he looked down like a thief. Moreover, after he had aſſayed all manner of ways to cauſe him to recant, and could not, at length having him to his orchard, there within a little arbor, with his own hands beat him firſt with a willow rod, and that being worn well nigh to the ſtumps, he called for a birch rod, which a lad brought out of his chamber. The cauſe why he ſo beat him was this; Bonner aſked him when he had crept to the croſs. He anſwered, Not ſince he came to the years of diſcretion, neither would, though he ſhould be torn with wild horſes. Then Bonner bade him make a croſs in his forehead, which he refuſed to do. Whereupon he had him immediately to his orchard, and there calling for rods, ſhewed his cruelty upon him, as he had done upon Thomas Hinſhaw.

This done, he had him immediately to the pariſh church of Fulham with the ſaid Thomas Hinſhaw, and Robert Willes, to whom there being ſeverally called before him, he miniſtered certain articles, aſking if he would ſubſcribe to the ſame. To which he made his anſwer according to his conſcience, denying them all except one article which was concerning king Edward's ſervice in Engliſh. Shortly after this beating, Bonner ſent a certain old prieſt lately come from Rome, to him in priſon, to conjure out the evil ſpirit from him, who laying his hand upon his head, began with certain words pronounced over him, to conjure as he had been wont before to do. Willes marvelling what the old man was about, ſaid, I truſt no evil ſpirit is in me, and laughed him to ſcorn.

As this John Willes was divers times called before Bonner, ſo much communication paſſed between them as is too tedious to recite. It is enough to make the reader laugh to ſee the blind and unſavoury reaſons with which that biſhop endeavoured to delude the ignorant, ſome of which were in the following manner: Bonner going about to perſuade Willes not to meddle with matters of ſcripture, but rather to believe other men's teaching, who had more ſkill in the ſame, aſked him firſt, if he did believe the ſcripture: Yea, ſaid he, that I do. Then, quoth the biſhop, St. Paul ſaith, If the man ſleep, the woman is at liberty to go to another man. If thou wert aſleep having a wife, wouldſt thou be content thy wife to take to another man? and yet this is the ſcripture.

Alſo, if thou wilt believe Luther, Zuinglius, and ſuch, then thou canſt not go right; but if thou wilt believe me, &c. thou canſt not err: and if thou ſhouldſt err, yet thou art in no danger, thy blood ſhould be required at our hands. As if thou ſhouldſt go to a far country, and meet with a fatherly man, as I am, (theſe were his words) and aſk the way to the city, and he ſhould ſay, this way, and thou wilt not believe him, but follow Luther, and other heretics of late days, and go a contrary way: how wilt thou come to the place thou aſkeſt for? So if thou wilt not believe me, but follow the leading of other heretics, ſo ſhalt thou be brought to deſtruction, and burn both body and ſoul.

As truly as thou ſeeſt the bodies of them in Smithfield burnt, ſo truly their ſouls do burn in hell, becauſe they err from the true church.

Oft-times ſpeaking to the ſaid John Willes, he would ſay, They call me Bloody Bonner. A vengeance on you all: I would fain be rid of you, but you have a delight in burning. But if I might have my will, I would ſew up your mouths, and put you in ſacks and drown you.

The ſame day that he was delivered, Bonner came to the ſtocks where he lay, and aſked him how he liked his lodging, and his fare.

Well, ſaid Willes, if it would pleaſe God I might have a little ſtraw to lie or ſit upon.

Then, ſaid Bonner, thou wilt ſhew no token of a chriſtian man. And upon this his wife came in unknown to him, being very great with child, every hour expecting her labour, and intreated the biſhop for her husband, ſaying, that ſhe would not go from thence, but that ſhe would there ſtay, and be delivered in the biſhop's houſe, unleſs ſhe had her husband with her. How ſayſt thou, quoth Bonner to Willes, if thy wife miſcarry, or thy child, or children, if ſhe be with one or two, ſhould periſh, the blood of them would he require at thy hands. Then to this agreement he came, that he ſhould hire a bed in the town of Fulham, and her husband ſhould go home with her the morrow after, upon this condition, that his kinſman there preſent, one Robert Rouſe, ſhould bring the ſaid Willes to his houſe at Paul's the next day.

To which Willes would not agree, but inſiſted upon going then. At length, his wife being importunate for her husband, and Bonner ſeeing ſhe would not ſtir without him, fearing belike the rumour that might come upon his houſe thereby, and alſo probably fearing to be troubled with a lying-in-woman, bade Willes make a croſs, and ſay, In nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, Amen.

Then Willes began to ſay, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, Amen. No, no, ſaith Bonner, ſay it me in Latin; Willes underſtanding the matter of that Latin to be good, ſaid the ſame, and ſo went home with his wife, his aforeſaid kinſman being charged to bring him the next day to Paul's; elſe, ſaid Bonner, if thou doſt not bring him, thou art an heretic as well as he. Notwithſtanding, the charge being no greater, his kinſman did not bring him, but he of his own accord came to the biſhop within a few days after, where he put to him a certain writing in Latin, to ſubſcribe unto, containing, as it ſeemed to him, no great matter, that he needed greatly to ſtick at, albeit, what the bill was, he could not certainly tell: ſo he ſubſcribed to the bill, and returned home. And thus much concerning the twenty-two taken at Iſlington.

The Hiſtory of Richard Yeoman, Dr. Taylor's Curate at Hadley.

RICHARD Yeoman, a devout old man, was Dr. Taylor's curate in Hadley, and well ſeen in the ſcriptures, and giving godly exhortations to the people: with him Dr. Taylor left his cure at his departure. But as

as ſoon as Mr. Newall had gotten the benefice, he put out Mr. Yeoman, and ſet in a popiſh curate to maintain and continue their popiſh religion, which now they thought fully eſtabliſhed. Then he wandered from place to place, exhorting all men to ſtand faithfully to God's word, earneſtly to give themſelves unto prayer, with patience to bear the croſs now laid upon them for their trial, with boldneſs to confeſs the truth before the adverſaries, and with an undoubted hope to wait for the crown and reward of eternal felicity. But when he perceived his adverſaries to lie in wait for him, he went into Kent, and with a little packet of laces, pins, and points, and ſuch like things, he travelled from village to village, ſelling ſuch things, and by that ſhift ſubſiſted himſelf, his wife, and children.

At laſt juſtice Moyle of Kent took Mr. Yeoman, and ſet him in the ſtocks a day and a night, but having no evident matter to charge him with, he let him go again. So he came ſecretly again to Hadley, and tarried with his poor wife, who kept him ſecretly in a chamber of the town-houſe, commonly called the Guild-hall, more than a year. All which time the good old father abode in a chamber locked up all the day, and ſpent his time in devout prayer, and reading the ſcriptures, and in carding of wool which his wife did ſpin. His wife alſo did go and beg bread and meat for herſelf and her children, and by ſuch poor means they ſuſtained themſelves. Thus the ſaints of God ſuſtained hunger and miſery, while the prophets of Baal lived in jollity, and were coſtly pampered at Jezebel's table.

At laſt parſon Newall (I know not by what means) perceived that Richard Yeoman was ſo kept by his poor wife, and taking with him the bailiff's deputies and ſervants, came in the night-time, and brake up five doors upon Yeoman, whom he found in bed with his wife and children; whom when he had ſo found, he angrily cried, I thought I ſhould find an harlot and an whore together. And he would have plucked the cloaths off from them: but Yeoman held faſt the cloaths, and ſaid to his wife, Wife, ariſe, and put on thy cloaths. And unto the parſon he ſaid, Nay, parſon, no harlot, nor whore, but a married man and his wife, according to God's ordinance, and bleſſed be God for lawful matrimony. I thank God for this great grace, and I defy the pope, and all his popery. Then they led Richard Yeoman unto the cage, and ſet him in the ſtocks until it was day.

There was then alſo in the cage an old man named John Dale, who had ſat there three or four days, becauſe when the ſaid parſon Newall with his curate uſed the Romiſh ſervice in the church, he ſpake openly unto him, and ſaid, O miſerable and blind guides, will ye ever be blind leaders of the blind? will ye never amend? will ye never ſee the truth of God's word? will neither God's threats nor promiſes enter into your hearts? will the blood of martyrs nothing mollify your ſtony ſtomach! O indurate, hard-hearted, perverſe, and crooked generation! O damnable ſort, whom nothing can do good unto.

Theſe, or the like words he ſpake in fervency of ſpirit againſt the ſuperſtitious religion of Rome. Wherefore parſon Newall cauſed him forthwith to be attached, and ſet in the ſtocks in a cage. So was he kept there till Sir Henry Doile a juſtice came to Hadley.

When poor Yeoman was taken, the parſon called earneſtly upon Sir Henry Doile to ſend them both to priſon. Sir Henry Doile earneſtly intreated the parſon, to conſider the age of the men, and their mean condition: they were neither perſons of note, nor preachers; wherefore he would deſire him to let them be puniſhed a day or two, and ſo let them go, at leaſt John Dale, who was no prieſt: and therefore ſeeing he had ſo long ſate in the cage, he thought it puniſhment enough for this time. When the parſon heard this, he was exceeding mad, and in a great rage called them peſtilent heretics, unfit to live in the commonwealth of chriſtians. Wherefore I beſeech you, Sir, quoth he, according to your office, defend the holy church, and help to ſuppreſs theſe hereſies, &c. which are falſe to God, and thus boldly ſet themſelves, to the evil example of others, againſt the queen's gracious proceedings. Sir Henry Doile ſeeing he could do no good in the matter, and fearing alſo the danger of meddling too much in it, made out the writ, and cauſed the conſtables to carry them to Bury gaol. For now all the juſtices, though never ſo many, were afraid of a ſhaven crown, and ſtood in as much awe of them, as Pilate did of Annas and Caiaphas, and the phariſaical brood, who cried, "Crucify him, crucify him; if thou let this man go, thou art not Cæſar's friend."

Wherefore whatſoever their conſciences were, yet (if they would eſcape danger) they muſt needs be the popiſh ſlaves and vaſſals. So they took Richard Yeoman and John Dale pinioned, and bound them like thieves, ſet them on horſeback, and bound their legs under the horſes bellies, and ſo carried them to Bury gaol, where they were laid in irons; and becauſe they continually rebuked popery, they were thrown into the loweſt dungeon, where John Dale, through ſickneſs of the priſon, and evil keeping, died in priſon, whoſe body, when he was dead, was thrown out, and buried in the fields. He was a man of forty-ſix years of age, a weaver by his occupation, well learned in the holy ſcriptures, faithful and honeſt in all his converſation, ſtedfaſt in the confeſſion of the true doctrine of Chriſt ſet forth in king Edward's time; for which he joyfully ſuffered priſon and chains; and from this worldly dungeon he departed to Chriſt to eternal glory, and the bleſſed paradiſe of everlaſting felicity.

After that John Dale was dead, Richard Yeoman was removed to Norwich priſon, where after ſtrait and evil keeping, he was examined of his faith and religion. Then he boldly and conſtantly confeſſed himſelf to be of the faith and confeſſion that was ſet forth by king Edward VI. and from that he would in no wiſe vary. Being required to ſubmit himſelf to the holy father the pope: I defy him, quoth he, and all his deteſtable abominations: I will in no wiſe have to do with him, nor any thing that appertaineth to him. The chief articles objected to him, were his marriage, and the maſs ſacrifice. Wherefore, when he continued ſtedfaſt in confeſſion of the truth, he was condemned, degraded, and not only burnt, but moſt cruelly tormented in the fire. So he ended his poor and miſerable life, and ſo he entered into the bleſſed boſom of Abraham, enjoying with Lazarus the comfortable quietneſs that God hath prepared for his elect ſaints.

The Story of John Alcock.

THIS young man was by occupation a ſheerman, and came to Hadley to ſeek work; he being in church one Sunday, and parſon Newall coming by with the proceſſion, would not once move his cap, nor ſhew any ſign of reverence, but ſtood behind the font. The parſon perceiving this, when he was almoſt out of the church door, ran back again, and caught him, and called for the conſtable.

Then came Robert Rolfe, with whom this young man had wrought, and ſaid, What hath he done Mr. Parſon, that ye are in ſuch a rage with him?

He is an heretic and traitor, quoth the parſon, and deſpiſeth the queen's proceedings. Wherefore I command you in the queen's name, to have him to the ſtocks, and ſee he be forthcoming.

Well, quoth Rolfe, he ſhall be forthcoming. Proceed in your buſineſs, and be quiet.

Have him to the ſtocks, quoth the parſon.

I am conſtable, quoth Rolfe, and I may bail him, and will bail him; he ſhall not be put in the ſtocks, but he ſhall be forthcoming: So the good parſon went forth with his holy proceſſion, and ſo to maſs.

In

In the afternoon Rolfe ſaid to this young man, I am ſorry for thee, for truly the parſon will ſeek thy deſtruction, if thou take not good heed what thou anſwereſt him.

The young man ſaid, Sir, I am ſorry that it may hap to be a trouble to you. As for myſelf, I am not ſorry, but I commit myſelf into God's hands, and I truſt he will give me mouth and wiſdom to anſwer according to right.

Well, quoth Rolfe, yet beware of him, for he is malicious and a blood-ſucker, and beareth an old hatred againſt me, and he will handle you the more cruelly becauſe of diſpleaſure againſt me.

I fear not, quoth the young man: he ſhall do no more to me than God will give him leave: and happy ſhall I be if God will call me to die for his truth's ſake.

Then they went to the parſon, who at the firſt aſked him, Fellow, what ſayeſt thou to the ſacrament of the altar?

I ſay, quoth he, as ye uſe the matter, ye make a ſhameful idol of it, and ye are falſe idolatrous prieſts, all the ſort of you.

I told you (quoth the parſon) he was a ſtout heretic.

So after long talk, the parſon committed him to priſon, and the next day he rode up to London, and carried the young man with him, and ſo the young man came no more to Hadley, but after long impriſonment in Newgate, where after many examinations and troubles, for that he would not ſubmit himſelf to aſk forgiveneſs of the pope, and to be reconciled to the Romiſh religion, he was caſt into the lower dungeon, where with ill keeping and ſickneſs of the houſe, he died in priſon. Thus died he a martyr of God's Truth, which he heartily confeſſed, and received the garland of a well-fought battle at the hand of the Lord. His body was caſt out and buried in a dunghill; for the papiſts would in all things be like themſelves; therefore they would not ſo much as ſuffer the dead bodies to have convenient burial.

The Hiſtory of Thomas Benbridge, Gentleman and Martyr, wrongfully condemned and put to Death, for the Teſtimony of Chriſt.

THomas Benbridge, a gentleman, unmarried, in the dioceſe of Wincheſter, although he might have lived a gentleman's life, in the wealthy poſſeſſions of this word; yet to follow Chriſt, had rather enter into the ſtrait gate of perſecution, to the heavenly poſſeſſion of life in the Lord's kingdom, than here to enjoy preſent pleaſures with unquietneſs of conſcience. Wherefore manfully ſtanding againſt the papiſts, for the defence of the ſincere doctrine of Chriſt's goſpel, he ſpared not himſelf to confirm the truth of the ſame. For which cauſe he being apprehended for an adverſary to the Romiſh religion, was forthwith had to examination before the biſhop of Wincheſter, where he ſuſtained ſundry conflicts for the truth againſt the ſaid biſhop and his collegue; for which he was condemned, and ſome time after brought to the place of martyrdom by Sir Richard Peckſal, the ſheriff.

Where ſtanding at the ſtake, he began to untie his points, and to prepare himſelf; then he gave his gown to the keeper, being belike his fee. His jerkin was laid on with gold lace fair and brave, which he gave to Sir Richard Peckſal, the high-ſheriff. His cap of velvet he took off from his head, and threw it away. Then lifting his mind to the Lord, he made his prayers.

That done, being now faſtened to the ſtake, doctor Seaton willed him to recant, and he ſhould have his pardon; but when he ſaw it prevailed not to ſpeak, the ſaid dreaming doctor willed the people not to pray for him unleſs he would recant, no more than they would pray for a dog.

Mr. Benbridge ſtanding at the ſtake with his hands together in ſuch a manner as the prieſt holdeth his hands in his memento, the ſaid doctor Seaton came to him again, and exhorted him to recant: unto whom he ſaid, Away, Babylonian, away.

Then ſaid one that ſtood by, Sir, cut out his tongue; and another being a temporal man, railed on him worſe than doctor Seaton did, who, as it is thought, was ſet on by ſome other.

Thus when they ſaw he would not yield, he bade the tormentors ſet to fire, and yet he was nothing like covered with faggots. Firſt, the fire took away a piece of his beard, whereat he did not ſhrink at all. Then it came on the other ſide, and took his legs, and the nether ſtockings of his hoſe being leather, made the fire to pierce the ſharper, ſo that the intolerable heat thereof made him to cry, I recant: and ſuddenly he thruſt the fire from him. And having two or three of his friends by that wiſhed his life, they ſtept to the fire, and helped to take it from him alſo, who for their labour were ſent to priſon. The ſheriff alſo of his own authority took him from the ſtake, and ſent him to priſon again, for which he was ſent unto the Fleet, and lay there ſome time. But before he was taken from the ſtake, doctor Seaton wrote articles to have him ſubſcribe unto them; as touching the pope, the ſacrament, and ſuch other traſh. But the ſaid Mr. Benbridge made much ado ere he would ſubſcribe them, inſomuch that doctor Seaton ordered them to ſet to fire again. Then with much pain and grief of heart he ſubſcribed to them upon a man's back.

That being done, he had his gown given him again, and ſo was led to priſon. Being in priſon, he wrote a letter to doctor Seaton, and recanted thoſe words he ſpake at the ſtake, unto which he had ſubſcribed: for he was grieved that ever he ſubſcribed unto them. Whereupon expreſſing his conſcience, he was the ſame day ſevennight after burnt indeed, where the vile tormentors did rather broil than burn him. The Lord give his enemies repentance.

The Martyrdom of John Cooke, a Sawyer, Robert Myles, alias Plummer, Sheerman, Alexander Lane, a Wheelwright, James Aſhley, Batchelor.

THE examination of theſe forenamed perſons being ſeverally called before the biſhop of Norwich, and Sir Edward Walgrave, with others, was partly upon theſe articles, viz.

Firſt, Sir Edward Walgrave called John Cooke to him, and ſaid, How doth it happen, that you go not to your church?

Cooke. I have been there.

Sir Edward. What is the cauſe that you go not thither now in theſe days?

Cooke. Becauſe the ſacrament of the altar is an abominable idol, and the vengeance of God will come upon all them that do maintain it.

Sir Edward. O thou rank traitor, if I had as good commiſſion to cut out thy tongue, as I have to ſit here this day, thou ſhould'ſt be ſure to have it done.

Then he commanded the conſtable to take him away, ſaying, he was both a traitor and a rebel.

Then he called Robert Miles, and ſaid, How fortuneth it, that you will not go to church?

Miles. Becauſe I will follow no falſe Gods.

Then ſaid the biſhop, Who told thee that it was a God?

Even you, quoth Miles, and ſuch as you are.

Then the biſhop commanded him aſide, and to appear the next day.

Then he called Alexander Lane before him, and aſked him how it chanced that he would not go to the church?

He ſaid, that his conſcience would not ſerve him ſo

Sir Edward ſaid, How doſt thou believe?

Lane anſwered, Even as it is written in God's book.

Then Sir Edward commanded him to ſay his belief.

Then

Then Lane, being ſomewhat abaſhed, ſaid his belief to theſe words, which he miſſed unawares, "Born of the virgin Mary."

Then ſaid Sir Edward, What? was he not born of the virgin Mary?

Yes, ſaid Lane, I would have ſaid ſo.

Nay, ſaid Sir Edward, you are one of Cook's ſcholars, and ſo commanded him away, and to come before him the next day.

After the like manner they paſſed alſo with James Aſhley, whom they warned the next day likewiſe to appear before them again. So in fine they appearing again, had their condemnation. And thus theſe four bleſſed martyrs innocently ſuffered together at St. Edmund's-Bury, as is aforeſaid, about the beginning of Auguſt, not long before the ſickneſs of queen Mary.

The Martyrdom of two godly Perſons at Ipſwich for the everlaſting Teſtimony of Chriſt, Alexander Gouch, and Alice Driver.

MR. Noone, a juſtice in Suffolk, dwelling in Martleſham, hunting after good men, to apprehend them (as he was a bloody tyrant in the time of trial) at length had intelligence of one Alexander Gouch of Woodbridge, and Driver's wife of Groſborough, to be at Groſborough together, a little from his houſe, and immediately took his men with him, and went thither, and made diligent ſearch for them, where the poor man and woman were compelled to get into an hay-loft to hide themſelves from their cruelty. At length they came to ſearch the hay for them, and by gagging thereof with pitchforks, at laſt they found them: ſo they took them and led them to Melton gaol, where they remaining a time, at laſt were carried to Bury againſt the aſſize at St. James's-tide, and being there examined of matters of faith, did boldly ſtand to confeſs Chriſt crucified, defying the pope and his papiſtical traſh. And among other things, Driver's wife likened queen Mary in her perſecution, to Jezebel; and ſo in that ſenſe calling her Jezebel, for that Sir Clement Higham, being chief judge there, ordered her ears immediately to be cut off, which was accompliſhed accordingly, and ſhe joyfully yielded herſelf to the puniſhment, and thought herſelf happy that ſhe was counted worthy to ſuffer any thing for the name of Chriſt. After the aſſize at Bury, they were carried to Melton gaol again, where they remained a time. This Alexander Gouch was a man of the age of thirty-ſix years, or thereabouts, and by his occupation a weaver of ſhredding coverlets, dwelling at Woodbridge in Suffolk, and born at Uxford in the ſame county. Driver's wife was a woman about the age of thirty years, and dwelt at Groſborough, where they were taken, in Suffolk: her huſband did uſe huſbandry. Theſe two were carried from Melton goal to Ipſwich, where they remained, and were examined. Which examination, as it came to our hands hereafter followeth.

The Examination of Alice Driver, before Dr. Spenſer, the Chancellor of Norwich.

FIRST, ſhe coming into the place where ſhe ſhould be examined with a ſmiling countenance; Dr. Spenſer ſaid, Why woman, doſt thou laugh us to ſcorn?

Driver's wife. Whether I do or no, I might well enough, to ſee what fools ye be.

Then the chancellor asked her wherefore ſhe was brought before him, and why ſhe was laid in priſon?

Driver. Wherefore? I think I need not tell you: for ye know it better than I.

Spenſer. No, by my troth, woman, I know not why.

Driver. Then have ye done much wrong thus to impriſon me, and know no cauſe why; for I know no evil that I have done, I thank God, and I hope there is no man that can accuſe me of any notorious fact that I have done, juſtly.

Spenſer. Woman, woman, what ſayeſt thou to the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar? Doſt thou not believe that it is very fleſh and blood, after the words be ſpoken of conſecration?

Driver's wife at thoſe words held her peace, and made no anſwer. Then a great chuff-headed prieſt that ſtood by, ſpake, and asked her why ſhe made not the chancellor anſwer. With that the ſaid Driver's wife looked upon him auſterely, and ſaid, Why, prieſt, I come not to talk with thee, but I am come to talk with thy maſter: but if thou wilt I ſhall talk with thee, command thy maſter to hold his peace. And with that the prieſt put his noſe in his cap, and ſpake never a word more. Then the chancellor bid her make anſwer to that he had demanded of her.

Driver. Sir, pardon me though I make no anſwer, for I cannot tell what you mean thereby; for in all my life I never heard nor read of any ſuch ſacrament in all the ſcripture

Spenſer. Why, what ſcriptures have you read, I pray you?

Driver. I have, I thank God, read God's book.

Spenſer. Why, what manner of book is that you call God's book?

Driver. It is the Old and New Taſtament. What call you it?

Spenſer. That is God's book, indeed, I cannot deny.

Driver. That ſame book have I read throughout, but yet never could find any ſuch ſacrament there; and for that cauſe I cannot make you an anſwer to that thing I know not. Notwithſtanding, for all that, I will grant you a ſacrament, called the Lord's ſupper: and therefore ſeeing I have granted you a ſacrament, I pray you ſhew me what a ſacrament is.

Spenſer. It is a ſign. And one Dr. Gaſcoine being by, confirmed the ſame, that it was the ſign of a holy thing.

Driver. You have ſaid the truth, Sir. It is a ſign indeed, I muſt needs grant: and therefore, ſeeing it is a ſign it cannot be the thing ſignified alſo. Thus far we do agree; for I have granted your own ſaying.

Then ſtood up the ſaid Gaſcoine, and made an oration with many fair words, but little to the purpoſe, both offenſive and odious to the minds of the godly. In the end of which long tale, he asked her if ſhe did not believe the omnipotency of God, and that he was Almighty, and able to perform that he ſpake. She anſwered, Yes, and ſaid, I do believe that God is Almighty, and able to perform that he ſpake and promiſed.

Gaſcoine. Very well. Then he ſaid to his diſciples, "Take, eat, this is my body:" Ergo, it was his body. For he was able to perform that he ſpake, and God uſeth not to lye.

Driver. I pray you did he ever make any ſuch promiſe to his diſciples, that he would make the bread his body?

Gaſcoine. Thoſe be the words. Can you deny it?

Driver. No, they be the very words indeed, I cannot deny it; but I pray you, was it not bread that he gave unto them?

Gaſcoine. No, it was his body.

Driver. Then was it his body that they did eat over-night?

Gaſcoine. It was his body.

Driver. What body was it then that was crucified the next day?

Gaſcoine. It was Chriſt's body.

Driver. How could that be, when the diſciples had eaten him over-night? except he had two bodies, as by your argument he had; one they did eat over-night, and he was crucified the next day. Such a doctor! ſuch a doctrine! Be you not aſhamed to teach the people, that

Chriſt had two bodies? In the 22d of Luke, "He took bread and brake it to his diſciples, ſaying, Take, &c. and Do this in remembrance of me. St. Paul ſaith, 1 Cor. 11. Do this in remembrance of me: for as often as ye ſhall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye ſhall ſhew the Lord's death till he come." And therefore I marvel you bluſh not before all this people, to lye ſo manifeſtly as ye do.

With that Gaſcoine held his peace, and made her no anſwer; for, as it ſeemed, he was aſhamed of his doings. Then the chancellor lift up his head off from his cuſhion, and commanded the gaoler to take her away.

Driver. Now ye be not able to reſiſt the truth, ye command me to priſon again. Well, the Lord in the end ſhall judge our cauſe, and to him I leave it. So away ſhe went with the gaoler.

The ſecond Examination of Alice Driver.

THE next day ſhe came before them again, and the chancellor then asked her, what ſhe ſaid to the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar?

Driver. I will ſay nothing to it: for you will neither believe me nor yourſelves: for yeſterday I asked you what a ſacrament was, and you ſaid, it was a ſign; and I agreed thereto, and ſaid it was the truth, confirming it by the ſcriptures, ſo that I went not from your own words; and now ye come and ask me again of ſuch a ſacrament as I told you I never read of in the ſcriptures.

Spenſer. Thou lyeſt, naughty woman, we did not ſay that it was a ſign.

Driver. Why maſters be ye not the men that you were yeſterday? will ye eat your own words? are you not aſhamed to lye before all this multitude here preſent, who heard you ſpeak the ſame?

Then ſtood up Dr. Gaſcoine, and ſaid, ſhe was deceived; for there are three churches, the malignant church, the church militant, and the church triumphant. So he would fain have made the matter, but he could not tell which way.

Driver. Sir, is there mention made of ſo many churches in the ſcriptures?

Gaſcoine. Yea.

Driver I pray you where find you this word (church) written in the ſcripture?

Gaſcoine. It is written in the New Teſtament.

Driver. I pray you, Sir, ſhew the place were it is written.

Gaſcoine. I cannot tell the place, but there it is. With that ſhe deſired him to look into his Teſtament: then he fumbled and ſought about him for one: but at that time he had none, and that he knew well enough, though he ſeemed to ſearch for it. At laſt ſhe ſaid, Have ye none here, Sir?

Gaſcoine. No.

Driver. I thought ſo much indeed, that ye were little acquainted withal. Surely you be a good doctor. You ſay you ſit here to judge according to the law, and how can you give judgment, and have not the book of the law with you? At which words Gaſcoine was out of countenance, and aſked her if ſhe had one.

No, ſaid ſhe.

Then, ſaid he, I am as good a doctor as you.

Driver. Well, Sir, I had one, but you took it from me (as you would take me from Chriſt, if you could), and ſince would ye not ſuffer me to have any book at all; ſo burning is your charity. But you may well know, I thank God, that I have exerciſed the ſame; elſe could I not have anſwered you (to God's glory be it ſpoken) as I have. Thus ſhe put them all to ſilence, that one looked on another, and had not a word to ſpeak.

Driver. Have you no more to ſay? God be honoured. You be not able to reſiſt the Spirit of God in me poor woman. I was an honeſt poor man's daughter, never brought up in the univerſity as you have been, but I have driven the plough before my father many a time: yet notwithſtanding in the defence of God's truth, and in the cauſe of my maſter Chriſt, by his grace I will ſet my foot againſt the foot of any of you all, in the maintenance and defence of the ſame; and if I had a thouſand lives, they ſhould go for payment thereof. So the chancellor roſe up, and read the ſentence of condemnation in Latin, and committed her to the ſecular power, and ſo ſhe went to priſon again as joyful as the bird of day, praiſing and glorifying the name of God.

Alexander Gouch, Martyr.

THIS Alexander Gouch was examined chiefly of the ſacrament and other ceremonies of the popiſh church. And for that his belief was, that Chriſt was aſcended into heaven, and there remaineth, and that the ſacrament was the remembrance of his death and paſſion, and for refuſing the maſs, and the pope to be ſupreme head of Chriſt's church; for theſe cauſes was he condemned, and died with Alice Driver at Ipſwich, the 4th of November, which was the Monday after All-ſaints, 1558, Dr. Miles Spenſer being chancellor, they both ended their lives with earneſt zeal, nothing fearing to ſpeak their conſcience when they were commanded to the contrary.

Theſe two perſons being come to the place where the ſtake was ſet by ſeven of the clock in the morning, notwithſtanding they came the ſame morning from Melton gaol, which is ſix miles from Ipſwich, being in their prayers, and ſinging of pſalms both of them together, Sir Henry Dowell then being ſheriff, was very much offended with them, and willed the bailiffs of Ipſwich to bid them make an end of prayers, they kneeling upon a broom faggot, one of the bailiffs, whoſe name was Richard Smart, commanded them to make an end, ſaying, On, on, have done; make an end, nail them to the ſtake; yet they continued in prayer.

Then Sir Henry ſent one of his men, whoſe name was Richard Cove, that they ſhould make an end.

Then Gouch ſtood up and ſaid unto the ſheriff, I pray you Mr. Sheriff, let us pray a little while, for we have but a little time to live here.

Then ſaid the bailiff, Come off, have them to the fire.

Then the ſaid Gouch and Alice Driver ſaid, Why maſter ſheriff, and maſter bailiff, will you not ſuffer us to pray?

Away, ſaid Sir Henry, to the ſtake with them.

Gouch anſwered, Take heed Mr. Sheriff, if you forbid prayer, the vengeance of God hangeth over your heads. Then they being tied to the ſtake, and the iron chain being put about Alice Driver's neck, O, ſaid ſhe, here is a goodly neckerchief, bleſſed be God for it. Then divers came and took them by the hands as they were bound ſtanding at the ſtake. The ſheriff cried, Lay hands on them, lay hands on them. With that a great number ran to the ſtake. The ſheriff ſeeing that, let them all alone, ſo that there was not one taken.

There was one Bate a barber, a buſy doer about them, who having then a freeze gown upon him, ſold it immediately, ſaying, It ſtunk of heretics, with other foul words. Within three or four weeks after this, God's hand was upon him, and he died very miſerably in Ipſwich.

Although our hiſtory haſteth apace, the Lord be praiſed, to the happy death of queen Mary, yet ſhe died not ſo ſoon but that ſome were burned before her death; and more would have been burned ſoon after, if God's proviſion had not prevented her with death. In the number of them which ſuffered in the ſame month when queen Mary died, were three that were burned at Bury, whoſe names were theſe, Philip Humfrey, John David, and Henry David his brother.

Concerning

Concerning the burning of theſe three, here is to be noted, that Sir Clement Higham, about a fortnight before the queen died, iſſued out a writ for the burning of them, notwithſtanding that the queen was then known to be paſt remedy of her ſickneſs.

Although in ſuch a great number of perſons, who in ſundry parts of this realm were put to death in queen Mary's time, it be hard exactly to recite every particular perſon that ſuffered, but that ſome eſcaped us either unknown, or omitted, yet I cannot paſs over a certain poor woman, burned in the ſaid queen's reign, in the city of Exeter (whoſe name I have not yet learned:) who dwelling ſome time about Cornwall, having a huſband and children there, much addicted to the ſuperſtitious ſect of popery, was many times rebuked by them, and driven to go to the church, to their idols and ceremonies, to confeſſion, to follow the croſs in proceſſion, to give thanks to God for reſtoring Antichriſt again in this realm, &c. which when her ſpirit could not abide to do, ſhe made her prayer to God, calling for help and mercy, and ſo at length lying in her bed, about midnight ſhe thought there came to her a certain motion and feeling of ſingular comfort. Whereupon in ſhort ſpace, ſhe began to grow in contempt of her huſband and children, and ſo taking nothing from them, but even as ſhe went, departed from them, ſeeking her living by labour and ſpinning as well as ſhe could, here and there for a time. In which time notwithſtanding ſhe never ceaſed to utter her mind as well as ſhe durſt againſt their popery; howbeit ſhe at that time was brought home to her huſband again. Where ſhe at laſt was accuſed by her neighbours, and ſo brought up to Exeter, to be preſented to the biſhop and his clergy. The name of the biſhop who had her in examination was Dr. Troublevile. His chancellor, as I gather, was Blackſtone. The chiefeſt matter whereupon ſhe was charged and condemned, was for the ſacrament, which they call, of the altar, and for ſpeaking againſt idols, as by the declaration of thoſe which were preſent, I underſtand which report the talk between her and the biſhop was on this wiſe.

Biſhop. Thou fooliſh woman, I hear ſay, that thou haſt ſpoken certain words againſt the moſt bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, the body of Chriſt. Fie for ſhame. Thou art an unlearned perſon, and a woman: wilt thou meddle with ſuch high matters, which all the doctors of the world cannot define? wilt thou talk of ſo high myſteries? Keep thy work, and meddle with that thou haſt to do. It is no woman's matter, at cards and tow to be ſpoken of. And if be as I am informed, thou art worthy to be burned.

Woman. My lord, I truſt your lordſhip will hear me ſpeak.

Biſhop. Yea, marry, for that cauſe I ſent for thee.

Woman. I am a poor woman, and do live by my hands, getting a penny truly, and of what I get I give part to the poor.

Biſhop. That is well done. Art thou not a man's wife?

And here the biſhop entered into talk of her huſband.

To whom ſhe anſwered again, declaring that ſhe had a huſband and children; and had them not. So long as ſhe was at liberty, ſhe refuſed neither husband nor children; but now ſtanding here as I do, ſaid ſhe, in the cauſe of Chriſt and his truth, where I muſt either forſake Chriſt or my husband, I am contented to ſtick only to Chriſt, my heavenly ſpouſe, and renounce the other. And here ſhe making mention of the words of Chriſt, "He that leaveth not father or mother, ſiſter or brother, husband, &c." The biſhop inferred, that Chriſt ſpake that of the holy martyrs, which died becauſe they would not do ſacrifice to the falſe gods.

Woman. Surely, Sir, and I will rather die than I will do any worſhip to that idol, which with your maſs you make a god.

Biſhop. Yea, you callet, will you ſay that the ſacrament of the altar is a foul idol?

Woman. Yes, truly, there never was ſuch an idol as your ſacrament is made by your prieſts, and commanded to be worſhipped of all men, with many fond phantaſies, where Chriſt did command it to be eaten and drank in remembrance of his moſt bleſſed paſſion for our redemption.

Biſhop. See this prattling woman. Doſt thou not hear, that Chriſt did ſay over the bread, "This is my body," and over the cup, "This is my blood?"

Woman, Yes, forſooth, he ſaid ſo, but he meant, that it is his body and blood, not carnally, but ſacramentally.

Biſhop. Lo, ſhe hath heard prating among theſe new preachers, or heard ſome peeviſh book. Alas, poor woman, thou art deceived.

Woman. No, my lord, what I have learned was of godly preachers, and of godly books, which I have heard read. And if you will give me leave, I will give a reaſon why I will not worſhip the ſacrament.

Biſhop. Marry, ſay on, I am ſure it will be goodly gear.

Woman. Truly ſuch gear as I will loſe this poor life of mine for.

Biſhop. Then you will be a martyr, good wife.

Woman. Indeed, if the denying to worſhip that bready god be my martyrdom, I will ſuffer it with all my heart.

Biſhop. Say thy mind.

Woman. You muſt bear with me a poor woman.

Biſhop. So I will.

Woman. I will demand of you, whether you can deny your creed, which doth ſay, That Chriſt perpetually doth ſit at the right hand of his Father, both body and ſoul, until he come again? or whether he be there in heaven our advocate, and do make prayer for us unto God his Father? If it be ſo, he is not here on earth in a piece of bread. If he be not here, and if he do not dwell in temples made with hands, but in heaven, what, ſhall we ſeek him here? if he did offer his body once for all, why make you a new offering? if with once offering he made all perfect, why do ye with falſe offering make all unperfect? if he be to be worſhipped in ſpirit and in truth, why do you worſhip a piece of bread? if he be eaten and drank in faith and truth, if his fleſh be not profitable to be among us, why do you ſay you make his fleſh and blood, and ſay it is profitable for body and ſoul? Alas, I am a poor woman, but rather than I will do as you do, I would live no longer. I have ſaid, Sir.

Biſhop. I promiſe you, you are a jolly proteſtant. I pray you in what ſchools have you been brought up?

Woman. I have upon the ſundays viſited the ſermons, and there have I learned ſuch things as are ſo fixed in my breaſt, that death ſhall not ſeparate them.

Biſhop. O fooliſh woman, who will waſte his breath upon thee, or ſuch as thou art? But how chanceth it, that thou wenteſt away from thy husband? if thou wert an honeſt woman, thou wouldeſt not have left thy husband and children, and run about the country like a fugitive.

Woman. Sir, I laboured for my living; and as my maſter Chriſt counſelleth me, when I was perſecuted in one city, I fled into another.

Biſhop. Who perſecuted thee?

Woman. My husband and my children. For when I would have them to leave idolatry, and to worſhip God in heaven, he would not hear me, but he with his children rebuked me, and troubled me. I fled not for whoredom, nor for theft, but becauſe I would be no partaker with him and his, of that foul idol the maſs, and whereſoever I was, as oft as I could, upon Sundays and holydays, I made excuſes not to go to the popiſh church.

Biſhop. Belike then you are a good houſewife, to fly from your husband and the church.

Woman.

Woman. My houſwifry is but ſmall; but God give me grace to go to the true church.

Biſhop. The true church? what doſt thou mean?

Woman. Not your popiſh church, full of idols and abominations, but where two or three are gathered together in the name of God, to that church will I go as long as I live.

Biſhop. Belike then you have a church of your own. Well, let this mad woman be put down to priſon till we ſend for her huſband.

Woman. No, I have but one huſband, who is here already in this city, and in priſon with me, from whom I will never depart. And ſo their communication for that time brake off. Blackſtone and others perſuaded the Biſhop that ſhe was not in her right ſenſes, which is no new thing for the wiſdom of God to appear fooliſhneſs to the carnal men of this world, and therefore they conſulted together that ſhe ſhould have liberty to go at large. So the keeper of the biſhop's priſon had her home to his houſe, where ſhe fell to ſpinning and carding, and did work as a ſervant in the ſaid keeper's houſe, and ſhe went about the city when and where ſhe pleaſed, and many people took great delight in talking with her: And all her diſcourſe was about the ſacrament of the altar, which of all things they could leaſt abide.

Then her huſband was ſent for; but ſhe refuſed to go home with him, with the blemiſh of the cauſe and religion, in defence whereof ſhe there ſtood before the biſhop and the prieſts.

Then divers of the prieſts endeavoured to perſuade her to leave her wicked opinion about the ſacrament of the altar, the natural body and blood of our Saviour Chriſt. But ſhe made them anſwer, that it was nothing but very bread and wine, and that they might be aſhamed to ſay, that a piece of bread ſhould be turned by a man into the natural body of Chriſt, which bread doth corrupt, and mice oftentimes do eat it, and it doth mould, and is burned: God's body will not be ſo handled, nor kept in priſon, or boxes, or aumbries. Let it be your god, it ſhall not be mine; for my Saviour ſitteth on the right hand of God, and doth pray for me. And to make that ſacrament or ſignificative bread inſtituted for a remembrance, the very body of Chriſt, and to worſhip it, is very fooliſhneſs, and deviliſh deceit.

Now truly, ſaid they, the devil hath deceived thee.

No, ſaid ſhe, I truſt the living God hath opened mine eyes, and cauſed me to underſtand the right uſe of the bleſſed ſacrament, which the true church doth not uſe, but the falſe church doth abuſe.

Then ſtept forth an old friar, and aſked her what ſhe ſaid of the holy pope.

I, ſaid ſhe, ſay, that he is antichriſt and the devil.

Then they all laughed.

Nay, ſaid ſhe, you have more need to weep than to laugh, and to be ſorry that ever you were born, to be the chaplains of that whore of Babylon; I defy him, and all his falſhood; and get you away from me, you do but trouble my conſcience. You would have me follow your doings; I will firſt loſe my life. I pray you depart.

Why, thou fooliſh woman, ſaid they, we come to thee for thy profit and ſoul's health.

O Lord God, ſaid ſhe, what profit ariſeth by you that teach nothing but lyes for truth? how ſave your ſouls, when you preach nothing but damnable lyes, and deſtroy ſouls?

How proveſt thou that? (ſaid they.)

Do you not damn your ſouls, ſaid ſhe, when you teach the people to worſhip idols, ſtocks, and ſtones, the works of men's hands? and to worſhip a falſe God of your own making of a piece of bread, and teach that the pope is God's vicar, and hath power to forgive ſins? and that there is a purgatory, when God's Son hath by his paſſion purged all? and ſay, you make God, and ſacrifice him, when Chriſt's body was a ſacrifice once for all? Do you not teach the people to number their ſins in your ears, and ſay they be damned, if they confeſs not all: when God's word ſaith, who can number his ſins? Do you not promiſe them Trentals and Diriges, and maſſes for ſouls, and ſell your prayers for money, and make them buy pardons, and truſt to ſuch fooliſh inventions of your own imaginations? Do you not altogether againſt God? Do ye not teach us to pray upon beads, and to pray unto ſaints, and ſay they can pray for us? Do you not make holy water and holy bread to fray devils? Do you not a thouſand more abominations? And yet you ſay, you come for my profit and to ſave my ſoul. No, no, one hath ſaved me. Farewel you with your ſalvation. Much other talk there was between her and them, which here were too tedious to expreſs.

In the month's liberty, which was granted her by the biſhop, as is before-mentioned, ſhe went into St. Peter's church, and there found a cunning Dutchman, that had made new noſes to certain fine images which were diſfigured in king Edward's time; to whom ſhe ſaid, what a madman art thou to make them new noſes, which within a few days ſhall all loſe their heads? The Dutchman accuſed her, and laid it hard to her charge. And ſhe ſaid unto him, thou art accurſed, and ſo are thy images. He called her whore. Nay, ſaid ſhe, thy images are whores, and thou art a whore-hunter; for doth not God ſay, You go a whoring after ſtrange gods, figures of your own making? and thou art one of them. Then ſhe was ſent for, and clapped faſt, and from that time ſhe had no more liberty.

During the time of her impriſonment, divers reſorted to viſit her, ſome ſent by the biſhop, ſome of their own voluntary will; amongſt whom was one Daniel, a great preacher ſometime of the goſpel, in the days of king Edward, in thoſe parts of Cornwal and Devonſhire: whom after that ſhe perceived by his own confeſſion to have revolted from that which he preached before, thro' the grievous impriſonments, as he ſaid, and fear of perſecution which he had partly ſuſtained by the cruel juſtices in thoſe parts, earneſtly ſhe exhorted him to repent with Peter, and to be more conſtant in his profeſſion.

Moreover, there reſorted to her a certain worthy gentlewoman, the wife of one Walter Rauly, a woman of noble wit, and of a good and godly opinion; who coming to the priſon, and talking with her, ſhe ſaid her creed to the gentlewoman, and when ſhe came to the article, He aſcended, there ſhe ſtaid, and bade the gentlewoman to ſeek his bleſſed body in heaven, not on earth, and told her plainly, that God dwelleth not in temples made with hands, and that ſacrament to be nothing elſe but a remembrance of his bleſſed paſſion, and yet, ſaid ſhe, as they now uſe it, it is but an idol, and far wide from any remembrance of Chriſt's body; which, ſaid ſhe, will not continue, and ſo take it, good miſtreſs. So that as ſoon as ſhe came home to her huſband, ſhe declared to him, that in her life ſhe never heard a woman (of ſuch ſimplicity to look on) talk ſo godly, ſo perfectly, ſo ſincerely, and ſo earneſtly; inſomuch, that if God were not with her, ſhe could not ſpeak ſuch things, to which I am not able to anſwer, though I can read, and ſhe cannot.

Alſo there came to her one William Keede, and John his brother, not only brethren in the fleſh, but alſo in the truth, and men in that country of great credit, whoſe father R. Kede all his life ſuffered nothing but trouble for the goſpel. Theſe two good and faithful brethren were preſent with her both in the hall, and alſo at the priſon, and (as they reported) they never heard the like woman, of ſo godly talk, ſo faithful or ſo conſtant; and as godly exhortations ſhe gave them.

Thus this good matron was by many ways tried, both by hard impriſonment, threatenings, taunts and ſcorns, called an anabaptiſt, a mad woman, a drunkard, a runagate. She was proved by liberty to go whither ſhe would; ſhe was tried by flattery, with many fair promiſes; ſhe was tried with her huſband, her goods and children,

children; but nothing could prevail; her heart was fixed, she had caſt her anchor, utterly contemning this wicked world; a rare enſample of conſtancy to all profeſſors of Chriſt's goſpel.

In the bill of my information it is ſo reported to me, that albeit ſhe was of ſuch ſimplicity, and without learning, yet you could declare no place of ſcripture, but ſhe would tell you the chapter; yea, ſhe would recite you the names of all the books of the bible. For which cauſe one Gregory Baſſet, a rank papiſt, ſaid ſhe was out of her wit, and talked of the ſcripture as a dog rangeth far off from his maſter when he walketh in the fields, or as a ſtolen ſheep out of his maſter's hands, ſhe knew not whereat, as all heretics do; with many other ſuch taunts, which ſhe utterly defied. Whereby as Almighty God is highly to be praiſed, working ſo mightily in ſuch a weak veſſel, ſo men of ſtronger and ſtouter nature have alſo to take example how to ſtand in like caſe; when as we ſee this poor woman, how manfully ſhe went through with ſuch conſtancy and patience.

At laſt when they perceived her to be paſt remedy, and had conſumed all their threatenings, that neither by impriſonment or liberty, by menaces nor flattery, they could bring her to ſing any other ſong, nor win her to their vanities and ſuperſtitious doings, then they cried out. An anabaptiſt, an anabaptiſt. Then at a day they brought her from the biſhop's priſon to the Guild-hall, and after that delivered her to the temporal power, according to their cuſtom, where ſhe was by the gentlemen of the country exhorted yet to call for grace, and to leave her opinions: and, go home to thy husband, ſaid they, thou art an unlearned woman, thou art not able to anſwer to ſuch high matters.

I am not, ſaid ſhe, yet with my death I am content to be a witneſs of Chriſt's death; and I pray you make no longer delay with me: my heart is fixed, I will never ſay otherwiſe, nor turn to their ſuperſtitious doings.

Then the biſhop ſaid, the devil did lead her.

No, my lord, ſaid ſhe, it is the Spirit of God which leadeth me, and which called me in my bed, and at midnight opened his truth to me.

Then there was a great ſhout and laughing among the prieſts and others.

During the time that this good woman was thus under theſe prieſts hands, amongſt many other baitings and ſore conflicts which ſhe ſuſtained by them, here is moreover not to be forgotten, how that Mr. Blackſtone aforeſaid, being treaſurer of the church, had a concubine, who ſundry times reſorted to him, with other of his goſſips: ſo that always when they came, this ſaid good woman was called forth to his houſe, there to make his minion with the reſt of his company ſome mirth, he examining her with ſuch mocking and grinning, deriding the truth, that it would have vexed any chriſtian heart to have ſeen it. Then when he had long uſed his fooliſhneſs in this ſort, and had ſported himſelf enough in deriding this chriſtian martyr; in the end he ſent her to priſon again, and there kept her very miſerably, except that ſometimes he would ſend for her, when his aforeſaid gueſts came to him, to uſe with her his accuſtomed folly. But in fine, theſe vile wretches (after many combats and ſcoffing perſuaſions) when they had played the part of the cat with the mouſe, at length condemned her, and delivered her over to the ſecular power.

Then the ſentence being given, That ſhe ſhould go to the place from whence ſhe came, and from thence to be led to the place of execution, there to be burned with flames till ſhe be conſumed; ſhe lifted up her voice, and thanked God, ſaying, I thank thee my Lord my God; this day have I found that which I have long ſought. But ſuch out-cries as were again, and ſuch mockings were never ſeen upon a poor innocent woman: all which ſhe moſt patiently took. And yet this favour they pretended after her judgment, that her life ſhould be ſpared, if ſhe would turn and recant. Nay, that will I not, ſaid ſhe: God forbid that I ſhould loſe the life eternal for this carnal and ſhort life. I will never turn from my heavenly husband to my earthly husband; from the fellowſhip of angels to mortal children: and if my husband and children be faithful, then am I theirs; God is my Father, God is my mother, God is my ſiſter, my brother, my kinſman, God is my friend moſt faithful.

Then was ſhe delivered to the ſheriff, innumerable people beholding her, and led by the officers to the place of execution, without the walls of Exeter, called Southenhey, where again theſe ſuperſtitious prieſts aſſaulted her; and ſhe prayed them to have no more talk with her, but cried ſtill, God be merciful to me a ſinner, God be merciful to me a ſinner. And ſo while they were tying her to the ſtake, thus ſtill ſhe cried, and would give no anſwer to them, but with much patience took her cruel death, and was with flames of fire conſumed; and ſo ended this mortal life, as conſtant a woman in the faith of Chriſt as ever was upon the earth. She was as ſimple a woman to appearance as a man might behold; of a very little and ſhort ſtature, ſomewhat thick, about fifty-four years of age. She had a cheerful countenance, ſo lively as though ſhe had been prepared for the day of her marriage to meet the Lamb; moſt patient in her words and anſwers; ſober in apparel, meat, and drink, and would never be idle; but a great comfort to as many as would talk with her; good to the poor; and in her trouble ſhe would take no money; becauſe, ſaid ſhe, I am going to a city where money beareth no maſtery; whilſt I am here, God hath promiſed to feed me. Thus was her mortal life ended. For whoſe conſtancy God be everlaſtingly praiſed, Amen.

Touching the name of this woman, as I have ſince learned, ſhe was the wife of one named Preſt, dwelling in the dioceſe of Exeter, nor far from Launceſton.

The Perſecution and Martyrdom of Richard Sharpe, Thomas Benion, and Thomas Hale.

RIchard Sharp, weaver of Briſtow, was brought the ninth day of March, 1556, before Mr. Dalby, chancellor of the town or city of Briſtow, and after examination concerning the ſacrament of the altar, was perſuaded by the ſaid Dalby and others to recant; and the 29th of the ſame month was enjoined to make his recantation before the pariſhioners in his pariſh church. Which when he had done, he felt in his conſcience ſuch a tormenting hell, that he was not able quietly to work in his occupation, but decayed and changed both in colour and liking of his body: who ſhortly after upon Sunday came into his pariſh church, called Temple, and after high maſs came to the quire door, and ſaid with a loud voice, Neighbours, bear me record that yonder idol [and pointed to the altar] is the greateſt and moſt abominable that ever was; and I am ſorry that ever I denied my Lord God. Then the conſtables were commanded to apprehend him, but none ſtepped forth, but ſuffered him to go out of the church. After, by night he was apprehended and carried to Newgate, and ſhortly after he was brought before the lord chancellor, denying the ſacrament of the altar to be the body and blood of Chriſt, and ſaid it was an idol; and therefore was condemned to be burned by the ſaid Dalby. He was burnt the 7th of May, 1557, and died godly, patiently, and conſtantly, confeſſing the articles of our faith.

Thomas Hale, Martyr.

THE Thurſday night before Eaſter, in the year 1557, came one Mr. David Harris, alderman, and John Stone, to the houſe of one Thomas Hale, a ſhoemaker of Briſtow, and cauſed him to riſe out of his bed, and brought him forth from his door. To whom the ſaid

Thomas Hale ſaid, You have ſought my blood theſe two years, and now much good may it do you. He being committed to the watchmen, was carried to Newgate the 24th of April in the year aforeſaid, was brought before Mr. Dalby the chancellor, committed by him to priſon, and after by him condemned to be burnt for ſaying, The ſacrament of the altar was an idol. He was burnt the 7th day of May, with the aforeſaid Richard Sharp, patiently embracing the fire with his arms. They were both bound back to back.

Thomas Benion.

THOMAS Benion a weaver, at the commandment of the commiſſioners, was brought by a conſtable, the 13th day of Auguſt, 1557, before Mr. Dalby chancellor of Briſtow, who committed him to priſon for ſaying there was nothing but bread in the ſacrament, as they uſed it. Wherefore, the twentieth day of Auguſt he was condemned by the ſaid Dalby to be burnt for denying five of their ſacraments, and affirming two, that is, the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, and the ſacrament of baptiſm. He was burnt the 27th of the ſaid month in the ſame year, and died godly, conſtantly, and patiently, with confeſſing the articles of our chriſtian faith.

The Martyrdom of John Corneford of Wortham, Chriſtopher Brown of Maidſtone, John Herſt of Aſhford, Alice Snoth, Katherine Knight, alias Tynley, an aged Woman.

THESE five were the laſt that ſuffered in queen Mary's reign, for the teſtimony of that word for which ſo many had died before, and gave up their lives meekly and patiently, ſuffering the violent malice of the papiſts: who although they then might have either well ſpared them, or elſe deferred their death, knowing of the ſickneſs of queen Mary; yet ſuch was the implacable ſpite of that generation, that there be ſome that ſay, the archdeacon of Canterbury the ſame time being at London, and underſtanding the danger of the queen, immediately made poſt-haſte home to diſpatch theſe, whom he had before then in his cruel cuſtody.

The matter why they were judged to the fire, was for believing the body not to be in the ſacrament of the altar, unleſs it be received; ſaying moreover, that we receive another thing alſo beſides Chriſt's body, which we ſee, and is a temporal thing, according to St. Paul, "The things that be ſeen, be temporal, &c."

Item, For confeſſing that an evil man doth not receive Chriſt's body, "Becauſe no man hath the Son, except it be given him of the Father."

Item, That it is idolatry to creep to the croſs, and St. John forbidding it, ſaith, Beware of images.

Item, For confeſſing that he ſhould not pray to our lady, and other ſaints, becauſe they be not omnipotent.

For theſe and other ſuch like articles of chriſtian doctrine, were theſe committed to the fire. Againſt whom when the ſentence ſhould be read, and they excommunicate, after the manner of the papiſts, one of them, John Corneford by name, ſtirred with a vehement ſpirit of the zeal of God, proceeding in a more true excommunication againſt the papiſts, in the name of them all, pronounced ſentence againſt them, in theſe words as follow:

"In the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of the moſt mighty God, and by the power of his Holy Spirit, and the authority of his holy catholic and apoſtolic church, we do here give into the hands of Satan to be deſtroyed, the bodies of all thoſe blaſphemers and heretics, that do maintain any error againſt his moſt holy word, or do condemn his moſt holy truth for hereſy, to the maintenance of any falſe church or feigned religion, ſo that by this thy juſt judgment, O moſt mighty God, againſt thy adverſaries, thy true religion may be known to thy great glory and our comfort, and to the edifying of all our nation. Good Lord ſo be it, Amen."

This ſentence of excommunication being the ſame time openly pronounced and regiſtered, proceeding ſo, as it ſeemeth, from an inward faith and hearty zeal to God's truth and religion, took ſuch effect againſt the enemy, that within ſix days after queen Mary died, and the tyranny of all Engliſh papiſts with her. Albeit, notwithſtanding the ſickneſs and death of that queen, whereof they were not ignorant, yet the archdeacon; with others of Canterbury, thought to diſpatch the martyrdom of theſe men before.

In which fact, the tyranny of this archdeacon ſeemeth to exceed the cruelty of Bonner, who notwithſtanding he had ſome the ſame time under his cuſtody, yet he was not ſo importunate in haling them to the fire, as appeareth by father Lining and his wife, and divers others, who being the ſame time under the cuſtody of Biſhop Bonner, were delivered by the death of queen Mary.

Theſe godly martyrs in their prayer which they made before their martyrdom, deſired God that their blood might be the laſt that ſhould be ſhed, and ſo it was.

This Katherine Tinley was the mother of one Robert Tinley, dwelling in Maidſtone, which Robert was in trouble all queen Mary's time. To whom his mother coming to viſit him, asked him how he took this place of ſcripture which ſhe had ſeen, not by reading of the ſcripture (for ſhe had yet in manner no taſte of religion) but had found it by chance in a book of prayer, "I will pour out my Spirit upon all fleſh, and your ſons and your daughters ſhall propheſy; your old men ſhall dream dreams, and your young men ſhall ſee viſions. And alſo upon the ſervants, and upon the maids in thoſe days will I pour my Spirit, &c." Which place after that he had expounded to her, ſhe began to take hold on the goſpel, growing more and more in zeal and love thereof, and ſo continued unto her martyrdom.

Among ſuch women as were burned at Canterbury, it is recorded of a certain maid, and ſuppoſed to be this Alice Snoth mentioned in this ſtory, or elſe to be Agnes Snoth above-mentioned, that when ſhe was brought to be executed, ſhe being at the ſtake, called for her godfather and godmothers. The juſtice hearing her, ſent for them, but they durſt not come. Notwithſtanding the juſtices willed the meſſenger to go again, and to ſhew them that they ſhould incur no danger thereof.

Then they hearing that, came to know the matter of their ſending for. When the maid ſaw them, ſhe asked them what they had promiſed for her, and ſo ſhe immediately rehearſed her faith, and the commandments of God, and required of them, if there were any more that they had promiſed in her behalf, and they ſaid, No.

Then, ſaid ſhe, I die a chriſtian woman, bear witneſs of me; and ſhe was conſumed in fire, and gave up her life joyfully for the teſtimony of Chriſt's goſpel, to the terror of the wicked, and comfort of the godly, and alſo to the ſtopping of the ſlanderous mouths of ſuch as falſly do quarrel againſt the faithful martyrs, for going from that religion wherein by their godfathers and godmothers they were firſt baptized.

The Hiſtory and Condemnation of John Hunt and Richard White, who eſcaped the Fire by the Death of Queen Mary.

BESIDES theſe martyrs above-named, there were ſeveral others impriſoned in divers parts of the realm, whereof ſome were but newly taken and not yet examined, ſome examined but not condemned, certain were both examined and condemned, but for lack of the writ eſcaped.

Others

Others there were alſo, both condemned, and the writ alſo was brought down for their burning, and yet by the death of the chancellor, the biſhop, and of queen Mary, happening together about one time, they moſt happily and marvellouſly were preſerved, and lived many years after. In the number of whom was one John Hunt and Richard White, impriſoned at Salisbury. Touching which hiſtory ſomething here is to be ſhewed.

Theſe two good men, and faithful ſervants of the Lord, had remained a long time in priſon at Salisbury, and other places thereabouts, the ſpace of two years and more. During which time, oft-times they were called to examination, and manifold ways were impugned by the biſhops and prieſts. All whoſe examinations, as I thought not much needful here to proſecute or to ſearch out, for the length of the volume; ſo neither again did I think it good to leave no memory at all of the ſame, but ſome part to expreſs, namely of the examination of Richard White before the biſhop of Saliſbury, the biſhop of Glouceſter, with the chancellor and other prieſts, not unworthy here to be rehearſed.

The biſhop of Saliſbury at that time was Dr. Capon. The biſhop of Glouceſter was Dr. Brookes. Theſe with Dr. Geffery the chancellor of Saliſbury, and a great number of prieſts ſitting in judgment, Richard White was brought before them. With whom firſt the biſhop of Glouceſter, who had the examination of him, began thus.

Brookes. Is this the priſoner?

Chancellor. Yea, my lord.

Brookes. Friend, wherefore cameſt thou hither?

White. My lord, I truſt to know the cauſe: for the law ſaith, In the mouth of two or three witneſſes things muſt ſtand.

Capon. Did not I examine thee of thy faith when thou cameſt hither?

White. No, my lord, you did not examine me, but commanded me to the Lollard's-Tower, and that no man ſhould ſpeak with me. And now I do require mine accuſer.

Then the regiſter ſaid, The mayor of Marlborough apprehended you for words that you ſpake there; and for that I commanded you to be conveyed hither to priſon.

White. You had the examination of me in Marlborough. Say what I have ſaid. And I will anſwer you.

Chancellor. Thou ſhalt confeſs thy faith ere thou depart; and therefore ſay thy mind freely, and be not aſhamed ſo to do.

White. I am not aſhamed of the goſpel of Chriſt, becauſe it is the power of God to ſalvation unto all that believe: and St. Peter ſaith, "If any man do ask thee a reaſon of the hope that is in thee, make him a direct anſwer and that with meekneſs." Who ſhall have the examination of me?

Chancellor. My lord of Glouceſter ſhall have the examination of thee.

White. My lord, will you take the pains to wet your coat in my blood? be not guilty thereof; I warn you beforehand.

Brookes. I will do nothing contrary to our law.

White. My lord, what is it that you do requeſt at my hands?

Brookes. I will poſe thee upon certain articles, and principally upon the ſacrament of the altar: How doſt thou believe of the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar? Believeſt thou not the real, carnal, and corporal preſence of Chriſt in the ſame, even the very ſame Chriſt that was born of the virgin Mary, that was hanged on the croſs, that ſuffered for our ſins? (and at theſe words they all put off their caps, and bowed their bodies).

White. My lord, what is a ſacrament?

Brookes. It is the thing itſelf the which it repreſenteth.

White. That cannot be: for he that repreſenteth a prince cannot be the prince himſelf.

Brookes. How many ſacraments findeſt thou in the ſcriptures called by the name of ſacraments?

White. I find two ſacraments in the ſcriptures, but not called by the names of ſacraments. But I think St. Auguſtine gave them the firſt names of ſacraments.

Brookes. Then thou findeſt not that word Sacrament in the ſcriptures?

White. No, my lord.

Brookes. Did not Chriſt ſay, This is my body, and are not his words true?

White. I am ſure the words are true; but you play by me as the devil did by Chriſt: for he ſaid, If thou be, &c. Matt. 4. For it is, &c. Pſal. 91. But the words that followed after be clean left out, which are theſe: Thou ſhalt walk on the lion and the aſp, &c. Theſe words the devil left out, becauſe they were ſpoke againſt himſelf; and even ſo do you recite the ſcriptures.

Brookes. Declare thy faith upon the ſacrament.

White. Chriſt and his ſacraments are alike, becauſe of the natures; for in Chriſt are two natures, a divine and an human nature; ſo likewiſe in the ſacrament of Chriſt's body and blood there be two natures, which I divide into two parts, that is, external and internal. The external part is the element of bread and wine, according to the ſaying of St. Auguſtine. The internal part is inviſible grace, which by the ſame is repreſented. So is there an external receiving of the ſame ſacrament, and an internal. The external is with the hand, the eye, the mouth, and the ear. The internal is by the Holy Ghoſt in the heart, which worketh in me faith; whereby I apprehend all the merits of Chriſt, applying the ſame wholly unto my ſalvation. If this be truth, believe it; and if it be not, reprove it.

Dr. Hoſkins. This is Oecolampadius's doctrine, and Hooper taught it the people.

Brookes. Doſt thou not believe, that after the words of conſecration there is the natural preſence of Chriſt's body?

White. My lord, I will anſwer you if you will anſwer me to one queſtion. Is not this article of our belief true; "He ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty:" If he be come from thence to judgment, ſay ſo.

Brookes. No. But if thou wilt believe the ſcriptures, I will prove to thee that Chriſt was both in heaven and in earth at one time.

White. As he is God he is in all places; but as for his manhood, he is but in one place.

Brookes. St. Paul ſaith, 1 Cor. 15. "Laſt of all he was ſeen of me," &c. Here St. Paul ſaith he ſaw Chriſt, and St. Paul was not in heaven.

White. St. Paul's chief purpoſe was by this place to prove the reſurrection. But how do you prove that Chriſt, when he appeared to St. Paul, was not ſtill in heaven; like as he was ſeen of Stephen, ſitting at the right hand of God? St. Auguſtine ſaith, the head that was in heaven, did cry for the body and members which were on the earth, and ſaid, "Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me?" And was not Paul taken up into the third heaven, where he might ſee Chriſt; as he witneſſeth, 1 Cor. 15. For there he doth but only ſay he ſaw Chriſt, but concerning the place he ſpeaketh nothing. Wherefore this place of ſcripture proveth not that Chriſt was both in heaven and earth at one time.

Brookes. I told you before he would not believe. Here be three opinions, the Lutherans, the Oecolampadians, and we the Catholics. If you the Oecolampadians have the truth, then the Lutherans and we the Catholics be out of the way. If the Lutherans have the truth, then you the Oecolampadians and we the Catholics be out of the way. But if we the Catholics have the truth, as we have indeed, then the Lutherans and you the Oecolampadians are out of the way, as you are indeed, for the Lutherans do call you heretics.

White.

White. My lord, ye have troubled me greatly with the ſcriptures.

Brookes. Did I not tell you it was not poſſible to remove him from his error? Away with him to the Lollard's-Tower, and diſpatch him as ſoon as ye can.

This was the effect of my firſt examination. More examinations I had after this, which I have no time now to write out.

Amongſt many other examinations of the aforeſaid Richard White, it happened one time, that Dr. Blackſtone, chancellor of Exeter, ſate upon him, with divers others, who alledging certain doctors, as Chryſoſtom, Cyprian, Tertullian, againſt the ſaid Richard White, and being reproved by him for his falſe patching of the doctors, fell into ſuch a trembling and ſhaking, (his conſcience belike accuſing him) that he was fain, ſtooping down, to lay both his hands upon his knees to ſtay his body from trembling.

Then the ſaid John Hunt and Richard White, after many examinations and long captivity, at length were called for, and brought before Dr. Geffrey the biſhop's chancellor, there to be condemned, and ſo they were. The high ſheriff at that preſent was Sir Anthony Hungerford, who being then at the ſeſſions, was there charged with theſe two condemned perſons, with other malefactors there condemned likewiſe the ſame time, to ſee them put to death.

In the mean time Mr. Clifford of Boſco in Wiltſhire, ſon-in-law to the ſaid Sir Anthony Hungerford the ſheriff, came to his father, exhorting and counſelling him in no caſe to meddle with the death of theſe two innocent perſons; and if the chancellor and prieſts would needs be inſtant upon him, yet he ſhould firſt require the writ to be ſent down De comburendo for his diſcharge.

Sir Anthony Hungerford hearing this, and underſtanding juſtice Brown to be in the town the ſame time, went to him to aſk his advice and counſel in the matter, who told him that without the writ ſent down from the ſuperior powers, he could not be diſcharged, and if the writ were ſent, then he muſt by the law do his charge.

The ſheriff underſtanding by juſtice Brown how far he might go by the law, and having at that time no writ for his warrant, let them alone, and the next day after taking his horſe, departed.

The chancellor all this while marvelling what the ſheriff meant, and yet diſdaining to go unto him, but looking rather the other ſhould have come firſt to him, at laſt hearing that he was rid away, took his horſe and rid after him; who at length overtaking the ſheriff, declared unto him how he had committed certain condemned priſoners to his hand, whoſe duty had been to have ſeen execution done; the matter, he ſaid, was great, and therefore willed him to look well unto it how he would anſwer the matter. And thus began he fiercely to lay his charge.

Wherein note, good reader, by the way, the cloſe and covert hypocriſy of the papiſts in their dealings; who in the form and ſtile of their own ſentence condemnatory, pretend a petition unto the ſecular power, in the wounds of Jeſus Chriſt, that the rigour of the law might be mitigated, and that their life may be ſpared. And how ſtandeth this now with their doings and dealings, when this chancellor (as ye ſee) is not only contented to give ſentence againſt them, but alſo hunteth after the officer, not ſuffering him to ſpare them, although he would? What diſſimulation is this of men, going and doing contrary to their own words and profeſſion? But let us return to our matter again.

The ſheriff hearing the chancellor's words, and ſeeing him ſo urging upon him, told him again that he was no babe, which now was to be taught of him. If he had any writ, to warrant and diſcharge him in burning thoſe men, then he knew what he had to do. Why, ſaid the chancellor, did not I give you a writ, with my hand and eight more of the cloſe ſet unto the ſame? Well, quoth the ſheriff, that is no ſufficient diſcharge for me; and therefore as I told you, if ye have a ſufficient writ and warrant from the ſuperior powers, I know then what I have to do in my office; otherwiſe, if you have no other writ but that, I tell you, I will neither burn them for you, nor any of you all, &c.

Where note again, good reader, how by this it may be thought and ſuppoſed, that the other poor ſaints and martyrs of God, ſuch as had been burned at Salisbury before, were burned belike without any authoriſed or ſufficient writ from the ſuperiors, but only the information of the chancellor and of the cloſe, through the uncircumſpect negligence of the ſheriffs, who ſhould have looked more ſubſtantially upon the matter. But this I leave and refer unto the magiſtrates. Let us return to the ſtory again.

Doctor Geffery the chancellor thus ſent away from the ſheriff, went home, and there fell ſick upon the ſame (for anger belike) as they ſignified unto me, who were the parties themſelves, both godly and grave perſons, who were then condemned, the one of them, which is Richard White, being yet alive.

The under-ſheriff to this Sir Anthony Hungerford above-named, was one Mr. Michell, a godly man. So that not long after this came down the writ to burn the above-named Richard White, and John Hunt, but the under-ſheriff receiving the ſaid writ, ſaid, I will not be guilty of theſe men's blood, and immediately burnt the writing, and departed his way. Within four days after the chancellor died. Concerning whoſe death this cometh by the way to be noted, that theſe two aforeſaid, John Hunt, and Richard White, being the ſame time in a low and dark dungeon, being Saturday, toward evening (according to their accuſtomed manner) fell to evening prayer. Who kneeling there together, as they ſhould begin their prayer, ſuddenly fell both to ſuch a ſtrange weeping and tenderneſs of heart (but how they could not tell) that they could not pray one word, but ſo continued a great ſpace, burſting out in tears. After that night was paſt, and the morning come, the firſt word they heard, was, that the chancellor their great enemy was dead. The time of whoſe death they found to be the ſame hour, when they fell in ſuch a ſudden weeping. The Lord in all his works be praiſed, Amen. Thus much concerning the death of that wicked chancellor.

Richard White and John Hunt, after the death of the chancellor, the biſhop alſo being dead a little before, continued ſtill in priſon till the happy coming in of queen Elizabeth: and ſo were at liberty.

The Martyrdom of a young Lad of eight Years old, ſcourged to Death in Biſhop Bonner's Houſe in London.

IF bloody torments and cruel death of a poor innocent, ſuffering for no cauſe of his own, but in the truth of Chriſt and his religion, do make a martyr, no leſs deſerveth the child of John Fetty to be reputed in the catalogue of holy martyrs, who in the houſe of biſhop Bonner unmercifully was ſcourged to death, as by the ſequel of this ſtory here following may appear.

Amongſt thoſe that were perſecuted and miſerably impriſoned for the profeſſion of Chriſt's goſpel, and yet mercifully delivered by the providence of God, there was one John Fetty, a godly poor man, dwelling in the pariſh of Clerkenwell, and was by vocation a taylor, of the age of twenty-four years or thereabouts, who was accuſed and complained of unto one Brokenbury, a parſon of the ſame pariſh, by his own wife, becauſe he would not come unto the church, and be partaker of their idolatry and ſuperſtition; and therefore, through the ſaid prieſt's procurement, he was apprehended by Richard Tanner and his fellow conſtables there, and one Martin the headborough. Howbeit, immediately upon his apprehenſion

BRITISH MUSEUM
7 SEP 75
NATURAL HISTORY

Engravid
for Foxs Book of Martyrs.

The manner of carrying NICHOLAS BURTON, *through the City of* Sevill, *to the Place of his Martyrdom.*

G.Terry Sculp Nº 62

Publish'd as the Act directs *per H. Tripp, Pater-noster Row.*

Pater noster Row.

prehenſion, his wife (by the juſt judgment of God) was ſtricken mad and diſtract of her wits, which declared a marvellous example of the juſtice of God againſt ſuch unfaithful and moſt unnatural treachery. And although this example perhaps for want of knowledge and inſtruction in ſuch caſes little moved the conſciences of thoſe ſimple poor men to ceaſe their perſecution; yet natural pity towards that ungrateful woman wrought ſo in their hearts, that for the preſervation and ſupport of her and her two children (like otherwiſe to periſh) they for that preſent let her husband alone, and would not carry him to priſon, but yet he ſuffered him to remain quietly in his own houſe. During which time, he as it were forgetting the wicked and unkind fact of his wife, did yet ſo cheriſh and provide for her, that within the ſpace of three weeks (through God's merciful providence) ſhe was well amended, and had recovered again ſome ſtay of her wits and ſenſes.

But ſuch was the power of ſatan in the malicious heart of that wicked woman, that notwithſtanding his gentle dealing with her, yet ſo ſoon as ſhe had recovered ſome health, ſhe did again accuſe her husband; whereupon he was a ſecond time apprehended, and carried unto Sir John Mordant, knight, one of the queen's commiſſioners, and he upon examination ſent him by Cluny, the biſhop's ſumner, unto the Lollards Tower: where he was put into the painful ſtocks, and had a diſh of water ſet by him, with a ſtone put into it. To what purpoſe God knoweth, except it were to ſhew that he ſhould look for little other ſuſtenance. Which is credible enough, if we conſider their like practices upon divers before-mentioned in this hiſtory, as amongſt others, upon Richard Smith, who died through their cruel impriſonment; touching whom, when a godly woman came to Dr. Story, to have leave that ſhe might bury him, he asked her if he had any ſtraw or blood in his mouth; but what he meant thereby I leave to the judgment of the wiſe.

After the aforeſaid John Fetty had thus lain in priſon by the ſpace of fifteen days, hanging in the ſtocks, ſometimes by one leg and one arm, ſometimes by the other, and ſometimes by both, it happened that one of his children (a boy of the age of eight or nine years) came unto the biſhop's houſe to ſee if he could get leave to ſpeak with his father. At his coming thither, one of the biſhop's chaplains met him, and asked him what he lacked, and whom he would have. The child anſwered, that he came to ſee his father. The chaplain asked him who was his father. The boy told him, and pointing towards Lollards Tower, ſhewed him that his father was there in priſon. Why, ſaid the prieſt, thy father is an heretic: The child being of a bold and quick ſpirit, and alſo godly brought up, and inſtructed by his father in the knowledge of God, anſwered and ſaid; My father is no heretic; for you have Balaam's mark.

With that the prieſt took the child by the hand, and carried him into the biſhop's houſe, and there amongſt them they did moſt ſhamefully and without all pity ſo whip and ſcourge, being naked, this tender child, that he was all in a gore of blood, and then in jolly brag of their catholic tyranny, they cauſed Cluny, having his coat upon his arm, to carry the child in his ſhirt unto his father, being in priſon, the blood running down his heels.

At his coming unto his father the child fell down upon his knees, and asked his bleſſing. The poor man then beholding his child, and ſeeing him ſo cruelly arrayed, cried out for ſorrow, and ſaid, alas, Will, who hath done this to thee? The boy anſwered, that as he was ſeeking how to come to ſee his father, a prieſt with Balaam's mark took him into the biſhop's houſe, and there was he ſo handled. Cluny therewith violently plucked the child away out of his father's hands, and carried him back again into the biſhop's houſe, where they kept him three days after.

And at three days end, Bonner (minding to make the matter whole, and ſomewhat to appeaſe the poor man, for this their horrible fact) determined to releaſe him; and therefore cauſed him early in the morning to be brought out of Lollards Tower into his bed-chamber, where he found the biſhop bathing himſelf againſt a great fire: and at his firſt entering into the chamber, Fetty ſaid, God be here, and peace. God be here, and peace! ſaid Bonner; that is neither God ſpeed, nor good morrow. If ye kick againſt this peace, ſaid Fetty, then this is not the place that I ſeek for.

A chaplain of the biſhop's ſtanding by, turned the poor man about, and thinking to deface him, ſaid in mocking wiſe: What have we here, a player? Whilſt Fetty was thus ſtanding in the biſhop's chamber, he eſpied hanging about the biſhop's bed a great pair of black beads; whereupon he ſaid, My lord, I think the hangman is not far off; for the halter, pointing to the beads, is here already. At which words the biſhop was in a marvellous rage.

Then he immediately after eſpied alſo ſtanding in the ſaid biſhop's chamber in the window a little crucifix. Then he asked the biſhop what it was; and he anſwered that it was Chriſt. Was he handled ſo cruelly as he is here pictured, ſaid Fetty?

Yea, that he was, ſaid the biſhop.

And even ſo cruelly will you handle ſuch as come before you: For you are unto God's people as Caiaphas was unto Chriſt.

The biſhop being in a great fury, ſaid, Thou art a vile heretic, and I will burn thee, or elſe I will ſpend all that I have unto my gown.

Nay, my lord, ſaid Fetty, ye were better to give it to ſome poor body, that he may pray for you. But yet Bonner bethinking himſelf of the danger that the child was in by their whipping, and what peril might enſue thereupon, thought better to diſcharge him: which thing was accompliſhed.

Whereupon, after this and ſuch like talk, the biſhop at laſt diſcharged him, willing him to go home, and carry his child with him; which he did, and that with a heavy heart to ſee his poor boy in ſuch extreme pain and grief. But within fourteen days after the child died, whether through his cruel ſcourging, or any other infirmity, I know not; and therefore I refer the truth thereof unto the Lord, who knoweth all ſecrets, and alſo to the diſcreet judgment of the wiſe reader. But however it was, the Lord yet uſed their cruel and deteſtable fact, as a means of his providence for the delivery of this good poor man and faithful chriſtian; his name therefore be ever praiſed, Amen.

The cruel handling and burning of Nicholas Burton, an Engliſh Merchant, in Spain.

I Think it not amiſs in this place to mention the ſtory of Nicholas Burton, being ſuch as is not unworthy to be known, as well for the example of his ſingular conſtancy, as alſo for the noting of the extreme dealing and cruel revenge of thoſe catholic inquiſitors of Spain, who under the pretenſed viſor of religion, do nothing but ſeek their own private gain and advantage, with crafty rifling and ſpoiling of other mens goods, as by noting of this ſtory may appear.

The fifth day of November, about the year of our Lord 1560, this Nicholas Burton, citizen ſometime of London, and merchant, dwelling in the pariſh of Little Saint Bartholomew, peaceably and quietly following his traffic in the trade of merchandize, and being in the city of Cadiz, in the party of Andoluzia in Spain, there came into his lodging a Judas (or, as they term them) a familiar of the fathers of the inquiſition. Who asked for the ſaid Nicholas Burton, feigned that he had a letter to

deliver to his own hands; by which means he ſpake with him immediately. And having no letter to deliver to him, then the ſaid promoter or familiar, at the motion of the devil his maſter, whoſe meſſenger he was, invented another lye, and ſaid, that he would take lading for London in ſuch ſhips as the ſaid Nicholas Burton had freighted to lade, if he would let any; which was partly to know where he laded his goods, that they might attach them, and chiefly to detract the time until the ſerjeant of the inquiſition might come and apprehend the body of the ſaid Nicholas Burton; which they did incontinently. Who then well perceiving that they were not able to burden nor charge him that he had written, ſpoke, or done any thing there in that country againſt the eccleſiaſtical or temporal laws of the ſame realm, boldly aſked them what they had to lay to his charge that they did ſo arreſt him, and bade them to declare the cauſe, and he would anſwer them. Notwithſtanding they anſwered nothing, but commanded him with cruel threatening words to hold his peace, and not to ſpeak one word to them. And ſo they carried him to the filthy common priſon of the town of Cadiz, where he remained in irons fourteen days among thieves. All which time he ſo inſtructed the poor priſoners in the word of God, according to the good talent which God had given him in that behalf, and alſo in the Spaniſh tongue to utter the ſame, that in ſhort ſpace he had well reclaimed ſeveral of thoſe ſuperſtitious and ignorant Spaniards to embrace the word of God, and to reject their popiſh traditions. Which being known unto the officers of the inquiſition, they conveyed him laden with irons from thence to a city called Sevil, into a more cruel and ſtraiter priſon called Triana, where the ſaid fathers of the inquiſition proceeded againſt him ſecretly according to their accuſtomable cruel tyranny, that never after he could be ſuffered to write or to ſpeak to any of his nation; ſo that to this day it is unknown who was his accuſer.

Afterward, the 20th of December, they brought the ſaid Nicholas Burton, with a great number of other priſoners, for profeſſing the true chriſtian religion, into the city of Sevil, to a place where the ſaid inquiſitors ſate in in judgment, which they called Auto, with a canvas coat, whereupon in divers parts was painted the figure of a huge devil, tormenting a ſoul in a flame of fire, and on his head a copping tank of the ſame work.

His tongue was forced out of his mouth by a cloven ſtick faſtened upon it, that he ſhould not utter his conſcience and faith to the people, and ſo he was ſet with another Engliſhman of Southampton, and divers others condemned men for religion, as well Frenchmen, as Spaniards, upon a ſcaffold overagainſt the ſaid inquiſition, where their ſentences and judgments were read and pronounced againſt them. And immediately after the ſaid ſentences given, they were carried from thence to the place of execution, without the city, where they moſt cruelly burnt him, for whoſe conſtant faith, God be praiſed.

This Nicholas Burton, by the way, and in the flames of fire, had ſo cheerful a countenance, embracing death with all patience and gladneſs, that the tormentors and enemies which ſtood by ſaid, that the devil had his ſoul before he came to the fire; and therefore they ſaid his ſenſes of feeling were paſt him.

It happened that after the arreſt of N. Burton aforeſaid, immediately all the goods and merchandize which he brought with him into Spain, by the way of traffic, were, according to their common uſage, ſeized and taken into the ſequeſter; among which they alſo rolled up much that appertained to another Engliſh merchant, wherewith he was credited as factor. Whereof ſo ſoon as news was brought to the merchant as well of the impriſonment of his factor, as of the arreſt made upon his goods, he ſent his attorney into Spain with authority from him to make claim to his goods, and to demand them, whoſe name was John Fronton, citizen of Briſtow.

When his attorney was landed at Sevil, and had ſhewed all his letters and writings to the holy houſe, requiring them that ſuch goods might be delivered into his poſſeſſion; anſwer was made him, that he muſt ſue by bill, and retain an advocate (but all was doubtleſs to delay him) and they, forſooth, of courteſy aſſigned him one to frame his ſupplication for him, and other ſuch bills of petition as he had to exhibit into their holy court, demanding for each bill eight rials, albeit they ſtood him in no more ſtead than if he had put up none at all. And for the ſpace of three or four months this fellow miſſed not twice a day attending every morning and afternoon at the inquiſitor's palace, ſuing unto them upon his knees for his diſpatch, but eſpecially to the biſhop of Tarracon, who was at that very time chief in the inquiſition at Sevil, that he of his abſolute authority would command reſtitution to be made thereof, but the booty was ſo good and ſo great, that it was very hard to come by it again.

At length, after he had ſpent four whole months in ſuits and requeſts, and all to no purpoſe, he received this anſwer from them, That he muſt ſhew better evidence, and bring more ſufficient certificates out of England for proof of this matter, than thoſe which he had already preſented to the court. Whereupon the party forthwith poſted to London, and with all ſpeed returned to Sevil again with more ample and large letters teſtimonial, and certificates, according to their requeſts, and exhibited them to the court. Notwithſtanding the inquiſitors ſtill ſhifted him off, excuſing themſelves by lack of leiſure, and for that they were occupied in more weighty affairs, and with ſuch anſwers put him off for four months after.

At laſt, when the party had well nigh ſpent all his money, and therefore ſued the more earneſtly for his diſpatch, they referred the matter wholly to the biſhop. Of whom, when he repaired unto him, he made this anſwer, That for himſelf, he knew what he had to do; howbeit he was but one man, and the determination appertained to the other commiſſioners as well as unto him: and thus by poſting and paſſing it from one to another, the party could obtain no end of his ſuit. Yet for his importunity ſake, they were reſolved to diſpatch him; it was on this ſort: one of the inquiſitors, called Gaſco, a man very well experienced in theſe practices, willed the party to reſort unto him after dinner. The fellow being glad to hear this news, and ſuppoſing that his goods ſhould be reſtored unto him, and that he was called in for that purpoſe to talk with the other that was in priſon, to confer with him about their accounts, rather through a little miſunderſtanding, hearing the inquiſitors caſt out a word, that it ſhould be needful for him to talk with the priſoner, and being thereupon more than half perſuaded, that at length they meant good faith, did ſo, and repaired thither about the evening. Immediately upon his coming, the goaler was forthwith charged with him, to ſhut him up cloſe in ſuch a priſon where they appointed him.

The party hoping at the firſt that he had been called for about ſome other matter, and ſeeing himſelf contrary to his expectation caſt into a dark dungeon, perceived at length that the world went with him far otherwiſe than he ſuppoſed it would have done. But within two or three days after he was brought forth into the court, where he began to demand his goods: and becauſe it was a device that well ſerved their turn, without any more circumſtance they bade him ſay his Ave Maria: "Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus, & benedictus fructus ventris tui Jeſus, Amen."

The ſame was written word by word as he ſpake it, and without any more talk of claiming his goods, becauſe it was needleſs, they commanded him to priſon again, and entered an action againſt him as an heretic, foraſmuch as he did not ſay his Ave Maria after the Romiſh manner, but ended it very ſuſpiciouſly; for he ſhould have added moreover; "Sancta Maria mater Dei

Dei, ora pro nobis peccatoribus;" by abbreviating whereof it was evident enough, ſaid they, that he did not allow the mediation of ſaints.

Thus they picked a quarrel to detain him in priſon a longer ſeaſon, and afterwards brought him forth upon their ſtage diſguiſed after their manner: where ſentence was given, that he ſhould loſe all the goods which he ſued for; though they were not his own, and beſides this ſuffer a year's impriſonment.

In the year 1560, ſeveral other Engliſhmen ſuffered in Spain, among whom John Baker and William Burgate were apprehended, and burnt the ſecond of November, in the city of Sevil.

Mark Bruges, an Engliſhman, maſter of an Engliſh ſhip, called the Minion, was burnt in a city in Portugal.

William Hoker, a young man, about the age of ſixteen years, being an Engliſhman, was ſtoned to death by certain young men in the city of Sevil, for the ſame righteous cauſe.

A Treatiſe concerning thoſe that were ſcourged by the Papiſts for the Cauſe of the Goſpel.

AFTER the bloody ſlaughter of God's ſaints and ſervants thus ended and diſcuſſed, let us now proceed (by God's aſſiſtance) to treat of ſuch as for the ſame cauſe of religion have been, though not yet put to death, yet whipped and ſcourged by the enemies of God's word, firſt beginning with Richard Wilmot, and Thomas Fairfax, who about the time of Anne Aſkew, were miſerably rent and tormented with ſcourges and ſtripes, for their faithful ſtanding to Chriſt, and his truth, as by the ſtory and examination of them both may appear.

The Scourging of Richard Wilmot and Thomas Fairfax.

AFTER the firſt recantation of Dr. Crome for his ſermon which he made the fifth Sunday in Lent at St. Thomas Acres, being the Mercer's chapel; his ſermon was on the epiſtle of the ſame day, written in the tenth chapter to the Hebrews: wherein he very learnedly proved by the ſame place of ſcripture and others, that Chriſt was the only and ſufficient ſacrifice unto God the Father for the ſins of the whole world, and that there was no more ſacrifice to be offered for ſin by the prieſts, foraſmuch as Chriſt hath offered his body on the croſs, and ſhed his blood for the ſins of the people, and that once for all. For which ſermon he was apprehended by Bonner, and brought before S. Gardiner, and others of the council, where he promiſed to recant his doctrine at Paul's Croſs the ſecond Sunday after Eaſter. And accordingly he was there, and preached, Bonner, with all his doctors, ſitting before him: but he ſo preached and handled his matter, that he rather verified his former ſaying, than denied any part of that which he before had preached. For which the proteſtants praiſed God, and heartily rejoiced. Biſhop Bonner and his champions were not at all pleaſed therewith, but yet notwithſtanding they took him home with them, and was ſo handled among the wolfiſh generation, that they made him come to the croſs again the next Sunday. And becauſe the magiſtrates ſhould now hear him, and be witneſs of this recantation which was moſt blaſphemous, to deny Chriſt's ſacrifice to be ſufficient for penitent ſinners, and to ſay that the ſacrifice of the maſs was good, godly, and an holy ſacrifice, propitiatory and available both for the quick and the dead: becauſe, I ſay, that they would have the nobles to hear this blaſphemous doctrine, the viperous generation procured all the chief of the council to be there preſent.

Now to come to our matter; at this time the ſame week, between the firſt ſermon and the laſt, and while Dr. Crome was in durance, one Richard Wilmot being an apprentice in Bow-lane, of the age of eighteen years, and ſitting at work in his maſter's ſhop, in the month of July, one Lewis, a Welchman, being one of the guard, came into the ſhop, having things to do for himſelf. One aſked him what news at the court? and he anſwered, that the old heretic Dr. Crome had recanted now indeed before the council, and that he ſhould on Sunday next be at Paul's Croſs again, and then declare it. Then Wilmot, ſitting at his maſter's work, and hearing him ſpeak theſe words, and rejoicing in the ſame, began to ſpeak unto him, ſaying, that he was ſorry to hear this news: for, ſaid he, if Crome ſhould ſay otherwiſe than he hath ſaid, then is he contrary to the truth of God's word, and contrary to his own conſcience, which ſhall before God accuſe him.

Lewis anſwered and ſaid, that he had preached and taught hereſy; and therefore it was meet that he ſhould in ſuch a place revoke it.

Wilmot told him that he would not ſo ſay, neither did he hear him preach any doctrine contrary to God's written word, but that he proved his doctrine, and that ſufficiently, by the ſcriptures.

Lewis then aſked him how he knew that?

Wilmot anſwered, by the ſcriptures of God, wherein he ſhall find God's will and pleaſure, what he willeth all men to do, and what not to do; and alſo by them he ſhould prove and try all doctrines, and the falſe doctrine from the true.

Lewis ſaid, it was never well ſince the Bible was tranſlated into Engliſh: and that he was both an heretic and a traitor that cauſed it to be tranſlated into Engliſh (meaning Cromwel) and therefore was rewarded according to his deſerts.

Wilmot anſwered again, what his deſerts and offences were to his prince a great many do not know, neither is it of any force whether they do or no; once, he was ſure that he loſt his life for offending his prince, and the law did put it in execution; adding moreover, concerning that man, that he thought it pleaſed God to raiſe him from a low eſtate, and to place him in high authority, partly unto this, that he ſhould do that which all the biſhops in the realm yet never did, in reſtoring again God's holy word, which being hid long before from the people in a ſtrange tongue, and now coming abroad among us, will bring our biſhops and prieſts, ſaid he, in leſs eſtimation among the people.

Lewis aſked, why ſo?

Wilmot ſaid, becauſe their living and doctrine is not agreeable to his word.

Then ſaid Lewis, I never heard but that all men ſhould learn of the biſhops and prieſts, becauſe they are learned men, and have been brought up in learning all the days of their lives. Wherefore they muſt needs know the truth, and our fathers did believe their doctrine and learning, and I think they did well, for the world was far better then than it is now.

Wilmot anſwered, I will not ſay ſo: For we muſt not believe them becauſe they are biſhops, neither becauſe they be learned, neither becauſe our forefathers did follow their doctrine. For I have read in God's book, how that biſhops and learned men have taught the people falſe doctrine, and likewiſe the prieſts from time to time, and indeed thoſe people our forefathers believed as they taught, and as they thought, ſo thought the people. But for all this, Chriſt calleth them falſe prophets, thieves, and murderers, blind leaders of the blind, willing the people to take heed of them, leſt they ſhould both fall into the ditch.

Moreover we read, that the biſhops, prieſts, and learned men, have been commonly reſiſters of the truth from time to time, and have always perſecuted the prophets in the old laws as their ſucceſſors did perſecute our Saviour Chriſt and his diſciples in the new law. We muſt take heed therefore that we credit them no further than God will

will have us, neither follow them nor our forefathers otherwiſe than he commandeth us. For Almighty God hath given to all people, as well to kings and princes, as biſhops, prieſts, learned and unlearned men, a commandment and law, unto which he willeth all men to be obedient. Therefore if any biſhop or prieſt preach or teach, or prince or magiſtrate command any thing contrary to his commandment, we muſt take heed how we obey them. For it is better for us to obey God than man.

Marry, Sir, quoth Lewis, you are an holy doctor indeed. By God's blood, if you were my man, I would ſet you about your buſineſs a little better, and not ſuffer you to look upon books, and ſo would your maſter if he were wiſe. And with that in came his maſter, and a young man with him, who was a ſervant to Mr. Daubney in Watling-ſtreet.

His maſter asked him what the matter was.

Lewis ſaid, that he had a knaviſh boy here to his ſervant, and how that if he were his, he would rather hang him than keep him in his houſe.

Then his maſter being ſomewhat moved, asked his fellows what the matter was.

They ſaid, they began to talk about Dr. Crome.

Then his maſter aſked what he had ſaid, ſwearing a great oath, that he would make him to tell him.

He ſaid, that he truſted he had ſaid nothing, wherewith either he or Mr. Lewis might juſtly be offended. I pray, quoth Wilmot, ask him what I ſaid.

Marry, ſaid Lewis, this he ſaid, That Dr. Crome did preach and teach nothing but the truth, and how that if he recanted on Sunday next, he ſhould be ſorry to hear it, and that if he do, he is made to do it againſt his conſcience. And more he ſaith, that we muſt not follow our biſhops' doctrine and preaching: for, ſaith he, they be hinderers of God's word, and perſecutors of that; and how Cromwel (that traitor) did more good in ſetting forth the Bible, than all our biſhops have done theſe hundred years: Thus reporting the matter worſe than it really was.

His maſter hearing this, was in a great fury, and rated him, ſaying, that either he would be hanged or burned, ſwearing that he would take away all his books and burn them.

The young man (Mr. Daubney's ſervant) ſtanding by hearing this, began to ſpeak on his part unto Lewis; and his talk confirmed all the ſayings of the other to be true.

This young man was learned, his name was Thomas Fairfax. Lewis hearing this man's talk as well as the other's, went his way in a rage to the court.

On the morrow they heard news, that the ſaid Wilmot and Fairfax were ſent for to come to the lord mayor. The meſſenger was Mr. Smart the ſword-bearer of London. They came before dinner to the mayor's houſe, and were commanded to ſit down at dinner in the hall; and when dinner was done, they were both called into a parlour, where the mayor and Sir Roger Cholmley was, who examined them ſeverally, the one not hearing the other.

The effect of their talk was this; Sir Roger Cholmley ſaid to Wilmot, that my lord mayor and he had received a commandment from the council, to ſend for him and his company, and to examine them of certain things which were laid to their charge.

Then ſaid Mr. Cholmley to him, Sirrah, what countryman art thou? He anſwered, that he was born in Cambridgeſhire, and in ſuch a town. Then he asked him, how long he had been in the city. He told him.

Then he asked what learning he had, He ſaid, little learning and ſmall knowledge. Then, deridingly, he asked how long he had known Dr. Crome. He ſaid, about two years. Then he called him a lying boy, and ſaid (the ſaid Wilmot) was his ſon.

The other ſaid unto him, that was unlike, for that he never ſaw his mother, nor ſhe him. Cholmley ſaid he lyed. Wilmot ſaid he could prove it to be true. Then he asked him how he liked his ſermon that he made at St. Thomas Acres chapel in Lent. He ſaid that indeed he heard him not. He ſaid, Yes, and the other, Nay. Then ſaid he, What ſay you to his ſermon made at the Croſs the laſt day, heard you not that?

Wilmot. Yes, in that ſermon he deceived a great number of people.

Cholmley. How ſo?

Wilmot. For that they looked that he ſhould have recanted his doctrine that he taught before, and did not, but rather confirmed it.

Cholmley. Yea, Sir, but how ſay you now to him? for he hath recanted before the council; and hath promiſed on Sunday next to be at the Croſs again: how think ye in that?

Wilmot. If he ſo did, I am the more ſorry to hear it; and ſaid, he thought he did it for fear and ſafeguard of his life.

Cholmley. But what ſay you? was his firſt ſermon hereſy or not?

Wilmot. No, I ſuppoſe it was no hereſy. For if it were, St. Paul's epiſtle to the Hebrews was hereſy, and Paul an heretic that preached ſuch doctrine; but God forbid that any chriſtian man ſhould ſo think of the holy apoſtle; neither do I ſo think.

Cholmley. Why, how knoweſt thou that St. Paul wrote thoſe things that are in Engliſh now, to be true, whereas Paul never wrote Engliſh or Latin?

Wilmot. I am certified that learned men of God, that did ſeek to advance his word, did tranſlate the ſame out of the Greek and Hebrew into Latin and Engliſh, and that they durſt not preſume to alter the ſenſe of the ſcripture of God, and laſt will and teſtament of Chriſt Jeſus.

Then the lord mayor, being in a great fury, asked him what he had to do to read ſuch books, and ſaid, that it was pity that his maſter did ſuffer him ſo to do, and that he was not ſet better to work; and in fine ſaid unto him, that he had ſpoken evil of my lord of Wincheſter and biſhop Bonner, thoſe reverend and learned fathers and counſellors of this realm, for which his fact he ſaw no other but he muſt ſuffer, as was due to the ſame. And Mr. Cholmley ſaid, Yea, my lord, there are ſuch a ſort of heretics and traitorly knaves taken now in Eſſex by my lord Rich, that it is too wonderful to hear. They ſhall be ſent to the biſhop ſhortly, and ſhall be hanged and burned all.

Wilmot. I am ſorry to hear that of my lord Rich, for that he was my godfather, and gave me my name at my baptiſm.

Cholmley asked him when he ſpake with him. He ſaid, not theſe twelve years.

Cholmley. If he knew that you were ſuch a one, he would do the like by you, and in ſo doing he ſhould do God great ſervice.

Wilmot. I have read the ſame ſaying in the goſpel, that Chriſt ſaid to his diſciples, "The time ſhall come, ſaith he, that whoſoever killeth you, ſhall think that he ſhall do God good ſervice."

Well, Sir, ſaid Cholmley, becauſe you are ſo full of your ſcripture, and ſo well learned, we conſider you lack a quiet place to ſtudy in. Therefore you ſhall go to a place where you ſhall be moſt quiet, and I would wiſh you to ſtudy how you will anſwer to the council of thoſe things which they have to charge you with, for elſe it is like to coſt you your beſt joint. I know my lord of Wincheſter will handle you well enough, when he heareth thus much. Then was the officer called in to have him to the Compter in the Poultry, and the other to the other Compter, not one of them to ſee another; and thus they remained eight days. In which time their maſters made great ſuit to the lord mayor, and to Sir Roger

Roger Cholmley, to know their offences, and that they might be delivered.

At length they procured the wardens of the company of Drapers to labour with them in their ſuit to the mayor. The mayor went with them to the council: but at that time they could find no grace at Wincheſter's hand, and Sir Anthony Browne's, but that they had deſerved death, and that they ſhould have the law.

At length, through much intreaty, he granted them this favour, that they ſhould not die as they had deſerved, but ſhould be tied to a cart's tail, and be whipped three market days through the city. Thus they came home that day, and went another day, and the maſter and wardens of the company petitioned on their knees to have this open puniſhment releaſed, forſomuch as they were ſervants of ſo worſhipful a company, and that they might be puniſhed in their own hall before the wardens and certain of the company, which at length was granted.

The next day they appeared before the maſters in the hall, their own maſters being preſent, where they were charged with hereſy and treaſon, for which, they were told, they deſerved death, and this was declared with a long proceſs by Mr. Brookes the maſter of the company, declaring what great labour and ſuit the mayor and wardens had made for them, to ſave them from death, which they (as he ſaid) had deſerved, and from open ſhame, which they ſhould have had, being judged by the council to have been whipped three days through the city at a cart's tail, and from theſe two dangers had they laboured to deliver them, but not without great trouble and charge. For (ſaid he) the company hath promiſed to the council for this their mercy towards them, an hundred pounds, notwithſtanding we muſt ſee them puniſhed in our hall within ourſelves for thoſe their offences. After theſe and many other words, he commanded them to prepare themſelves to receive their puniſhment.

Then they were put aſunder, and ſtripped from the waſte upward one after another, and had into the midſt of the hall, where they were wont to make their fire, there was a great ring of iron, to which there was a rope tied faſt, and one of their feet tied faſt to that.

Then came down two men diſguiſed in mummers apparel, with viſors on their faces, and they beat them with great rods till the blood flowed out of their bodies. As for Wilmot, he could not lie in his bed for ſix nights after, for Brookes played the tyrant with them; ſo that with the pain and fear, they were never in health afterwards, as the ſaid Wilmot with his own mouth hath credibly informed us, and we can do no leſs than teſtify the ſame.

Thus have we briefly rehearſed this little tragedy, wherein we may note the malice of the enemies at all times to thoſe who profeſs Chriſt, and take his part, of what eſtate or degree ſoever they be, according to the apoſtle's ſaying, "It is given unto you not only to believe, but alſo to ſuffer with him." To whom be honour and glory, Amen.

The Scourging of Thomas Green, Printer, written by his own Hand.

IN the reign of queen Mary, I Thomas Green being brought before Dr. Story by my maſter, whoſe name is John Wayland, a Printer, for a book called Antichriſt, which had been diſtributed to certain honeſt men; he asked me where I had the book, and ſaid I was a traitor. I told him I had the book of a Frenchman. Then he asked me more queſtions, but I told him I could tell him no more. Then he ſaid, it was no hereſy, but treaſon, and that I ſhould be hanged, drawn, and quartered, and ſo he called for Cluny, the keeper of the Lollards-Tower, and bade him ſet me faſt in the ſtocks.

I was not in the Lollards-Tower two hours, but Cluny came and took me out, and carried me to the coal-houſe, and there I found a Frenchman lying in the ſtocks, and he took him out, and put a bolt and a fetter on my right leg, and another on my left hand, and ſo he ſet me croſs fettered in the ſtocks, and took the Frenchman away with him, and there I lay a day and a night. On the morrow after, he came and ſaid, Let us ſhift your hand and your leg, becauſe you ſhall not be lame; and he made as though he pitied me, and ſaid, Tell me the truth and I will be your friend.

And I ſaid, I had told the truth, and could tell no otherwiſe. Then he put only my leg in the ſtocks, and ſo went his way, and there I remained ſix days, and could come to no anſwer.

Then Dr. Story ſent for me, and asked whether I would tell him the truth, where I had the book. I ſaid I had told him, of a Frenchman. He asked me where I came acquainted with the Frenchman, where he dwelt, and where he delivered me the book. I ſaid, I came acquainted with him in Newgate, I coming to my friends which were put in for God's word and truth's ſake, and the Frenchman coming to his friends alſo, there we talked together, and became acquainted one with another, and did eat and drink together there with our friends in the fear of God.

Then Story ſcoffed at me, and ſaid, Then there was, brother in Chriſt, and brother in Chriſt, and reviled me, and called me an heretic, and aſked me, if I had the book of him in Newgate? I ſaid No; and I told him, as I went on my buſineſs in the ſtreet, I met him, and he aſked me how I did, and I him alſo; ſo falling into diſcourſe, he ſhewed me that book, and I deſired him that he would let me have it.

In this examination Story ſaid, it was a great book, and aſked me whether I bought it, or had it given me. I told him I bought it. Then he ſaid, I was a thief, and had ſtolen my maſter's money. And I ſaid, A little money ſerved, for I gave him but four pence, but I promiſed him, that at our next meeting I would give twelve pence more. And he ſaid, that was boldly done, for ſuch a book as ſpake both treaſon and hereſy.

Then Story required me to bring him two ſureties, and watch for him that I had the book of, and I ſhould have no harm. I made him anſwer, I would bring no ſureties, nor could I tell where to find them. Then ſaid he, This is but a lye; and ſo called for Cluny, and bade him lay me faſt in the coal-houſe, ſaying, he would make me tell another tale at my next coming: and ſo I lay in the ſtocks day and night, but only when I eat my meat, and there remained ten days before I was called for again.

Then Doctor Story ſent for me again, and aſked if I would yet tell him the truth; I ſaid, I neither could nor would tell him any other truth than I had done already. And while I was there ſtanding, there were two brought which I took to be priſoners.

Then Mrs Story fell in a rage, and ſware a great oath, that it were a good deed to put a hundred or two of theſe heretic knaves in an houſe, and I myſelf, ſaid ſhe, would ſet in on fire. So I was committed to priſon again, where I remained fourteen days, and came to no anſwer.

Then Story ſent for me again, and called me into the garden, where I found with him my lord of Windſor's chaplain, and two gentlemen more, and he told them all what they had ſaid and done. They ſaid, the book was a wondrous evil book, and had both treaſon and hereſy in it. Then they aſked me what I ſaid of thy book. And I ſaid I knew no evil by it.

At which words Story chafed, and ſaid he would hang me up by the hands with a rope, and ſaid alſo he would cut out my tongue, and my ears alſo from my head.

After this they alledged two or three things more unto me out of the book. And I anſwered, I had not read the book throughout, and therefore I could give no judgment of it.

Then my lord of Windſor's chaplain and the other two gentlemen took me aſide, and intreated me very gently, ſaying, Tell us where you had the book, and of whom, and I will ſave you harmleſs. I made them anſwer, that I had told all I could to Doctor Story, and began to tell it them again: but they ſaid, they knew that already; ſo they left that talk, and went again with me to Story.

Then Story burdened me with my faith, and ſaid I was an heretic. Whereupon the chaplain aſked me how I did believe. Then I began to rehearſe the articles of my belief, but he bade me let that alone. Then he aſked me how I believed in Chriſt? I made him anſwer, that I believed in Chriſt, who died and roſe again the third day, and ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father.

Whereupon Story asked me mockingly, What is the right hand of God? I made him anſwer, I thought it was his glory. Then ſaid he, ſo they ſay all. And he asked me when he would be weary of ſitting there? Then inferred my lord of Windſor's chaplain, asking me what I ſaid of the maſs? I ſaid, I never knew what it was, nor what it meant, for I underſtood it not, becauſe I never learned any Latin, and ſince the time I had any knowledge, I had been brought up in nothing but in reading of Engliſh, and with ſuch men as have taught the ſame; with many more queſtions, which I cannot rehearſe.

Moreover he aſked me, if there were not the very body of Chriſt, fleſh, blood and bone, in the maſs, after the prieſt had conſecrated it. And I made him anſwer; as for the maſs I cannot underſtand it; but in the New Teſtament I read, that as the apoſtles ſtood looking after the Lord when he aſcended up into heaven, an angel ſaid to them, "Even as you ſee him aſcend up, ſo ſhall he come again." And I told them another ſentence, where Chriſt ſaith, "The poor ſhall you have always with you, but me ye ſhall not have always."

Then Mr. Chaplain put many more queſtions to me, to which I made no anſwer. Among others he brought Chryſoſtom and St. Hierome, for his purpoſe. To whom I anſwered, that I neither minded nor was able to anſwer their doctors, neither knew whether they alledged them right, or no; but to that which is written in the New Teſtament I would anſwer. Here they laughed me to ſcorn, and called me fool, and ſaid, they would reaſon no more with me.

Then Doctor Story called for Cluny, and bade him take me away, and ſet me faſt, and let no man ſpeak with me. So was I ſent to the coal-houſe, where I had not been a week, but there came in fourteen priſoners: but I was kept ſtill alone without company, in a priſon, called Salt-houſe, having upon my leg a bolt and a fetter, and my hands manacled together with irons, and there continued ten days, having nothing to lie on, but bare ſtones, or a board.

On a time, whilſt I lay there in priſon, the biſhop of London coming down a pair of ſtairs on the backſide untruſſed, in his hoſe and doublet, looked through the grate, and asked wherefore I was put in, and who put me in.

I made him anſwer, That I was put in for a book called Antichriſt, by Doctor Story. And he ſaid, You are not aſhamed to declare wherefore you were put in, and ſaid it was a very wicked book, and bade me confeſs the truth to Story. I ſaid, I had told the truth to him already, and deſired him to be good unto me, and help me out of priſon, for they had kept me there a long time. And he ſaid, he could not meddle with it; Story had begun it, and he muſt end it.

Then I was removed out of the Salt-houſe, to give place to two women, and carried to the Lollards Tower, and put in the ſtocks; and there I found two priſoners, one called Lion, a Frenchman, and another with him: and ſo I was kept in the ſtocks more than a month both day and night, and no man ſuffered to come to me, or to ſpeak with me, but only my keeper, who brought me meat.

Thus we three being together, Lion the Frenchman ſung a pſalm in the French tongue, and we ſang with him, ſo that we were heard down in the ſtreet, and the keeper coming up in a great rage, ſware that he would put us all in the ſtocks, and ſo took the Frenchman, and commanded him to kneel down upon his knees, and put both his hands in the ſtocks, where he remained all that night till the next day.

After this, I being in Lollards Tower ſeven days, at my laſt being with Story, he ſwore a great oath, that he would rack me, and make me tell the truth. Then Story ſending for me, commanded me to be brought to Wallbroke, where he and the commiſſioners dined; and by the way my keeper told me that I ſhould go to the Tower, and be racked. So when they had dined, Story called for me in, and there I ſtood before them, and ſome ſaid I was worthy to be hanged for having ſuch heretical books. After I had ſtaid a little while before them, Story called for the keeper, and commanded him to carry me to the Lollards Tower again, and ſaid, he had other matters of the queen's to do with the commiſſioners, but he would find another time for me. While I lay yet in the Lollards Tower, the woman which brought the books over, being taken, and her books, was put in the Clink in Southwark by Huſſey, one of the arches; and I Thomas Green do teſtify before God now, that I never diſcovered the man nor the woman of whom I had the books.

Then I lying in the Lollards Tower, being ſent for before Mr. Huſſey, he required of me, wherefore I was put into the Lollards Tower, and by whom. To whom I made anſwer, that I was put there by Dr. Story for a book called Antichriſt. Then he made as though he would be my friend, and ſaid he knew my friends, and my father and mother, and bade me tell him of whom I had the book, and ſaid, Come on, tell me the truth. I told him as I had told Dr. Story before.

Then he was very angry, and ſaid, I love thee well, and therefore I ſent for thee, and looked for a further truth; but I could tell him no other; whereupon he ſent me again to the Lollards Tower. At my going away he called me back again, and ſaid, that Dixon gave me the books, being an old man, dwelling in Birchin-lane; and I ſaid he knew the matter better than I. So he ſent me away to the Lollards Tower, where I remained ſeven days and more.

Then Mr. Huſſey ſent for me again, and required of me to tell him the truth. I told him I could tell him no other truth than I had told Dr. Story before.

Then he began to tell me of Dixon, of whom, he ſaid, I had the books, who had made the matter manifeſt before; and he told me of all things touching Dixon, and the books, more than I could myſelf, inſomuch, that he told me how many I had, and that he had a ſack full of the books in his houſe, and knew where the woman lay, better than myſelf. Then I ſaw the matter ſo open and manifeſt before my face, that it ſignified nothing for me to ſtand in it. He aſked me where I had done the books, and I told him I had but one, and that Dr. Story had. He ſaid I lyed, for I had three at one time, and he required me to tell him of one.

Then I told him of one that John Beane had of me, being 'prentice with Mr. Tottle. So he promiſed me before and after, and as he ſhould be ſaved before God, that he ſhould have no harm. And I kneeling down upon my knees, deſired him to take my blood, and not

to

to hurt the young man. Then he ſaid, becauſe you have been ſo ſtubborn, the matter being made manifeſt by others, and not by you, being ſo long in priſon, tell me if you will ſtand to my judgment. I ſaid, yea, take my blood, and hurt not the young man.

Then he told me I ſhould be whipped like a thief and a vagabond; and ſo I thanked him, and went my way with my keeper to the Lollards Tower, where I remained two or three days, and ſo was brought by the keeper Cluny, by the commandment of the commiſſioners, to Chriſt's Hoſpital, ſometime the Grey Friars, and accordingly had there for that time the correction of thieves and vagabonds, and ſo was delivered to Trinian, the porter, and put into a ſtinking dungeon.

And after a few days, I finding friendſhip, was let out of the dungeon, and lay in a bed in the night, and walked in a yard by the dungeon in the day-time, and ſo remained priſoner a month and more.

At length Dr. Story came, and two gentlemen with him, and called for me, and I was brought before them. Then he ſaid to the gentlemen, Here cometh this heretic, of whom I had the book called Antichriſt, and began to tell them how many times I had been before him, and ſaid, I have intreated him very gently, and he would never tell me the truth till it was found out by others. Then ſaid he, It were a good deed to cut out thy tongue, and thy ears off thy head, to make thee an example to all other heretic knaves. And the gentlemen ſaid, Nay, tnat were pity. Then he aſked, if I would not become an honeſt man: and I ſaid, Yes, for I hrve offended God many ways. Whereupon he burdened me with my faith; I told him that I had made him anſwer of my faith before my lord Windſor's chaplain as much as I could.

So in the end he commanded me to be ſtripped, he ſtanding by me, and called for two of the beadles and the whips to whip me; and the two beadles came with a cord, and bound my hands together, and the one end of the cord to a ſtone pillar. Then one of my friends, called Nicholas Prieſtman, hearing them call for whips, hurled in a bundle of rods, which ſeemed ſomething to pacify the mihd of his cruelty; and they ſcourged me with rods. But as they were whipping of me, Story aſked me if I would go unto my maſter again, and I ſay nay. And he ſaid, I perceive now he will be worſe than ever he was before: but let me alone, quoth he, I will find him out, if he be in England. And ſo with many other things which I cannot rehearſe, when they had done whipping of me, they bade me pay my fees, and go my ways.

Dr. Story commanded that he ſhould have an hundred ſtripes, but the gentlemen ſo intreated, that he had not ſo many, Story ſaying, If I might have my will, I would ſurely cut out his tongue.

The Copy of Stephen Cotten's Letter, written to his Brother, declaring how he was beaten twice by Biſhop Bonner, before he was burnt at Bradford.

BRother, in the name of the Lord Jeſus, I commend me unto you, and I do heartily thank you, for your godly exhortation and counſel in your laſt letter declared to me. And albeit I do perceive by your letter you are informed, that as we are divers perſons in number, ſo we are of contrary ſects, conditions, and opinions, contrary to the good opinion you had of us at your laſt being with us in Newgate; be you moſt aſſured, good brother, in the Lord Jeſus, we are all of one mind, one faith, one aſſured hope in the Lord Jeſus, whom I truſt we altogether with one ſpirit, one brotherly love, do daily call upon for mercy and forgiveneſs of our ſins, with earneſt repentance of our former lives, and by whoſe precious bloodſhedding we truſt to be ſaved only, and by no other means. Wherefore, good brother, in the name of the Lord, ſeeing theſe impudent people, whoſe minds are altogether bent to wickedneſs, envy, uncharitableneſs, evil-ſpeaking, do go about to ſlander us with untruth, believe them not, neither let their wicked ſayings once enter into your mind. And I truſt one day to ſee you again, although now I am in God's priſon; which is a joyful ſchool to them that love their Lord God, and to me being a ſimple ſcholar moſt joyful of all.

Good brother, once again I do in the name of the Lord Jeſus, exhort you to pray for me, that I may fight ſtrongly in the Lord's battle, to be a good ſoldier to my captain Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, and deſire my ſiſter alſo to do the ſame, and do not ye mourn or lament for me, but be ye glad and joyful of this my trouble: For I truſt to be looſed out of this dungeon ſhortly, and to go to everlaſting joy, which never ſhall have end. I heard how ye were with the commiſſioners. I pray you ſue no more for me, good brother. But one thing I ſhall deſire of you, to be at my departing out of this life, that you may bear witneſs with me that I ſhall die, I truſt in God, a true chriſtian, and, I hope, all my companions in the Lord our God: and therefore believe not theſe evil diſpoſed people, who are the authors of all untruths.

I pray you provide me a long ſhirt againſt the day of our deliverance; for the ſhirt you gave me laſt, I have given to one of my companions, who had more need than I; and as for the money and meat you ſent for us, the biſhop's ſervants delivered none to us, neither he whom you had ſo great a truſt in. Brother, there is none of them to truſt to, for qualis magiſter, talis ſervus. I have been twice beaten, and threatened to be beaten again by the biſhop himſelf. I ſuppoſe we ſhall go into the country to Fulham, to the biſhop's houſe, and there be arraigned. I would have you to hearken as much as you can. For when we ſhall go, it ſhall be ſuddenly done. Thus fare you well. From the coal-houſe, this preſent Friday.

Your brother, Stephen Cotten.

The Scourging of James Harris.

IN this ſociety of the ſcourged profeſſors of Chriſt, was alſo one James Harris, of Billerica, in Eſſex, a ſtripling of the age of ſeventeen years; who being apprehended, and ſent up to Bonner, in the company of Margaret Ellis, by Sir John Mordaunt, Knight, and Edmund Tyrrel, juſtices of peace (as appeareth by their own letters before-mentioned) was by Bonner divers times ſtrictly examined. In which examinations he was charged not to have come to his pariſh church for the ſpace of one year or more. Whereunto he granted, confeſſing therewithal, that once, for fear, he had been at the church, and there had received the popiſh ſacrament of the altar, for which he was heartily ſorry, deteſting the ſame with all his heart.

After this and ſuch like anſwers, Bonner (the better to try him) perſuaded him to go to confeſſion. The lad, ſomewhat to fulfil his requeſt, conſented to go, and did. But when he came to the prieſt, he ſtood ſtill, and ſaid nothing. Why, quoth the prieſt, ſayeſt thou nothing? What ſhall I ſay, ſaid Harris? Thou muſt confeſs thy ſins, ſaid the prieſt. My ſins, ſaid he, be ſo many, that they cannot be numbered. With that the prieſt told Bonner what he had ſaid, and he of his accuſtomed devotion, took the poor lad into his garden, and there, with a rod gathered out of a cherry-tree, did moſt cruelly whip him.

The Scourging of Robert Williams, a Smith.

RObert Williams, who being apprehended in the ſame company, was ſo tormented after the like manner with

with rods in his arbour, who there ſubſcribing and yielding himſelf by promiſe to obey the laws, after being let go, refuſed ſo to do: whereupon he was earneſtly ſought for, but could not be found, for that he kept himſelf cloſe, and went not abroad but by ſtealth: and now in the mean time of this perſecution, this Robert Williams departed this life, and ſo eſcaped the hands of his enemies. The Lord therefore be honoured for ever, Amen.

And foraſmuch as I have begun to write of Bonner's ſcourging, by the occaſion thereof cometh to mind to infer by the way his beating of other boys and children, and drawing them naked through the nettles, in his journey rowing towards Fulham. The ſtory, though it touch no matter of religion, yet becauſe it toucheth ſomething the nature and diſpoſition of that man, and may refreſh the reader, wearied percaſe with other doleful ſtories, I thought not to omit.

Bonner paſſing from London to Fulham by water, having John Willes and Thomas Hinſhaw above-mentioned with him, both priſoners for religion, by the way as he went, was ſaying even-ſong with Harpsfield, his chaplain, in the barge, and being about the middle of their devout oriſons, they eſpied ſome young boys, ſwimming and waſhing themſelves in the Thames, overagainſt Lambeth, or a little above: unto whom he went, and gave very gentle language and fair ſpeech, until he had ſet his men on land. That done, his men ran after the boys, to get them, as the biſhop commanded them before, beating ſome with nettles, drawing ſome through buſhes of nettles naked, and ſome they made to leap into the Thames to ſave themſelves, that it was marvel they were not drowned.

Now as the children for fear did cry, and as this ſkirmiſhing was between them, immediately came a greater lad thither, to know what the matter meant that the boys made ſuch a noiſe. Whom when the biſhop eſpied, he aſked him whether he would maintain them in their doings or no. Unto whom the young fellow made anſwer ſtoutly, Yea. Then the biſhop commanded him to be taken alſo; but he ran away with ſpeed, and there avoided the biſhop's bleſſing. Now when the biſhop ſaw him run away, and another man ſitting upon a rail in the way where he ran, he willed him likewiſe to ſtop the boy: and becauſe he would not, he commanded his men to fetch that man to him alſo; but he hearing that, ran away as faſt as he could, and by leaping over the ditch, eſcaped the biſhop in like manner.

Then the biſhop, ſeeing the ſucceſs of his battle to prove no better, cried to a couple of ferry boys to run and hold him that laſt ran away. And becauſe they ſaid they could not (as indeed it was true) therefore he cauſed his men to take and beat them. The boys hearing that, leapt into the water to ſave themſelves; notwithſtanding they were caught, and in the water by the biſhop's men held and beat.

Now, after the end of this great skirmiſh, the biſhop's men returned to their maſter again into the barge, and he and Harpsfield, his chaplain, went to their even-ſong afreſh where they left, and ſo forſooth the reſt of their ſervice, as clean without malice, as an egg without meat. The Lord give him repentance (if it be his will) and grace to become a new man, Amen.

The Whipping of a Beggar at Saliſbury.

UNTO theſe above ſpecified is alſo to be added the miſerable whipping of a poor ſtarved beggar, who, becauſe he would not receive the ſacrament at Eaſter in the town of Colingborow, was brought to Saliſbury with bills and glieves to the chancellor Doctor Geffery, who caſt him into the dungeon, and after cauſed him miſerably to be whipped by two catchpoles. The ſight whereof made all godly hearts to rue it, to ſee ſuch tyranny to be ſhewed upon ſuch a ſimple and ſilly wretch: for they that ſaw him have reported, that they never ſaw a more ſimple creature. But what pity can move the hearts of mercileſs papiſts.

Beſides theſe above-named, divers others alſo ſuffered the like ſcourgings and whippings in their bodies for their faithful ſtanding in the truth. Of whom it may be ſaid, as it is written of the apoſtles in the acts: "Which departed from the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to ſuffer for the name of Jeſus."

Another Treatiſe of ſuch as being purſued in Queen Mary's Time, were in great Danger, and yet through the good Providence of God, mercifully were preſerved.

ALthough the ſecret purpoſe of Almighty God, which diſpoſeth all things, ſuffered a great number of his faithful ſervants, both men and women, and that of all ages and degrees, to fall into the enemies hands, and to abide the brunt of this perſecution, to be tried with rods, with whips, with racks, with fetters, famine, with burning of hands, plucking off beards, with burning alſo both hand, beard, body, &c.

Yet notwithſtanding ſome there were again, and that a great number, who miraculouſly by the merciful providence of God, againſt all mens expectation, in ſafety were delivered out of the fiery rage of this perſecution, either by quitting the realm, or ſhifting of place, or the Lord ſo blinding the eyes of the perſecutors, or diſpoſing the opportunity of time, or working ſome ſuch means or other for his ſervants, as not only ought to ſtir them up to perpetual thanks, but alſo may move all men both to behold and magnify the wondrous works of the Almighty.

About what time it began to be known that queen Mary was ſick, divers good men were in hold in divers quarters of the realm; ſome at Bury, ſome at Saliſbury, as John Hunt and Richard White, of whom we have ſtoried before, and ſome at London, amongſt whom was William Living, with his wife, and John Lithal, of whom ſomething remaineth now compendiouſly to be touched.

The Perſecution and Deliverance of William Living, with his Wife, and of John Lithal, Miniſters.

ABOUT the latter end of queen Mary's reign, ſhe then being ſick, came one Cox, a promoter, to the houſe of William Living, about ſix of the clock, accompanied with one John Launce of the Greyhound. They being not ready, they demanded for buttons, ſaying, they ſhould be as well paid for them as any; and he would come about three hours after for them again.

In the mean time he procured one Mr. Dean the conſtable, and George Hancock the beadle of that ward, and ſearching his books, found a book of aſtronomy, called the work of Joannes de Sacro Boſco de Sphæra, with figures, ſome round, ſome triangle, ſome quadrangle, &c. which book, becauſe it was gilt, ſeemed to him the chief book there, and that he carried open in the ſtreet, ſaying, I have found him at length. It is no wonder the queen be ſick, ſeeing there be ſome conjurers in privy corners; but now I truſt he ſhall conjure no more, and ſo brought him and his wife from Shoe-lane, through Fleet-ſtreet, into Paul's church-yard, with the conſtable, the beadle, and two others following them, till they entered into Darbiſhire's houſe, who was biſhop Bonner's chancellor: and after the conſtable and they had talked with Darbiſhire, he came forth, and walked in his yard, and ſaid to him,

What is your name?

Living. William Living.

Darbiſhire. What are you? a prieſt?

Living. Yea.

Darbiſhire. Is this your wife that is come with you?

Living. That ſhe is.

Darbiſhire. Where were you made prieſt?

Living. At Obourne.

Darbiſhire. In what biſhop's days?

Living. By the biſhop of Lincoln, that was king Henry's ghoſtly father in cardinal Wolſey's time.

Darbiſhire. You are a ſchiſmatic and a traitor.

Living. I would be ſorry that were true. I am certain I was never a traitor, but always have taught obedience according to the tenor of God's word; and when tumults and ſchiſms have been ſtirred, I have preached God's word, and aſſuaged them in the time of king Edward.

Darbiſhire. What, you are a ſchiſmatic. You be not in the unity of the catholic church: for you pray not as the church of Rome doth: you pray in Engliſh.

Living. We are certain we be in the true church.

Darbiſhire. There be that doubt thereof, forſomuch as there is but one true church. Well, you will learn againſt I talk with you again, to know the church of Rome, and to be a member thereof.

Living. If the church of Rome be of that church whereof Chriſt is the head, then I am a member thereof, for I know no other church but that.

Darbiſhire. Well, Cluny, take him with thee to the Coal-houſe.

Then he called Cluny again, and ſpake ſecretly to him, but what he ſaid, I know not.

Then ſaid Cluny, Wilt thou not come? And ſo plucked me away violently, and brought me to his own houſe in Pater-noſter-row, where he robbed me of my purſe, my girdle, and my pſalter, and a New Teſtament of Geneva, and then brought me to the Coal-houſe to put me in the ſtocks, ſaying, put in your legs and your hands, and except you fine with me, I will put a collar about your neck. What is the fine, quoth I? Forty ſhillings, quoth he. I am never able to pay it, ſaid I.

Then, ſaid he, you have friends that be able. I denied it: and ſo he put both my legs into the ſtocks till ſupper time, which was ſix of the clock, and then a couſin of my wife brought me meat, who ſeeing me to ſit there, ſaid, I will give you forty pence, and let him go at liberty; and he took her money, and preſently let me go forth in her ſight, to eat my ſupper. And at ſeven of the clock, he put me in the ſtocks again, and ſo I remained till two of the clock the next day, and ſo he let me forth till night. This woman above-mentioned was Griffin's firſt wife, a brother dwelling then in Aldermanbury, and yet alive in Cheapſide.

The Thurſday following in the afternoon was I called to the Lollards Tower, and there put into the ſtocks, having the honour to put my leg in the hole that Mr. John Philpot's leg was in, and ſo lay all that night, nobody coming to me either with meat or drink.

At eleven of the clock on the Friday, Cluny came to me with meat, and let me forth, and about one of the clock he brought me to Darbiſhire's houſe, who drew forth a ſcroll of names, and aſked me if I knew none of them? I ſaid, I knew none of them but Foſter. And ſo I kneeled down upon my knees, and prayed him that he would not enquire thereof any further. And with that came forth two godly women, who ſaid, Mr. Darbiſhire, it is enough, and ſo became ſureties for me, and paid to Cluny fifteen ſhillings for my fees, and bad me go with them.

And thus much concerning William Living. After this came his wife to examination, whoſe anſwers to Darbiſhire the chancellor, here likewiſe follow.

The Examination of Julian Living, Wife to William Living.

Darbiſhire. AH, ſirrah; I ſee by your going you be one of the ſiſters.

Julian. I wear not my gown for ſiſterhood, neither for nunnery, but to keep me warm.

Darbiſhire. Nun? no, I dare ſay you be none. Is that man your huſband?

Julian. Yea.

Darbiſhire. He is a prieſt.

Julian. No, he ſaith no maſs.

Darbiſhire. What then? he is a prieſt. How dareſt thou to marry him?

Then he ſhewed me a roll of certain names of citizens.

To whom I anſwered, I knew none of them.

Then, ſaid he, you ſhall be made to know them.

Then, ſaid I, do no other than juſtice and right; for the day will come, that thou ſhalt anſwer for it.

Darbiſhire. Why, woman, thinkeſt thou not that I have a ſoul?

Julian. Yes, I know you have a ſoul; but whether it be to ſalvation or damnation, I cannot tell.

Darbiſhire. Ho Cluny, have her to the Lollards Tower. And ſo he took me, and carried me to his houſe, where was one Dale, a promoter, which ſaid to me, Alas, good woman, wherefore be you here?

What is that to you? ſaid I.

You be not aſhamed, quoth Dale, to tell me wherefore you come hither?

No, quoth I, that I am not; for it is for Chriſt's Teſtament.

Chriſt's Teſtament? quoth he: it is the devil's Teſtament.

O Lord, quoth I, God forbid that any man ſhould ſpeak any ſuch word.

Well, well, quoth he, you ſhall be ordered well enough. You care not for burning, quoth he. God's blood, there muſt be ſome other means found for you.

What, quoth I, will you find any worſe than you have found?

Well, quoth he, you hope, and you hope; but your hope ſhall be ſlope. For though the queen fail, ſhe that you hope for ſhall never come at it; for there is my lord cardinal's grace, and many more between her and it.

Then, quoth I, my hope is in none but God.

Then ſaid Cluny, Come with me; and ſo I went to the Lollards Tower. On the next day Darbiſhire ſent for me again, and enquired of thoſe citizens that he enquired of before.

I anſwered, I knew them not.

Where were you, quoth he, at the communion on Sunday was fortnight?

And I ſaid, in no place.

Then the conſtable of Saint Bride's being there, made ſuit for me.

And Darbiſhire demanded of him, if he would be bound for me.

He anſwered, Yea. And ſo he was bound for my appearance betwixt that and Chriſtmas.

Then Darbiſhire ſaid, You be conſtable, and ſhould give her good counſel.

So I do, quoth he. For I bid her go to maſs, and to ſay as you ſay. For by the maſs, if you ſay the crow is white, I will ſay ſo too.

And thus much concerning the examination of William Living and his wife, whom although thou ſeeſt here delivered through the requeſt of women, his ſureties, yet it was no doubt, but that the deadly ſickneſs of queen Mary abated and bridled then the cruelty of thoſe papiſts, which otherwiſe would never have let them go.

The

The Trouble and Deliverance of John Lithall.

AT the taking of William Living, it happened that ſome of his books were in the cuſtody of one John Lithall; which known, the conſtable of the ward of Southwark, with other of the queen's ſervants, were ſent to his houſe, who breaking up his doors and cheſts, took away not only the books of the ſaid William Living, but alſo all his own books, writings, and bills of debts, which he never had again. All this while Lithall was not at home. The next Sunday after, as he was returned, and known to be at home, John Avales, and ſome of the queen's ſervants, beſet his houſe all the night, with ſuch careful watch, that as he in the morning iſſued out of doors, thinking to eſcape their hands, John Avales burſting out upon him, cried, Stop the traitor, ſtop the traitor. Whereat Lithall being amazed, looked back. And ſo John Avales came running to him, with others that were with him, ſaying, Ah, ſirrah, you are a pretty traitorly fellow indeed, we have had ſomewhat to do to get you. To whom he anſwered, That he was a truer man to the queen's majeſty than he. For you, ſaid he, are commanded by God to keep holy the ſabbath-day, and you ſeek to ſhed your neighbour's blood on the ſabbath-day. Remember that you muſt anſwer it to God. But he ſaid, Come on you villain, you muſt go before the council. So was Lithall brought into Paul's church-yard to the biſhop's chancellor, by John Avales, ſaying, that he had there caught the captain of theſe fellows, and ſo cauſed him to be called to examination before Dr. Darbiſhire, who began with him on this wiſe:

Chancellor. What countryman are you?

Lithall. I am an Engliſhman, born in Staffordſhire.

Chancellor. Where were you brought up?

Lithall. In this our country of England.

Chancellor. In what univerſity?

Lithall. In no univerſity, but in a free-ſchool.

Chancellor. We had certain books from your houſe, and writing, wherein is both treaſon and hereſy.

Lithall. Sir, there is neither treaſon nor hereſy in them.

Then the chancellor asked for certain other men that I knew.

Lithall. If you have ought to lay to my charge, I will anſwer it; but I will have no other man's blood upon my head.

Chancellor. Why come you not to the church? Of what church be you, that you come not to your own pariſh church?

Lithall. I am of the church of Chriſt, the fountain of all goodneſs.

Chancellor. Have you no miniſters of your church but Chriſt?

Lithall. We have others.

Chancellor. Where be they?

Lithall. In the whole world, diſperſed, preaching and profeſſing the goſpel and faith only in our Saviour Jeſus, as he commanded them.

Chancellor. You boaſt much every one of you of your faith and belief: let me hear therefore the effect how you believe.

Lithall. I believe to be juſtified really by Chriſt Jeſus, according to the ſaying of St. Paul to the Epheſians, without either deeds or works, or any thing that may be invented by man.

Chancellor. Faith cannot ſave without works.

Lithall. That is contrary to the doctrine of the apoſtles.

Chancellor. John Avales, you and the keeper have this fellow to priſon.

Then John Avales and Cluny the keeper had me into Paul's, and would have had me ſeen the apoſtle's maſs.

Lithall. I knew none the apoſtles had, and therefore I will ſee none.

Cluny and John Avales. Come and kneel down before the rood, and ſay a Pater-noſter, and an Ave-Mary in the worſhip of the five wounds.

Lithall. I am forbidden by God's own mouth to kneel to any idol or image: therefore I will not.

Then they pulled me with great extremity, one having me by one arm, and the other by the other; but God gave me at that preſent time more ſtrength than both theſe, his name be praiſed for it. Then when they could not make me to kneel before the rood, neither to ſee the maſs, there gathered a great company about us, and all againſt me. Some ſpit on me, and ſaid, Fie on thee heretic; and others ſaid, it was pity I was not burned already. Then they carried me to Lollards-Tower, and hanged me in a great pair of ſtocks, in which I lay three days and three nights, till I was ſo lame that I could neither ſtir nor move. Then I offered the keeper ſome money and gold that I had about me, to releaſe me out of the ſtocks: and he ſaid, I would not be ruled by him, either to ſee maſs, or to kneel before the rood, and therefore I ſhould lie there ſtill. But I ſaid, I would never do the thing that ſhould be againſt my conſcience: and though you have lamed my body, yet my conſcience is whole, I praiſe God for it. So ſhortly after he let me out of the ſtocks, more for the love of money (as it may be thought) than for any other affection, and within four or five days my wife got leave of Mr. Chancellor to come to me, to bring me ſuch things as were needful for me; and there I lay five weeks and odd days. In which time divers of my neighbours and friends made ſuit to the chancellor for my deliverance: the biſhop, as they ſaid, at that time being ſick at Fulham. So my neighbours being there, about twenty of them, the chancellor ſent for me out of the Lollards-Tower to his own houſe, and ſaid as follows:

Chancellor. Lithall, here are ſome of thy neighbours who have been with me to intreat for thee, and they have informed me, that thou haſt been a very honeſt and quiet neighbour among them, and I think it be God's will that I ſhould deliver thee before my lord come home. For if he come, and thou go home again, I will be burned for thee; for I know his mind already in that matter.

Lithall. I give you hearty thanks for your gentleneſs, and my neighbours for their good report.

Chancellor. Lithall, if thy neighbours will be bound for thy forthcoming whenſoever thou ſhalt be called for; and alſo if thou wilt be an obedient ſubject, I ſhall be content to deliver thee.

Neighbour. If it pleaſe your worſhip, we will be bound for him in body and goods.

Chancellor. I will require no ſuch bonds of you, but that two of you will be bound in twenty-pound a-piece, that he ſhall come to anſwer when he ſhall be called.

Lithall. Where find you, Mr. Chancellor, in all the ſcriptures, that the church of God did bind any man for the profeſſion of his faith; which profeſſion you have heard of me, that all our juſtification, righteouſneſs and ſalvation cometh only and freely by the merits of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; and all the inventions and works of men, be they never ſo glorious, be altogether vain, as the wiſe man ſaith.

Chancellor. Lo, where he is now. I put no ſuch matter to you; for in that I believe as you do: but yet St. James ſaith, "That a man is juſtified by works."

Lithall. St. James ſpake to them that boaſted themſelves of faith, and ſhewed no works of faith: but O, Mr. Chancellor, remember I pray you, how all the promiſes and prophecies of the holy ſcripture, even from the firſt promiſe that God made to Adam, and ſo even to the latter end of the Revelation of St. John, do teſtify that in the name of Jeſus, and only by his merits, all that believe ſhall be ſaved from all their ſins and offences.

Iſaiah

Iſaiah ſaith, chap. 65. "I am found of them that ſought me not, and am manifeſt to them that ask not after me." But againſt Iſrael he ſaith, "All day long have I ſtretched out my hand to a people that believe not." And when the jailor asked St. Paul, What he ſhould do to be ſaved? the apoſtle ſaid, Acts 16. "Believe on the Lord Jeſus, and thou ſhalt be ſaved, and all thy houſhold." Again, St. John ſaith in the Revelation, that there was none, neither in heaven nor in earth, neither under the earth, that was able to open the book, nor the ſeals thereof, but only the Lamb Jeſus our only Saviour. And St. Paul ſaith, Heb. 9. "With one offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are ſanctified."

Chancellor. With vain-glory you rehearſe much ſcripture, as all the reſt of you do: but you have no more underſtanding than ſo many ſheep. But to the purpoſe; Will you that your neighbours ſhall enter into bonds for you, or not?

Lithall. By my mind they ſhall not. Wherefore I deſire you that you would not bind me, but let me ſerve God with my conſcience freely. For it is written, Rev. 13. "They that lead into captivity, ſhall go into captivity; and they that ſtrike with the ſword ſhall periſh with the ſword." Alſo it is written in the goſpel of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, Matt. 18. "That whoſo doth offend one of theſe little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a mill-ſtone were hanged about his neck, and that he were caſt into the depth of the ſea." Of which I am aſſured by his Holy Spirit that I am one. Wherefore be you well aſſured that ſuch mercy as you ſhew, unto you ſhall be ſhewed the like.

Chancellor. You are a mad man. I would not bind you, but that I muſt needs have ſomewhat to ſhew for your deliverance. Then he called two of my neighbours, Thomas Daniel and Saunders Maybe, who offered themſelves to be bound, and called me before them, and ſaid, I have a letter of his own hand-writing, with his name and ſeal at it, with a book alſo againſt the regiment of women, for which I could make him to be hanged, drawn and quartered; but on my faith I will him no more hurt than I mean to my own ſoul.

Lithall. I deſire you that be my neighbours and friends, tha you will not enter into bonds former: for you know not the danger thereof, neither I myſelf: it goeth againſt my conſcience that ye ſhould do ſo.

Chancellor. Why, I will not bind you to do any thing againſt your conſcience.

Then they made the bond and ſealed to it, and willed me that I ſhould ſeal to it alſo; and I ſaid, that I would not, neither could I obſerve the bond, and therefore I would not ſet to my hand.

Chancellor. It is pity that thou haſt ſo much favour ſhewed thee: yet for theſe honeſt men's ſakes I will diſcharge thee.

Notwithſtanding all theſe diſſembling words of Mr. Darbiſhire, pretending for favour of his ſureties to ſet him at liberty, it was no ſuch thing, nor any zeal of charity that moved him ſo to do: but only fear of the time, underſtanding the dangerous and irrecoverable ſickneſs of queen Mary, which then began ſomewhat to aſſuage the cruel proceeding of theſe perſecutors, whereby they durſt not do that they would: or elſe Lithall was not like to have eſcaped ſo eaſily.

Moreover, there was one Edward Grew, prieſt, and Appline, his wife, compelled to fly from their dwelling at a town called Brooke; and the man being very aged, travelled abroad to keep a good conſcience. At laſt he was taken and laid in Colcheſter-caſtle, where he remained till queen Elizabeth came to her regal ſeat, and by the alteration of religion he was delivered. His wife, good woman, was in great care for him, and to her power did what ſhe could to ſuccour him.

William Brown, parſon of Little Stanham, in the county of Suffolk, made a ſermon in the ſaid town, ſoon after the burial of our good king Edward; and in his ſermon he ſaid, There goeth a report that our good king is buried with a maſs by the biſhop of Wincheſter, he having a mitre upon his head. But if it were ſo, ſaid he, they are all traitors that do ſo, becauſe it is both againſt the truth, and the laws of this realm, and it is great idolatry and blaſphemy, and againſt the glory of God; and they are no friends either to God, the king, or yet unto the realm, that do ſo. For this his preaching one Robert Blomefield, an adverſary to the truth, being then conſtable of the town, and bailiff under Sir John Jerningham, knight (the chief lord of the town) immediately rode forth, and brought home with him one Edward Golding, who was then under-ſheriff, Sir Thomas Cornwallis, being then high-ſheriff.

So the ſaid Golding and Blomefield ſent for certain men of the ſame town, and examined them for the ſermon; whereupon they made but a ſmall anſwer. Then the ſheriff made a bill, and ſo terrified the men, that two or three of them ſet to their hands, and one of them never enjoyed himſelf after, but it was a grief to him till he died.

Then they took men with them to the parſon's houſe, and in the night they took him, and with watchmen kept him till it was day. Then ſhould he have been carried the next day to the council; but the ſaid Robert Blomefield was taken ſo ſick, that he was like to die: ſo that he could not carry him for his life.

Then the ſaid ſheriff ſent him to Ipſwich again, and there he was for a time. Then he was ſent to Bury priſon, and from thence to the council, and then into the Fleet: and ſo he lay in priſon from the beginning of harveſt till near Chriſtmas, and ſaid, God gave him ſuch anſwers to make when he was examined, that he was delivered with quietneſs of conſcience. And having his liberty, he came again to the aforeſaid town; and becauſe he would not go to maſs, his living was taken away, and he, and his wife, were conſtrained to flee here and there for his life and conſcience. In the laſt year of queen Mary's reign God took him out of this life in peace.

Where moreover it is to be benoted, that this Robert Blomefield abovenamed, immediately after he had apprehended the ſaid Brown, fell very ſick: and although at that time he was a wealthy man, and of great ſubſtance (beſide his land, which was better than twenty-pound a year) after this time God plagued his houſhold, that his eldeſt ſon died, and his wife had a pining ſickneſs till ſhe departed this life alſo. Then he married another, a rich widow; but all would not help, and nothing would proſper. For he had a ſore pining ſickneſs, being full of blotches and ſores, whereby he waſted away, both body and goods, till he died. So when he died, he was above one hundred and eighty pounds in debt, and it was never heard of any repentance he had. But a little before his death he threatened a good man, one Simon Harlſton, to put him forth to the officers, becauſe he did wear no ſurplice when he ſaid ſervice. Wherefore it is pity ſuch baits of popery are left to the enemies to take chriſtians in. God take them away, or eaſe us from them: for God knoweth they be the cauſe of much blindneſs and ſtrife amongſt men.

Furthermore, out of the ſaid town were conſtrained to fly, Robert Boela, and John Trapne, becauſe they would not go to maſs, and receive the ſacrament of the altar.

The Perſecution of Elizabeth Young.

YE heard before of the ſcourging of Thomas Green, how he was troubled and beaten by Dr. Story, for a certain book called Antichriſt, which he received of a woman, becauſe in no caſe he would detect her.

This

This woman was one Elizabeth Young, who coming from Embden to England, brought with her divers books, and diſperſed them abroad in London; for which ſhe being at length apprehended and laid faſt, was brought to examination thirteen times before the catholic inquiſitors of heretical pravity. Some of which examinations have come to our hands, and are as follow:

The firſt Examination of Elizabeth Young, before Mr. Huſſy.

Huſſy. WHERE was you born, and who was your father and mother?

Young. Sir, all this is but vain talk, and very ſuperfluous. It is to fill my head with fantaſies, that I ſhould not be able to anſwer unto ſuch things as I came for. You have not, I think, put me in priſon to know who is my father and mother. But I pray you go to the matter that I came hither for.

Huſſy. Wherefore wenteſt thou out of the realm?

Young. To keep my conſcience clean.

Huſſy. When waſt thou at maſs?

Young. Not theſe three years.

Huſſy. Then waſt thou not there three years before that?

Young. No, Sir, nor yet three years before that: for if I were, I had evil luck.

Huſſy. How old art thou?

Young. Forty, and upwards.

Huſſy. Twenty of thoſe years you went to maſs.

Young. Yea, and twenty more I may, and yet come home as wiſe as I went thither firſt, for I underſtand it not.

Huſſy. Why wilt thou not go to the maſs?

Young. Sir, my conſcience will not ſuffer me. For I had rather all the world ſhould accuſe me, than mine own conſcience.

Huſſy. What if a louſe or a flea ſtick upon the skin, and bite thy fleſh? thou muſt make a conſcience in taking her off, is there not a conſcience in it?

Young. That is but an eaſy argument to diſplace the ſcriptures, and eſpecially in ſuch a part as my ſalvation dependeth upon. For it is but an eaſy conſcience that a man can make.

Huſſy. But why wilt thou not ſwear upon the evangeliſts before a judge?

Young. Becauſe I know not what a book-oath is.

Then he began to teach her the book-oath.

Young. Sir, I do not underſtand it, and therefore I will not learn it.

Huſſy. Then ſaid he, thou wilt not underſtand it; and with that roſe up and went his way.

The ſecond Examination of Elizabeth Young, by Dr. Martin.

Martin. THOU art come from beyond the ſea, and haſt brought with thee books of hereſy and treaſon, and thou muſt confeſs to us who tranſlated them, printed them, and who ſent them over (for once I knew thee to be but a meſſenger) and in ſo doing the queen's highneſs will be good to thee (for ſhe hath forgiven greater things than this) and thou ſhalt find as much favour as is poſſible. But if thou be ſtubborn, and wilt not confeſs, thou wilt be very ill handled: for we know the truth already; but this we do, only to ſee whether thou wilt be true of thy word or no.

Young. Sir, ye have my confeſſion, and more than that I cannot ſay.

Martin. Thou muſt ſay more, and ſhalt ſay more. Doſt thou think that we will be fully anſwered by this confeſſion that thou haſt made? thou rebel whore, and traitor heretic, thou doſt refuſe to ſwear upon the evangeliſts before a judge, I hear ſay. Thou ſhalt be racked inchmeal, thou traitorly whore and heretic, but thou ſhalt ſwear before a judge before thou go: yea, and thou ſhalt be made to confeſs how many books thou haſt ſold, and to whom.

Young. Sir, I underſtand not what an oath is, and therefore I will take no ſuch thing upon me. And no man hath bought any books of me as yet, for thoſe books that I had, your commiſſioners have them all.

Martin. Thou traitorly whore, we know that thou haſt ſold a number of books, yea, and to whom; and how many times thou haſt been here, and where thou layeſt, and every place that thou haſt been in; doſt thou think that thou haſt fools in hand?

Young. No, Sir, ye be too wiſe for me; for I cannot tell how many places I have been in myſelf, but if it were in Turkey I ſhould have meat and drink and lodging for my money.

Martin. Thou rebel whore, thou haſt ſpoken evil words of the queen, and thou dwelleſt among a ſort of traitors and rebels that cannot give the queen a good word.

Young. I am not able to accuſe any man thereof, neither is there any man that can prove any ſuch things of me as you lay to my charge. For God's word hath taught me my duty to the queen, and therefore I am ſure you accuſe me wrongfully.

Martin. Thou rebel and traitorly whore, thou ſhalt be ſo racked and tormented, that thou ſhalt be an example to all ſuch traitorly whores and heretics; and thou ſhalt be made to ſwear by the holy evangeliſts, and confeſs to whom thou haſt ſold all and every of theſe heretical books that thou haſt ſold: for we know what number thou haſt ſold, and to whom; but thou ſhalt be made to confeſs it in ſpite of thy blood.

Young. Here is my carcaſe, do with it what you will, and more than that you cannot have. Mr. Martin, ye can have no more than my blood.

Then he raved as though he had been ſtark mad, and ſaid, Martin? why calleſt thou me Martin?

Young. Sir, I know you well enough, for I have been before you ere now. Ye delivered me once at Weſtminſter.

Martin. Where didſt thou dwell then?

Young. I dwelt in the Minories.

Martin. I delivered thee and thy huſband both; and I thought then that thou wouldeſt have done otherwiſe than thou doſt now. For if thou hadſt been before any biſhop in England, and ſaid the words that thou didſt before me, thou hadſt fryed a faggot: and though thou didſt not burn then, thou art like to burn or hang now.

Young. Sir, I promiſed you then, that I would never be fed with an unknown tongue, and no more will I yet.

Martin. I ſhall feed thee well enough. Thou ſhalt be fed with that, I warrant thee, which will be little to thine eaſe.

Young. Do what God ſhall ſuffer you to do: for more ye ſhall not. And then he aroſe, and ſo departed, and went to the keeper's houſe, and asked his wife, whom ſhe had ſuffered to come to this traitorly whore? (as he called her). Then ſaid the keeper's wife, As God receive my ſoul, here came neither man, woman, nor child to aſk for her.

Martin. If any man, woman, or child, come to ask for her, I charge thee on pain of death that they be laid faſt: and give her one day bread, and another day water.

Young. If ye take away my meat, I truſt that God will take away my hunger. And ſo he departed, ſaying, that was too good for her. And then ſhe was ſhut up under two locks in the Clink, where ſhe was before.

The third Examination, before Dr. Martin.

Martin. ELIZABETH, wilt thou confeſs theſe things that thou haſt been examined upon; for thou

thou knoweſt that I have been thy friend, and in ſo doing I will be thy friend again; giving her many fair words, and then demanding of her how many gentlemen were beyond the ſeas?

Young. It is too much for me to tell you how many are on the other ſide.

Martin. No, I mean but in Frankfort and Embden, where thou haſt been.

Young. Sir, I did never take account of them, it is a thing that I look not for.

Martin. When ſhall I have a true word come out of thy mouth?

Young. I have told you the truth, but becauſe that it ſoundeth not to your mind, therefore you will not credit it.

Martin. Wilt thou yet confeſs? and if thou wilt, that which I have promiſed I will not do: and if thou wilt not, I promiſe thee thou muſt go even hence to the rack, and therefore confeſs.

Young. I can ſay no more than I have ſaid.

Martin. Well, foraſmuch as ſhe will confeſs no more, have her away to the rack, and then ſhe will be marred.

Then anſwered a prieſt that ſat there, and ſaid, Woman, take an oath, and confeſs: wilt thou be hurt for other men?

Young. I can confeſs no more than I have. Do with my carcaſe what ye will.

Martin. Did ye ever hear the like of this heretic? what a ſtout heretic is this? We have the truth, and we know the truth, and yet look whether ſhe will confeſs. There is no remedy but ſhe muſt needs to the rack, and therefore away with her; and ſo commanded her out of the door, and called her keeper unto him, and ſaid to him, There is no remedy but this heretic muſt be racked; and talked with him more, but what it was ſhe did not hear.

Then he called her in again, and ſaid, Wilt thou not confeſs, and keep thee from the rack? I adviſe thee ſo to do; for if thou wilt not, thou knoweſt not the pain yet, but thou ſhalt do.

Young. I can confeſs no more; do with my carcaſe what ye will.

Martin. Keeper, away with her. Thou knoweſt what I ſaid. Let her know the pain of the rack. And ſo ſhe departed, thinking no leſs, but that ſhe ſhould have gone to the rack, till ſhe ſaw the keeper turn toward the Clink again. And thus did God alienate their hearts, and diminiſh their tyrannous power, unto the time of further examinations; for ſhe was brought before the biſhop, the dean, and the chancellor, and other commiſſioners, firſt and laſt thirteen times.

The fourth Examination before the Biſhop of London, Sir Roger Cholmley, Dr. Cook, the Recorder of London, Dr. Roper, and Dr. Martin.

FIRST ſhe being preſented by Dr. Martin before the biſhop of London, Dr. Martin began to declare againſt her, ſaying, The lord chancellor hath ſent you here a woman, who hath brought books over from Embden, where all theſe books of hereſy and treaſon are printed, and hath therewith filled all the land with treaſon and hereſy; neither yet will ſhe confeſs who tranſlated them, nor who printed them, nor yet who ſent them over. Wherefore my lord chancellor committeth her unto my lord of London, to do with her as he ſhall think good. For ſhe will confeſs nothing but that ſhe bought theſe ſaid books in Amſterdam, and ſo brought them over to ſell for gain.

Dr. Cook. Let her head be truſſed in a ſmall line, and make her to confeſs.

Martin. The book is called Antichriſt, and ſo may well be called, for it ſpeaketh againſt Jeſus Chriſt and the queen. Beſides that, ſhe hath a certain ſpark of the anabaptiſts, for ſhe refuſeth to ſwear upon the four evangeliſts before a judge: for I myſelf and Mr. Huſſy have had her before us four times, but we cannot bring her to ſwear. Wherefore my lord chancellor would that ſhe ſhould abſtain and faſt, for ſhe hath not faſted a great while: for ſhe hath lain in the Clink a good while, where ſhe had too much her liberty.

Then ſaid the biſhop, Why wilt thou not ſwear before a judge? that is the right trade of the anabaptiſts.

Young. My lord, I will not ſwear that this hand is mine.

No! ſaid the biſhop, and why?

Young. My lord, Chriſt ſaith, That whatſoever is more than yea, yea, or nay, nay, it cometh of evil. And moreover, I know not what an oath is: and therefore I will take no ſuch thing upon me.

Then ſaid Cholmley, Twenty pounds it is a man in a woman's clothes: twenty pounds it is a man.

Bonner. Think ye ſo, my lord?

Cholmley. Yea, my lord.

Young. My lord, I am a woman.

Biſhop. Swear her upon a book, ſeeing it is but a queſtion aſked.

Then ſaid Cholmley, I will lay twenty pounds it is a man.

Then Dr. Cook brought her a book, commanding her to lay her hand thereto.

Young. No, my lord, I will not ſwear, for I know not what an oath is. But I ſay that I am a woman, and have children.

Biſhop. That know not we; wherefore ſwear.

Cholmley. Thou ill-favour'd whore, lay thy hand upon the book; I will lay on mine. And ſo he laid his hand on the book.

Young. So will not I.

Then the biſhop ſpoke a word in Latin out of Saint Paul, as concerning ſwearing.

Young. My lord, if you ſpeak to me of Saint Paul, then ſpeak Engliſh; for I underſtand you not.

Biſhop. I dare ſwear that thou doſt not.

Young. My lord, Saint Paul ſaith, that five words ſpoken in a language that may be underſtood, are better than many in a ſtrange tongue.

Cook. Swear before us, whether thou be a man or a woman.

Young. If ye will not believe me, then ſend for women into a ſecret place, and I will be ſearched.

Cholmley. Thou art an ill-favour'd whore.

Biſhop. How believeſt thou in the ſacrament of the altar?

Young. If it pleaſe you that I ſhall declare my faith, I will; and if it be not good, teach me better, and I will believe it.

Cook. That is well ſaid; declare thy faith.

Young. I believe in God the Father Almighty, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, three perſons and one God. I believe all the articles of my creed. I believe all things written in the ſcripture, and all things agreeable to the ſcripture, given by the Holy Ghoſt to the church of Chriſt, ſet forth and taught by the church of Chriſt. I believe that Jeſus Chriſt, the only Son of God, that immaculate Lamb, came into the world to ſave ſinners; and that in him, by him, and through him, I am made clean from my ſins, and without him I could not. I believe that in the holy ſacraments of Chriſt's body and blood, which he did inſtitute and ordain, and left among his diſciples that night before he was betrayed; when I do receive this ſacrament in faith and ſpirit, I do receive Chriſt.

Biſhop. No more, I warrant you, but the ſacrament of Chriſt's body and blood, received but in ſpirit and faith, with thoſe heretics.

Cholmley. Ah, whore, ſpirit and faith, whore?

Young. This ſacrament never man could or did make, but only He, that did what no man could do.

Martin. Then thou muſt allow that graſs is a ſacrament; for who could make graſs, but he only?

Young. Sir, he hath ſuffered, and made a ſufficient ſacrifice once for all, and ſo hath he made his ſacrament ſufficient once for all: for there never was man that could ſay, "Take, eat, this is my body that is broken for you," but only Jeſus Chriſt, who had his body broken for the ſins of the world; which ſacrament he hath left here amongſt us for a teſtimonial of his death, even to the world's end.

Martin. Who taught thee this doctrine? did Scory?

Young. Yea, biſhop Scory, and others, that I have heard.

Biſhop. Why, is Scory biſhop now?

Young. If that offend you, call him Doctor Scory, if you will.

Roper. I knew when he was but a poor doctor.

Martin. What do you call Scory?

Young. Our ſuperintendant.

Biſhop. Lo! their ſuperintendant!

Martin. And what are ye called?

Young. Chriſt's congregation.

Biſhop. Lo! Chriſt's congregation, I warrant you!

Doctor Cook. What living hath Scory?

Young. As far as I do know he liveth by his own, for I know no man that giveth him ought.

Recorder. Yes, I warrant you, he hath enough ſent him out of England.

Young. Sir, I know no ſuch thing.

Cholmley. Hark, whore, hark; how I do believe.

Young. My lord, I have told you my belief.

Cholmley. Hark, thou ill-favoured whore, how I do believe. When the prieſt hath ſpoken the words of conſecration, I do believe that there remaineth the very body that was born of the virgin Mary, was hanged on the croſs, was dead and buried, and deſcended into hell, and roſe again on the third day, and aſcended into heaven, and ſitteth at the right hand of God. The ſame body when the prieſt hath ſpoken the words, cometh down, and when the prieſt lifteth up his body on this wiſe (he lifting up his hands, ſaid) there it is.

Young. I have told you alſo how I do believe.

Martin. Away with her.

Cholmley. Ah ill-favoured whore! nothing but ſpirit and faith, whore?

Martin. Away with her, we have more to talk withal.

Then ſhe was carried into the coal-houſe, and ſearched for books, and then put into the ſtock-houſe, and her knife, girdle, and apron taken from her.

The fifth Examination before the Biſhop of London's Chancellor.

Chancellor. WHAT age are you of?

Young. Forty years and upwards.

Chancellor. Why, thou art a woman of fair years: why ſhouldſt thou meddle with the ſcriptures? it is neceſſary for thee to believe, and that is enough. It is more fit for thee to meddle with thy diſtaff, than to meddle with the ſcriptures. What is thy belief? I would hear it; for it cannot be good, in that thou art brought into priſon.

Young. Sir, if it will pleaſe you to hear, I will declare it unto you. But I pray you that you will take your pen and write it, and then examine it; and if you find any thing therein that is not fit for a chriſtian woman, then teach me better, and I will learn it.

Chancellor. Well ſaid. But who ſhall judge between thee and me?

Young. The ſcripture.

Chancellor. Wilt thou ſtand by that?

Young. Yea, Sir.

Chancellor. Well, go thy way out at the door a little while, for I am buſy, and I will call for thee anon again.

Then he called me again, and ſaid, Now woman, the time is too long to write: Say thy mind, I will bear it in my head.

Then Elizabeth began, and declared her faith to him as ſhe had done before to the biſhop.

Chancellor. Woman, ſpirit and faith I do allow, but doſt not thou believe that thou doſt receive the body of Chriſt really, corporally, and ſubſtantially?

Young. Theſe words, really and corporally, I underſtand not; as for ſubſtantially, I take it, you mean I ſhould believe that I ſhould receive his human body (which is upon the right hand of God, and can occupy no more places at once) and that I believe not.

Chancellor. Thou muſt believe this, or elſe thou art damned.

Young. Sir, can you give me belief?

Chancellor. No, God muſt give it thee.

Young. God hath given me no ſuch faith or belief.

The chancellor then declared a text of St. Paul in Latin, and then in Engliſh, ſaying, I could make thee believe, but that thou haſt a cankered heart, and wilt not believe. Who then can make thee to believe?

Young. You ſaid even now, that faith or belief cometh of God, and ſo I believe, and then may not I believe an untruth to be true?

Chancellor. Doſt thou not believe that Chriſt's fleſh is fleſh in thy fleſh?

Young. No, Sir, I believe not that; for my fleſh ſhall putrify and rot.

Chancellor. Chriſt ſaid, my fleſh is fleſh in fleſh.

Young. Whoſo receiveth him fleſhly, ſhall have a fleſhly reſurrection.

Chancellor. Chriſt ſaith in St. John, chap. 6. "My fleſh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed."

Young. Chriſt preached to the Capernaites, ſaying, "except ye eat the fleſh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye ſhall not have life in you:" And the Capernaites murmured at it. And his diſciples alſo murmured, ſaying among themſelves, "This is an hard ſaying, and who can abide it?" Chriſt underſtood their meaning, and ſaid, Are ye alſo offended? will ye alſo go away? What and if ye ſhall ſee the Son of man aſcend up to heaven, from whence he came, will that offend you? It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the fleſh profiteth nothing." I pray you, Sir, what meaneth Chriſt by that?

Chancellor. O God forbid. Would you have me to interpret the ſcriptures? We muſt leave that for our old ancient Fathers, who have ſtudied ſcripture a long time, and have the Holy Ghoſt given unto them.

Young. Why, Sir, have you not the Holy Ghoſt given and revealed unto you?

Chancellor. No, God forbid that I ſhould ſo believe; but I hope, I hope: But ye ſay, ye are of the ſpirit. Will you ſay that you have no profit in Chriſt's fleſh?

Young. Sir, we have our profit in Chriſt's fleſh, but not as the Capernaites did underſtand it: for they underſtood that they muſt eat his fleſh as they did eat ox fleſh and others, and drink his blood, as we drink wine or beer out of a bowl. But ſo we muſt not receive it. But our profit that we have by Chriſt, is to believe that his body was broken upon the croſs, and his blood ſhed for our ſins; that is the very meaning of Chriſt, that ſo we ſhould eat his fleſh, and drink his blood, when he ſaid; "My fleſh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed."

Chancellor. How doth thy body live, if Chriſt's fleſh is not fleſh in thy fleſh;

Young. Sir, I was a body before I had a ſoul; which body God had created, and yet it could not live, till God had breathed life into me, and by that life doth my body live. And when it ſhall pleaſe God to diſſolve my life, my fleſh will offer itſelf unto the place from whence it came, and through the merits of Chriſt my ſoul will offer itſelf to the place from whence it came.

Chancellor.

Chancellor. Why, doth not Chriſt ſay, "My fleſh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed?" Canſt thou deny that?

Young. I deny not that; for Chriſt's fleſh and blood are meat and drink for my ſoul, the food of my ſoul. For whoſoever believeth that Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God hath died, and ſhed his blood for his ſins, his ſoul feedeth thereon for ever.

Chancellor. When thou receiveſt the ſacrament of the altar, doſt thou not believe that thou doſt receive Chriſt's body?

Young. Sir, as often as I receive the ſacrament, I believe, that ſpiritually and by faith I receive Chriſt. And of this ſacrament, I know Chriſt himſelf to be the author, and none but he. And this ſame ſacrament is an eſtabliſhment to my conſcience, and an augmenting to my faith.

Chancellor. Why, did not Chriſt take bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave it to his diſciples, ſaying, "Take, eat, this is my body that is given for you?" Did he give them his body, or no?

Young. He alſo took the cup, and gave thanks to his Father, and gave it to his diſciples, ſaying, "Drink ye all hereof: for this is the cup of the New Teſtament in my blood, which ſhall be ſhed for many." Now, I pray you, Sir, let me ask you one queſtion: Did he give the cup the name of his blood, or the wine that was in the cup?

Then he was very angry, and ſaid, Doſt thou think that thou haſt an hedge-prieſt in hand?

Young. No, Sir, I take you not to be a hedge-prieſt; I take you for a doctor.

Chancellor. So methinketh. Thou wilt take upon thee to teach me.

Young. No, Sir, but I let you know what I know; and by one argument ſhall know more. Chriſt ſaid, "As oft as you do this, do this in remembrance of me;" but a remembrance is not of a thing preſent, but abſent. Likewiſe St. Paul ſaith, So oft as ye ſhall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye ſhall ſhew forth the Lord's death till he come:" Then we muſt not look for him here, until his coming again at the latter day. Again, is not this article of our belief true, "He ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he ſhall come to judge both the quick and the dead?" But if he come not before he come to judgment, how then is he preſent in your ſacrament of the altar? Wherefore I believe that the human body of Chriſt occupieth no more than one place at once; for when he was here, he was not there.

The ſixth Examination of Mrs. Young before the Chancellor.

Chancellor. WOMAN, the laſt time that thou waſt before me, our talk was concerning the ſacrament.

Young. Sir, true it is, and I truſt that I ſaid nothing that ye can deny by the ſcriptures,

Chancellor. Yes, thou wilt not believe that Chriſt's fleſh is fleſh in thy fleſh.

Young. No, Sir, God hath given me no ſuch belief; for it cannot be found by the ſcriptures.

Chancellor. Wilt thou believe nothing but what is in the ſcripture? Why how many ſacraments doſt thou find in the ſcripture?

Young. The church of Chriſt doth ſet down two.

Chancellor. I will as well find ſeven by the ſcripture, as thou ſhalt find two.

Young. Sir, I talk not to you thereof, but I ſay that the church of Chriſt ſetteth out two, and I have been taught no more.

Chancellor. What are thoſe two?

Young. The ſacrament of Chriſt's body and blood, and the ſacrament of baptiſm.

Chancellor. What ſayſt thou to the ſacrament of wedlock?

Young. I have not heard it called a ſacrament, but the holy eſtate of matrimony, which ought to be kept of all men that take it upon them.

Chancellor. How ſayſt thou by prieſts? Is it good that they ſhould marry? is it to be kept of them?

Young. I come not hither to reaſon any ſuch matter; for I am no divine, and alſo it is no part of my faith.

Chancellor. Can ye not tell? ye ſhall tell before ever you go.

Young. Sir, then muſt ye keep me a good while; for I have not ſtudied the ſcriptures for it.

Chancellor. No? why ye will not be aſhamed to flee unto the higheſt myſtery, even to the ſacrament at the firſt daſh, and ye are not afraid to argue with the beſt doctor in the land.

Young. God's myſteries I will not meddle with, but all things that are written, are written for our edification.

Chancellor. What ſay you by prayers for the dead? is it not meet, that if a man's friend be dead, his friend commend his ſoul unto God?

Young. There is no chriſtian man that will commend his friend nor his foe unto the devil. And whether it be good for him when he is dead or no, ſure I am, that it is good when he is alive.

Chancellor. Then thou alloweſt not prayer to be good for them when they be dead, and lying in purgatory. Is it not meet that prayer be made unto God for them?

Young. Sir, I never heard in the ſcriptures of purgatory, but in the ſcripture I have heard of heaven and hell.

Chancellor. Why, ye have nothing but the skimming of the ſcriptures. Our ancient fathers could find out in the bottom of the ſcriptures, that there is a purgatory. Yea, they could find it in the New Teſtament, that a prieſt ſhall take the ſacrament, and go to the altar, and make an oblation, and offer it up every day.

Young. Sir, that could never be found in the Bible nor Teſtament, as far as ever I could hear.

Chancellor. Whom doſt thou hear read either the Bible or Teſtament, but a ſort of ſchiſmatics, bawdy biſhops, and hedge prieſts (which have brought into the church a ſtinking communion, which was never heard of in any place in the world, but here in England) which have deceived the king, and all the nobility, and all the whole realm?

Young. Sir, it is a vile name that you give them all.

Chancellor. Where are all the hedge knaves become now, that they come not to their anſwer?

Young. Anſwer, Sir, why, they have anſwered both with the ſcriptures, and alſo with their blood; and then where were you that ye came not forth to anſwer in their times? I never knew any of you that were troubled, but two, and that was not for God's word, it was for their diſobedience.

Chancellor. No, I pray you? did ye not know that we were killed, hanged, burned, and headed?

Young. Sir, I never knew that any of you ever was either hanged, killed, burned, or headed.

Chancellor. No? did ye never hear that the biſhop of Rocheſter loſt his head for the ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome?

Young. Then he died not for God's word.

Chancellor. Well, thou wilt believe nothing but that which is written in God's word. Where canſt thou find the ſabbath written in the ſcripture by the name of the ſabbath? For the right ſabbath-day will I prove to be Saturday. Or where canſt thou find the articles of the creed in the ſcripture by the name of the articles? or where canſt thou find in the ſcripture, that Chriſt went down into hell?

Young.

Young. What place or part in the ſcripture can ye find to diſprove any of theſe things?

Chancellor. What prieſt haſt thou lain withal, that thou haſt ſo much ſcripture? thou art ſome prieſt's woman, I think, for thou wilt take upon thee to reaſon, and teach the beſt doctor in all the land.

Young. I was never yet prieſt's wife, nor yet prieſt's woman.

Chancellor. Have I touched your conſcience?

Young. No, Sir, you have not touched my conſcience, but beware you hurt not your own.

Chancellor. Thou haſt read a little in the Bible or Teſtament, and thou thinkeſt thou art able to reaſon with a doctor, that hath gone to ſchool thirty years, and before God I think if I had talked thus much with a Jew as I have done with thee, he would have turned ere this time. But I may ſay by you as Chriſt ſaid by Jeruſalem, ſaying, O Jeruſalem, Jeruſalem, how often would I have gathered thee together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens, but thou wouldſt not." And ſo would we gather you together in one faith, and ye will not: and therefore your own blood be upon your own heads; for I can do no more but teach you. Thou art one of the rankeſt heretics that ever I heard: for thou believeſt nothing but what is in the ſcripture, and therefore thou art damned.

Young. I do believe all things written in the ſcripture, and all things agreeable to the ſcripture, given by the Holy Ghoſt to the church of Chriſt, ſet forth and taught by the church of Chriſt; and ſhall I be damned becauſe I will not believe an untruth?

Then the chancellor called the keeper, ſaying, Cluny, take her away, thou knoweſt what thou haſt to do with her. And ſo ſhe departed, and was brought again to the ſtock-houſe, and there ſhe lay certain days, and both her hands manacled in one iron; and afterward ſhe was removed into the Lollards Tower, and there ſhe remained with both her feet in the ſtocks and irons till the next time of examination.

The ſeventh Examination of Mrs. Young, before the Chancellor and the Biſhop's Scribe.

Chancellor. WOMAN, thou haſt been twice before me, but we could not agree, and here be certain articles which my lord the biſhop of London would that thou ſhouldſt make anſwer unto, which are theſe: Firſt, how many ſacraments thou doſt allow?

Young. Sir, as many as Chriſt's church doth allow, and that is two.

Then ſaid the ſcribe, Thou waſt taught ſeven before king Edward's days.

Chancellor. Which two ſacraments be thoſe that thou doſt allow?

Young. The ſacrament of the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt, and the ſacrament of baptiſm.

Chancellor. Doſt thou not believe that the pope of Rome is the ſupreme head of the church, immediately under God in earth?

Young. No, Sir, no man can be the head of Chriſt's church; for Chriſt himſelf is the head, and his word is the governor of all that be of the church, whereſoever they be ſcattered abroad.

Chancellor. Doſt thou not believe that the biſhop of Rome can forgive thee all thy ſins heretical, deteſtable, and damnable, that thou haſt done from thine infancy unto this day?

Young. Sir, the biſhop of Rome is a ſinner as I am, and no man can forgive me my ſins, but he only that is without ſin, and that is Jeſus Chriſt who died for my ſins.

Chancellor. Doſt thou not know that the pope ſent over his Jubilees, that all that ever would faſt and pray, and go the church, ſhould have their ſins forgiven them.

The ſcribe. Sir, I think that ſhe was in the realm then.

Chancellor. Haſt thou not deſired God to defend thee from the tyranny of the biſhop of Rome, and all his deteſtable enormities?

Young. Yes, that I have.

Chancellor. And art thou not ſorry for it?

Young. No, Sir, not a whit.

Chancellor. Haſt thou not ſaid, that the maſs was wicked, and the ſacrament of the altar moſt abominable?

Young. Yes, that I have.

Chancellor. And art not thou ſorry for it?

Young. No, Sir, not a whit.

Chancellor. Art thou not content to go to the church and hear maſs?

Young. I will not go to the church, either to maſs or matins, till I may hear it in a tongue that I can underſtand: for I will be fed no longer in a ſtrange language. And always the ſcribe did write every one of theſe articles, as they were demanded, and anſwered unto.

Then the ſcribe asked her from whence ſhe came.

The chancellor ſaid, This is ſhe that brought over all theſe books of hereſy and treaſon.

Then the ſcribe ſaid to her, Woman, where hadſt thou all theſe books?

Young. I bought them in Amſterdam, and brought them over to ſell, thinking to gain thereby.

The ſcribe. What is the name of the book?

Young. I cannot tell.

Scribe. Why, wouldſt thou buy books, and know not their names?

Then ſaid Cluny the keeper, Sir, my lord biſhop did ſend for her by name, that ſhe ſhould come to maſs, but ſhe would not.

Chancellor. Yea, did my lord ſend for her by name, and would ſhe not go to maſs?

Young. No, Sir, I will never go to maſs, till I do underſtand it, by the leave of God.

Chancellor. Underſtand it! why, who the devil can make thee underſtand Latin, thou being ſo old?

Then the ſcribe commanded her to ſet her hand to all theſe things.

Then ſaid ſhe, Let me hear them read firſt.

Scribe. Maſter chancellor, ſhall ſhe hear it read?

Chancellor. Ay, ay, let the heretic hear it read.

Then ſhe heard it read, and ſo ſigned it.

The eighth Examination of Elizabeth Young before the Biſhop.

Biſhop. IS this the woman that hath three children?

Keeper. Yea, my lord.

Biſhop. Woman, here is a ſupplication put into my hands for thee. In like caſe there was another ſupplication put up to me for thee before this, in which thou madeſt as though I ſhould keep thy children.

Young. My lord, I did not know of this ſupplication, nor yet of the other.

Biſhop. Mr. Dean, is this the woman you have ſued ſo earneſtly for?

Dean. Yea, my lord.

Dean. Woman, what remaineth in the ſacrament of the altar, when and after that the prieſt hath ſpoken the words of conſecration?

Young. A piece of bread. But the ſacrament of Chriſt's body and blood, which he did inſtitute, and leave among his diſciples the night before he was betrayed, miniſtered according to his word, that ſacrament I do believe.

Dean. How doſt thou believe concerning the body of

of Chriſt? where is his body, and how many bodies hath he?

Young, Sir, in heaven, he ſitteth on the right hand of God.

Dean. From whence came his human body?

Young. He took it of the virgin Mary.

Dean. That is fleſh, blood, and bones, as mine is. But what ſhape hath his ſpiritual body? hath it face, hands, and feet?

Young. I know no other body that it hath, but that body whereof he meant when he ſaid, "This is my body, which is given for you; and this is my blood, which ſhall be ſhed for you." Whereby he plainly meaneth that body, and no other, which he took of the virgin Mary, having the perfect ſhape and proportion of a human body.

Story. Thou haſt a wiſe body: for thou muſt go to the ſtake.

Dean. Art thou content to believe in the faith of Chriſt's church? But to ask of thee what Chriſt's church is, or where it is, I let it paſs.

Young. Sir, to that church I have joined my faith, and from it I purpoſe never to turn, by God's help.

Dean. Wouldſt thou not be at home with thy children with a good will?

Young. Sir, if it pleaſe God to give me leave.

Dean. Art thou willing to confeſs thyſelf to be an ignorant and fooliſh woman, and to believe as our holy father the pope of Rome doth; and as the lord cardinal doth, and as my lord the biſhop of London, thine ordinary, doth, and as the king and queen, and all the nobility of England do; yea, and the emperor, and all the noble perſons of Chriſtendom?

Young. Sir, I was never wiſe; but in few words I ſhall make you a brief anſwer how I do believe all things that are written in the ſcriptures given by the Holy Ghoſt unto the church of Chriſt, ſet forth and taught by the church of Chriſt. Hereon I ground my faith, and not on man.

Then ſaid Story, And who ſhall be judge?

Young. Sir, the ſcripture.

Story. And who ſhall read it?

Young. He unto whom God hath given the underſtanding.

Biſhop. Woman, be reformable: for I would thou wert gone; and maſter dean here hath earneſtly ſued for thee.

Dean. Woman, I have ſued for thee indeed, and I promiſe thee, if thou wilt be reformable, my lord will be good unto thee.

Young. I have been before my lord biſhop, and before matter chancellor, three times, and have declared my faith,

Dean. And yet I know that maſter chancellor will ſay, that thou art a rank heretic.

Story. Away with her.

Biſhop. Maſter dean, you know that I may not tarry, nor you neither. Let her keeper bring her home to your own chamber ſoon at four o'clock at afternoon, and if that ye find her reaſonable, then let her go, for I would that ſhe were gone.

Then ſaid the dean, With a good will, my lord, and ſo ſhe was ſent unto the place from whence ſhe came, until it was four of the clock in the afternoon.

The ninth Examination before the Dean, before whom ſhe was delivered.

Dean. ART thou a fool now, as thou waſt to-day?
Young. Sir, I have learnt but ſmall wiſdom ſince.
Dean. Doſt thou think that I am better learned than thou?

Young. Yes, Sir, that I do.

Dean. Thinkeſt thou that I can do thee good?

Young. Yes Sir; and if it pleaſe God that ye will.

Dean. Then I will do thee good indeed. What doſt thou receive when thou receiveſt the ſacrament which Chriſt left among his diſciples the night before he was betrayed?

Young. Sir, that that his diſciples did receive.

Dean. What did they receive?

Young. Sir, that that Chriſt gave them, they received.

Dean. What anſwer is this? was Chriſt there preſent?

Young. Sir, he was there preſent; for he inſtituted his own ſacrament.

Dean. He took bread, and he brake it, and he gave it to his diſciples, and ſaid, "Take, eat, this is my body which ſhall be broken for you." When thou receiveſt it, doſt thou believe that thou receiveſt his body?

Young. Sir, when I receive, I believe that through faith I do receive Chriſt.

Dean. Doſt thou believe that Chriſt is there?

Young. Sir, I believe that he is there to me, and by faith I do receive him.

Dean. He alſo took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to his diſciples, and ſaid, "Drink ye all thereof; This is the cup of the New Teſtament in my blood, which is ſhed for many for the remiſſion of ſins." When thou doſt receive it after the inſtitution that Chriſt ordained among his diſciples, the night before he was betrayed, doſt thou believe that Chriſt is there?

Young. Sir, by faith I believe he is there, and by faith I do believe that I do receive him.

Dean. Now thou haſt anſwered me, Remember that thou ſayeſt, that when thou doſt receive according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, thou doſt receive Chriſt.

Young. Sir, I believe Chriſt not to be abſent from his own ſacrament.

Dean. How long wilt thou continue in that belief?

Young. Sir, as long as I do live, by the help of God; for it is, and hath been my belief.

Dean. Wilt thou ſay this before my lord?

Young. Yes, Sir.

Dean. Then I dare deliver thee. Why, thou calf, why wouldſt thou not ſay ſo to-day?

Young. Sir, he aſked me no ſuch queſtion.

Dean. Then ye would ſtand in diſputation how many bodies Chriſt had.

Young. Sir, indeed that queſtion ye did aſk me.

Dean. Who ſhall be the ſureties that thou wilt appear before my lord of London and me upon Friday next?

Young. Sir, I have no ſureties; nor know I where to have any.

Then ſpake the dean unto two women that ſtood there, who had earneſtly ſued for her, ſaying, Women, will ye be her ſureties, that ſhe ſhall appear before my lord of London and me upon Friday next?

Women. Yea, Sir, and it pleaſe you.

Dean. Take heed that I find you no more a brabler in the ſcripture.

Young. Sir, I am no brabler in the ſcripture, nor yet any man can burden me therewith.

Dean. Yes, I have heard of you well enough what ye are.

Then ſaid he to the women, what if a man ſhould touch your conſcience, do you not ſmell of hereſy alſo?

Women. No, Sir.

Dean. Yes, a little of the frying-pan; or elſe wherefore have you two ſo earneſtly ſued for her?

The one woman anſwered, Becauſe that her children were like to periſh; and therefore God put me in mind to ſue for her.

Then ſaid the other woman, And I provided her child a nurſe, and I am threatened to ſtand to the keeping of her child, and therefore it ſtandeth me in hand to ſue to have her out.

Dean. Woman, give thanks unto theſe honeſt women, who have ſo earneſtly ſued for thee, and I promiſe thee ſo have I. Theſe great heretics will receive nothing but in ſpirit and faith; and ſo he roſe and departed.

Young. Sir, God be praiſed, and I thank you for your goodneſs and theirs alſo, and ſo he went away: and upon the Friday next, becauſe ſhe was accuſed, her two ſureties went thither, and were diſcharged.

The Perſecution of Elizabeth Lawſon.

IN the town of Bedfield, in the county of Suffolk, dwelt an ancient godly matron, named Elizabeth Lawſon, about the age of ſixty years, who was apprehended as an heretic by the conſtables of the ſame town, named Robert Kitrich, and Thomas Elas, in the year 156, becauſe ſhe would not go to church to hear maſs, and receive the ſacrament, and believe in it.

Firſt, they laid her in a dungeon, and after that ſhe was carried to Norwich, and from thence to Bury-gaol, where at laſt ſhe was condemned to be burnt. In the mean time Sir John Sylliard had her home unto his houſe, he being high ſheriff that year, where ſhe was hardly kept, and wrapped in irons, till at length, when they could by no means move her to recant, ſhe was ſent to priſon again with ſhameful revilings.

Thus ſhe continued in priſon the ſpace of two years and three quarters. In the mean time there was burnt her ſon and many more, whereby ſhe would often ſay, "Good Lord, what is the cauſe that I may not yet come to thee with thy children? Well good Lord thy bleſſed will be done, and not mine."

Not long after this, moſt happily, followed the death of queen Mary, after whem ſucceeded queen Elizabeth. At which time this E. Lawſon remained yet ſtill in Bury priſon, till at laſt ſhe was bailed upon ſureties, or elſe ſhe could not be delivered. For ſhe being a condemned perſon, neither the temporality, nor yet ſpiritual authority would diſcharge her without ſureties. Now ſhe being abroad, and her ſureties made afraid by wicked men, ſaid they would caſt her again into priſon, except ſhe would ſee them diſcharged.

Then ſhe got a ſupplication to go to the queen's majeſty, and came to a friend of hers to have his council therein; who willed her to ſtay awhile, becauſe ſhe was old, the days ſhort, the expences great and weather foul (for it was a little before Chriſtmas) and to tarry until ſummer. In the mean time God brake the bond, and ſhortened her journey; for he took her home to himſelf out of this life of peace.

This good old woman, long before ſhe went to priſon, had the falling ſickneſs and told a friend of hers, one Simon Harlſton, after ſhe was apprehended, that ſhe never had it more, but lived in good health and joy of heart, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

She had a very unkind huſband, who while ſhe was in priſon, ſold her raiment, and would not help her; and after ſhe was out of priſon, ſhe returned home unto him, yet would he ſhew her no kindneſs, nor help her neither; and yet the houſe and land that he dwelt in he had by her; wherefore as long as ſhe lived ſhe was maintained by the congregation.

The ſaid E. Lawſon alſo had a ſiſter, wife to one Robert Hollon in Miekfield in the ſame county of Suffolk, who likewiſe was perſecuted and driven out from houſe to houſe, and a young man her ſon with her, becauſe they would not go to the church to hear maſs, and receive the ſacrament of the altar.

The Perſecution of T. Chriſtenmaſs and W. Wats.

IN this perillous rage of queen Mary's reign were two men perſecuted, one called Thomas Chriſtenmaſs, the other William Wats of Tunbridge in Kent. As theſe two men travelled from place to place, not reſting two nights together in one place, they happened to go to Rocheſter in Kent, where they at the town's end met with a damſel of eight years of age, but whither ſhe went they knew not. It was then night, and they being weary, were willing to lie in the ſame town, but could not tell where, they feared ſo the bloody catholics. At laſt they deviſed to aſk the damſel whether there were any heretics in the town or no? and ſhe ſaid, Yea. They asked her where. She anſwered them, At ſuch an inn, telling them the name, and where the inn was. Shortly after, as they were gone from her, they bethought themſelves better, and God ſo moving their hearts, they went to the child again, and aſked her how ſhe knew the innkeeper (of whom ſhe ſpake before) was an heretic. Marry, quoth ſhe, well enough, and his wife alſo. How knoweſt thou, pretty maiden? ſaid they. I pray thee tell us. How know I? ſaid ſhe. Marry becauſe they go to the church; and thoſe that will not hold up their hands there; they will preſent them; and he himſelf goes from houſe to houſe, to compel them to come to church. When theſe two men heard this, they gave God praiſe, and avoided that houſe, taking the warning of that maid (of good bringing up as it ſhould ſeem) to be God's marvellous providence towards them.

In the laſt year but one of queen Mary's reign, William Wats lived at Seale in Kent, where being apprehended, and brought by the conſtables before the biſhop and juſtices at Tunbridge, who endeavoured to perſuade him to turn from the truth, but all in vain, though they ſpent much time, and uſed many flattering words.

At dinner-time the conſtables took Wats to a victualling-houſe, where after they had well victualled themſelves, they fell aſleep, ſuppoſing their priſoner had been ſure enough under their hands. Wat's wife being in the houſe with her huſband, and very careful for his well-doing, ſeeing them all faſt aſleep deſired her huſband to go away, as God had given him an opportunity, but he refuſing ſo long, that at laſt a ſtranger hearing ſomething of the diſpute, aſked what the matter was, and why ſhe was ſo earneſt with her huſband: the wife told him. Then ſaid the ſtranger to Wats, Father, go thy ways in God's name, and tarry no longer: the Lord hath opened the way unto thee. Upon which words he went his way, and his wife departed from him, and went home to her houſe at Seale, thinking her huſband had gone another way. Now as ſhe was going in at her door, telling her friends of his deliverance, immediately came the ſaid Wats in alſo, and they all being amazed thereat, willed him in all haſte to get him away; for they thought there would be ſearch for him immediately.

Then Wats ſaid, He would eat meat firſt, and alſo pray; which he did, and afterwards departed thence. So ſoon as he was out of the doors, and had hid himſelf in an holly-buſh, immediately came the ſaid conſtables with thirty perſons into the ſaid houſe to ſearch for him, where they pierced the feather-beds, broke open his cheſts, and made great havock; and as they were ſearching, the conſtable cried, I will have Wats, I will have Wats, I tell thee, I will have Wats; but God be thanked Wats could not be found. And when they ſaw it needleſs to ſearch for him, in the end they took his wife, and ſet her in a pair of ſtocks, where ſhe remained two days, and ſhe was bold in the truth, and at laſt delivered through the providence of God; whoſe name be glorified in all his works, Amen.

There was at London a certain honeſt godly perſon, a painter, named Dabney, whom John Avales in the time of queen Mary had brought before Bonner to be examined for his faith. It happened the ſame time, when the ſaid Dabney was there, that the biſhop was occupied with the examination of others, ſo that he was bid to ſtand by, and to wait the biſhop's leiſure. Upon the ſame, or not long after, ſuddenly came word to the biſhop to prepare him in all ſpeed, the general proceſſion tarried for him. The biſhop hearing that, ſetting all buſineſs apart, buſtleth himſelf with all ſpeed poſſible, to

to the church, there to furniſh the proceſſion. By reaſon whereof Dabney, who newly came to the houſe, was there left alone, while every man elſe was buſied in preparing and ſetting themſelves forward according as the caſe required.

To be ſhort, as the time called on, Bonner with his houſhold makes all poſſible haſte to the proceſſion. Dabney being left alone, came down to the outward court next the gate, there walking heavily by himſelf, looking for nothing leſs than to eſcape that danger. The porter, who was only left at home, ſeeing the man walk alone, ſuppoſing he had been ſome citizen there left behind, and waiting for opening the gate, went and opened the wicket, aſking if he would go out. Yea, ſaid he, with a good will, if ye will let me out. With all my heart, with all my heart, quoth the porter, and I pray you ſo do.

And thus the ſaid Dabney taking the occaſion offered of God, being let out by the porter, eſcaped out of the wolf's mouth. The proceſſion being done, when the biſhop returned home, Dabney was gone, and could not be found: whereupon ſearch was made, but eſpecially John Avales laid wait for him: who after long ſearching, when he could not get him, at length received fifteen crowns of his wife to let him alone when he ſhould ſee him; and ſo that good man eſcaped.

A like example of God Almighty's goodneſs towards his afflicted ſervants in that dangerous time of perſecution, may alſo appear evidently in one Alexander Wimſhurſh, a prieſt, ſometime of Magdalen-college in Oxford, and then a papiſt, but ſince an earneſt enemy to Antichriſt, and a man better inſtructed in the true fear of God. It happened that one promoted him to biſhop Bonner for religion, upon what occaſion I do not underſtand. According to the old manner in ſuch caſes provided, he ſent forth Robin Caly, otherwiſe called Robin Papiſt, one of his whelps, to bring in the game, and to cauſe this ſilly poor man to appear before him. Little Robin, like a proper man, beſtirreth him in his buſineſs, and ſmelleth him out, and when he had taken him, bringeth him along by Cheapſide, not ſuffering him to talk with any of his acquaintance by the way, though they were of his old friends of Oxford that offered to ſpeak unto him.

When they came into St. Paul's, he eſpied Dr. Chedſey there walking up and down, to whom, becauſe he was able in ſuch a caſe to do him ſervice, and for that he had been of his old acquaintance in Oxford, he was very deſirous to ſpeak to him ere he went through. Chedſey, perceiving that Robin Caly did attend upon him, ſaid that he durſt not meddle in the matter. Yes (ſaith little Robin) you may talk with him if it pleaſe you maſter doctor. To be ſhort, Alexander openeth his caſe, and in the end deſireth, for old acquaintance ſake, that he would find means he might be rather brought before doctor Martin to be examined, than any other. Nay, ſaith he (alledging the words of Chriſt unto Peter in the laſt chapter of St. John,) You remember, brother, what is written in the goſpel; "When thou waſt young, thou didſt gird thyſelf, and wenteſt whither thou wouldeſt: but being aged, other men ſhall gird thee, and lead thee whither thou wouldſt not." Thus abuſing the ſcripture to his private meaning, whereas notwithſtanding he might eaſily have accompliſhed ſo ſmall a requeſt, if it had liked him.

Thence was he carried to Story and Cook, commiſſioners, there to learn what ſhould become of him. Before them he did uſe himſelf boldly and ſtoutly, as they on the other ſide did urge him with captious queſtions very cruelly. When they had baited the poor man their fill, they aſked him where his whore was. She is not my whore, ſaid he, but my lawful wife. She is thy whore, ſaid they. She is not my whore, ſaid he again, but my wife, I tell you. So when they perceived that he would not give place unto them, nor attributed to them ſo much as they looked for at his hand, according to the ordinary manner, they commanded him to priſon. And now mark well the providence of God in his preſervation.

He was brought into Cluny's houſe, at Pater-noſter-row, thence to be carried to Lollards Tower out of hand, but that Cluny (as it happened) his wife and his maid were ſo earneſtly occupied about preſent buſineſs, that as then they had not leiſure to lock up their priſoner. In the hall where Alexander ſate was a ſtrange woman, whoſe huſband was then preſently in trouble for religion, which perceived by ſome one occaſion or other, that this man was brought in for the like cauſe. Alack good man, ſaith ſhe, if you will you may eſcape the cruel hands of your enemies, foraſmuch as they be all away that ſhould look unto you. God hath opened the way unto you for a deliverance, and therefore loſe not the opportunity thereof, if you be wiſe. Being perſuaded with theſe and ſuch like words, he went out of the doors, and eſcaped their hands.

Boſom's Wife.

THIS good woman being at Richmond with her mother, was greatly urged to go to church. At length, through great importunacy, ſhe came; being in the church, and ſitting with her mother in the pew, contrary in all things to the doings of the papiſts, ſhe behaved herſelf ſo, that when they kneeled ſhe ſtood, when they turned forward ſhe turned backward, &c.

This being notorious in the church, the conſtable and churchwarden attached her in the queen's name, charging her and her mother to appear the next day at Kingſton, which accordingly they did, and happening to meet the officers croſſing the river, ſaluted them by their names, but at that time the officers had no power to ſpeak to them, though afterwards they ſtampt and ſtared, and were mad with themſelves for letting them paſs, as was declared by the waterman in the boat. Whereupon the good woman taking her journey to London, eſcaped their cruelty.

John Davis, under Twelve Years of Age.

IN the year 1546, and the laſt year of king Henry VIII. John Davis, a child of twelve years and under, who dwelling in the houſe of Mr. Johnſon apothecary, in the town of Worceſter, his uncle, uſing ſometimes to read in the Teſtament and other Engliſh books, was complained of by his miſtreſs; who was an obſtinate perſon, and conſulted with one Thomas Parton, and Alice Brook, wife to Nicholas Brook, organ-maker, with certain of the canons, and Mr. Johnſon, chancellor to Dr. Heath their biſhop. The means whereby he was intrapped was wrought by the foreſaid Alice Brook, who procured her ſon Oliver, ſchool-fellow with the ſaid John Davis, to feign friendſhip with him, and under pretence to be inſtructed, to ſee his Engliſh books, and eſpecially to get ſomething of his writing againſt the ſix articles: which being had, was ſoon brought to the canons of the church and the chancellor. Whereupon Thomas Parton came to apprehend him, and his uncle was forced againſt his will to bind the poor boy's arms behind him; and ſo he was brought to the officers of the town, where he lay from the 14th of Auguſt till the laſt of September. Then was he commanded to the freeman's priſon, where one Richard Howborough, coming to perſuade him from burning, willed him to prove firſt with a candle: who then holding his finger, and the other a candle under it a good ſpace, yet (as the party himſelf aſſured me) felt no burning thereof, neither would the other that held the candle believe him a great while, till he had

had looked, and ſaw no ſcorching of the candle at all appeared.

The child was removed from thence to an inner priſon, called Peephole, where the low bailiff, named Robert Yould, laid upon him a pair of bolts, ſo that he could not lift up his little legs, but leaning on a ſtaff, ſlipt them forward upon the ground: with theſe bolts his lying was upon the cold ground, having not one lock of ſtraw nor cloth to cover him, ſave only two ſheep-ſkins, neither durſt father or mother, or any of his friends come to him. Beſides this, and many great threats of the papiſts, there was a mad man put to him in the priſon, with a knife about him, wherewith he oft-times in his frantic rage proffered to thruſt him in.

After this came to him one Joyliff and Yewer, two canons, who had his writings againſt the ſix articles, and his ballad, called, "Come down for all your ſhaven crown:" to ſee whether he would ſtand to that he had written. Which done, with many great raging words, not long after ſate Mr. Johnſon the chancellor in the Guildhall upon the poor lad. Where firſt were brought in his accuſers and ſworn, then were ſworn alſo twenty-four men which went on his queſt, and found him guilty, but he never came before the chancellor. Upon this he was ſent to the common goal among thieves and murderers, there to tarry the coming of the judges, and ſo to be had ſtrait to execution. But the mighty mercy of the Lord, who helpeth the deſolate and miſerable when all other help is paſt, ſo provided for this innocent lad, that the purpoſe of all his heard-hearted enemies was diſappointed: for before the judges came, God took away Henry the eighth out of this life. By reaſon whereof the force of the law was then ſtayed, howbeit he was nevertheleſs arraigned, being held up in a man's arms at the bar before the judges, who were Portman and Marven: who when they perceived that they could not burn him, would have him preſently whipped. But Mr. Bourne declared to the judges, how he had whipping enough. After that he had lain a week more in priſon, he had him home to his houſe, his wife anointed his legs herſelf with ointment, which then were ſtiff and numbed with irons, till at length when Mr. Bourne and his wife ſaw they could not win him to the belief of their ſacrament, they put him away, leſt he ſhould infect their ſon Anthony, as they thought, with hereſy.

Thus John Davis was mercifully preſerved, after he had ſuffered impriſonment from the 14th day of Auguſt till within ſeven days of Eaſter, who is yet alive, and a profitable miniſter this day in the church of England: Bleſſed be the Lord.

Mrs. Roberts.

MIſtreſs Roberts, a gentlewoman, yet living (as I underſtand) in the town of Hawkhurſt in Suſſex, being earneſtly addicted to the truth of the goſpel, and no leſs conſtant in that which ſhe had learned therein, ſo kept herſelf during all the brunt of queen Mary's time, that ſhe never came to their popiſh ſervice, nor polluted her conſcience with their idolatrous maſs. There dwelt at the ſame time not far off a juſtice called Sir John Gilford, who being as fervent on the contrary ſide to ſet forward the proceedings of queen Mary, thought to prove maſteries with this gentlewoman, in forcing her into the church. And firſt ſending his wife, he attempted her by fair words, and gentle perſuaſions, to conform herſelf to the prince's laws, and to come, as other chriſtian people did, to the church. Notwithſtanding, ſhe conſtantly perſiſting in the ſincerity of the truth, would by no perſuaſions be won to do therein againſt her conſcience; and ſo kept at home a certain time, till again Mr. Gilford thinking not to give her over ſo, ſent his officers and ſervants to her, by force and power to hale her out of her houſe to the church, and ſo did. Where, by the way, ſhe for grief of conſcience, ſwooned, and ſo of neceſſity was brought home again, and falling into an ague, was for that time diſpenſed with. When ſhe had recovered her health again, he came in perſon to compel her to come to church, whether ſhe would or no. But (as the proverb goeth) Who can prevent that which God would have done? For when Mr. Gilford had purpoſed as pleaſed him, the Lord ſo diſpoſed for this good woman, that as he was coming up ſtairs toward her chamber, ſuddenly his old diſeaſe the gout ſeized him, and ſo terribly tormented him, that he could go no further: And ſo he, that purpoſed to carry her to the church againſt her will, was forced himſelf to be carried home to his houſe to his pain, proteſting and ſwearing that he would never from henceforth trouble that gentlewoman more, and no more he did.

Mrs. Anne Lacy.

MIſtreſs Anne Lacy, widow, in Nottinghamſhire, was in great danger in queen Mary's time, inſomuch that the proceſs was out againſt her, and ſhe ready to have been apprehended, being ſo nearly purſued, that ſhe was driven to hide her bible and other books in a dunghill. Mr. Lacy, her brother, was then juſtice of peace: but to whom (as I have heard) ſhe was but very little beholden. Nevertheleſs, where kindred faileth, yet God's grace never faileth ſuch as ſtick to him; for, in this mean time, as the proceſs came out againſt her, queen Mary died, and ſo ſhe eſcaped.

Croſſman's Wife.

SHE lived at Tibnam Longrow, in Norfolk; and for not going to church, was ſought for at her houſe by the conſtable of the hundred, who, when he came to her houſe, ſhe being at home with a child ſucking in her arms, ſtept into a corner on the one ſide of the chimney, and they ſeeking about the chambers, the child never cried (although before they came, it did) as long as they were there; and ſo by this means the Lord preſerved her.

The Congregation at Stoke, in Suffolk.

THERE were ſome likewiſe that avoided the violent rage of the adverſaries, by means only of their number, and mutual according in godlineſs, wherein they did ſo hold together, that without much ado none well could be troubled: whereof we have an example in a certain town in Suffolk, called Stoke. After the three ſharp years of queen Mary's perſecution being paſt, yet notwithſtanding the inhabitants of the town aforeſaid, eſpecially the women, came not to their church to receive, after the popiſh manner, the ſacrament. Who, if they had been but few, they could by no means have eſcaped impriſonment. But becauſe there were ſo many, the papiſts thought it beſt not to lay hands upon them. Only they appointed them ſixteen days reſpite after Eaſter, wherein as many as would, ſhould receive the ſacrament; thoſe that would not, ſhould ſtand to the peril that would follow. Of this company, which were many, giving their hands together, the chief were theſe:

Eve, an old woman of ſixty years. Alice Coker, her daughter. Elizabeth Foxe. Agnes Cutting. Alice Spencer. Henry Canker. Joan Fouke. Agnes Spaulding. John Steyre, and his brother. John Foxe.

Theſe, after the order was taken for their not coming to the church, took counſel among themſelves what was beſt to be done, and at length concluded by promiſe one to another, that they would not receive at all. Yet

ſome

ſome of them afterward, being perſuaded with fair promiſes, that the communion ſhould be miniſtered unto them according to king Edward's book, went to the pariſh prieſt (whoſe name was Cotes) and asked him after which ſort he would adminiſter the ſacrament. He anſwered to ſuch as he favoured, that he would give it after the right ſort; the reſt ſhould have it after the popiſh manner.

To be ſhort, none did communicate ſo, but only John Steyre, and John Foxe; of which the one gave his wife leave to do as ſhe thought beſt. The other went about with threats to compel his wife, ſaying, that otherwiſe he would divorce himſelf from her. As for the reſt, they withdrew themſelves from church, reſorting to their wonted company, only Foxe's wife tarried ſtill at home, in heavineſs, whoſe huſband practiſed with the curate in the mean time, that the next day after he ſhould give her the ſacrament, which was the ſeventeenth day after Eaſter. But the very ſame day, unknowing to her huſband, ſhe went ſecretly to her company, and with tears declared how violently her huſband had dealt with her. The other women bade her notwithſtanding to be of good cheer, and ſaid they would make their earneſt prayers to God for her and her huſband; and indeed, when they had ſo done, the matter took very good ſucceſs. For the next day after Goodman Foxe came of his own accord unto them, a far other man than he was before, and bewailed his own raſhneſs, praying them that they would forgive him, promiſing ever after to be more ſtrong in faith, to the great rejoicing both of them and his wife.

About half a year after this, the biſhop of Norwich ſendeth forth certain of his officers or apparitors thither, which gave them warning every one to come to the church the next Sunday following. If they would not come, they ſhould appear before the commiſſary out of hand, to render account of their abſence. But the women having ſecret knowledge of this before, kept themſelves out of the way on purpoſe, to avoid the ſummons or warning. Therefore when they were not at the church at the day appointed, the commiſſary did firſt ſuſpend them, according to the biſhop of Rome's law, and within three weeks after did excommunicate them. Therefore when they perceived that an officer of the town was ſet to take ſome of them, they conveying themſelves privily out of the town, eſcaped all danger.

The Congregation in London.

NO leſs wonderful was the preſervation of the congregation in London, which from the firſt beginning of queen Mary, to the latter end thereof, continued, notwithſtanding whatſoever the malice, device, ſearching and inquiſition of men, or ſtrictneſs of laws could work to the contrary. Such was the merciful hand of the Lord, according to his accuſtomed goodneſs, ever working with his people. Of this bountiful goodneſs of the Lord, many and great examples appeared in the congregation which now I ſpeak of. How oft, and in what great danger did he deliver them?

Firſt, In Black-friers, when they ſhould have reſorted to Sir Thomas Carden's houſe, privy watch was laid for them, but yet through God's providence the miſchief was prevented, and they delivered.

Again, they narrowly eſcaped about Aldgate, where ſpies were laid for them: and had not Thomas Simſon, the deacon, eſpied them, and bid them diſperſe themſelves away, they had been taken. For within two hours the conſtables coming to the houſe, after they were gone, demanded of the wife, what company had been there. To whom ſhe, to excuſe the matter, made anſwer again, ſaying, that half a dozen good fellows had been there at breakfaſt as they went a Maying.

Another time alſo, about the great conduit, they paſſing there through a narrow alley, into a clothworker's loft, were eſpied, and the ſheriffs ſent for: but before they came, they having privy knowledge thereof, immediately ſhifted away out of the alley, John Avales ſtanding alone in the Mercers Chapel ſtaring at them.

Another like eſcape they made in a ſhip at Billingſgate, belonging to a certain good man of Leigh, where in the open ſight of the people that were aſſembled together, and yet, through God's mighty power, eſcaped.

Betwixt Ratcliff and Redriff, in a ſhip called Jeſus ſhip twice or thrice they aſſembled, having there cloſely, after their accuſtomed manner, both ſermon, prayer, and communion, and yet through the protection of the Lord they returned, altho' not uneſpied, yet untaken.

Moreover, in a cooper's houſe in Pudding Lane, ſo near they were to perils and dangers, that John Avales coming into the houſe where they were, talked with the man of the houſe, and after he had aſked a queſtion or two, departed; God ſo working, that either he had no knowledge of them, or no power to take them.

But they never eſcaped more hardly, than once in Thames-ſtreet, in the night-time, where the houſe being beſet with enemies, they were delivered by the means of a mariner, who being at that preſent in the ſame company, and ſeeing no other way to avoid pluck'd off his ſlops, and ſwam to the next boat, and ſo rowed the company over, uſing his ſhoes inſtead of oars, and ſo jeopardy was diſpatched.

What ſhould I ſpeak of the extreme danger which that goodly company was in at the taking of Mr. Rough their miniſter, and Cuthbert Symſon their deacon, had not God's providence given knowledge before to Mr. Rough in his ſleep, that Cuthbert Symſon ſhould leave behind him at home the book of all their names, which he was wont to carry about with him; whereof mention is made before.

In this church or congregation there were ſometimes forty, ſometimes an hundred, ſometimes two hundred, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs. About the latter time of queen Mary it greatly increaſed. From the firſt beginning, which was about the firſt entry at queen Mary's reign, they had divers miniſters; firſt Mr. Scamier, then Thomas Foule, after him Mr. Rough, then Mr. Auguſtine Bernher, and laſt Mr. Bentham; concerning the deliverance of which Mr. Bentham (being now biſhop of Coventry and Lichfield) God's mighty providence moſt notably is to be conſidered. The ſtory is this:

On a time when ſeven martyrs were burnt in Smithfield, a proclamation was iſſued out, ſtrictly forbidding all perſons whatſoever either to ſalute, or pray for the priſoners as they came to the ſtake: the godly people hearing this, great numbers of them aſſembled together, reſolving to comfort and encourage them by their prayers; and when they came towards the ſtake well guarded by officers armed with bills and glieves as uſual, the whole congregation ran in upon them, kiſſing and embracing them, (not minding the officers and their weapons) and carried them to the ſtake, and might as well have carried them off, for ought the officers could do to prevent it.

This done, and the people giving place to the officers, the proclamation was read with a loud voice to the people in the names of the king and queen, That no man ſhould pray for them, nor once ſpeak a word unto them, &c. Mr. Bentham, then miniſter of the congregation, ſeeing the fire ſet to the martyrs, turned his eyes to his people, and ſaid, We know they are the people of God, and therefore we cannot chuſe but ſay, God ſtrengthen them: and then he boldly ſaid, Almighty God, for Chriſt's ſake ſtrengthen them. With that all the people with one conſent, and one voice, ſaid, Amen, Amen. The noiſe whereof was ſo great, that the officers

could not tell what to ſay, or whom to accuſe. And thus much concerning the congregation of the faithful aſſembling together in London in the time of queen Mary.

Another time, as Mr. Bentham was going through St. Katherine's, intending to take a walk in the air, he was inforced by two or three men to go along with them. Mr. Bentham being amazed at the ſuddenneſs of the matter, required what their purpoſe was, or whither they would have him go. They anſwered, that by the occaſion of a man there found drowned, the coroner's queſt was called and charged to ſit upon him, of which queſt he muſt of neceſſity be one, &c. He endeavoured to excuſe himſelf, alledging that he had no ſkill, and leſs experience in ſuch matters; and if it would pleaſe them to let him go, they would meet with another more fit for their purpoſe. But when with this they would not be ſatisfied, he further urged, that he was a ſcholar in the univerſity of Oxford, and thereby was privileged from being of any inqueſt. The coroner demanded the ſight of his privilege. He ſaid, if he would give him leave, he would fetch it. Then ſaid the coroner, the queen muſt be ſerved without delay, and ſo conſtrained him to be at the hearing of the matter. Then a book was offered him to ſwear upon; upon his opening it, he found it to be a popiſh primmer, and refuſed to ſwear thereon; and declared moreover what ſuperſtition in the book was contained. What! ſaid the coroner; I think we have an heretic among us. And upon that, after much reaſoning, he was committed to the cuſtody of an officer till further examination: by occaſion whereof he hardly could have eſcaped, had not the Lord helped where man was not able. What followed? as they were thus contending about matters of hereſy, ſuddenly cometh the coroner out of the admiralty, diſannulling and repealing the order and calling of that inqueſt, for that it was (as he ſaid) pertaining to his office; and therefore the other coroner and his company in that place had nothing to do. And ſo the firſt coroner was diſcharged and diſplaced; by reaſon whereof Mr. Bentham eſcaped their hands.

Edward Bennet.

ABOUT the ſecond year of queen Mary, Edward Bennet, then dwelling at Queenhithe, was deſired by Mr. Tingle, priſoner then in Newgate, to bring him a New Teſtament. He procuring one of Mr. Coverdale's tranſlation, wrapt it in a handkerchief, ſaying to George the keeper, who aſked him what he had, that it was a piece of powdered beef. Let me ſee it, ſaid he. Perceiving what it was, he brought him to Sir Roger Cholmley, who examined him why he did ſo, ſaying that book was not lawful, and ſo committed him to Woodſtreet Compter, where he continued 25 weeks.

Dr. Story coming to this priſon to examine other priſoners, this Bennet looking out at the grate, ſpake to him, deſiring him to be good unto him, and to help him out, for he had lain long in priſon. To whom Dr. Story anſwered, Waſt thou not before me in Chriſt's-church? Yes, forſooth, ſaid Bennet. Ah, ſaid Story, thou doſt not believe in the ſacrament of the altar? Marry I will help thee out; come, ſaid he to the keeper, turn him out, I will help him: and ſo took Bennet with him, and brought him to Cluny in Pater-noſter-row, and bade him bring him to the Coal-houſe, and there he was in the ſtocks a week.

Then the biſhop ſent for him to talk with him, and firſt aſked him if he were confeſſed? No, ſaid Bennet. He aſked him if he would be confeſſed? No, ſaid he. Then he aſked him if the prieſt could take away his ſins? No, ſaid Bennet, I do not ſo believe.

Then he and Harpsfield laughed at him, and mocked him, asking him if he did not believe that whatſoever the prieſt here bound in earth, ſhould be bound in heaven, and whatſoever he looſeth in earth, ſhall be looſed in heaven? No, ſaid Bennet; but I believe that the miniſter of God preaching God's word truly and adminiſtering the ſacraments according to the ſame, whatſoever he bindeth in earth, ſhould be bound in heaven, and whatſoever he looſeth, &c. Then the biſhop putting him aſide, ſaid he ſhould go to Fulham and be whipped.

Mr. Buſwell a prieſt then came to him lying in the Coal-houſe in the ſtocks, and brought Cranmer's recantation, ſaying, that he had recanted. My faith, ſaid the other, lieth in no man's book, but in him which hath redeemed me. The next Saturday Bennet, with five others, were called for to come to maſs in the chapel. The maſs being done, and they coming out, five of them went to priſon, and were afterwards burned. Bennet being behind, and coming towards the gate, the porter, opening to a company going out, asked if there were no priſoners there. No, ſaid they. Bennet ſtanding in open ſight before them, with other ſerving men who were there by reaſon that Bonner made many prieſts that day, when the gates were opened, went out amongſt them, and ſo eſcaped.

Again, in the laſt year of queen Mary, the ſame Bennet being taken again with the twenty-four beyond Iſlington, and brought to Sir Roger Cholmley's, the people coming very thick, did cut off ſome of them, to the number of eight, which were behind, among whom was Bennet. Then he knocked at the gate to come in; the porter ſaid, that he was none of the company. He ſaid yes, and knocked again. Then there ſtood by one of the congregation, named Johnſon, who ſaid, Edward, thou haſt done well, do not tempt God: go thy way. And ſo he taking the warning as ſent of God, with a quiet conſcience eſchewed burning.

Jeffery Hurſt, Brother-in-law to George Marſh, Martyr.

IN the town of Shakerley, in Lancaſhire, dwelt one Jeffery Hurſt, the ſon of an honeſt yeoman, who beſides him eleven children, the ſaid Jeffery being the twelfth and eldeſt: and their father being willing to bring them up, ſo that they ſhould be able another day to help themſelves, he did bind this Jeffery prentice unto the craft of nailing, to make all kind of nails, which occupation he learned, and ſerved out the time of ſeven years, which being expired, he gave himſelf at times to learn of his other brethren which went to ſchool: and as he was very willing to the ſame, ſo God ſent him knowledge; wherein he perſevered and went forwards in ſuch ſort, that he could write and read indifferently, and in longer continuance came by more knowledge, and ſo having the Bible and divers other books in his houſe, did come to knowledge in the ſcripture. After this he took to wife the ſiſter of Mr. George Marſh, of whoſe martyrdom mention is made before, and being very familiar with him, did greatly mend his knowledge. Now when queen Mary was entered the firſt year of her reign, he kept himſelf away from their doings, and came not to the church: whereupon he was laid in wait for and called heretic, and lollard, and ſo for fear of further danger he was compelled to leave his wife and child, and fly into Yorkſhire, and there being not known did lead his life, returning ſometimes by night to his houſe to comfort his wife, and bringing with him ſome preacher or other, who uſed to preach unto them ſo long as the time would ſerve, and ſo departed by night again. The names of the preachers were Mr. Reneſes, Mr. Beſt, Mr. Brodbanke, Mr. Ruſſel; and every time they came thither, they were about twenty, or twenty-four ſometimes, but ſixteen at leaſt, who had there alſo ſometimes a communion. And thus in much fear did he with others lead his life, till the laſt year of the reign of queen Mary. Then it chanced that the ſaid Jeffery Hurſt, after the death

death of his father, came home and kept close for seven or eight weeks.

There dwelt not far off, at Morlefs, a certain juftice of peace, and of the quorum, named Thomas Lelond, who hearing of him, appointed a time to come to his father's houfe where he then dwelt, to rifle the houfe for books, and to fearch for him alfo, and fo did. Jeffery and his company having knowledge of his coming, took the books which were in the houfe, as the Bible, the communion book, and the New Teftament of Tindal's tranflation, and divers others, and threw them all underneath a tub or fat, conveying alfo the faid Jeffery under the fame, with a great deal of ftraw underneath him: for as it chanced they had the more time, becaufe when the juftice came almoft to the door, he ftayed and would not enter the houfe till he had fent for Hurft's mother's landlady, Mrs. Shakerley; and then with her confent intended to go forwards. In the mean time, Jeffery by fuch as were with him, was willed to lay in his window the Teftament of Tindal's tranflation, and a little book containing the third part of the Bible, with the book of Eccleſiaſticus, to try what they would fay unto them.

This done, miftrefs Shakerley came. Unto whom the juftice immediately declared the caufe of his coming, and how he was forry to attempt any fuch thing againft any of her tenants for her fake, but notwithftanding he muft needs execute his office. And again you muft (faid he) note this, that a fcabbed fheep is able to infect a great number; and efpecially having, as he hath, fo many brethren and fifters, he is able to marr them all, if he be not looked unto in time. And thus concluding, Mr. Lelond entered into the houfe, and being come in, fet himfelf in a chair in the middle of the houfe; and fending Sir Ralph Parkinfon his prieft, and one of his men, and one of Mrs. Shakerley's men about the houfe, to fearch and rifle the chefts (who did fo) in the mean time he talked with Hurft's mother, almoft fixty years of age; and chiding with her that fhe would fuffer her fon fo to order and behave himfelf like an heretic, faid, Thou old fool, I know myfelf that this new learning fhall come again; but for how long? even for three months or four months, and no longer. But I will lay thee, old fool, in Lancafter dungeon for this, and well worthy.

Now as concerning the fearchers, they found nothing but Latin books, as grammar, and fuch like. Thefe be not what we look for (faid they) we muft fee farther, and fo looked into Hurft's chamber, where they found the foreſaid books. Then Sir Ralph taking up the Teftament, looked on it, and fmiled. His maſter ſeeing that, faid, Now Sir Ralph, what have we here? Forſooth, faith he, a Teftament of Tindal's tranflation, plain herefy, and none worfe than it. Then faid he, all their goods are loft to the queen, and their bodies to prifon, and was wonderfully hafty; notwithftanding through the means of Mrs. Shakerley, he was content to ſtay a little.

Then the prieft looked on the other book. What fay ye to that Sir Ralph? is that as bad as the other? No, faid he, but it is not good that they fhould have fuch Engliſh books to look on; for this and fuch others may do much harm. Then he aſked his mother where her eldeſt ſon was, and her daughter Alice? She anſwered ſhe could not tell; they had not been with her a long time. And he ſwore by God's body, he would make her tell where they were, or he would lay her in Lancaſter dungeon; and yet he would have them notwithſtanding too. To be ſhort, for fear, he had his brother J. Hurſt and his mother bound in an hundred pound to bring the parties before him in fourteen days time, and ſo he departed, and the prieſt put both the books in his boſom, and carried them away with him. Then John Hurſt went after them, deſiring that he might have the book which the prieſt found no fault with; but he ſaid, they ſhould anſwer to them both, and which ſoever was the better, neither was good.

As this paſt on, when the time was come that Jeffery Hurſt and his ſiſter ſhould be examined, the juſtice ſent for them betimes in the morning, and had prepared a maſs to begin withal, aſking Jeffery Hurſt if he would firſt go and ſee his Maker, and then he would talk further with him. To whom Jeffery anſwered and ſaid, Sir, my Maker is in heaven, and I am aſſured in going to your maſs I ſhall find no edification thereby; and therefore I pray you hold me excuſed.

Well, well, ſaid he, I perceive I ſhall find you an heretic, by God; but I will go to maſs, and I will not loſe it for all your prattling. Then he went into his chapel, and when maſs was done he ſent for them, and cauſed his prieſt to read a ſcroll unto them as concerning the ſeven ſacraments; and ever as he ſpake of the body and blood of Chriſt, he put off his cap, and ſaid; Lo ye may ſee, you will deny theſe things, and care not for your prince; but you ſhall feel it ere I have done with you, and all the faculty of you; with other talk more between them, I know not what; but in the end they were licenſed to depart under ſureties to appear again before him within three weeks, and then to go to Lancaſter. Hewbeit, in the mean time it ſo pleaſed God, that within four days of the day appointed, it was noiſed that the queen was dead, and within fourteen days after the ſaid Jeffery Hurſt had ſent home his two books, and nothing was ſaid unto him.

It followed after this that God's word began to take place, and the queen's viſitors came down into that country, who choſe four men in the pariſh, to wit, Simon Smith, Jeffery Hurſt, Henry Brown, George Eccerſly, which four were proteſtants, to ſee the queen's proceedings take place; who according to their power did ſo, notwithſtanding it little prevailed; and therefore the ſaid Jeffery being ſore grieved with the office, fell ſick, in which ſickneſs it pleaſed God to call him, making a very godly end; God have the praiſe for it.

Now to return to the aforeſaid Thomas Lelond again, he continuing ſtill in his office, did very ſeldom come to the church, but ſaid he was aged, and might not labour, and there kept with him Sir Ralph Parkinſon his prieſt, who could (as it was ſaid) adminiſter the communion unto the people, and ſing maſs unto his maſter: yes, and (as the fame reported) did a prettier feat than all that, for he begat two children by a ſervant in his houſe, his maſter knowing it, and ſaying nothing, for that he would not loſe his good maſs-prieſt.

Furthermore, this was noted in the ſame juſtice Lelond's behaviour at ſervice-time, that he had a little dog which he would play with all ſervice-time, and the ſame dog had a collar full of bells, ſo that the noiſe of them moleſted and troubled others as well as himſelf, from hearing the ſervice. Alſo it was obſerved in the ſame juſtice, that as he ſate in his chapel at ſervice-time, his manner was on a willow-bark to knit knots, for that he could not be ſuffered to have his beads, and to put the ſame upon a ſtring alſo. Witneſs hereof Edward Hurſt with others.

Furthermore, as concerning Henry Brown one of the four choſen men above-mentioned, this is alſo to be added, that the ſaid Henry Brown dwelling in the town of Pinnington in the ſame pariſh, 1564, had a little boy, who as he was playing in the town, one Glave's wife gave unto the boy a pair of beads made of wood for him to play withal. The little boy, being glad thereof to have ſuch a fine thing, went home and ſhewed them his father. His father ſeeing the beads, took them and burnt them, and when he had ſo done, went forth and asked who had given unto his little boy that pair of beads.

That did I, ſaid Glave's wife.

Well, ſaid he, I have burnt them.

Haſt thou ſo, ſaid ſhe? and thruſt him from her. They ſhall be the deareſt beads that ever thou ſaweſt, and immediately went and complained unto the juſtice, how Brown had burned her beads.

At this the juſtice was very angry, and directed his letter unto the conſtable of the ſame town, by his own hand ſubſcribed; the title of which ſuperſcription on the backſide was this, "To the conſtables of Pinnington give this."

This done, the conſtables according to their charge brought him before the juſtice at the time appointed; and when the juſtice came to talk with him, he was in ſuch a heat, that he called him thief, and ſaid that he had robbed his neighbour in burning of her beads, and that there were rings and other jewels on them, and that he might as well have picked her purſe; wherefore, ſaid he, I will lay thee in Lancaſter dungeon for this trick.

Whilſt they were thus talking, there came all his ſervants about them from their work, ſaying; Is this maſter doctor Brown that will burn beads? I pray you Sir, let us have him here and preach. I will give you a quarters wages, ſaith one; and I will give money, ſaith another, and he ſhall be maſter doctor; with much deriſion and ſcoffing at this poor man.

He hearing this, ſpake again boldly, and ſaid; Did you ſend for me to make a laughing ſtock of me? you be in office, and ought rather to come to the church, and ſee ſuch papiſtry aboliſhed yourſelf, than thus to trouble me for doing my duty: but I tell you plainly, that you do not come to church as you ought to do, and therefore with more things that I have to charge you withal, I ſay you do not well. When all this miſdemeanor by the juſtice laid to his charge would not prevail, and alſo witneſs came in of the papiſt who knew the beads, and teſtified that they were plain, and coſt but a halfpenny, he then went into his parlour in a chafe, and one maſter Exberſton a papiſt with him; which Exberſton turned back, and ſaid, Is it you Henry Brown, that maketh this ſtir? you are one of them that pulled down croſſes in the church, and pulled down the rood-ſollor, and all the ſaints; you were beſt now to go paint a black devil, and ſet him up and worſhip him, for that will ſerve well for your religion. And thus under ſuretiſhip he departed till July following, and then he ſaid he ſhould go to Lancaſter priſon, and ſo he came away.

The time drew on that he ſhould appear, but God ſtaid the matter, and in July, as the foreſaid Thomas Lelond ſate in his chair talking with his friends, he fell down ſuddenly dead, not much moving any joint: and thus was his end; from ſuch God defend us.

William Wood of Kent.

William Wood, baker, dwelling in the county of Kent, was examined before Dr. Kenall, chancellor of the dioceſe of Rocheſter, Dr. Chedſey, the mayor of Rocheſter, and Mr. Robinſon the ſcribe, on the 19th day of October, and in the ſecond year of queen Mary, in St. Nicholas's church in Rocheſter.

Scribe. William Wood, you are preſented becauſe you will not come to the church, nor receive the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar; How ſay you? have you received or have you not?

Wood. I have not received it, nor dare I receive it, as you now miniſter it.

Kenall. Thou heretic, what is the cauſe that thou haſt not received the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar? and at this word they all put off their caps and made low obeiſance.

Wood. There be three cauſes that make my conſcience afraid that I dare not receive it. The firſt, Chriſt did deliver it to his twelve apoſtles and ſaid, Take, eat, and drink ye all of this, &c. and ye eat and drink up all alone. The ſecond cauſe is; you hold it to be worſhipped, contrary to God's commandment, Thou ſhalt not bow down nor worſhip. The third cauſe is; you miniſter it in a ſtrange tongue, contrary to St. Paul's doctrine, I had rather have five words with underſtanding, than ten thouſand with tongues: by reaſon whereof the people be ignorant of the death of Chriſt.

Kenall. Thou heretic, wilt thou have any plainer words than theſe, "Take, eat, this is my body?" wilt thou deny the ſcripture?

Wood. I will not deny the holy ſcriptures, God forbid, but with my heart I do faithfully believe them. St. Paul ſaith, "God calleth thoſe things that are not, as though they were:" and Chriſt ſaith, "I am a vine: I am a door." St. Paul ſaith, "The rock is Chriſt:" All which are figurative ſpeeches, wherein one thing is ſpoken, and another thing is underſtood.

Robinſon. You make a very long talk of this matter: learn, Wood, learn.

Kenall. Nay, theſe heretics will not learn: look how this heretic glorieth in himſelf: thou fool, art thou wiſer than the queen and her council, and all the learned men of this realm?

Wood. And pleaſe you, Mr. chancellor, I think you would be loth to have ſuch glory, to have your life and goods taken away, and to be thus called upon, as you rail upon me. But the ſervant is not greater than his maſter. And where you do mock me, and ſay that I am wiſer than the queen and her council, St. Paul ſaith, "The wiſdom of the wiſe of this world is fooliſhneſs before God; and he that will be wiſe in this world, ſhall be accounted but a fool."

Kenall. Doſt not thou believe that after theſe words ſpoken by a prieſt, "Hoc eſt corpus meum, This is my body," there remaineth no more bread and wine, but the very fleſh and blood of Chriſt, as he was born of the virgin Mary, really and ſubſtantially, in quantity and quality, as he did hang upon the croſs?

Wood. I pray you, Mr. chancellor, give me leave, for my learning, to aſk you one queſtion, and I will anſwer you after.

Kenall. It is ſome wiſe queſtion, I warrant you.

Wood. God ſpake to the prophet Ezekiel, ſaying, "Thou ſon of man, take a raſor, and ſhave off the hair of thy head and of thy beard, and take one part and caſt it into the air; take the ſecond part and put it into thy coat lap; and take the third part, and caſt it into the fire: and this is Jeruſalem." I pray you Mr. chancellor, was this hair that the prophet did caſt into the fire, or was it Jeruſalem?

Kenall. It did ſignify Jeruſalem.

Wood. Even ſo this word of Chriſt, "This is my body," is not to be underſtood, that Chriſt's carnal, natural, and real body is in the ſame, in quantity and quality as it was born of the virgin Mary, and as he was crucified on the croſs, is preſent or incloſed in the ſacrament: but it doth ſignify Chriſt's body, as St. Paul ſaith, "So oft as ye eat of this bread and drink of this cup, you ſhall ſhew forth the Lord's death till he come." What ſhall the apoſtle mean by this word, "Till he come," if he were here carnally, naturally, corporally, and really, in the ſame quantity and quality as he was born of the virgin Mary, and as he did hang on the croſs, as you ſay? but St. Paul ſaith, "You ſhall ſhew the Lord's death till he come." This doth argue that he is not here as you would have us to believe.

Chedſey. I will prove that Chriſt is here preſent under the form of bread, but not in quantity and quality.

Kenall. Yes, he is here preſent in quantity and quality.

Chedſey. He is here preſent under a form, and not in quantity and quality.

Yes, ſaid Kenall.

No, ſaid Chedſey.

I will prove him here in quantity and quality, ſaid Kenall.

I will

I will prove the contrary, ſaid Chedſey.

And theſe two doctors were ſo earneſt in this matter, the one to affirm, the other to deny, contending ſo fiercely one with the other, that they foamed at the mouth, and one was ready to ſpit in another's face, ſo that in great fury and rage the two doctors roſe up from the judgment ſeat, and Dr. Kenall departed out of the church in great rage and fury immediately.

Wood. Behold good people, they would have us to believe, that Chriſt is naturally, really, in quantity and quality, preſent in the ſacrament, and yet they cannot tell themſelves, nor agree with themſelves how he is there.

At theſe words the people made a great ſhout, and the mayor ſtood up and commanded the people to be quiet, and to keep ſilence. And the God that did deliver St. Paul out of the hands of the high prieſts, by the contention that was between the phariſees and ſadducees, did even ſo deliver me at that time out of the mouths of the bloody papiſts, by means of the contention of theſe two doctors. Bleſſed be the name of the Lord, who hath promiſed to lay no more upon his people, than he will enable them to bear, and in the midſt of temptation can make a way for them (how, and when it pleaſeth him) to eſcape out of all dangers.

Many other like examples of God's helping hand have been declared upon his elect ſaints and children, a remarkable inſtance of which may be ſeen in Simon Grinæus, mentioned in the commentary of Melancthon, in his own words as followeth.

The Hiſtory of Simon Grinæus, collected out of Melancthon's Commentaries upon the tenth chapter of Daniel.

WHEN I was (ſaith he) at the aſſembly holden at Spire, in the year of our Lord 1539, by chance Simon Grinæus came thither unto me from the univerſity of Heidelberg, where he heard Faber the biſhop of Vienna, in a ſermon defend and maintain many deteſtable errors. When the ſermon was done, he followed Faber out of the church, and ſaluted him reverently, telling him that he had ſomewhat to ſay to him: the biſhop was willing to talk with him.

Then Grinæus ſaid unto him, that he was very ſorry that a man of ſuch learning and authority ſhould openly maintain ſuch errors as were both contumelious againſt God, and alſo might be refuted by the manifeſt teſtimonies of the ſcriptures. Ireneus writeth (ſaith he) that Polycarpus was wont to ſtop his ears whenſoever he heard any erroneous and wicked doctrine. With what mind then (think you) would Polycarpus have heard you argue and reaſon what it is the mouſe eateth, when he gnaweth the conſecrated hoſt? Who would not bewail ſuch ignorance and blindneſs of the church? With this the biſhop brake off his talk, and asked his name. This man diſſembling nothing, gently told him, that his name was Grinæus.

This biſhop (as many well know) was alſo timorous and fearful in the company of learned men. Wherefore he fearing the learning, eloquence, and fervent zeal of Grinæus, eſpecially in ſuch a matter as this was, feigned as though he had been ſent for by the king, and that he had no leiſure now to reaſon upon this matter. He pretended that he was very deſirous of acquaintance and longer talk with Grinæus, intreating him, that both for his own private cauſe, and alſo for the common-wealth, he would come again the next day unto him, and ſo ſhewed him his lodging, and appointed him an hour when he ſhould come: Grinæus, thinking that he had ſpoken unfeignedly, promiſed ſo to do.

When he was departed from the biſhop, he immediately came to us, and was ſcarcely ſate at the table (for it was ſupper-time) reciting part of the talk he had with the biſhop unto me and others there preſent, when as I ſitting with my company, was ſuddenly called out of the parlour by a certain ancient fatherly man, who ſhewing a ſingular gravity in his countenance, words, and behaviour, ſpake unto me, and ſaid, that the ſerjeants would by and by come unto our lodging, being ſent by the king's command, to carry Grinæus to priſon, whom the biſhop had accuſed to the king; commanding that Grinæus ſhould immediately depart out of the town; and exhorted me, that in no caſe we ſhould delay the time: and ſo bidding me farewel, departed. But what old man this was, I neither knew then, nor ever after could underſtand. I returning again to my company, bade them riſe, and told them what the old man had ſaid unto me.

By and by, we taking Grinæus in the midſt of us, carried him through the ſtreet to the river of Rhene, whereas after we had ſtaid upon the higher bank a while, until Grinæus with his companion were carried over in a ſmall boat, returning again to our lodging, we underſtood that the ſerjeants had been there, when we were but a little way gone out of the houſe. Now in what great danger Grinæus ſhould have been, if he had been carried to priſon by this cruelty of the biſhop every man eaſily may conjecture: wherefore we judged, that that moſt cruel intent and purpoſe of him, was diſappointed by God's merciful providence. And as I cannot ſay, what old man it was that gave me that warning, even ſo likewiſe the ſerjeants made ſuch quick ſpeed, that except Grinæus had been covered and defended by the angels through the marvellous providence of God, he could never have eſcaped.

Concerning the truth of this matter, there be many good men yet alive, who know both the ſame, and alſo were preſent at the doing thereof. Therefore let us give thanks unto God, who hath given us his angels to be our keepers and defenders, whereby with more quiet minds we may fulfil and do the office of our vocation.

With ſuch like examples of God's mighty and merciful cuſtody, the church of Chriſt in all ages doth abound, as by manifold experiences may appear as well among the Germans, as alſo in other places and ages: but in no place more, nor in any time more plentiful, than in this perſecuting time of queen Mary, in this our realm of England, as partly hath been already ſhewn, and part yet remaineth (God willing) moreover hereunto to be added.

The Lady Catherine, Ducheſs of Suffolk.

STEPHEN Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, ſurmiſing the lady Catherine, baroneſs of Willoughby and Ereſby, and ducheſs dowager of Suffolk, to be one of his ancient enemies, becauſe he knew he deſerved no better of her, deviſed, in the holy time of the firſt Lent in queen Mary's reign, a holy practice of revenge, firſt by touching her in the perſon of her huſband, Richard Berty, eſquire, for whom he ſent an attachment (having the great ſeal at his devotion) to the ſheriff of Lincolnſhire, with a ſpecial letter, commanding moſt ſtraitly the ſame ſheriff to attach the ſaid Richard immediately, and without bail to bring him up to London to his lordſhip. Mr. Berty being clear in conſcience, and free from offence toward the queen, could not conjecture any cauſe of this ſtrange proceſs, unleſs it were ſome quarrel for religion, which he thought could not be ſo ſore as the proceſs pretended.

The ſheriff, notwithſtanding the commandment, adventured only to take a bond of Mr. Berty with two ſureties, in a thouſand pound, for his appearance to be made before the biſhop on Good Friday following, at which day Mr. Berty appeared, the biſhop then lying at his houſe by St. Mary Overies. Of whoſe preſence when the biſhop underſtood by a gentleman of his chamber, he came out of his gallery into his dining chamber in a great

great rage, where he found a crowd of ſuitors, ſaying he would not that day hear any, but came forth only to know of Mr. Berty, how he being a ſubject, durſt ſo arrogantly ſet at light two former proceſſes of the queen.

Mr. Berty anſwered, that albeit my lord's words might ſeem to the reſt ſomewhat ſharp towards him, yet he conceived great comfort of them. For whereas he before thought it extremity to be attached, having uſed no obſtinacy or contumacy, now he gathered of thoſe words, that my lord meant not otherwiſe but to have uſed ſome ordinary proceſs; albeit indeed none came to his hands.

Yea marry, ſaid the biſhop, I have ſent you two Subpœna's to appear immediately, and I am ſure you received them, for I committed the truſt of them to no worſe man but to Mr. Solicitor, and I ſhall make you an example to all Lincolnſhire for your obſtinacy.

Mr. Berty denying the receipt of any, humbly praved his lordſhip to ſuſpend his diſpleaſure and the puniſhment till he had good trial thereof, and then, if it pleaſe him, to double the pain for the fault, if any were.

Well, ſaid the biſhop, I have appointed myſelf this day (according to the holineſs of the ſame) for devotion, and I will not further trouble myſelf with you: but I enjoin you in a thouſand pound not to depart without leave, and to be here again to-morrow at ſeven of the clock. Mr. Berty came at the time appointed, at which time the biſhop had with him Mr. ſerjeant Stamford, to whom he moved certain queſtions of the ſaid Mr. Berty, becauſe Mr. ſerjeant was towards the lord Wriotheſley, late earl of Southampton, and chancellor of England, with whom the ſaid Mr. Berty was brought up. Mr. ſerjeant made very friendly report of Mr. Berty, of his own knowledge for the time of their converſation together. Whereupon the biſhop cauſed Mr. Berty to be brought in, and firſt making a falſe train (as God would without fire) before he would deſcend to the quarrel of religion, he aſſaulted him in this manner.

Biſhop of Wincheſter. The queen's pleaſure is, that you ſhall make preſent payment of 4000 pound, due to her father by duke Charles, late huſband to the ducheſs your wife, whoſe executor ſhe was.

Berty. Pleaſeth it your lordſhip, that debt is eſtalled, and is according to that eſtallment duly anſwered.

Biſhop. Tuſh, the queen will not be bound to eſtallments in the time of Kett's government: for ſo I eſteem the late government.

Berty. The eſtallment was appointed by king Henry the eighth: beſides, the ſame was by ſpecial commiſſioners confirmed in king Edward's time; and the lord treaſurer being an executor alſo to the duke Charles ſolely and wholly, took upon him before the ſaid commiſſioners to diſcharge the ſame.

Biſhop. If it be true that you ſay, I will ſhew you favou. But of another thing Mr. Berty I will admoniſh you, as meaning you well. I hear evil of your religion, yet I can hardly think evil of you, whoſe mother I know to be as godly and catholic as any within this land; yourſelf brought up with a maſter, whoſe education if I ſhould diſallow, I might be charged as author of his error. Beſides, partly I know you myſelf, and underſtand of my friends enough to make me your friend: wherefore I will not doubt of you; but I pray you, if I may aſk the queſtion of my lady your wife, is ſhe now as ready to ſet up the maſs, as ſhe was lately to pull it down, when ſhe cauſed in her progreſs, a dog in a rochet to be carried, and called by my name? or doth ſhe think her lambs now ſafe enough, who ſaid to me, when I vailed my bonnet to her out of my chamber window in the Tower, That it was merry with the lambs, now the wolf was ſhut up? Another time my lord her huſband, having invited me and divers ladies to dinner, deſired every lady to chooſe him whom ſhe loved beſt, and ſo place themſelves: my lady, your wife, taking me by the hand, for my lord would not have her to take himſelf, ſaid, That foraſmuch as ſhe could not ſit down with my lord whom ſhe loved beſt, ſhe had choſen him whom ſhe loved worſt.

Of the device of the dog, quoth Mr. Berty, ſhe was neither the author nor the allower. The words, though in that ſeaſon they ſounded bitter to your lordſhip, yet if it would pleaſe you without offence to know the cauſe, I am ſure the one will clear the other. As touching ſetting up of maſs, which ſhe learned, not only by ſtrong perſuaſions of divers excellent learned men, but by univerſal conſent and order whole ſix years paſt, inwardly to abhor, if ſhe ſhould outwardly allow, ſhe ſhould both to Chriſt ſhew herſelf a falſe chriſtian, and to her prince a maſquing ſubject. You know, my lord, one by judgment reformed, is more worth than a thouſand tranſformed temporiſers. To force a confeſſion of religion by mouth, contrary to that in the heart, worketh damnation where ſalvation is pretended.

Yea marry (quoth the biſhop) that deliberation would do well if ſhe were required to come from an old religion to a new: but now ſhe is to return from a new to an ancient religion; wherein when ſhe made me her goſſip, ſhe was as earneſt as any.

For that, my lord (ſaid Mr. Berty) not long ſince, ſhe anſwered a friend of hers uſing your lordſhip's ſpeech; That religion went not by age, but by truth: and therefore ſhe was to be turned by perſuaſion, and not by commandment.

I pray you (quoth the biſhop) think you it poſſible to perſuade her?

Yea verily (ſaid Mr. Berty) with the truth: for ſhe is reaſonable enough.

The biſhop thereunto replying, ſaid, It will be a marvellous grief to the prince of Spain, and to all the nobility that ſhall come with him, when they ſhall find but two noble perſonages of the Spaniſh race within this land, the queen, and my lady your wife, and one of them gone from the faith.

Mr. Berty anſwered, that he truſted they ſhould find no fruits of infidelity in her.

So the biſhop perſuaded Mr. Berty to labour earneſtly for the reformation of her opinion, and offering large friendſhip, releaſed him of his bond for further appearance.

The ducheſs and her huſband, daily more and more underſtanding by their friends that the biſhop meant to call her to an account of her faith, whereby extremity might follow, deviſed ways how they might paſs the ſeas by the queen's licence. Mr. Berty had a ready means; for there remained great ſums of money due to the old duke of Suffolk (one of whoſe executors the ducheſs was) beyond the ſeas, the emperor himſelf being one of thoſe debtors.

Mr. Berty communicated this his purpoſed ſuit for licence to paſs the ſeas, and the cauſe to the biſhop, adding, that he took this time moſt fit to deal with the emperor, by reaſon of likelihood of marriage between the queen and his ſon.

I like your device well, ſaid the biſhop, but I think it better that you tarry the prince's coming, and I will procure you his letters alſo to his father.

Nay, ſaid Mr. Berty, under your lordſhip's correction, and pardon for ſo liberal ſpeech, I ſuppoſe the time will then be leſs convenient: for when the marriage is conſummated, the emperor hath his deſire, but till then he will refuſe nothing to win credit with us.

By St. Mary, ſaid the biſhop, ſmiling, you gueſs ſhrewdly. Well, proceed in your ſuit to the queen, and it ſhall not lack my helping hand.

Mr. Berty found ſo good ſucceſs, that he obtained the queen's licence, not only to paſs the ſeas, but to paſs and repaſs them as often as ſeemed good unto him, till he had finiſhed all his buſineſs and cauſes beyond the ſeas. So he paſſed the ſeas at Dover about the beginning of June, in the firſt year of her reign, leaving the ducheſs behind, who by agreement and conſent between her and her huſband

husband, followed, taking barge at Lion-key very early in the morning, on the firſt day of January next enſuing, not without ſome peril.

There was none of thoſe that went with her made privy to her going till the inſtant, but an old gentleman, called Mr. Robert Cranwell, whom Mr. Berty had eſpecially provided for that purpoſe. She took her daughter with her, an infant of one year old, and the meaneſt of her ſervants, for ſhe doubted the beſt would not adventure that fortune with her. They were in number four men, one a Greek born, who was a rider of horſes, another a joyner, the third a brewer, the fourth a fool, one of the kitchen, one gentlewoman, and a laundreſs.

As ſhe departed her houſe called the Barbican, betwixt four and five of the clock in the morning, with her company and baggage, one Atkinſon, a herald, keeper of her houſe, hearing a noiſe, roſe and came out with a torch in his hands as ſhe was yet iſſuing out of the gate; wherewith being amazed, ſhe was forced to leave a mail with neceſſaries for her young daughter, and a milk-pot with milk in the ſame gate-houſe, commanding all her ſervants to haſte away before to Lion-key: and taking with her only the two women and her child, ſo ſoon as ſhe went forth of her own houſe, perceiving the herald to follow, ſhe ſtept in at the Charter-houſe hard by. The herald coming out of the ducheſs's houſe, and ſeeing no body ſtirring nor aſſured (tho' by the mail ſuſpecting) that ſhe was departed, returned in; and while he ſtaid ranſacking parcels left in the mail, the ducheſs iſſued into the ſtreets, and proceeded in her journey, ſhe knowing the place only by the name where ſhe ſhould take her boat, but not the way thither, nor any with her. Likewiſe her ſervants having divided themſelves, none but one knew the way to the ſaid Lion-key.

So ſhe appeared like a mean merchant's wife, and the reſt like mean ſervants, walking in the ſtreets unknown, ſhe took the way that led to Finſbury field, and the others walked the city ſtreets, as they lay open before them, till by chance, more than diſcretion, they met all ſuddenly together a little within Moregate, from whence they paſſed directly to Lion-key, and there took barge in a morning ſo miſty, that the ſteerman was loth to launch out, but that they urged him. So ſoon as the day permitted, the council was informed of her departure, and ſome of them came forthwith to her houſe to enquire of the manner thereof, and took an inventory of her goods, beſides further orders deviſed for ſearch and watch to apprehend and ſtay her.

The fame of her departure reached Leigh, a town at the Land's end, before her approaching thither. By Leigh dwelt one Goſling, a merchant of London, an old acquaintance of Cranwell's, whither the ſaid Cranwell brought the ducheſs, naming her Mrs. White, the daughter of Mr. Goſling, for ſuch a daughter he had who never was in that country. She there repoſed herſelf, and made new garments for her daughter, having loſt her own in the mail at Barbican.

When the time came that ſhe ſhould take ſhip, being conſtrained that night to lie at an inn in Leigh (where ſhe was again almoſt betrayed) yet notwithſtanding by God's good working ſhe eſcaped that hazard; at length, as the tide and wind ſerved, they went aboard, and being carried twice into the ſeas, almoſt into the coaſt of Zeland, by contrary wind were driven to the place from whence they came; and at the laſt recoil, certain perſons came to the ſhore, ſuſpecting ſhe was within that ſhip; yet having examined one of her company that was on ſhore for freſh proviſion, and finding by the ſimplicity of his tale only the appearance of a mean merchant's wife to be on ſhipboard, he ceaſed to ſearch any further.

To be ſhort, as ſoon as the ducheſs had landed at Brabant, ſhe and her women were apparelled like the women of Netherland with hooks; and ſo ſhe and her huſband took their journey towards Cleveland, and being arrived at a town therein called Santon, took a houſe there, until they might further deviſe of ſome ſure place where to ſettle themſelves.

About five miles from Santon, is a free town, called Weſell, under the ſaid duke of Cleve's dominion, and one of the Hans-towns, privileged with the company of the Steel-yard in London, whither divers Walloons were fled for religion, and had for their miniſter one Francis Peruſell, then called Francis de Rivers, who had received ſome courteſy in England at the ducheſs's hands. Mr. Berty being yet at Stanton, practiſed with him to obtain a protection from the magiſtrates for his abode and his wife's at Weſell; which was the ſooner procured, because the ſtate of the ducheſs was not diſcovered; but only to the chief magiſtrate, earneſtly bent to ſhew them pleaſure, while this protection was in ſeeking.

In the mean while at the town of Stanton was a muttering, that the ducheſs and her huſband were greater perſonages than they gave themſelves forth; and the magiſtrates not very well inclined to religion, the biſhop of Arras alſo being dean of the great miniſter; order was taken, that the ducheſs and her huſband ſhould be examined of their condition and religion of the ſudden. Which was diſcovered by a gentleman of that country to Mr. Berty, he without delay taking no more than the ducheſs, her daughter, and two others with them, as tho' he meant no more than to take the air, about three of the clock in the afternoon in February, on foot, without hiring of horſe or waggon, for fear of diſcloſing his purpoſe, meant privily that night to get to Weſell, leaving the reſt of his family at Stanton.

After they had travelled one Engliſh mile from the town, there fell a mighty rain of continuance, whereby a long froſt and ice before congealed, was thawed, which doubled more the wearineſs of thoſe new lacquies. But being now on the way, and overtaken with the night, they ſent their two ſervants which only went with them) to villages as they paſſed, to hire ſome carr for their eaſe, but none could be hired. In the mean time, Mr. Berty was forced to carry the child, and the ducheſs his cloak and rapier. At laſt, betwixt ſix and ſeven of the clock in the dark night, they reached Weſell, and repairing to the inns for lodging, and ſome repoſe, after ſuch a painful journey, found hard entertainment; for going from inn to inn, offering large money for ſmall lodging, they were refuſed by all the innholders, ſuſpecting Mr. Berty to be a launce-knight, and the ducheſs to be his woman. The child for cold and ſuſtenance cried pitifully, the mother wept as faſt, the heavens rained as faſt as the clouds could pour.

Mr. Berty, deſtitute of all other ſuccour of hoſpitality, reſolved to bring the ducheſs to the porch of the great church in the town, and ſo to buy coals, victuals, and ſtraw for their miſerable repoſe there that night, or at leaſt by God's help he might provide her better lodging. Mr. Berty at that time underſtood not much Dutch, and by reaſon of bad weather, and late ſeaſon of the night, he could not happen upon any that could ſpeak Engliſh, French, Italian, or Latin, till at laſt going towards the church-porch, he heard two ſtriplings talking Latin, to whom he approached, and offered them two ſtivers to bring him to ſome Walloon's houſe.

By theſe boys, and God's good conduct, he chanced at the firſt upon the houſe where Mr. Peruſell ſupped that night, who had procured them the protection of the magiſtrates of that town. At the firſt knock, the good man of the houſe himſelf came to the door, and opening it, asked Mr. Berty what he was. Mr. Berty ſaid, an Engliſhman, that ſought for one Mr. Peruſell's houſe. The Walloon deſired Mr. Berty to ſtay awhile, who went back, and told Mr. Peruſell, that the ſame Engliſh gentleman, of whom they had talked at ſupper-time, had ſent by likelihood his ſervant to ſpeak with him. Whereupon Mr. Peruſell came to the door, and beholding Mr. Berty, the ducheſs, and their child, their faces, apparel, and bodies ſo far from their old forms, deformed

deformed with wet, weather, and heavineſs, could not ſpeak to them, nor they to him for tears. At length recovering themſelves, they ſaluted one another, and ſo together entered the houſe, God knoweth full joyfully; Mr. Berty changing his apparel with the good man, the ducheſs with the good wife, and their child with the child of the houſe.

Within few days after, by Mr. Purſell's means, they hired a very fair houſe in the town, and did not delay to ſhew themſelves what they were, in ſuch good ſort as their preſent condition permitted. It was by this time through the whole town, what diſcourteſy the innholders had ſhewed unto them at their entry, inſomuch as on the Sunday following, a preacher in the pulpit openly in ſharp terms rebuked that great incivility toward ſtrangers, by allegation of ſundry places out of the holy ſcriptures, diſcourſing how not only princes ſometime are received in the image of private perſons, but angels in the ſhape of men, and that God of his juſtice would make them ſtrangers one day in another land, to have more ſenſe of the afflicted heart of a ſtranger.

The time thus paſſing forth, as they thought themſelves thus happily ſettled, ſuddenly a watch-word came from Sir John Maſon, then queen Mary's embaſſador in the Netherlands, that my Lord Paget had feigned an errand to the Baths that way: and whereas the duke of Brunſwick was ſhortly with ten enſigns to paſs by Weſell for the ſervice of the houſe of Auſtria againſt the French king, the ſaid ducheſs and her huſband ſhould be with the ſame company intercepted.

Wherefore, to prevent the cruelty of theſe enemies, Mr. Berty with his wife and child departed to a place called Wineheim, under the Palſgrave's dominion; where under his protection they continued till their neceſſaries began to fail them, and they, almoſt fainting under ſo heavy a burden, began to fail of hope.

At which time, in the midſt of their deſpair, there came ſuddenly letters to them from the palatine of Vilva, and the king of Poland being inſtructed of their hard eſtate by a baron, named Joannes Alaſco, that was ſome time in England, offering them large courteſy. This proviſion unlooked for, greatly revived their heavy ſpirits. Yet conſidering they ſhould remove from many of their countrymen and acquaintance, to a place ſo far diſtant, a country not haunted with the Engliſh, and perhaps upon their arrival not finding as they looked for, the end of their journey ſhould be worſe than the beginning; they deviſed thereupon with one Mr. Carloe, late biſhop of Chicheſter, that if he would vouchſafe to take ſome pains therein, they would make him a fellow of that journey. So finding him prone, they ſent with him letters of great thanks to the king and palatine, and alſo with a few principal jewels (which only they had left of many) to ſolicit for them, that the king would vouchſafe under his ſeal, to aſſure them of the thing which he had ſo honourably by letters offered.

That ſuit, by the forwardneſs of the palatine, was as ſoon granted as uttered. Upon which aſſurance the ſaid ducheſs and her huſband, with their family, entered the journey, in April, 1557, from the caſtle of Wineheim, where they before lay, towards Frankfort. In which journey, it were long here to deſcribe what dangers fell by the way upon them and their whole company, by reaſon of the landgrave's captain, who, under a quarrel pretended for a ſpaniel of Mr. Berty's, ſet upon them in the highway with his horſemen, thruſting their boreſpears through the waggon where the children and women were, Maſter Berty having but four horſemen with him. In which ſcuffle it happened that the captain's horſe was ſlain under him.

Whereupon a rumour was ſpread immediately through the towns and villages about, that the landgrave's captain ſhould be ſlain by certain Walloons, which exaſperated the countrymen the more fiercely againſt Mr. Berty, as afterward it proved. For as he was motioned by his wife to ſave himſelf by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe, and to recover ſome town thereby for his reſcue, he ſo doing, was in worſe caſe than before: for the townſmen and the captain's brother, ſuppoſing no leſs but that the captain had been ſlain, preſſed ſo eagerly upon him, that he had been there taken and murdered among them, had not he (as God would have it) eſpying a ladder leaning to a window, by which he got into the houſe, and went up into the garret, where, with his dagger and rapier he defended himſelf for a time: but at length the burgh-maſter coming thither with another magiſtrate, who could ſpeak Latin, he was adviſed to ſubmit himſelf to the order of the law. Mr. Berty, knowing himſelf to be clear, and the captain to be alive, was the more bold to ſubmit himſelf to the judgment of the law, upon condition that the magiſtrate would receive him under ſafe conduct, and defend him from the rage of the multitude. Which being promiſed, he willingly delivered up his weapons, and peaceably ſurrendered himſelf into the hands of the magiſtrates, and ſo was committed to ſafe cuſtody till the truth of this cauſe could be tried.

Then Mr. Berty wrote a letter to the landgrave, and another to the earl of Erbagh, dwelling about eight miles off, who came early in the morning to the town where the ducheſs was brought with her waggon, Mr. Berty alſo being in the ſame town under cuſtody.

The earl, who had ſome intelligence before of the ducheſs, after he was come and had ſhewed her ſuch courteſy as he thought belonged to her eſtate and dignity, the townſmen perceiving the earl behave himſelf ſo humbly to her, began to conſider more of the matter, and further underſtanding the captain to be alive, both they, and eſpecially the authors of this ſtir, drew in their horns, ſhrunk away, and made all the friends they could to Mr. Berty and his lady, beſeeching them not to report their doings after the worſt manner.

And thus Mr. Berty and his wife, eſcaping that danger, proceeded in their journey toward Poland, where in concluſion they were quietly entertained by the king, and placed honourably in the earldom of the ſaid king of Poles in Sanogelia, called Crozan, where Mr. Berty with the ducheſs having the king's abſolute power of government over the ſaid earldom, continued in honour, peace and plenty, till the death of queen Mary.

Thomas Horton, Miniſter.

THomas Horton uſed oftentimes to travel between Germany and England, for the benefit and ſuſtenance of the poor Engliſh exiles there: ſo he journeying on a time between Maeſtricht and Cologn, chanced to be taken by certain rovers, and ſo being led by them away was in no little danger: and yet this danger of his was not ſo great, but the preſent help of the Lord was greater to aid and deliver him out of the ſame.

Thomas Sprat, of Kent, Tanner.

HE had been ſome time a ſervant to one juſtice Brent, a heavy perſecutor, and therefore forſaking his maſter for religion ſake, he went to Calice (accompanied by one William Porrege, who was afterwards a miniſter) from whence they uſed often for their neceſſary affairs, to have recourſe into England.

In the fourth year of queen Mary they landed at Dover, and taking their journey together toward Sandwich, ſuddenly upon the way, three miles from Dover, they happened to meet juſtice Brent, the two Blachendens, and other gentlemen with their ſervants, to the number of ten or twelve horſes. One of the Blachendens happened

pened to know William Porrege, the other had only heard of his name.

Sprat firſt eſpying his maſter Brent, was much ſurpriſed, ſaying to his companion, Yonder is Mr. Brent, God have mercy upon us. Well, quoth Porrege, ſeeing now there is no remedy, let us go on our way. And ſo thinking to paſs by them, they kept themſelves at a diſtance, Sprat alſo ſhadowing his face with his cloak.

One of Mr. Brent's ſervants knowing Sprat, called out to his maſter, ſaying, Yonder is Thomas Sprat; at which words they all ſtopt their horſes, and called for Thomas Sprat to come to them. They call you, ſaid William Porrege; now there is no remedy but we are taken: and ſo would have perſuaded him to go to them, and being called for, for that there was no eſcaping from ſo many horſemen in thoſe plains and downs, where was no wood near them by a mile, and but one hedge about a ſtone's throw off. All this notwithſtanding, Sprat ſtaid, and would not go. Then they called again, ſitting ſtill on horſeback. Ah, ſirrah, quoth the juſtice, why come ye not hither? and ſtill his company moved him to go, ſeeing there was no hope of getting away. Nay, ſaid Sprat, I will not go to them; and therewith took to his legs, running to the hedge that was next to him. They ſeeing that, ſet ſpurs to their horſes, thinking it impoſſible for him to eſcape their hands. When he got to the hedge, ſcrambling through the buſhes, they were at his heels and ſtruck at him with their ſwords; one of the Blachendens (both of them haters of God's word) cruelly crying, Cut one of his legs off.

He had no ſooner got through the hedge, but one of juſtice Brent's ſervants (a fellow that had ſome time been his fellow-ſervant) followed him on foot; the reſt rode up the other ſide of the hedge, to meet him at the end.

While they were following Sprat, only one remained with William Porrege (which was one of the Blachendens, but not he that knew him) who began to queſtion him, not aſking what was his name (as God would have it) for then he had been known and taken; but from whence he came, and how he got into Sprat's company; and whither he was going? He anſwered, that he came from Calice, and Sprat came over with him in the paſſage-boat, and they were both going to Sandwich: and ſo without any more queſtions he let him depart. But to return;

As Sprat was purſued on the one ſide of the hedge by his old fellow-ſervant in his boots, and on the other ſide by horſemen, his fellow-ſervant cried out, You had as good tarry, for we will have you, we will have you: yet notwithſtanding he ſtill kept his courſe till he came to a ſteep down-hill at the end of the hedge, down which he ran from them, for the horſemen could not follow him without fetching a great compaſs about. After he had ran almoſt a mile, he got to a wood, but by that time they were juſt behind him; but night coming on, and it began to rain, they purſued him no further. And thus by the providence of God they both got clear.

Not long after this, one of the two cruel Blachendens was cruelly murdered by his own ſervant.

John Cornet.

THIS young man was apprentice to a muſician at Colcheſter, and being ſent by his maſter to a wedding (in the ſecond year of queen Mary) in a town hard by, called Rough-hedge, was requeſted by a company there of good men, the conſtable being preſent, to ſing ſome ſongs of the ſcripture, he happened to ſing a ſong called, News out of London, which tended againſt the maſs, and againſt the queen's miſ-proceedings.

Whereupon the next day he was accuſed by the parſon of Rough-hedge, called Yackſley, and ſo committed, firſt to the conſtable, where his maſter gave him over, and his mother forſook, and curſed him. From thence was ſent to juſtice Cannall, and then to the earl of Oxford, where he was firſt put in irons and chains, and after that ſo manacled, that the blood ſpirted out of his fingers ends, becauſe he would not confeſs the names of thoſe who allured him to ſing. After that, he was ſent again to Rough-hedge, and there whipped till the blood followed, and baniſhed the town for ever.

Thomas Bryce.

HE being in the houſe of John Seal, in the pariſh of Horting, the bailiffs and other neighbours were ſent by Sir John Baker to ſearch for, and apprehend him, and though they perfectly knew his ſtature and the colour of his garments, yet then they had no power to know him, though he ſtood before their faces. So miraculouſly did the Almighty dazzle their eyes, that they aſked for him, and looked on him, yet notwithſtanding he quietly took his bag of books, and departed out of the houſe without any hand laid upon him.

Alſo another time, about the ſecond year of queen Mary, the ſaid Thomas Bryce, with John Bryce, his elder brother, coming then from Weſell, meeting together at their father's houſe, as they travelled towards London, to give warning there to one Springfield, which elſe was like to be taken unawares by his enemies waiting for him upon Gad's-hill, fell in company with a promoter, who dogged them and followed them to Graveſend, into the town, and laid the houſe for them where they were, all the ways as they ſhould go to the water's ſide, ſo that it had not been poſſible for them to have avoided the preſent danger of thoſe proſecutors, had not God's provident care otherwiſe diſpoſed for his ſervants, through the hoſtler of the inn, covertly to convey them by a ſecret paſſage; whereby they took barge a mile out of town, and ſo in the end both the lives of them, and alſo of Springfield, were preſerved, through God's gracious protection.

Gertrude Crokhay.

GErtrude Crokhay, dwelling at St. Katherine's, by the Tower of London, and being then in her huſband's houſe, it happened then in the Year 1558, that the pope's childiſh St. Nicholas went about the pariſh. Which ſhe underſtanding, ſhut her door againſt him, not ſuffering him to enter into her houſe.

Then doctor Mallet hearing thereof, and being then maſter of the ſaid St. Katherine's, the next day came to her with twenty at his tail, thinking belike to affright her, and aſked why ſhe would not the night before let in St. Nicholas, and receive his bleſſing, &c. To whom ſhe anſwered thus: Sir, I know not St. Nicholas that came hither. Yes, quoth Mallet, here was one that repreſented St. Nicholas.

Indeed, Sir, ſaid ſhe, here was one that was my neighbour's child, but not St. Nicholas: for St. Nicholas is in heaven. I was afraid of them that came with him to have my purſe cut by them: for I have heard of men robbed by St. Nicholas's clerks, &c. So Mallet perceiving that nothing could be gotten at her hands, went his way as he came, and ſhe for that time ſo eſcaped.

Then in the year 1557, a little before Whitſontide, it happened that the ſaid Gertrude anſwered for a child that was baptized of one Thomas Saunders, which child was chriſtened ſecretly in a houſe after the order of the ſervice book in king Edward's time: and that being ſoon known to her enemies, ſhe was ſought for. Who underſtanding nothing thereof, went beyond the ſea into Guelderland, to ſee certain lands that ſhould come to her children in the right of her firſt huſband, who was a ſtranger born: and being there about a quarter of

a year, at length coming homeward by Antwerp, ſhe chanced to meet with one John Johnſon, a Dutchman, alias John de Villa of Antwerp, ſhipper, who ſeeing her there, went out of malice to the Margrave, and accuſed her to be an anabaptiſt, whereby ſhe was taken and carried to priſon. The cauſe why he did thus was, becauſe he claimed of Mr. Crokhay her huſband a piece of money which was not his due, for a ſhip that Mr. Crokhay bought of him, and becauſe he could not get it, he wrought this diſpleaſure. Well, ſhe being in priſon, lay there a fortnight. In which time ſhe ſaw ſome that were priſoners there, who privily were drowned in Rheniſh wine-fats, and after ſecretly put into ſacks, and caſt into the river. Now ſhe, good woman, expecting to be ſo ſerved, took thereby ſuch fear, that it brought the beginning of her ſickneſs, of which at length ſhe died.

Then at laſt ſhe was called before the Margrave, and charged with anabaptiſtry: which ſhe there utterly denied, and deteſted the error, declaring before him in Dutch her faith boldly, without any fear. So the Margrave hearing the ſame, in the end being well pleaſed with the profeſſion, at the ſuit of ſome of her friends delivered her out of priſon, but took away her book; and ſo ſhe came over into England again.

Thomas Roſe, a Preacher.

HE was a Devonſhire man, born in Ermouth, and being made prieſt in that country, was brought out of it by one Mr. Fabian, to Polſted in Suffolk, where the ſaid Mr. Fabian was parſon, and in a ſhort time after by his means was placed in the town of Hadley, where he, firſt coming to ſome knowledge of the goſpel, began there to treat upon the creed, and thereupon took occaſion to inveigh againſt purgatory, praying to ſaints and images, about the time that Mr. Latimer began to preach at Cambridge, in the time of Bilney and Arthur: inſomuch that many embracing the truth of Chriſt's goſpel, againſt the ſaid purgatory, and other points, and the number of them daily increaſing, the adverſaries began to ſtir againſt him, inſomuch that Mr. Bate (who afterwards became a godly zealous man) was then brought to preach againſt the ſaid Thomas Roſe; notwithſtanding this, he continued ſtill very vehemently againſt images, and the Lord ſo bleſſed his labours, that many began to contrive how they might deface and deſtroy them, and eſpecially four men, whoſe names were, Ring, Debnam, Marſh, and Gard, who uſually reſorted to his ſermons, by which they were ſo inflamed, that ſoon after they ventured to deſtroy the rood of the court of Dover, which coſt three of them their lives, and were hanged in chains, becauſe they would not accuſe Thomas Roſe as their counſellor. The ſaid Roſe had the coat of the rood brought to him afterwards, who burnt it. The rood was ſaid to have done many and great miracles, yet being in the fire, could not help himſelf, but burned like a block, as indeed it was.

At this time there were two ſore enemies in Hadley; Walter Clerk and John Clerk, two brethren: theſe complained to the council, that an hundred men were not able to fetch Thomas Roſe out of Hadley, who then was upon examination of his doctrine committed to the commiſſaries keeping. And indeed ſuch was the zeal of a number towards the truth then in that town, that they were much offended that their miniſter was ſo taken from them, and had therefore by force brought him from the commiſſary, if certain wiſe men had not otherwiſe perſuaded them, who at length alſo with more quiet placed him in his office again: which ſo enraged the two brethren, Walter Clerk and John Clerk, that they complained to the council, as aforeſaid; whereupon a ſerjeant at arms was ſent from the council to arreſt Thomas Roſe, and bring him before them. Then his adverſaries laid to his charge, that he was privy to the burning of the rood at Dover-court, and upon this he was committed to priſon in the biſhop of Lincoln's houſe, in Holbourn, where he remained from Shrovetide to Whitſontide, and great part of the time in the ſtocks.

The ſtocks was very high and large, ſo that day and night he lay with his back on the ground, upon a little ſtraw, with his heels ſo high, that the blood was fallen from his feet, which were ſo benumbed, that he could hardly feel them for a long time. By this treatment he fell ſick, and the keeper often hearing him cry and groan through extremity of pain, was moved with pity, and went to the biſhop and told him, that he would not keep him to die under his hand, and upon this he had ſome more eaſe and liberty. Now at this time his mother was come from Hadley to ſee him, but ſhe was not ſuffered to ſpeak with him (ſuch was their cruelty) but the biſhop flattered her, and gave her a pair of pardon-beads, and bade her go home and pray, for ſhe might not ſee him; which thing pierced the hearts both of the mother and the ſon. At this time alſo certain men of Hadley, very deſirous to ſee him, endeavoured to ſpeak with him, but might not be ſuffered, till at length they gave him four ſhillings, and yet then might not ſpeak to him, or ſee him, otherwiſe than through a grate. And thus continued he till Midſummer in priſon. Then he was removed to Lambeth, the firſt year of Dr. Cranmer's conſecration, who uſed him much more courteouſly than ever the biſhop of Lincoln did, and at length wrought his deliverance, and ſet him at liberty: but yet ſo, that he was bound not to come within twenty miles of Hadley. After this he came to London, and there preached the goſpel half a year, till Hadley men hearing thereof, laboured to have him to Hadley again, and indeed by means of Sir John Rainford, knight, obtained at the archbiſhop's houſe to have him thither: howbeit, by means one was placed in the cure at Hadley, he could not enjoy his office again there, but went to Stratford, three miles off, and there continued in preaching the word three years, till at length the adverſaries procured an inhibition from the biſhop of Norwich, to put him to ſilence. But a great number laboured to have him continue in preaching, and ſubſcribed a ſupplication to the archbiſhop, with one hundred and twenty hands, who under their ſeals alſo teſtified of his honeſt demeanor, ſo that the adverſaries this way not prevailing, they indicted him at Bury in Suffolk, ſo that he was conſtrained to flee to London, and to uſe the aid of the lord Audly, then lord chancellor, who removed the matter from them, and called it before him, and after examination of the matter, ſet him free, and ſent him by a token to the lord Cromwell, then lord privy ſeal, for a licence from the king to preach; which thing obtained by the lord Cromwell his means (who hereupon alſo had admitted the ſaid Thomas Roſe his chaplain) forthwith he was ſent into Lincolnſhire and to York. In the mean time ſuch complaint was made to the duke of Norfolk, for that he preached againſt auricular confeſſion tranſubſtantiation, and ſuch other points contained in the ſix articles (which then to have done by law was death) that the duke in his own perſon not only ſought him at Norwich, but alſo beſet all the ports for him, from Yarmouth to London, and being lieutenant, commanded, that whoſoever could take the ſaid Thomas Roſe, ſhould hang him on the next tree. Howbeit, the ſaid Thomas Roſe at his coming home, having warning hereof by certain godly perſons, was conveyed away, and paſſed over into Flanders, and ſo to Zurich in Switzerland, where a time he remained with Mr. Bullinger, and afterwards went to Baſil, and there hoſted with maſter Grinæus, till letters came that maſter doctor Barnes ſhould be biſhop of Norwich, and things ſhould be reformed, and he reſtored. But when he came into England again, it was not ſo, and therefore forthwith fled again beyond the ſeas, being ſo beſet, as if the mighty providence of God had not ſent him in readineſs to receive him the ſelf ſame man, boat, and

and boy that before carried him over, it had not been poſſible for him to have eſcaped. But ſuch was the goodneſs of God towards him, that he ſafely was conveyed, and lived at Barow the ſpace of three years, till at length purpoſing to come over into England, about buſineſs that he had, he, his wife, and their child, being about a year and three quarters old, upon the ſea, the ſhip being in great danger, wherein they ſailed, for the maſt being hewn down in that peril, they were carried whitherſoever the waves toſſed them; ſo they with divers others expected nothing but death. Howbeit, at length they were taken priſoners, and carried into Diepe in France, having all their ſtuff taken from them, and forty pound in money. There they remained priſoners from Michaelmas to All-hallontide, in great heavineſs, not knowing what would become of them, but depending only upon God's providence. It pleaſed God at that ſame time, that one Mr. Young of the town of Rye (who had heard him preach before) came thither for the redeeming of certain Engliſhmen there taken priſoners. This Mr. Young moved to ſee them in this caſe, much pitied them, and comforted them, and told them he would pay their ranſom, and ſo he did, had them away, and brought them to Rye, and from thence by ſtealth came they to London. At length the honourable earl of Suſſex, hearing of the ſaid Thomas Roſe, ſent for him, his wife, and his child, and had them to his houſe at Attleborough, where they continued, till at length it was blazed abroad, that the earl was a maintainer of ſuch a man to read in his houſe, as had preached againſt the catholic faith (as they term it); the earl being at the parliament, and hearing thereof, wrote a letter to warn him to make ſhift for himſelf, and to avoid. So that from thence he paſſed to London, making hard ſhift for a year there and ſomewhat more, till the death of king Henry. After the king's death, he and others, who in the king's general pardon were excepted (and therefore dead men, if they had been taken whilſt king Henry lived) by certain of the council were ſet at liberty, and at length, after king Edward was crowned, were licenſed to preach again by the king; who gave unto the ſaid Thomas Roſe the benefice of Weſt Ham, by London. But at the death of that virtuous and noble prince, he was deprived of all, and ſo ſhould alſo have been of his life, had not God appointed him friends, who received him in London ſecretly, as their teacher in the congregation, among whom for the poor priſoners at their aſſemblies forty-one in a night oftentimes were gathered. And thus he continued amongſt them, and with the lady Vane, almoſt a year in the reign of queen Mary. But altho' he oftentimes eſcaped ſecretly whilſt he read to the godly in ſundry places of London, yet at length, through a Judas that betrayed them, he with thirty-five more were taken in Bow-church-yard at a ſheerman's houſe on New-year's day at night. The reſt being committed to priſon, the ſaid Thomas Roſe was had to Stephen Gardiner, the biſhop of Wincheſter, who would not ſpeak with him that night, but committed him to the Clink till the Tueſday after.

The firſt Examination of Thomas Roſe, at Saint Mary Overy's, before the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

Roſe. I Wonder, my lord, that I ſhould be thus troubled for that which by the word of God hath been eſtabliſhed, and by the laws of this realm hath been allowed, and by your own writing, ſo notably in your book, De vera obedientia, confirmed.

Biſhop. Ah, ſirrah, haſt thou gotten that?

Roſe. Yea, my lord, I thank God, and do confeſs myſelf much thereby confirmed. For as touching the doctrine of ſupremacy, againſt the biſhop of Rome's uſurped authority, no man hath ſaid further. And as I remember, you confeſs it, that when this truth was revealed unto you, you thought the ſcales to fall from your eyes.

Biſhop. Thou lieſt like a varlet, there is no ſuch thing in my book: but I ſhall handle thee, and ſuch as thou art, well enough. I have long looked for thee, and at length have caught thee; I will know who be thy maintainers, or elſe I will make thee a foot longer.

Roſe. My lord, you ſhall do as much as pleaſeth God, and no more, yet the law is in your hand; but I have God for my maintainer, and none other. At theſe words one of his ſervants ſtepped forth, and ſaid, My lord, I heard this man preach by Norwich, in Sir John Robſter's houſe; and in his prayer he deſired God to turn queen Mary's heart, or elſe to take her out of the world: and this was in king Edward's time.

Roſe. My lord, I made no ſuch prayer, but next after the king, I mentioned her in this manner, ſaying, Ye ſhall pray for my lady Mary's grace, that God will vouchſafe to endue her with his Spirit, that ſhe graciouſly may perceive the myſteries contained within his holy laws, and ſo render unto him her heart purified with true faith, and true and loyal obedience to her ſovereign lord and king, to the good example of the inferior ſubjects. And this, my lord, is already anſwered in mine own hand-writing to the council.

Unto this he ſaid little, but turning his face to ſome that were by him, this is he, ſaid the biſhop, that my lord of Norwich told me had gotten his maid with child.

Roſe. This is no hereſy, my lord, although it be a lye. Indeed certain wicked perſons raiſed this report of me, for the hatred they bare to the doctrine which I preached: but for purgation of myſelf herein, I had no leſs than ſix of the council's hands, that there might be due and diligent examination for this matter in the country by men of worſhip appointed for that purpoſe, who can all teſtify, I thank God, that I am moſt clear from ſuch wickedneſs, and indeed they have cleared me from it; and therefore I doubt not but all good men will eſpy the miſchievous device of mine adverſaries, which (when other ways failed) by ſuch ſiniſter means went about to draw me into diſcredit and hatred: but God, who is the helper of the innocent, and ſearcher of mens hearts, hath and doth defend me, and hath laid open things that were hid, to their ſhame. One of the chief reporters of this, that I ſhould ſo abuſe myſelf, was one Mr. Clerk, ſervant, and in ſome eſtimation with the old treaſurer of England, reputed and taken for a conjurer, who afterward hanged himſelf in the Tower. Then the biſhop commanded that I ſhould be carried to the Tower, and kept ſafely, where I lay till the week before Whitſontide. After which time I was twice called, when as the biſhop came to the Tower about other priſoners. Notwithſtanding the biſhop had no great talk with me, but ſpake friendly. Howbeit, one Sir Richard Southwell, knight, ſtill accuſed me for my prayer, and ſaid I did put a difference betwixt lady Mary and lady Elizabeth, for that I prayed in king Edward's faith, and prayed that he would confirm lady Elizabeth in that which was well begun in her. Unto this the biſhop ſaid little. But in the week before Pentecoſt, I was conveyed from the Tower to Norwich, there to be examined by the biſhop and his clergy, as concerning my faith, the manner whereof here followeth.

The ſecond Examination of Thomas Roſe before Dr. Hopkins, Biſhop of Norwich, in the Preſence of Sir W. Woodhouſe, Mr. Steward the Chancellor, Dr. Barret, with divers others, Anno 1553.

AFTER I was preſented by my keeper, the biſhop immediately aſked me what I was. I told him I had been a miniſter.

Biſhop.

Biſhop. What is this to the purpoſe? were ye a frier or a prieſt?

Roſe. Frier was I never, but a prieſt have I been, and beneficed by the king's majeſty.

Biſhop. Where were ye made prieſt?

Roſe. In Exeter, in the county where I was born. Then the biſhop required of me my letters of orders. I told him I knew not where they were become, for they were things of me not greatly regarded.

Biſhop. Well, you are ſent to me to be examined; what ſay you, will you ſubmit yourſelf to the order of the church of England?

Roſe. My lord, I truſt I am not out of the order of Chriſt's church in England, neither do I know myſelf an offender thereagainſt.

Biſhop. What? yes, ye have preached moſt damnable and deviliſh doctrine.

Roſe. Not ſo, my lord. The doctrine by me here preached was both true, ſincere and holy. But indeed the doctrine that is now ſet forth, is moſt wicked and damnable, yea, and that both againſt God's laws and man's. But as for the doctrine by me preached, it is grounded upon the word of God, ſet out alſo by the authority of two moſt mighty kings, with the conſent of all the nobility and clergy of the ſame: ſo that I preached nothing but their lawful proceedings, having their lawful authority under their broad ſeal for confirmation of the ſame, for which my doing ye cannot juſtly charge me. For why, ſince the law ceaſed, I have kept ſilence, ſo that the council which ſent me unto you have not charged me therewith. Wherefore ye do me open wrong to burden me with that wherein I am free.

Chancellor. What, Sir? ye are very captious; anſwereſt thou my lord after ſuch a ſort?

Roſe. Sir, I anſwer for myſelf, and according to the truth: wherewith ye ought not to be offended, if ye be of God.

Chancellor. Thou art an evil man. Waſt thou not abjured before now?

Roſe. No, ye untruly report me, and are in no wiſe able to prove that which ye have ſpoken: ſo that your words appear to proceed altogether of malice, which I have not deſerved at your hands. But in this I well perceive ye are made an inſtrument to utter other men's malice conceived of old.

Chancellor. What ſayeſt thou to the real preſence in the ſacrament?

Roſe. I know right well ye were made an inſtrument to ſeek innocent blood: well, ye may have it, if God permit, it is preſent at hand, for I am not come hither to lye, but to die (if God ſee it good) in defence of that which I have ſaid. Wherefore ye may begin when ye ſhall think good, for I have ſaid nothing but the truth, and that which in thoſe days was by all men allowed for truth, and againſt which ye at that time durſt not once whiſper, although ye now brag never ſo much.

Biſhop. Well father Roſe, whatſoever hath been done in times paſt, ſhall not now be called in queſtion, ſo that ye now ſubmit yourſelf. For not only you, but all the whole realm hath been out of the right way, both high and low, ſpiritual and temporal, but all notwithſtanding have ſubmitted themſelves and acknowledged their faith. Wherefore if ye will be accounted for an Engliſhman, ye muſt likewiſe ſubmit yourſelf.

Roſe. My lord, I am an Engliſhman born, and do moſt humbly require of the chriſtian congregetion of England, to be counted as a particular member of the ſame, and with all due reverence ſubmit myſelf as in the form and manner following: That whatſoever law or laws ſhall be ſet forth in the ſame for the eſtabliſhment of Chriſt's true religion, and that according to the faith and doctrine of the holy patriarchs and prophets, Jeſus Chriſt and his holy apoſtles, with the faithful fathers of Chriſt's primitive church, I do not only hold it and believe it, but alſo moſt reverently obey it. At which my aſſertion, the biſhop ſeemed to be greatly rejoiced, and ſaid, Well, then we ſhall ſoon be at a point: but you ſhall take this for no day of examination, but rather of communication, ſo that ye ſhall now depart, and conſider with yourſelf until we call for you again: and ſo ended our firſt meeting.

The third Examination of Thomas Roſe.

ON Friday following, I was called again into Chriſt-church within their lady's chapel (as they termed it), where was gathered a great part of the whole city of Norwich, and after I was by my keeper preſented, the biſhop began with a great proteſtation, and after many words, demanded of me, Whether according to my former promiſe I would ſubmit myſelf or no. I anſwered as before I had done, That according to my former proteſtation, I would moſt gladly obey. Then ſaid the chancellor (to utter his gentleneſs) I think you do but feign.

Roſe. The fault then, ſaid I, ſhall be in yourſelf, and not in me. For if you burden me with nothing but ſcriptures, and the fathers of Chriſt's primitive church, then as I ſaid before, ſo I ſay again, I ſhall moſt gladly obey.

Chancellor. Well then, ſeeing you challenge to be member of the church of England, your mother here for a trial of obedience provoketh you, as mothers are wont to allure you, to receive this little gift at her hand.

Roſe. Fo ſooth, ſaid I, if ſhe offer it to me, as received of God my Father, I ſhall gladly receive it, as from the hand of my very true and ghoſtly mother.

Chancellor. What ſay you to ear-confeſſion? Is it not a law eccleſiaſtical, and neceſſary for the church of England?

Roſe. Some ways it might be permitted, and ſome ways not, and that becauſe it had its original of God and his bleſſed word; and yet I deny not, but that a man being troubled in his conſcience, and reſorting to a diſcreet, ſober and chriſtian learned man for the quieting of his mind, might well be permitted: but to blind a man under pain of damnation, once every year, to number his ſins into the ears of a filthy lecherous prieſt, is not of God, neither can be proved by his word.

Biſhop. Ah, Sirrah, ye will admit nothing but ſcripture, I ſee well.

Roſe. No truly, my lord, I admit nothing but ſcripture for the regimen of the ſoul: for why, faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God, and where the word of God is not, there ought no belief to be given. For whatſoever is not of faith is ſin. And here they left off ſpeaking any more of that matter.

But then Mr. Chancellor began to whet his teeth at me, ſaying, Yea, but you have preached, that the real, natural, and ſubſtantial preſence of Chriſt is not in the ſacrament of the altar: what ſay ye to that?

Roſe. Verily, I ſay that you are a bloody man, and ſeek to quench your thirſt with the blood of an innocent, and therefore to ſatisfy you in that behalf, I ſay verily unto you, that ſo I have here preached: and although contrary to law, you charge me with the ſame, yet will I in no wiſe deny it, though juſtly I might do it, but ſtand thereunto, even to ſeal it with my blood, deſiring all that be here preſent, to teſtify the ſame, and believe it as the only truth.

Biſhop. I charge you all to believe it not.

Roſe. Yea, but my lord, if ye will needs have credence given you, you muſt bring God's word to maintain your ſayings.

Biſhop. Why, doth not Chriſt ſay, This is my body? And can there be any plainer words ſpoken?

Roſe. It is true, my lord, the words be as plain as can be; and even ſo be theſe, where it is ſaid, I am a door, a vine, and Chriſt called a ſtone, a lion, and yet is he naturally

naturally none of theſe: for they be all figurative ſpeeches, as both the ſcriptures and fathers do ſufficiently prove.

At which ſaying, the biſhop would have had me ſtay, ſaying, I ſhould have another day wherein I might take better advice.

Roſe. Not ſo, my lord, for I am at a full point with myſelf in that matter, and am right well able to prove both your tranſubſtantiation, with the real preſence, to be againſt the ſcriptures, and the ancient fathers of the primitive church. For Juſtin, which is one of the moſt ancient writers that ever wrote upon the ſacrament, writeth in his ſecond apology, that the bread, water and wine in the ſacrament, are not to be taken as other meats and drinks, but are meats purpoſely ordained to give thanks unto God, and therefore are called EUCHARISTIA, and alſo have the names of the body and blood of Chriſt: and that it is not lawful for any man to eat and drink of them, but ſuch as profeſs the religion of Chriſt, and live alſo according to their profeſſion: and yet, ſaith he, the ſame bread and drink is changed into our fleſh and blood, nouriſheth our bodies. By which ſaying it is evident, that Juſtin meant, that the bread and wine remain ſtill, or elſe they could not have turned into our fleſh and blood, and nouriſh our bodies.

At which my ſaying they were greatly troubled, but inforced themſelves to have denied the doctor, and would ſuffer me to ſpeak no more, but ſtraightway was I carried away unto my lodging: and ſo ended the ſecond day of mine appearance, which was the Friday to Whitſun-week, and then was I appointed to appear again on the Monday following. Howbeit, upon what occaſion I know not, it was deferred unto the Wedneſday, which was Corpus Chriſti eve.

In the mean time the biſhop ſent two of his chaplains to me, with whom I had communication about the real preſence: and after long reaſoning to and fro concerning this point; at length I drave them to this iſſue, whether they did confeſs that Chriſt in the ſelf-ſame body which was conceived of the virgin Mary, and wherein he ſuffered and roſe again, do in the ſelf ſame body naturally, ſubſtantially, and really ſit at the right hand of God the Father, without return from hence, until the day of general judgment, or not? Whereupon they anſwered, Yes truly, we confeſs it, hold it, and believe it. Then I again demanded of them, Whether they did affirm, after the words pronounced by the miniſter, there to remain fleſh, blood, bones, hair, nails, as is wont moſt groſly to be preached, or not? And they with great deliberation anſwered, that they did not only abhor the teaching of ſuch groſs doctrine, but alſo would deteſt themſelves, if they ſhould ſo think.

At which two principal points, wherein they fully condemned my doctrine which I ever taught, I was not a little comforted and rejoiced, but marvellouſly encouraged. Whereupon I demanded of them again, what manner of body they then affirmed to be in the ſacrament? Forſooth, ſaid they, not a viſible, palpable, or circumſcriptable body, for that is always at the Father's right hand: but in the ſacrament it is inviſible, and can neither be felt, ſeen, nor occupy any place, but is there by the omnipotency of God's holy word, they know not how. And for this they brought in St. Auguſtine, although by them not truly underſtood, yet would they admit no other ſenſe than their own, but would take upon them to confirm it with Martin Luther, Melanchthon, Bucer, and Calvin: ſo that I perceiving their obſtinacy in that behalf, gave them over for that time, and afterwards talked with Dr. Barret, whom I alſo found of the ſame opinion. For, ſaid he, if ye would diſſent from the fathers of the primitive church, of which St. Auguſtine is one, ye ſhall be contended to die out of the favour of God. Well, I gave them all over, being obſtinate in their errors; however to bring them to confeſs that openly which they had granted privately, I granted them according to the ſcriptures, and my former proteſtation, a preſence, although not as they ſuppoſed.

After all this, the honourable earl of Eſſex came to me, and that gentle knight, Sir William Woodhouſe, with great perſuaſions; to whom I ſaid, after long talk, That I would do all that I might, ſaving my conſcience, which I would in no wiſe pollute; and neither have I, as knoweth God, by whom all men muſt be judged.

The laſt Examination of T. Roſe before the Biſhop.

NOW to come to my laſt appearance, he forthwith demanded of me, whether I were reſolved, as he had heard ſay. To whom I anſwered, That even as always I had ſaid before, even ſo I was now. Unto whom, by low bowing my knee, I gave my due reverence, and the rather for that the honourable earl of Suſſex was there. Wherewith ſome who would be counted great goſpellers, were (contrary to all chriſtianity) ſore offended. Then I ſaid, That whatſoever laws were ſet forth for the eſtabliſhment of Chriſt's true religion, and that according to the doctrine of Chriſt's holy apoſtles and the faithful fathers of the primitive church, I did not only obey them, but moſt earneſtly embrace and believe them: yea, and yet to the further blinding of their eyes, I ſaid, that if any thing could juſtly be proved by God's holy word, by me heretofore preached, or taught untruly, either for lack of learning, unwarily or ignorance; yet by better knowledge when it ſhall juſtly be tried and examined by the ſame, I ſhall not refuſe (the thing perfectly proved) to revoke the ſame: provided always, the word of God herein be my judge.

All this ſpake I, as God knoweth, to keep them from ſuſpecting that which I went about, and that they ſhould have none occaſion to judge me of obſtinacy. Then ſaid I moreover, All you muſt of force confeſs, that the doctrine by me heretofore preached, had, beſides that the authority of God's eternal verity, the authority of two moſt noble and mighty princes, with the advice and counſel of all the nobility and clergy of the land, and that with great deliberation from time to time, with open diſputations in both the univerſities, enacted alſo by parliament with the conſent of the whole body and commons of the ſame, and without any reſiſtance or gainſaying eſtabliſhed, as a religion moſt pure and perfect, moſt earneſtly and ſincerely preached by the principal biſhops and doctors, and that before the kings majeſties perſons; and I, as one being called to that office, did the like with all the reſt, and in the zeal of God, and with a pure conſcience did ſet forth the ſame as the only and abſolute truth of God, and the juſt and moſt true proceedings of my ſovereign lord and king: and I had then my head at that preſent even where it now ſtandeth, betwixt mine ears, altogether applying the ſame, to apprehend with all diligence that which then was eſtabliſhed and taught, as the only and abſolute truth, and a thing unto me moſt deſirable, and well willing, without any deſire to hear the contrary, till now through this my captivity I am compelled to hear the contrary part ſpeak, who are even here preſent, and which my lord ſent unto me.

Of whom, after long diſputations privately to and fro before this time had betwixt us, at length I have heard of them a contrary doctrine, which I never before had heard; and therefore muſt confeſs mine own ignorance in the ſame. For, quoth I, after I had inforced theſe men here preſent (meaning the biſhop's two chaplains) to confeſs Jeſus Chriſt's natural body with his full complete members in due order and proportion of a perfect man's body to be preſent at the right hand of God the Father, and that without return from thence, until the laſt judgment; and alſo that after the words pronounced by the prieſt, there remaineth no ſuch groſs preſence of fleſh, blood, bones, hair, and nails, as was wont to be preached;

preached; but that after I had demanded of them what manner of body they affirmed to be preſent, they ſaid, a body inviſible by the omnipotency of God's word, which neither can be felt or ſeen, nor that hath any diſtinction of members, but ſuch a body as occupieth no place, but is there they know not how; neceſſity compelleth me to confeſs mine ignorance in that behalf, although in very deed they perceived not my meaning therein, neither was it in my thought they ſhould do ſo. For by this their confeſſion, and my ſilence, afterward I perceived their horrid blaſphemies.

And methought in this I had well diſcharged at that time my conſcience, in cauſing them in open audience to confeſs the ſame, and ſo I granted a preſence, but not as they ſuppoſed.

For I only ſaid, that Chriſt, after the words pronounced, is preſent in the lawful uſe and right diſtribution of his holy ſupper; which thing I never denied, or any godly man that ever I heard of. For, ſaid I, Euſebius Emiſſenus, a man of ſingular fame and learning, about 300 years after Chriſt's aſcenſion, ſaith, That the converſion of the viſible creatures of bread and wine into the body and blood of Chriſt, is like unto our converſion in baptiſm. Where nothing is outwardly changed, but all the change is inwardly by the mighty working of the Holy Ghoſt, which faſhioneth and frameth Chriſt in the heart and mind of man, as by the example of Peter preaching to the people, Acts 2. by which he ſo pierced their conſcience, that they openly with moſt earneſt repentance confeſſed their ſins, ſaying, "Men and brethren, what ſhall we do? Repent, and be baptized every one of you, ſaid Peter, in the name of Jeſus Chriſt:" ſo that at this ſermon there were turned unto Chriſt three thouſand perſons: in whom Chriſt was ſo faſhioned and framed, as that he did dwell in every one of them, and they in him; and after the like manner, ſaid I, is Chriſt preſent in the lawful uſe and right diſtribution of his holy ſupper, and not otherwiſe. For although I ſaid according to the truth, that Chriſt dwelt in every one of theſe perſons rehearſed, yet meant I nothing leſs than that he in them ſhould have a groſs, carnal, or fleſhly dwelling.

And no more meant I, as God knoweth, him carnally or ſpiritually to be in the ſacrament, but according to the ſcriptures, and my former proteſtation, that is, to the ſpiritual nouriſhment of all ſuch as worthily come unto that holy ſupper, receiving it according to his holy inſtitution.

And thus I ended; which the papiſts moſt maliciouſly and ſlanderouſly named a recantation; which I never meant, nor thought, as God knoweth.

Now after I had thus concluded my ſpeech, the biſhop taking me by the hand, ſaid, Father Roſe, you may be a worthy inſtrument in God's church, and we will ſee to you at our coming home (for he was about to take his journey in viſitation of his dioceſe), and they feared much at this very time, leſt queen Mary ſhould have miſcarried in her child-travel, which was looked for, being then accounted very great with child, ſo they were not ſo fierce as they had been, and doubted very much of ſome ſtir, if I ſhould have ſuffered: and therefore were glad to be rid of me, ſo that by any colourable means for their own diſcharge it might be; ſo the night following was I only committed to mine own lodging.

On the morrow, when the biſhop was ready to ride forth in viſitation, he called me before him, and perceiving that Sir W. Woodhouſe did bear me great favour, ſaid, He was ſorry for me and my expences; and therefore wiſhed that I were ſomewhere, where I might ſpend no more money till his return. Why, my lord, ſaid Sir W. Woodhouſe, he ſhall have meat and drink, and lodging with me, till you return again, ſeeing you break up houſe: and hereupon I went home with Sir William, that good knight, who moſt genteely entertained me, and I had great liberty. Upon this the popiſh prieſts of the college of Chriſt's-church in Norwich, for that they ſaw me at liberty in Sir William's abſence (who had been from home a fortnight) blazed it abroad, that Sir William was bounden for me in body and lands. At his coming home therefore I aſked Sir William if he were ſo bounden for me? and he denied it. Then ſaid I, Sir, but for reverence I bear to you, I might have been an hundred miles from you ere this. But I truſt now, Sir, ſeeing you be not bound for me, I may go viſit my friends. Go where you will, ſaid Sir William; for, ſaid he, I told the biſhop I would not be his jailor, but promiſed only meat, drink, and lodging for you. Shortly after, upon the device of ſome friends, I was cloſely conveyed to a friend's houſe, where almoſt a month I was ſecretly kept, till rumours were over. For at the biſhop's return ſearch was made for me, inſomuch as all houſes, where it was known I had been acquainted, were ſearched, and the ſhips at Yarmouth.

At length the biſhop ſent to a conjurer, to know of him which way I was gone, and he anſwered, that I was gone over a water, and in the keeping of a woman. And in very deed I paſſed over a ſmall water, and was hid by a bleſſed woman, who lived in a ſmall cottage, the ſpace of three weeks, till all the great heat was over.

Then was I conveyed to London, and from thence paſſed over the ſeas, where I lived till the death of queen Mary, and till that it pleaſed God for the comfort of his church, and reſtoring of all poor exiles and priſoners for his name's-ſake, to bleſs this realm with the government of our noble queen, whom God to the glory of his own name, and the defence of his church, according to his own good will and pleaſure, long preſerve and continue over us.

A brief Diſcourſe concerning the Troubles and happy Deliverance of Dr. Sands, firſt Biſhop of Worceſter, next of London, afterwards Archbiſhop of York.

AT king Edward's death, the duke of Northumberland came down to Cambridge with an army of men, having commiſſion to proclaim lady Jane queen, and by power to ſuppreſs lady Mary, who took upon her that dignity, and was proclaimed queen in Norfolk. The duke ſent for Dr. Sands, being vice-chancellor, Dr. Parker, Dr. Bill, and Mr. Leaver, to ſup with him. Amongſt other ſpeeches, he ſaid, Maſters, pray for us, that we ſpeed well: if not, you ſhall be made biſhops, and we deacons. And even ſo it came to paſs: Dr. Parker and Dr. Sands were made biſhops, and he and Sir John Gates, who was then at the table, were made deacons, ere it was long after on Tower-hill. Dr. Sands being vice-chancellor, was required to preach on the morrow. The warning was ſhort for ſuch an auditory, and to ſpeak of ſuch a matter; yet he refuſed not the thing, but went into his chamber, and ſo to-bed. He roſe at three o'clock in the morning, took his bible in his hand, and after he had prayed a conſiderable time, he ſhut his eyes, and holding his bible before him, earneſtly prayed to God, that it might fall open, where a moſt fit text ſhould be for him to treat of. The bible, as God would have it, fell open upon the firſt chapter of Joſhua, the three laſt verſes, where he found ſo convenient a place of ſcripture for that time, that the like he could not find in the whole bible. His text was thus, "And they anſwered Joſhua, ſaying, All that thou commandeſt us, we will do, and whither ſoever thou ſendeſt us, we will go. According as we hearkened unto Moſes in all things, ſo will we hearken unto thee: only the Lord thy God be with thee, as he was with Moſes. Whoſoever he be that doth rebel againſt thy commandment, and will not hearken unto thy words, in all that thou commandeſt him, he ſhall be put to death: only be ſtrong and of good courage."

Whoever ſhall conſider what was concluded by ſuch as call'd themſelves the ſtate, and withal the auditory, the time, and other circumſtances, he may eaſily ſee that the text moſt fitly ſerved for the purpoſe. And as God gave the text, ſo gave he ſuch order and utterance, as drew many tears out of the eyes of the biggeſt of them.

In the time of his ſermon one of the guard lifted up to him into the pulpit a maſs book and a grail, which Sir George Haward with certain of the guard had taken that night in Mr. Hurleſtone's houſe, where lady Mary had been a little before, and there had maſs. The duke, with the reſt of the nobility, required Dr. Sands to put his ſermon in writing, and appointed Mr. Leaver to go to London with it, and to put it in print. Dr. Sands required one day and a half for writing of it. At the time appointed he made it ready, and Mr. Leaver was ready booted to receive it at his hands, and carry it to London. As he was delivering of it, one of the beadles, named Adams, came weeping, and praying him to ſhift for himſelf, for the Duke was retired, and queen Mary proclaimed.

Dr. Sands was not troubled thereat. But gave the ſermon written to Mr. Layfield. Mr. Leaver departed home, and he went to dinner to one Mr. More's, a beadle, his great friend. At the dinner Mrs. More ſeeing him merry and pleaſant (for he had ever a man's courage, and could not be terrified) drank unto him, ſaying, Maſter vice-chancellor, I drink unto you, for this is the laſt time that I ſhall ſee you. And ſo it was; for ſhe was dead before Dr. Sands returned out of Germany. The duke that night retired to Cambridge, and ſent for Dr. Sands to go with him to the market-place to proclaim queen Mary. The duke caſt up his cap with others, and ſo laughed, that the tears ran down his cheeks for grief. He told Dr. Sands that queen Mary was a merciful woman, and that he doubted not thereof; declaring that he had ſent unto her to know her pleaſure, and looked for a general pardon. Dr. Sands anſwered, My life is not dear unto me, neither have I done or ſaid any thing that urgeth my conſcience. For that which I ſpake of the ſtate. I have inſtructions warranted by the ſubſcriptions of ſixteen councellors, neither can ſpeech be treaſon, neither yet have I ſpoken further than the word of God, and the laws of the realm do warrant me, come of me what God will. But be aſſured you ſhall never eſcape death, for if ſhe would ſave you, thoſe that now ſhall rule will kill you.

That night the guard apprehended the duke, and certain grooms of the ſtable were as buſy with Dr. Sands, as if they would take a priſoner. But Sir John Gates, who lay then in Dr. Sands's houſe, ſharply rebuked them, and drave them away. Dr. Sands, by the advice of Sir John Gates, walked in the fields. In the mean time the univerſity, contrary to all order, had met together in conſultation, and ordered that Dr. Mouſe and Dr. Hatcher ſhould repair to Dr. Sands's lodging, and bring away the ſtatute book of the univerſity, the keys, and ſuch other things as were in his keeping, and ſo they did: for Dr. Mouſe being an earneſt proteſtant the day before, and whom Dr. Sands had done much for, was now become a papiſt, and his great enemy. Certain of the univerſity had appointed a congregation at afternoon. As the bell rang to it, Dr. Sands came out of the fields, and ſending for the beadles, aſked what the matter meant, and required them to wait upon him to the ſchools, according to their duty. So they did. And ſo ſoon as Dr. Sands, the beadles going before him, came into the regent-houſe, and took his chair, one Mr. Mitch, with a rabble of unlearned papiſts, went into a by-ſchool, and conſpired together to pull him out of his chair, and to uſe violence unto him. Dr. Sands began his oration, expoſtulating with the univerſity, charging them with great ingratitude, declaring that he had ſaid nothing in his ſermon, but that he was ready to juſtify, and their caſe was all one with his: for they had not only concealed, but conſented to that which he had ſpoken.

And thus while he remembered them how beneficial he had been to the univerſity, and their unthankfulneſs to him again, in came Mr. Mitch with his conſpirators, about 20 in number. One laid hands on the chair to pull it from him; another told him, that that was not his place, and another called him traitor. Whereat he perceiving how they uſed violence, and being of great courage, groped to his dagger, and had diſpatched ſome of them as God's enemies, if Dr. Bill and Dr. Blith had not fallen upon him, and praying him for God's ſake to hold his hands and be quiet, and patiently to bear that great offer'd wrong. He was perſuaded by them, and after that tumult was ceaſed, he ended his oration, and having ſome money of the univerſity's in his hands, he there delivered the ſame every farthing. He gave up the books, reckonings, and keys pertaining to the univerſity, and withal yielded up his office, praying God to give the univerſity a better officer, and to give them better and more thankful hearts, and ſo repaired home to his own college.

On the morrow after there came unto him one Mr. Gerningham, and Mr. Thomas Mildmay. Gerningham told him, that it was the queen's pleaſure, that two of the guard ſhould attend upon him, and that he muſt be carried priſoner to the tower of London with the duke. Mr. Mildmay ſaid, he marvelled that a learned man ſhould ſpeak ſo unadviſedly againſt ſo good a prince, and wilfully run into ſuch danger. Dr. Sands anſwered, I ſhall not be aſhamed of bonds, but if I could do as Mr. Mildmay can, I needed not to fear bonds: for he came down in payment againſt queen Mary, and armed in the field, and now he returneth in payment for queen Mary; before a traitor, and now a great friend, I cannot with one mouth blow hot and cold after this manner.

Upon this his ſtable was robbed of four very good geldings, the beſt of them Mr. Huddleſtone took for his own ſaddle, and rode on him to London in his ſight. An inventory was taken of all his goods by Mr. More, beadle for the univerſity. He was ſent upon a lame horſe that halted to the ground; which thing a friend of his perceiving, prayed that he might lend him a nag. The yeoman of the guard were contented. As he departed forth at the town's end, ſome papiſts reſorted thither to jeer at him; ſome of his friends to mourn for him. He came in the rank to London, the people being full of out-cries. As he came in at Biſhopſgate, one like a milk-woman hurled a ſtone at him, and hit him on the breaſt, with ſuch a blow, that he was like to fall off his horſe. To whom he mildly ſaid, Woman, God forgive it thee. Truth is, that journey and evil intreating ſo mortified him, that he was more ready to die than to live.

As he came thro' Tower-hill-ſtreet, one woman ſtanding in her door, cried, Fie on thee thou knave, thou traitor, thou heretic. Whereat he ſmiled. Look, the deſperate heretic, ſaid ſhe, laughed at this jeer. A woman on the other ſide of the ſtreet anſwered, ſaying, Fie on thee neighbour, thou art not worthy to be called a woman, railing upon this gentleman whom thou knoweſt not, nor the cauſe why he is thus treated. Then ſhe ſaid, Good gentleman, God be thy comfort, and give thee ſtrength to ſtand in God's cauſe, even to the end. And thus he paſſed thro' rough and ſmooth to the Tower, the firſt priſoner that entered in that day, which was St. James's day. The yeoman of the guard took from him his borrowed nag, and what elſe ſoever he had. His man, one Quinting Suainton, brought after him a bible, and ſome ſhirts, and ſuch like things. The bible was ſent unto him, but the ſhirts and ſuch like ſerved the yeoman of the guard.

After

After he had been in the Tower three weeks in a bad priſon: he was brought up into nuns-bower, a better priſon, where was put to him Mr. John Bradford.

At the day of queen Mary's coronation their priſon door was ſet open, ever ſhut before. One Mr. Mitchel, his old acquaintance, who had been priſoner before in the ſame place, came into him, and ſaid, Maſter Sands, there is ſuch a ſtir in the Tower, that neither gates, doors, nor priſoners are looked to this day. Take my cloak, my hat, and my rapier, and get you gone, you may go out of the gates without queſtioning, ſave yourſelf, and let me do as well as I can. A rare friendſhip; but he refuſed the offer, ſaying, I know no juſt cauſe why I ſhould be in priſon. And thus to do were to make myſelf guilty. I will expect God's good will, yet muſt I think myſelf much obliged to you: and ſo Mr. Mitchell departed.

While Dr. Sands and Mr. Bradford were thus in cloſe priſon twenty nine weeks, one John Bowler was their keeper, a very perverſe papiſt, yet by often perſuading of him, for he would give ear, and by gentle uſing of him, at length he began to miſlike popery, and to favour the goſpel, and was ſo perſuaded in true religion, that on a Sunday when they had maſs in the chapel, he brought up a ſervice book, a manchet, and a glaſs of wine, and there Dr. Sands miniſtered the communion to Bradfold and to Bowler. Thus Bowler was their ſon begotten in bonds. When Wyat was in arms, and the old duke of Norfolk ſent forth with a power of men to apprehend him; that room might be made in the Tower for him and other his accomplices, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, and Mr. Bradford were caſt into one priſon, and Dr. Sands with nine other preachers were ſent unto the Marſhalſea.

The keeper of the Marſhalſea appointed to every preacher a man to lead him in the ſtreet, he cauſed them to go far before, and he and Dr. Sands came behind, whom he would not lead, but walked familiarly with him. Yet Dr. Sands was known, and the people every where prayed to God to comfort him, and to ſtrengthen him in the truth. By that time the people's minds were altered, popery began to be unſavory. After they paſſed the bridge, the keeper ſaid to Dr. Sands, I perceive the vain people would ſet you forward to the fire. Ye are as vain as they, if you being a young man will ſtand in your own conceit, and prefer your own judgment before that of ſo many worthy prelates, ancient, learned, and grave men as be in this realm. If you ſo do, you ſhall find me a ſevere keeper, as one that utterly diſliketh your religion. Dr. Sands anſwered, I know my years to be young, and my learning but ſmall, it is enough to know Chriſt crucified, and he hath learned nothing who ſeeth not the great blaſphemy that is in popery. I will yield unto God, and not unto man: I have read in the ſcriptures of many godly and courteous keepers: God may make you one; if not, I truſt he will give me ſtrength and patience to bear your hard uſage. Then ſaid the keeper, Are you reſolv'd to ſtand to your religion? Yes, quoth the doctor, by God's grace. Truly, ſaid the keeper, I love you the better for it; I did but tempt you: what favour I can ſhew you ye ſhall be ſure of, and I ſhall think myſelf happy if I might die at the ſtake with you. He was as good as his word, for he truſted the doctor to walk in the fields alone, where he met with Mr. Bradford, who was alſo a priſoner in the King's-bench, and had found the ſame favour from his keeper: he laid him in the beſt chamber in the houſe; he would not ſuffer the knight-marſhal's man to lay fetters on him, as others had. And, at his requeſt, he put Mr. Saunders in to him, to be his bed-fellow, and ſundry times after he ſuffered his wife, who was Mr. Sands's daughter of Eſſex, a gentlewoman beautiful both in body and ſoul, to reſort to him. There was great reſort to Dr. Sands and Mr. Saunders; they had much money offered them, but they would receive none. They had the communion there three or four times, and a great number of communicants. Dr. Sands gave ſuch exhortation to the people (for at that time being young, he was thought very eloquent) that he moved many tears, and made the people abhor the maſs, and defy all popery.

When Wyat with his army came into Southwark, he ſent two gentlemen into the Marſhalſea to Dr. Sands, ſaying, that Mr. Wyat would be glad of his company and advice, and that the gates ſhould be ſet open for all the priſoners. He anſwered, Tell Mr. Wyat, if this his riſing be of God, it will take place; if not, it will fall. For my part, I was committed hither by order, I will be diſcharged by like order, or I will never depart hence. So anſwered Mr. Saunders, and the reſt of the preachers, being there priſoners.

After that Dr. Sands had been nine weeks priſoner in the Marſhalſea, by the mediation of Sir Thomas Holcroft, knight marſhal, he was ſet at liberty; Sir Thomas ſued earneſty to the biſhop of Wincheſter, Dr. Gardiner, for his deliverance; after many repulſes: but he could not prevail, except Dr. Sands would be one of their ſect, and then he could want nothing. He wrung out of him at laſt, that if the queen could like of his deliverance, he would not be againſt it; for that was Sir Thomas's laſt requeſt. In the mean time he had procured two ladies of the privy chamber to move the queen in it; who was contented if the biſhop of Wincheſter would like of it. The next time that the biſhop went into the privy chamber to ſpeak with the queen, Mr. Holcroft followed, and had his warrant for Dr. Sands's remiſſion ready, and prayed the two ladies, when the biſhop ſhould take his leave, to put the queen in mind of Dr. Sands. So they did, and the queen ſaid; Wincheſter, what think you by Dr. Sands, is he not ſufficiently puniſhed? As it pleaſe your majeſty, ſaid Wincheſter, That he ſpake, remembering his former promiſe to Mr. Holcroft, that he would not be againſt Dr. Sands, if the queen ſhould like to diſcharge him. Saith the queen; Then truly, We would that he were ſet at liberty. Immediately Mr. Holcroft offered the queen the warrant. Who ſubſcribed the ſame, and called Wincheſter to put to his hand, and ſo he did. The warrant was given to the knight marſhal again, Sir Thomas Holcroft. As the biſhop went forth of the privy chamber door, he called Mr. Holcroft to him, commanding him not to ſet Dr. Sands at liberty, until he had taken ſureties of two gentlemen of this country with him, every one bound in 500 pounds, that Dr. Sands ſhould not depart out of the realm without licence. Mr. Holcroft immediately after met with the two gentlemen of the North, friends and couſins to Dr. Sands, who offered to be bound in body, goods, and lands for him. After dinner, the ſame day, Mr. Holcroft ſent for Dr. Sands to his lodging at Weſtminſter, requiring the keeper to accompany him. He came accordingly, finding Mr. Holcroft alone walking in his garden. Mr. Holcroft imparted his long ſuit, with the whole proceeding, and what effect it had taken to Dr. Sands: much rejoicing that it was his good hap to do him good, and to procure his liberty; and that nothing remained, but that he would enter into bonds with his two ſureties, for not departing out of the realm. Dr. Sands anſwered, I give God thanks, who hath moved your heart to mind me ſo well, and I think myſelf moſt bound unto you. God ſhall requite, and I ſhall never be found unthankful. But as you have dealt friendly with me, I will alſo deal plainly with you I came a free-man into priſon; I will not go forth a bondman. As I cannot benefit my friends, ſo will I not hurt them. And if I be ſet at liberty, I will not tarry ſix days in this realm, if I may get out. If therefore I may not get free forth, ſend me to the Marſhalſea again, and there ye ſhall be ſure of me.

This

This anſwer Mr. Holcroft much miſliked: he told Dr. Sands that the time would not long continue, a change would ſhortly come, the ſtate was but a cloud, and would ſoon ſhake away; and that his couſin Sir Edward Bray would gladly receive him and his wife into his houſe, where he ſhould never need to come at church, and the lady Bray was a zealous gentlewoman, who hated popery; adding, that he would not ſo deal with him to loſe all his labour. When Dr. Sands could not be removed from his former ſaying, Mr. Holcroft ſaid; Seeing you cannot be altered, I will change my purpoſe and yield unto you. Come of it what will, I will ſet you at liberty: and ſeeing you mind to go over ſea, get you gone as quick as you can. One thing I require of you, that while you are there, you write nothing to come hither, for ſo you may undo me. He friendly kiſſed Dr. Sands, bade him farewell, and commanded the keeper to take no fees of him, ſaying, Let me anſwer Wincheſter as I may. Dr. Sands returning with the keeper to the Marſhalſea, tarried all night, and on the morrow he gave a dinner to all the priſoners, to which he invited his bed-fellow, and ſworn ſtake-fellow, if it had ſo pleaſed God. When he took his leave, he ſaid, Mr. Saunders farewell; with many tears and kiſſings, the one falling on the other's neck, and ſo departed, clearly delivered without examination or bond. From thence he went to the King's-bench, and there talked with Mr. Bradford and Dr. Farrar biſhop of St. David's, then priſoners. Then he comforted them, and they praiſed God for his happy deliverance. He went by Wincheſter's houſe, and there took boat, and came to a friends houſe in London, called William Banks, and tarried there one night. On the morrow at night he ſhifted to another friend's houſe, and there he heard that ſearch was made for him.

Dr. Watſon and Mr. Chriſtopherſon coming to the biſhop of Wincheſter, told him, that he had ſet the greateſt heretic in England at liberty, and one that had of all others, moſt corrupted the univerſity of Cambridge, namely, Dr. Sands. Whereupon the biſhop being chancellor of England, ſent for all the conſtables of London, commanding them to watch for Dr. Sands, who was then within the city, and to apprehend him, and whoſoever of them ſhould take him and bring him to him, he ſhould have five pounds for his labour. Dr. Sands ſuſpecting the matter, conveyed himſelf by night to one Mr. Berty's houſe a ſtranger, who was in the Marſhalſea priſoner with him awhile; he was a good proteſtant, and dwelt in Mark-lane. There he was ſix days, and had one or two of his friends that repaired to him. Then he removed to one of his acquaintance in Cornhill; he cauſed his man Quinting to provide two geldings for him, minding on the morrow to ride into Eſſex, to Mr. Sands his father-in-law, where his wife was.

At going to-bed he found that a pair of hoſe which he had newly bought were too long for him: he deſired the good woman of the houſe to ſend for ſomebody that could cut them two inches ſhorter. The wife required the boy of the houſe to carry them to the next taylor; which he accordingly did: and he chanced (or rather God ſo provided) to go to the very perſon that firſt made them (whoſe name was Benjamin, a good proteſtant in Birchin-lane) and the boy deſired him to cut the hoſe. Said he, I am not thy maſter's taylor. Said the boy, Becauſe you are our next neighbour, and my maſter's taylor dwelleth afar off, I came to you, being late in the night, for he muſt put them on betimes in the morning. Benjamin took the hoſe, and looking upon them, knew his handy-work, and ſaid, Theſe are not thy maſter's hoſe, they belong to Dr. Sands, I made them for him in the Tower. The boy confeſſed it to be ſo. Said he, Go to thy miſtreſs, pray her to ſit up till twelve of the clock, and then I will bring the hoſe and ſpeak with the doctor for his good.

At midnight the good wife of the houſe, and Benjamin came to Dr. Sands's chamber: The good woman deſired him not to be ſurpriſed at their coming. He anſwered, Nothing can be amiſs: what God will, that ſhall be done. Then Benjamin told him that he was the man that made his hoſe, and by good chance they now came to his hands. God uſed the means, that he might admoniſh him of his danger, and adviſe him how to eſcape it, telling him, that all the conſtables in London, whereof he was one, watched for him, and ſome were ſo greedily ſet, that they prayed him, if he took him, to let them have the carriage of him to the biſhop of Wincheſter, and he ſhould have the five pounds. It is well known (quoth Benjamin) that your man hath provided two geldings, and that you intend to ride out at Aldgate to-morrow morning, and there then you are ſure to be taken. Follow mine advice, and by God's grace ye ſhall eſcape their hands. Let your man walk all the day to-morrow in the ſtreet where your horſes ſtand, booted and ready to ride. The good man's ſervant of the houſe ſhall take the horſes, and carry them to Bethnal-green. The good man ſhall be booted, and follow after, as if he would ride. I will be here with you to-morrow about eight of the clock, it is both term and parliament time, here we will break our faſt, and when the ſtreets are full, we will go forth. Look wildly, and if you meet your brother in the ſtreets, ſhun him not, but outface him, and know him not. Accordingly Dr. Sands did, cloathed like a gentleman in all reſpects, and looked wildly, as one that had been long kept in priſon out of the light. Benjamin carried him through Birchin-lane, and from one lane to another, till he came to Moregate. There they went forth until they came to Bethnal-green, where the horſes were ready, and Mr. Hurleſtone to ride as his man. Dr. Sands pulled on his boots, and taking leave of his friend Benjamin, with tears they kiſſed each other: he put his hand in his purſe, and would have given Benjamin a great part of that little he had, but Benjamin would take none. Yet ſince Dr. Sands hath remembered him thankfully. He rode that night to his father-in-law, Mr. Sands, where his wife was: he had not been there two hours, but it was told Mr. Sands, that there were two of the guard which would that night apprehend Dr. Sands, and ſo they were appointed.

That night Dr. Sands was guided to an honeſt farmer near the ſea, where he tarried two days and two nights in a chamber without company. After that he had ſhifted to one James Mower, a ſhipmaſter, who dwelt at Milton-ſhore, where he expected wind for the Engliſh fleet ready to ſail to Flanders. While he was there, James Mower brought to him forty or fifty mariners, to whom he gave an exhortation; they liked him ſo well, that they promiſed to die for it, ere that he ſhould be apprehended.

The ſixth of May, being Sunday, the wind ſerved. He took his leave of his hoſt and hoſteſs, and went towards the ſhip. In taking his leave of his hoſteſs, who was barren, and had been married eight years, he gave her a fine handkerchief and an old royal of gold in it, thanking her much, and ſaid, Be of good comfort, ere that one whole year be paſt, God ſhall give you a child, a boy. And it came to paſs, for that day twelvemonth lacking one day, God gave her a fair ſon.

At the ſhore Dr. Sands met with Mr. Iſaac of Kent, who had his eldeſt ſon there, who, upon the liking he had to Dr. Sands, ſent his ſon with him, who afterward died in his father's houſe in Frankfort. Dr. Sands and Dr. Coxe were both in one ſhip, being one Cockrel's ſhip, they were within the kenning, when two of the guard came thither to apprehend Dr. Sands. They arrived at Antwerp, being bid to dinner to Mr. Locke. And at dinner-time one George Gilpin being ſecretary to the Engliſh houſe, and kinſman to Dr. Sands, came to him, and rounded him in his ear, and ſaid, King Phi-

lip hath ſent to make ſearch for you, and to apprehend you. Hereupon they roſe from their dinner in a marvellous great ſhower, and went out at the gate toward the land of Cleve. They found a waggon, and haſted away, and came ſafe to Ausburge in Cleveland, where Doctor Sands tarried fourteen days, and then travelled towards Strasbourgh, where after he had lived one year, his wife came to him. He fell ſore ſick of a flux, which kept him nine months, and brought him to death's door. He had a child which fell ſick of the plague, and died. His wife at length fell ſick of a conſumption, and died in his arms; no man had a more godly woman to his wife.

After this, Mr. Sampſon went away to Emanuel, a man ſkilful in Hebrew. Mr. Grindall went into the country to learn the Dutch tongue. Dr. Sands ſtill remained in Strasbourgh, whoſe ſuſtentation was chiefly from one Mr. Iſaac, who loved him moſt dearly, and was ever more ready to give than to receive. He gave him in that ſpace above an hundred marks, which ſum the ſaid Dr. Sands paid him again, and by his other gifts and friendlineſs ſhewed himſelf to be a thankful man. When his wife was dead, he went to Zurich, and there was in Peter Martyr's houſe for the ſpace of five weeks. Being there, as they ſate at dinner, word ſuddenly came, that queen Mary was dead, and Dr. Sands was ſent for by his friends at Strasbourgh. That news made Mr. Martyr, and Mr. Jarret then there, very joyful; but Dr. Sands could not rejoice, it ſmote into his heart, that he ſhould be called to miſery.

Mr. Bullinger and the miniſters feaſted him, and he took his leave and returned to Strasbourgh, where he preached; and ſo Mr. Grindall and he came towards England; and came to London the ſame day that queen Elizabeth was crowned.

The miraculous Preſervation of the Lady Elizabeth, afterwards Queen of England, from extreme Calamity and Danger of Life, in the Time of Queen Mary, her Siſter.

BUT when all hath been ſaid and told, whatſoever can be recited touching the admirable working of God's preſent hand in defending and delivering any one perſon out of thraldom, never was there, ſince the memory of our fathers, any example to be ſhewed, wherein the Lord's mighty power hath more admirably ſhewed itſelf, to the glory of his own name, to the comfort of all good hearts, and to the public felicity of this whole realm, than in the miraculous ſcape of the lady Elizabeth, in the time of queen Mary her ſiſter.

In which ſtory we firſt have to conſider, in what extreme miſery, ſickneſs, fear, and peril her highneſs was; into what care, what trouble of mind, and what danger of death ſhe was brought: firſt, with great bands of armed men (and happy was he that might have the carrying of her) being fetched up as the greateſt traitor in the world, clapped in the Tower, and again toſſed from thence, and from houſe to houſe, from priſon to priſon, from poſt to pillar, at length alſo priſoner in her own houſe, and guarded with a ſort of cut-throats, who ever gaped for the ſpoil, whereby they might be fingering of ſomewhat.

Secondly, we have to conſider again, all this notwithſtanding, how ſtrangely, or rather miraculouſly, ſhe was delivered from danger, what favour and grace ſhe found with the Almighty; who, when all the help of man and hope of recovery was paſt, ſtretched out his mighty protection, and preſerved her highneſs, and placed her in her princely ſeat of reſt and quietneſs.

In which ſtory, if I ſhould ſet forth at large all the particulars and circumſtances thereunto belonging, and as juſt occaſion of the hiſtory requireth; beſide the importunate length of the ſtory diſcourſed, peradventure it might move offence to ſome, and truth might get me hatred. Yet notwithſtanding I intend (by the grace of Chriſt) therein to uſe ſuch brevity and moderation, as both may be to the glory of God, the diſcharge of the ſtory, the profit of the reader, and hurt to none, ſuppreſſing the names of ſome, whom here although I could recite, yet I thought not to be more cruel in hurting their names, than the queen hath been merciful in pardoning their lives.

Therefore now to enter into the diſcourſe of this tragical matter, firſt here is to be noted, that queen Mary, when ſhe was firſt queen, before ſhe was crowned, would go no whither, but would have her by the hand, and ſend for her to dinner and ſupper; but after ſhe was crowned, ſhe never dined nor ſupped with her, but kept her apart from her, &c. After this it happened immediately upon the riſing of Sir Thomas Wyat (as before mentioned) that the lady Elizabeth and lord Courtney were charged with falſe ſuſpicion of Sir Thomas Wyat's riſing. Whereupon queen Mary, whether for that ſurmiſe, or for what other cauſe I know not, being offended with the ſaid lady Elizabeth her ſiſter, at that time lying in her houſe at Aſhbridge, the next day after the riſing of Wyat, ſent to her three of her counſellors, to wit, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Edward Haſtings, then maſter of the horſe, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, with their retinue and troop of horſemen, to the number of two hundred and fifty, who at their ſudden and unprovided coming, found her at the ſame time ſick in her bed, and very feeble and weak of body. Whither when they came, aſcending up to her Grace's chamber, they deſired one of her ladies, whom they met, to declare to her grace, that there were divers come from the court, who had a meſſage from the queen.

Her grace having knowledge thereof, was right glad of their coming; howbeit then being very ſick, and the night far ſpent (which was at ten of the clock) ſhe requeſted them by the meſſenger, that they would reſort thither in the morning. To this they anſwered, that they muſt needs ſee her, and would ſo do, in what caſe ſoever ſhe were. Whereat the lady being ſurprized, went to ſhew her grace their words: but they haſtily following her, came ruſhing as ſoon as ſhe into her grace's chamber unbidden.

At whoſe ſudden coming into her bed-chamber, her grace, being greatly amazed, ſaid unto them, Is the haſte ſuch that it might not have pleaſed you to come to-morrow in the morning?

They made anſwer, that they were right ſorry to ſee her in that caſe. And I (ſaid ſhe) am not glad to ſee you here at this time of the night. Whereunto they anſwered, that they came from the queen to do their meſſage and duty, which was to this effect, that the queen's pleaſure was, that ſhe ſhould be at London the ſeventh day of that preſent month. Whereunto ſhe ſaid, Certainly, no creature more glad than I to come to her majeſty, being right ſorry that I am not in caſe at this time to wait on her, as you yourſelves do ſee, and can well teſtify.

Indeed we ſee it true, ſaid they, that you do ſay; for which we are very ſorry. Albeit, we let you to underſtand, that our commiſſion is ſuch, and ſo ſtraineth us, that we muſt needs bring you with us, either alive or dead. Whereas ſhe being amazed, ſorrowfully ſaid, that their commiſſion was very ſore; but yet notwithſtanding ſhe hoped it to be otherwiſe, and not ſo ſtrait. Yes verily, ſaid they. Whereupon they calling for two phyſicians, Dr. Owen and Dr. Wendy, demanded of them, whether ſhe might be removed from thence with life, or no. Whoſe anſwer and judgment was, that there was no impediment in their judgment to the contrary, but that ſhe might travel without danger of life.

In concluſion, they deſired her to prepare againſt the next morning at nine of the clock to go with them, declaring that they had brought with them the queen's litter for her. After much talk, the meſſengers declar-

ing how there was no prolonging of times and days, ſo departed to their chamber, being entertained and cheared, as appertained to their worſhips.

On the next morrow, at the time preſcribed, they had her forth as ſhe was, very faint and feeble, and in ſuch caſe that ſhe was ready to ſwoon three or four times between them. What ſhould I ſpeak here, that cannot well be expreſſed, what an heavy houſe was there to behold the unreverend and doleful dealing of theſe men, but eſpecially the fear and captivity of their innocent lady and miſtreſs.

Now to proceed in her journey from Aſhbridge, ſick in the litter, ſhe came to Redborne, where ſhe was guarded all night, From thence to St. Alban's, to Sir Ralph Rowlet's houſe, where ſhe tarried that night, both feeble in body, and comfortleſs in mind. From that place ſhe paſſed to Mr. Dod's houſe at Mims, where alſo they remained that night; and ſo from thence ſhe came to Highgate, where ſhe being very ſick, tarried that night and the next day. During which time of her abode, there came many purſuivants and meſſengers from the court, but for what purpoſe I cannot tell.

From that place ſhe was conveyed to the court, where by the way came to meet her many gentlemen to accompany her highneſs, who were very ſorry to ſee her in that caſe. But eſpecially a great multitude of people were ſtanding by the way, who then flocking about her litter, lamented and bewailed greatly her eſtate. Now when ſhe came to the court, her grace was there ſtraitways ſhut up, and kept a cloſe priſoner a fortnight, which was till Palm-Sunday, ſeeing neither king nor queen, nor lord, nor friend, all that time, but only the then lord-chamberlain, Sir John Gage, and the vice-chamberlain, which were attendant unto the doors. About which time Sir William Sentlowe was called before the council. To whoſe charge was laid, that he knew of Wyat's rebellion, which he ſtoutly denied, proteſting that he was a true man both to God and his prince, defying all traitors and rebels, but being ſtraitly examined, he was in concluſion committed to the Tower.

The Friday before Palm-Sunday the biſhop of Wincheſter, w[illegible] nineteen others of the council, (who ſhall be here nam[illegible]leſs) came unto her grace from the queen's majeſty, and burdened her with Wyat's conſpiracy; which ſhe utterly denied, affirming that ſhe was altogether guiltleſs therein. They being not contented with this, charged her grace with buſineſs made by Sir Peter Carew, and the reſt of the gentlemen of the Weſt country: which alſo ſhe utterly denying, cleared her innocency therein.

In concluſion, after long debating of matters, they declared unto her, that it was the queen's will and pleaſure, that ſhe ſhould go unto the Tower, while the matter were further tried and examined.

Whereat ſhe being amazed, ſaid, that ſhe truſted the queen's majeſty would be a more gracious lady unto her, and that her highneſs would not otherwiſe conceive of her but that ſhe was a true woman; declaring furthermore to the lords, that ſhe was innocent in all thoſe matters wherein they had burdened her, and deſired them therefore to be a further mean to the queen her ſiſter, that ſhe being a true woman in thought, word and deed, towards her majeſty, might not be committed to ſo notorious and doleful a place; proteſting that ſhe would requeſt no favour at her hand, if ſhe ſhould be proved to have conſented unto any ſuch kind of matter as they laid unto her charge; and therefore in fine ſhe deſired their lordſhips to think of her what ſhe was, and that ſhe might not ſo extremely be dealt withal for her truth.

Whereunto the lords anſwered again, that there was no remedy, for that the queen's majeſty was fully determined that ſhe ſhould go unto the Tower. Wherewith the lords departed, with their caps hanging over their eyes. But not long after, within the ſpace of an hour or little more, came four of the foreſaid lords of the council, which were the lord treaſurer, the biſhop of Wincheſter, the lord ſteward, the earl of Suſſex, with the guard: who warding the next chamber to her, ſecluded all her gentlemen and yeomen, ladies and gentlewomen; except that for one gentleman uſher, three gentlewomen, and two grooms of her chamber, were appointed in their rooms, three other men of the queen's, and three waiting women to give attendance upon her, that none ſhould have acceſs to her grace.

At which time there was an hundred of Northern ſoldiers in white coats, watching and warding about the gardens all that night, and a great fire being made in the midſt of the hall, and two certain lords watching there alſo with their band and company.

Upon Saturday following, two lords of the council, (the one was the earl of Suſſex, the other ſhall be nameleſs) came and certified her grace, that ſhe muſt go forthwith unto the Tower, the barge being prepared for her, and the tide now ready, which tarrieth for no body. In heavy mood her grace requeſted the lords that ſhe might tarry another tide, truſting that the next would be better and more comfortable. But one of the lords replied, that neither time nor tide was to be delayed.

And when her grace requeſted him, that ſhe might be ſuffered to write to the queen's majeſty, he anſwered, that he durſt not permit that: adding, that in his judgment it would rather hurt, than profit her grace in ſo doing.

But the other lord, more courteous and favourable, (who was the earl of Suſſex) kneeling down, told her grace, that ſhe ſhould have liberty to write, and as he was a true man, he would deliver it to the queen's highneſs, and bring an anſwer of the ſame, whatſoever came thereof. Whereupon ſhe wrote, albeit ſhe could in no caſe be ſuffered to ſpeak with the queen, to her great diſcomfort, being no offender againſt the queen's majeſty.

And thus the time and tide paſſed away for that ſeaſon, they privily appointing all things ready that ſhe ſhould go the next tide, which fell about midnight; but for fear ſhe ſhould be taken by the way, they durſt not. So they ſtaid till the next day, being Palm-Sunday, when about nine of the clock theſe two returned again, declaring that it was time for her grace to depart. She anſwered, if there be no remedy, I muſt be contented, willing the lords to go on before. Being come forth into the garden, ſhe did caſt her eyes towards the window, thinking to ſee the queen, which ſhe could not. Whereat ſhe ſaid, ſhe marvelled much what the nobility of the realm meant, which in that ſort would ſuffer her to be led into captivity, the Lord knew whither, for ſhe did not. In the mean time commandment was given in all London, that every one ſhould keep the church, and carry their Palms, while in the mean ſeaſon ſhe might be conveyed without all recourſe of people in the Tower.

After this, ſhe took her barge with the two foreſaid lords, three of the queen's gentlewomen, and three of her own, her gentleman uſher, and two of her grooms, lying and hovering upon the water a certain ſpace, for that they could not ſhoot the bridge, the bargemen being very unwilling to ſhoot the ſame, ſo ſoon as they did, becauſe of the danger thereof: for the ſtern of the boat ſtruck upon the ground, the fall was ſo big, and the water was ſo ſhallow, that the boat being under the bridge, there ſtaid again awhile. At landing, ſhe firſt ſtaid and denied to land at thoſe ſtairs where all traitors and offenders cuſtomably uſed to land, neither could ſhe well, unleſs ſhe ſhould go over her ſhoes. The lords were gone out of the boat before, and aſked why ſhe came not. One of the lords went back again to her, and brought word ſhe would not come.

Then ſaid one of the lords, who ſhall be nameleſs, that ſhe ſhould not chuſe; and becauſe it did then rain, he offered to her his cloak, which ſhe, putting it back with her

her hand with a good dash, refused. So she coming out, having one foot upon the stairs, said, here landeth as true a subject, being prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs: and before thee, O God, I speak it, having no other friends but thee alone.

To whom the same lord answered again, that if it were so, it was the better for her. At her landing there was a great multitude of their servants and warders standing in their order. What needed all this, said she? It is the use, said some, so to be when any prisoner came thither. And if it be, quoth she, for my cause, I beseech you that they may be dismissed. Whereat the poor men kneeled down, and with one voice desired God to preserve her grace, who the next day were released of their cold coats.

After this, passing a little further, she sate down upon a cold stone, and there rested herself. To whom the lieutenant then being, said, Madam, you were best to come out of the rain, for you sit unwholesomely. She then replying, answered again, It is better sitting here, than in a worse place; for God knoweth, I know not whither you will bring me. With that her gentleman usher wept; she demanding of him what he meant so uncomfortably to use her, seeing she took him to be her comfort, and not to dismay her, especially for that she knew her truth to be such, that no man should have cause to weep for her. But forth she went into prison.

The doors were locked and bolted upon her, which greatly discomforted and dismayed her grace. At which time she called to her gentlewoman for her book, desiring God not to suffer her to build her foundation upon the sands, but upon the rock, whereby all blasts of blustering weather should have no power against her. The doors being thus locked, and she close shut up, the lords had great conference how to keep ward and watch, every man declaring his own opinion in that behalf, agreeing straitly and circumspectly to keep her.

Then one of them, which was the lord of Sussex, swearing, said: My lords, let us take heed, and do no more than our commission will bear us out in, whatsoever shall happen hereafter. And further let us consider that she was the king our master's daughter; and therefore let us use such dealing, that we may answer it hereafter, if it shall so happen: for just dealing, quoth he, is always answerable. Whereunto the other lords agreed that it was well said of him, and thereupon departed. Being in the Tower, within two days commandment was, that she should have mass within her house One Mr. Young was then her chaplain, and because there were none of her men so well learned to help the priest to say mass, the mass staid for that day.

The next day two of her yeomen, who had gone long to school before, and were learned, had two abcies provided, and delivered them, so that upon the abcies they should help the priest. One of the said yeomen, holding the abcie in his hand, pretending ignorance at Kyrie Eleyson, set the priest, making as tho' he could answer no farther.

It would make a pitiful and a strange story, here by the way to touch and recite what examination and rackings of poor men there were to find out that knife that should cut her throat; what gaping among my lords of of the clergy, to see the day wherein they might wash their goodly white rochets in her innocent blood; but especially the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, then lord chancellor, who then within five days after came unto her, with divers others of the council, and examined her of the talk that was at Ashbridge, betwixt her and Sir James Acroft, concerning her removing from thence to Dunnington castle, requiring her to declare what she meant thereby.

At the first she being so suddenly asked, did not well remember any such house; but within a while, well advising herself, she said; Indeed I do now remember that I have such a place, but I never lay in it in all my life. And as for any that hath moved me thereunto, I do not remember.

Then to enforce the matter, they brought forth Sir James Acroft. The bishop of Winchester demanded of her what she said to that man. She answered, that she had little to say to him, or to the rest that were then prisoners in the Tower. But my lords, said she, you do examine every mean prisoner of me, wherein methinks you do me great injury. If they have done evil, and offended the queen's majesty, let them answer to it accordingly. I beseech you, my lords, join not me in this sort with any of these offenders. And as concerning my going unto Dunnington castle, I do remember, that Mr. Hobby and mine officers, and you Sir James Acroft had such talk; but what is that to the purpose, my lords, but that I may go to mine own houses at all times?

The lord of Arundel kneeling down, said, Your grace saith true, and certainly we are very sorry that we have so troubled you about so vain matters. She then said; My lords, you do sift me very narrowly. But well I am assured, you shall not do more to me than God hath appointed, and so God forgive you all.

At their departure, Sir John Acroft kneeled down, declaring that he was sorry to see the day in which he should be brought as a witness against her grace. But I assure your grace, said he, I have been marvellously tossed and examined touching your highness, which the Lord knoweth is very strange to me. For I take God to record before all your honours, I do not know any thing of that crime that you have laid to my charge, and will thereupon take my death, if I should be driven to so strict a trial.

That day, or thereabouts, divers of her own officers, who had made provision for her diet, brought the same to the outer gate of the Tower, the common rascal soldiers receiving it; which was no small grief unto the gentlemen, the bringers thereof. Wherefore they required to speak with the lord chamberlain, being then constable of the Tower. Who, coming before his presence, declared unto his lordship, that they were much afraid to bring her grace's diet, and to deliver it unto such common and desperate persons as they were which did receive it, beseeching his honour to consider her grace, and to give such order, that her viands might at all times be brought in by them which were appointed thereunto. Yes, Sirs, said he, who appointed you this office? They answered, Her grace's council. Council, quoth he? there is none of them which hath to do either in that case, or any thing else within this place; and I assure you, for that she is a prisoner, she shall be served with the lieutenant's men, as other prisoners are. Whereat the gentlemen said, That they trusted for more favour from his hands, considering her personage, saying, That they mistrusted not, but the queen and her council would be better to her grace than so; and therewith shewed themselves to be offended at the ungrateful words of the lord chamberlain towards their lady and mistress.

At this he sware by God, striking himself upon the breast, that if they did either frown or shrug at him, he would set them where they should neither see sun nor moon. Thus taking their leave, they desired God to bring him into a better mind toward her grace, and departed from him.

Upon the occasion whereof, her grace's officers made great suit unto the queen's council, that some might be appointed to bring her diet unto her, and that it might no more be delivered unto her by the common soldiers of the Tower. Which being reasonably considered, was by them granted. And thereupon were appointed one of her gentlemen, her clerk of her kitchen, and her two purveyors to bring in her provision once a day. All which was done, the warders ever waiting upon the bringers thereof.

The lord chamberlain himſelf being always with them, circumſpectly and narrowly watched and ſearched what they brought, and gave heed that they ſhould have no talk with any of her grace's waiting ſervants, and ſo warded them both in and out. At the ſaid ſuit of her officers were ſent by the commandment of the council, to wait upon her grace, two yeomen of her chamber, one of her robes, two of her pantry and ewry, one of her buttery, another of her cellar, two of her kitchen, and one of her larder; all which continued with her the time of her trouble.

Here the conſtable, being at the firſt not very well pleaſed with the coming in of ſuch a company againſt his will, would have had his men ſtill to have ſerved with her grace's men. Which her ſervants by no means would ſuffer, deſiring his lordſhip to be contented, for that order was taken that no ſtranger ſhould come within their offices. At which anſwer being ſore diſpleaſed, he brake out into theſe threatening words: Well, I will handle you well enough. Then went he into the kitchen, and there would needs have his meat roaſted with her grace's meat, and ſaid, That his cook ſhould come thither and dreſs it. To that her grace's cook anſwered; My lord, I will never ſuffer any ſtranger to come about her diet, but her own ſworn men, ſo long as I live. He ſaid they ſhould. But the cook ſaid, his lordſhip ſhould pardon him for that matter. Thus did he trouble her poor ſervants very ſtoutly; though afterward he were otherwiſe adviſed, and they more courteouſly uſed at his hands. And good cauſe why. For he had good cheer, and fared of the beſt, and her grace payed well for it. Wherefore he uſed himſelf afterward more reverently toward her grace.

Having been a whole month there in cloſe priſon, and being uneaſy thereat, ſhe ſent for the lord chamberlain, and the lord Chandois to come and ſpeak with her. Who coming, ſhe requeſted them that ſhe might have liberty to walk in ſome place, for that ſhe felt herſelf not well. To which they anſwered, That they were right ſorry that they could not ſatisfy her grace's requeſt; for that they had commandment to the contrary, which they durſt not in any wiſe break. Furthermore, ſhe deſired of them, if that could not be granted, that ſhe might walk but into the queen's lodging. No, nor yet that (they anſwered) could by any means be obtained without a further ſuit to the queen and her council. Well, ſaid ſhe, my lords, if the matter be ſo hard that they muſt be ſued unto for ſo ſmall a thing, and that friendſhip be ſo ſtrict, God comfort me: and ſo they departed, ſhe remaining in her old dungeon ſtill, without any kind of comfort but only God.

The next day after the Lord Chandois came again unto her grace, declaring unto her that he had ſued unto the council for further liberty. Some of them conſented thereunto, divers other diſſented, for that there were ſo many priſoners in the tower. But in concluſion they did all agree, that her grace might walk into thoſe lodgings, ſo that he and the lord camberlain, and three of the queen's gentlewomen did accompany her, the windows being ſhut, and ſhe not ſuffered to look out at any of them: wherewith ſhe contented herſelf, and gave him thanks for his good will in that behalf.

Afterwards there was liberty granted to her grace to walk in a little garden, the doors and gates being ſhut up, which notwithſtanding was as much diſcomfort unto her, as the walk in the garden was pleaſant and acceptable. At which times of her walking there, the priſoners on that ſide ſtraitly were commanded not to ſpeak or look out at the windows into the garden, till her grace were gone out again, having in conſideration thereof their keepers waiting upon them for that time. Thus her grace with this ſmall liberty contented herſelf in God, to whom be praiſe therefore.

During this time, there uſed a little boy, a man's child in the Tower, to reſort to their chambers, and many times to bring her grace flowers, which likewiſe he did to the other priſoners that were there. Whereupon naughty and ſuſpicious heads, thinking to make and wring out ſome matter thereof, called on a time the child unto them, promiſing him figs and apples, and aſked of him when he had been with the earl of Devonſhire, not ignorant of the child's wonted frequenting unto him. The boy anſwered, that he would go by and by thither. Further, they demanded of him, when he was with the lady Elizabeth's grace. He anſwered, Every day. Furthermore, they examined him, what the lord of Devonſhire ſent by him to her grace. The child ſaid, I will go know what he will give to carry to her. Such was the diſcretion of the child, being yet but four years of age. This ſame is a crafty boy, quoth the lord chamberlain. How ſay you, my lord Chandois? I pray you, my lord, quoth the boy, give me the figs you promiſed me. No marry, quoth he, thou ſhalt be whipped if thou come any more to the lady Elizabeth, or the lord Courtney. The boy anſwered, I will bring my lady my miſtreſs more flowers. Whereupon the child's father was commanded to permit the boy no more to come up into their chambers.

The next day, as her grace was walking in the garden, the child peeping in at a hole in the door, cried unto her, ſaying, Miſtreſs, I can bring you no more flowers. Whereat ſhe ſmiled, but ſaid nothing, underſtanding thereby what they had done. Wherefore afterwards the chamberlain rebuked highly his father, commanding him to put him out of the houſe. Alas, poor infant! quoth the father. It is a crafty knave, quoth the lord chamberlain; let me ſee him here no more.

The fifth day of May the conſtable of the Tower was diſcharged of his office, and one Sir Henry Benifield placed in his room, a man unknown to her grace, and therefore the more feared; which ſo ſudden mutation was unto her no little ſurprize. He brought with him an hundred ſoldiers in blue coats, wherewith ſhe was marvellouſly diſcomforted, and demanded of ſuch as were about her, whether the lady Jane's ſcaffold were taken away or no, fearing by reaſon of their coming, leſt ſhe ſhould have played her part. To whom anſwer was made, that the ſcaffold was taken away, and that her grace needed not to doubt of any ſuch tyranny; for God would not ſuffer any ſuch treaſon againſt her perſon. Wherewith being contented, but not altogether ſatisfied, ſhe aſked what Sir Henry Benifield was, and whether he was of that conſcience or no, that if her murdering were ſecretly committed to his charge, he would ſee the execution thereof.

She was anſwered, that they were ignorant what manner of man he was. Howbeit they perſuaded her, that God would not ſuffer ſuch wickedneſs to proceed. Well, quoth ſhe, God grant it be ſo. For thou, O God, canſt mollify all ſuch tyrannous hearts, and diſappoint all ſuch cruel purpoſes; and I beſeech thee to hear me, thy creature, who am thy ſervant, and at thy commandment, truſting by thy grace ever ſo to remain.

About which time it was ſpread abroad, that her grace ſhould be carried from thence by this new jolly captain and his ſoldiers; but whither it could not be learned. Which was unto her a great grief, eſpecially for that ſuch a company was appointed to her guard, requeſting rather to contiue there ſtill, than to be led thence with ſuch a ſort of raſcals. At laſt, plain anſwer was made by the lord Chandois, that there was no remedy, but from thence ſhe muſt needs depart to the manor of Woodſtock, as he thought. Being demanded of her, for what cauſe; For that, quoth he, the Tower is like further to be furniſhed. She being deſirous to know what he meant thereby, demanded wherewith. He anſwered, with ſuch matter as the queen and council were determined in that behalf, whereof he had no knowledge; and ſo departed.

In concluſion, on Trinity Sunday, being the 19th day of May, ſhe was removed from the Tower, the lord treaſurer being there for the lading of her carts, and diſcharging the place of the ſame, where Sir Henry Benifield (being appointed her goaler) received her with a company of rake-hells to guard her, beſides the lord of Darby's band, waiting in the country about for the moon-ſhine in the water. Unto whom at length came my lord of Tame, joined in commiſſion with the ſaid Sir Henry, for the ſafe guiding of her to priſon; and they together conveyed her grace to Woodſtock, as hereafter followeth.

The firſt day they conducted her to Richmond, where ſhe continued all night, being reſtrained of her own men, which were lodged in out-chambers, and Sir Henry Benifield's ſoldiers appointed in their rooms to give attendance on her perſon. Whereat ſhe being marvellouſly diſmayed, thinking verily ſome ſecret miſchief to be working towards her, called her gentleman-uſher, and deſired him with the reſt of his company to pray for her. For this night, quoth ſhe, I think to die. Wherewith he being ſtruck to the heart, ſaying, God forbid that any ſuch wickedneſs ſhould be pretended againſt your grace. So comforting her as well as he could, at laſt he burſt out into tears, and went from her down into the court, where were walking the lord of Tame, and Sir Henry Benifield.

Then he coming to the lord of Tame (who had proffered to him much friendſhip) deſired to ſpeak with him a word or two. Unto whom he familiarly ſaid, he would with all his heart. Which when Sir Henry, ſtanding by, heard, he aſked what the matter was. To whom the gentleman-uſher anſwered, No great matter, Sir, but to ſpeak with my lord a word or two.

Then when the lord of Tame came to him, he ſpake on this wiſe, My lord, quoth he, you have been always my good lord, and ſo I beſeech you to remain. The cauſe why I come to you at this time, is to deſire your honour unfeignedly to declare unto me whether any danger is meant towards my miſtreſs this night, or not, that I and my poor fellows may take ſuch part as ſhall pleaſe God to appoint: For certainly we will rather die, than ſhe ſhould ſecretly and innocently miſcarry. Marry, ſaid the lord of Tame, God forbid that any ſuch wicked purpoſe ſhould be wrought; and rather than it ſhould be ſo, I with my men are ready to die at her foot alſo: and ſo (praiſed be God) they paſſed that doleful night, with no little heavineſs of heart.

Afterwards paſſing over the water at Richmond, going towards Windſor, her grace eſpied certain of her poor ſervants ſtanding on the other ſide, which were very deſirous to ſee her. Whom when ſhe beheld, turning to one of her men ſtanding by, ſhe ſaid, Yonder I ſee certain of my men: go to them and ſay theſe words from me, Tanquam ovis, that is, Like a ſheep to the ſlaughter.

So ſhe paſſing forward to Windſor, was lodged there that night in the dean of Windſor's houſe, a place more meet indeed for a prieſt than a princeſs.

And from thence her grace was guarded and brought the next night to Mr. Dormer's houſe, where much people ſtanding by the way, ſome preſented to her one gift, and ſome another, ſo that Sir Henry was greatly moved therewith, and troubled the poor people very ſore, for ſhewing their loving hearts in ſuch a manner, calling them rebels and traitors, with ſuch like vile words.

Beſides, as ſhe paſſed through the villages, the townſmen rang the bells, as being joyful of her coming, thinking that it had been otherwiſe than it was indeed, as the ſequel proved after to the ſaid poor men. For immediately the ſaid Sir Henry hearing the ſame, ſent his ſoldiers thither, who apprehended ſome of the ringers, ſetting them in the ſtocks, and otherwiſe uncourteouſly miſuſing other ſome for their good wills.

On the morrow her grace paſſing from Mr. Dormer's (where was for the time of her abode there, a ſtrait watch kept) came to the lord of Tame's houſe, where ſhe lay all night, being very princely entertained both by knights and ladies, gentlemen and gentlewomen. Whereat Sir Henry Benifield grumbled, and was highly offended, ſaying unto them, That they could not tell what they did, and were not able to anſwer their doings in that behalf, letting them to underſtand, that ſhe was the queen's priſoner, and no otherwiſe; adviſing them therefore to take heed and beware of after-claps. Whereunto the lord of Tame anſwered in this wiſe; That he was well adviſed of his doings, being joined in commiſſion as well as he, adding with warrant, that her grace might and ſhould in his houſe be merry.

The next day, as ſhe ſhould take her journey from Richmond towards Woodſtock, the lord of Tame with another gentleman being at tables, playing, and dropping vie-crowns, the lady Elizabeth paſſing by, ſtaid, and ſaid ſhe would ſee the game played out, which Sir Henry Benifield would ſcarce permit. The game running long about, and they playing at drop vie-crowns, Come on, ſaith he; I will tarry, ſaith ſhe, and ſee this game out.

After this, Sir Henry Benifield went up into a chamber, where was appointed for her grace a chair, two cuſhions, and a foot-carpet very fair and prince-like, wherein preſumptuouſly he ſate, and called one Barwick his man to pull off his boots. Which as ſoon as it was known among the ladies and gentlemen, every one muſed thereat, and laughed him to ſcorn, obſerving his undiſcreet manners in that behalf, as they might very well.

When ſupper was done, he called my lord, and willed him that all the gentlemen and ladies ſhould withdraw themſelves every one to his lodging, marvelling much that he would permit there ſuch a company, conſidering ſo great a charge committed to him.

Sir Henry, quoth my lord, content yourſelf, all ſhall be voided, your men and all. Nay, my ſoldiers, quoth Sir Henry, ſhall watch all night. The lord of Tame anſwered, There is no need. Well, ſaid he, Need or need not, they ſhall ſo do, miſtruſting belike the company, which God knoweth was without cauſe.

The next day her grace took her journey from thence to Woodſtock, where ſhe was incloſed, as before in the Tower of London, the ſoldiers guarding both within and without the walls, every day to the number of ſixty; and in the night without the walls forty, during the time of her impriſonment there.

At length ſhe had gardens appointed for her to walk in which was very comfortable to her grace. But always when ſhe recreated herſelf therein, the doors were faſt locked up, in as ſtrict manner as they were in the Tower, being at leaſt five or ſix locks between her lodging and her walks; Sir Henry himſelf keeping the keys, and truſting no man therewith. Whereupon ſhe called him her gaoler; and he kneeling down, deſired her grace not to call him ſo, for he was appointed there to be one of her officers. From ſuch officers (quoth ſhe) good Lord, deliver me.

And now by the way, as digreſſing, or rather refreſhing the reader, if it be lawful in ſo ſerious a ſtory to recite a matter incident, and yet not impertinent to the ſame; occaſion here moveth, or rather inforceth me to touch briefly what happened in the ſame place and time by a certain merry conceited man, being then about her grace: who noting the ſtrict and ſtrange keeping of his lady and miſtreſs by the ſaid Sir Henry Benifield, with ſo many locks and doors, with ſuch watch and ward about her, as was ſtrange and wonderful, ſpied a goat in the ward where her grace was; and whether to refreſh her oppreſſed mind, or to mortify her ſtrait handling by Sir Henry, or elſe both, he took it upon his neck, and followed

followed her grace therewith as ſhe was going into her lodging.

Which when ſhe ſaw, ſhe aſked him what he would do with it, deſiring him to let it alone. The man anſwered, No, by St. Mary (if pleaſe your grace) will I not; for I cannot tell, whether he be one of the queen's friends or not. I will carry him to Sir Henry Benifield (God willing) to know what he is: ſo leaving her grace, he went with the goat on his neck, and carried it to Sir Henry; who when he ſaw him coming with it, aſked him, half angerly, what he had there.

Unto whom the party anſwered, ſaying; Sir, I cannot tell what he is. I pray you examine him, for I found him in the place where my lady's grace was walking, and what talk they have had I cannot tell. For I underſtand him not, but he ſhould ſeem to me to be ſome ſtranger, and I think verily a Welchman, for he hath a white freeze coat on his back. And foraſmuch as I being the queen's ſubject, and perceiving the ſtrait charge committed to you, that no ſtranger ſhould have acceſs to her without ſufficient licenſe, I have here found a ſtranger (what he is I cannot tell) in the place where her grace was walking; and therefore for the neceſſary diſcharge of my duty, I thought it good to bring the ſaid ſtranger to you, to examine as you ſee cauſe; and ſo he ſet him down. At this Sir Henry ſeemed much diſpleaſed, and ſaid, Well, well, you will never leave this gear, I ſee: and ſo they departed.

Now to return to the matter from whence we have digreſſed, after her grace had been there a time, ſhe made ſuit to the council that ſhe might be ſuffered to write to the queen. Which at laſt was permitted: So Sir Henry Benifield brought her pen, ink, and paper: and ſtanding by her a while ſhe wrote (which he ſtrictly obſerved) always ſhe being weary, he would carry away her letters, and bring them again when ſhe called for them. In the finiſhing thereof, he would have been meſſenger to the queen of the ſame. Whoſe requeſt her grace denied, ſaying. One of her own men ſhould carry them, and that ſhe would neither truſt him, nor any of his therein.

Then he anſwered again, ſaying, None of them durſt be ſo bold (he thought) to carry her letters being in that caſe. Yes, quoth ſhe, I am aſſured I have none ſo diſhoneſt that would deny my requeſt in that behalf, but will be as willing to ſerve me now as before. Well, ſaid he, my commiſſion is to the contrary, and I may not ſo ſuffer it. Her grace replying again, ſaid, You charge me very often with your commiſſion. I pray God you may juſtly anſwer the cruel dealing you uſe towards me.

Then he kneeling down, deſired her grace to think and conſider how he was a ſervant, and put in truſt there by the queen to ſerve her majeſty; proteſting that if the caſe were hers, he would as willingly ſerve her grace, as now he did the queen's highneſs. For which anſwer her grace thanked him, deſiring God that ſhe might never have need of ſuch ſervants as he was; declaring further to him, that his doings towards her were not good nor anſwerable, but more than all the friends he had would ſtand by.

To whom Sir Henry replied, and ſaid, That there was no remedy but his doings muſt be anſwered, and ſo they ſhould, truſting to make good account thereof. The cauſe which moved her grace ſo to ſay, was, for that he would not permit her letters to be carried four or five days after the writing thereof. But in fine he was content to ſend for her gentleman from the town of Woodſtock, demanding of him whether he durſt enterpriſe the carriage of her grace's letters to the queen, or no: and he anſwered, Yea, Sir, that I dare, and will with all my heart. Whereupon Sir Henry, half againſt his ſtomach, took them unto him.

Then about the 8th of June came down Dr. Owen, and Dr. Wendy, ſent by the queen to her grace, for that ſhe was ſickly; who miniſtering to her, and letting her blood, tarried there and attended on her grace five or ſix days. Then ſhe being well amended, they returned again to the court, making their good report to the queen and the council of her grace's behaviour and humility towards the queen's highneſs. Which her majeſty hearing, took very thankfully; but the biſhops repined thereat, looked black in the mouth, and told the queen, they marvelled that ſhe ſubmitted not herſelf to her majeſty's mercy, conſidering that ſhe had offended her highneſs.

About this time, her grace was requeſted by a ſecret friend, to ſubmit herſelf to the queen's majeſty, which would be well taken, and to her great quiet and advantage. Unto whom ſhe anſwered, That ſhe would never ſubmit herſelf to them whom ſhe never offended. For (quoth ſhe) if I have offended and am guilty, I then crave no mercy, but the law, which I am certain (quoth ſhe) I ſhould have had ere this, if it could be proved by me. For I know myſelf (I thank God) to be out of the danger thereof, wiſhing that I were as clear out of the peril of my enemies, and then I am aſſured I ſhould not ſo be locked and bolted up within walls and doors as I am. God give them a better mind when it pleaſeth him.

About this time there was a great conſultation among the biſhops and gentlemen, touching a marriage for her grace, which ſome of the Spaniards wiſhed to be with ſome ſtranger, that ſhe might go out of the realm with her portion; ſome ſaying one thing, and ſome another.

A lord (who ſhall be here nameleſs) being there, at laſt ſaid, That the king ſhould never have any quiet commonwealth in England, unleſs her head was ſtricken from her ſhoulders. Whereunto the Spaniards anſwered, ſaying, God forbid that their king and maſter ſhould have that mind to conſent to ſuch a miſchief.

This was the courteous anſwer of the Spaniards to the Engliſhmen, ſpeaking after that ſort againſt their own country. From that day the Spaniards never left off their good perſuaſions to the king, that the like honour he ſhould never obtain, as he ſhould in delivering the lady Elizabeth's grace out of priſon: whereby at length ſhe was happily releaſed from the ſame. Here is a plain and evident example of the good clemency and nature of the king and his counſellors toward her grace (praiſed be God therefore) who moved their hearts therein. Then hereupon ſhe was ſent for ſhortly after to come to Hampton-court.

But before her removing away from Woodſtock, we will a little ſtay to declare in what danger her life was, during this time ſhe there remained: firſt through fire, which began to kindle between the boards and ceiling under the chamber where ſhe lay, whether by a ſpark of fire got into a cranny, or whether of purpoſe by ſome that meant her no good, the Lord doth know. Nevertheleſs a worſhipful knight of Oxfordſhire, which was there joined the ſame time with Sir Henry Benifield in keeping that lady (who then took up the boards and quenched the fire) verily ſuppoſed it to be done of purpoſe.

Furthermore it is thought, and alſo affirmed (if it be true) of one Paul Penny, a keeper of Woodſtock, a notorious ruffian and a butcherly wretch, that he was appointed to kill the ſaid lady Elizabeth: who both ſaw the man being often in her ſight, and alſo knew thereof.

Another time, one of the privy chamber, a great man about the queen, and chief darling of Stephen Gardiner, named James Baſſet, came to Blandenbridge a mile from Woodſtock with twenty or thirty privy coats, and ſent for Sir Henry Benifield to come and ſpeak with him. But as God would, who diſpoſeth all things according to his own will, ſo it happened, that a little before, the ſaid Sir Henry Benifield was ſent for by poſt to the council, leaving ſtrict word behind him with his brother, that no man, whatſoever he were, though coming with a note

of the queen's hand, or any other warrant, ſhould have acceſs to her before his return again. By reaſon whereof it ſo fell out, that Mr. Benifield's brother, coming to him at the bridge, would ſuffer him in no caſe to approach in, who otherwiſe (as is ſuppoſed) was appointed violently to murder the innocent lady.

In the life of Stephen Gardiner we declared before, how that the lady Elizabeth being in the Tower, a writ came down, ſubſcribed with certain hands of the council for her execution: which if it were certain, as it is reported, Wincheſter (no doubt) was deviſer of that miſchievous drift: and doubtleſs the ſame Achitophel had brought his impious purpoſe that day to paſs, had not the fatherly purpoſe of Almighty God ſtirred up Mr. Bridges, lieutenant the ſame time of the Tower, to come in haſte to the queen to give certificate thereof, and to know further her conſent touching her ſiſter's death. Whereupon it followed, that all that device was diſappointed, and Wincheſter's deviliſh platform, which he ſaid he had caſt, through the Lord's great goodneſs came to no effect.

Where moreover is to be noted, that during the impriſonment of this lady and princeſs, one Mr. Edmund Tremaine was on the rack, and Mr. Smithwike, and divers others in the Tower were examined, and divers offers made to them to accuſe the guiltleſs lady, being in her captivity. Howbeit all that notwithſtanding, no matter could be proved by all examinations, as ſhe the ſame time lying at Woodſtock had certain intelligence by the means of one John Gayer; who, under a colourable pretence of a letter to Mrs. Cleve from her father, was let in, and ſo gave them ſecretly to underſtand of all this matter. Whereupon the lady Elizabeth, at her departing out from Woodſtock, wrote theſe verſes with her diamond in a glaſs window.

Much ſuſpected by me:
Nothing proved can be.
Quoth Elizabeth, Priſoner.

And thus much touching the troubles of lady Elizabeth, at Woodſtock. Whereupon this is more to be added, that during the ſame time, the lord of Tame had laboured to the queen, and became ſurety for her, to have her from Woodſtock to his houſe, and had obtained a grant thereof. Whereupon preparation was made accordingly, and all things ready in expectation of her coming. But through the procurement either of Mr. Benifield, or by the advice of Wincheſter her mortal enemy, letters came over-night to the contrary; whereby her journey was ſtopped.

Thus this worthy lady, oppreſſed with continual ſorrow, could not be permitted to have recourſe to any friends ſhe had, but ſtill in the hands of her enemies was left deſolate, and utterly deſtitute of all that might refreſh a doleful heart, fraught full of terror and thraldom. Whereupon no marvel if ſhe hearing upon a time, out of her garden at Woodſtock, a certain milkmaid ſinging pleaſantly, wiſhed herſelf to be a milkmaid as ſhe was, ſaying that her caſe was better, and life more merry than was hers, in that ſtate as ſhe was.

Now after theſe things thus declared, to proceed further there where we left before, Sir Henry Benifield and his ſoldiers, with the lord of Tame, and Sir Ralph Chamberline, guarding and waiting upon her, the firſt night from Woodſtock ſhe came to Ricot. In which journey ſuch a mighty wind did blow, that her ſervants were fain to hold down her clothes about her: inſomuch that her hood was twice or thrice blown from her head. Whereupon ſhe deſiring to return to a certain gentleman's houſe there near, could not be ſuffered by Sir Henry Benifield ſo to do, but was conſtrained under an hedge to trim her head as well as ſhe could.

After this, the next night they journeyed to Mr. Dormer's, and ſo to Colbroke, where ſhe lay all that night at the George, and by the way coming to Colbroke, certain of her grace's gentlemen and yeomen met her, to the number of threeſcore, much to all their comforts, who had not ſeen her grace of long ſeaſon before: notwithſtanding they were commanded in the queen's name immediately to depart the town, to both their and her grace's no little heavineſs, who could not be ſuffered once to ſpeak with them. So that night all her men were taken from her, ſaving her gentleman-uſher, three gentlewomen, two grooms, and one of her wardrobe, the ſoldiers watching and warding about the houſe, and ſhe cloſe ſhut up within her priſon.

The next day following, her grace enter'd Hampton-Court on the back-ſide into the prince's lodging, the doors being ſhut to her, and ſhe guarded with ſoldiers as before, lay there a fortnight at leaſt, ere any had recourſe unto her: at length came the lord William Haward, who marvellous honourably uſed her grace. Whereat ſhe took much comfort, and requeſted him to be a means that ſhe might ſpeak with ſome of the council. To whom (not long after) came the biſhop of Wincheſter, and the lord of Arundel, the lord of Shrewſbury, ſecretary Peter, who with great humility humbled themſelves to her grace. She again likewiſe ſaluting them, ſaid, My lords, I am glad to ſee you; for methinks I have been kept a great while from you deſolately alone. Wherefore I would deſire you to be a means to the king and queen, that I may be delivered from priſon, wherein I have been kept a long time, as to you my lords is well known.

When ſhe had ſpoken, Stephen Gardiner the biſhop of Wincheſter kneeled down, and requeſted that ſhe would ſubmit herſelf to the queen's grace, and in ſo doing he had no doubt, but that her majeſty would be good to her: She made anſwer, that rather than ſhe would ſo do, ſhe would lie in priſon all the days of her life; adding, that ſhe craved no mercy at her majeſty's hand, but rather deſired the law, if ever ſhe did offend her majeſty in thought, word, or deed: And beſides this, in yielding (quoth ſhe) I ſhould ſpeak againſt myſelf, and confeſs myſelf to be an offender, which I never was towards her majeſty, by occaſion whereof the king and queen might ever hereafter conceive of me an evil opinion: and therefore I ſay, my lords, it were better for me to lie in priſon for the truth, than to be abroad and ſuſpected of my prince. And ſo they departed, promiſing to declare her meſſage to the queen.

On the next day the biſhop of Wincheſter came again unto her grace, and kneeling down declared that the queen marvelled that ſhe would ſo ſtoutly uſe herſelf, not confeſſing that ſhe had offended: ſo that it ſhould ſeem that the queen's majeſty had wrongfully impriſoned her grace.

Nay, quoth the lady Elizabeth, it may pleaſe her to puniſh me as ſhe thinketh good.

Well, quoth Gardiner, her majeſty willeth me to tell you, that you muſt tell another tale ere that you be ſet at liberty.

Her grace anſwered, that ſhe had as lief be in priſon with honeſty and truth, as to be abroad, ſuſpected of her majeſty; and this that I have ſaid, I will (ſaid ſhe) ſtand unto, for I will never bely myſelf.

Wincheſter again kneeled down, and ſaid, Then your grace hath the advantage of me and other lords for your wrong and long impriſonment.

What advantage I have (quoth ſhe) you know, taking God to record, I ſeek no advantage at your hands for your ſo dealing with me, but God forgive you and me alſo. With that the reſt kneeled, deſiring her grace that all might be forgotten; and ſo departed, ſhe being faſt locked up again.

A ſeven-night after the queen ſent for her grace at ten of the clock in the night to ſpeak with her: for ſhe had not ſeen her in two years before. Yet for all that, ſhe amazed at the ſuddenneſs of the meſſage, thinking it had

had been worſe than afterwards it proved, deſired her gentlemen and gentlewomen to pray for her, for that ſhe could not tell whether ſhe ſhould ever ſee them again or no.

At which time Sir Henry Benifield with Mrs. Clarencius coming in, her grace was brought into the garden unto a ſtairs foot that went into the queen's lodging, her grace's gentlewoman waiting upon her, her gentleman-uſher and her grooms going before with torches; where her gentlemen and gentlewomen being commanded to ſtay, all ſaving one woman, Mrs. Clarencius conducted her to the queen's bed-chamber where her majeſty was.

At the ſight of whom her grace kneeled down, and deſired God to preſerve her majeſty, not miſtrusting but that ſhe ſhould try herſelf as a true ſubject towards her majeſty as ever did any, and deſired her majeſty even ſo to judge of her; and ſaid, that ſhe ſhould not find her to the contrary, whatſoever report otherwiſe had gone of her.

To whom the queen anſwered, You will not confeſs your offence, but ſtand ſtoutly to your truth; I pray God it may ſo fall out.

If it doth not, (quoth the lady Elizabeth) I requeſt neither favour nor pardon at your majeſty's hands. Well (ſaid the queen) you ſtiffly ſtill perſevere in your truth. Belike you will not confeſs but that you have been wrongfully puniſhed.

I muſt not lay ſo (if it pleaſe your majeſty) to you.

Why then (ſaid the queen) belike you will to others.

No, if it pleaſe your majeſty (quoth ſhe) I have borne the burden, and muſt bear it. I humbly beſeech your majeſty to have a good opinion of me, and to think me to be your true ſubject, not only from the beginning hitherto, but for ever, as long as life laſteth: and ſo they departed with very few comfortable words of the queen, in Engliſh: but what ſhe ſaid in Spaniſh, God knoweth. It is thought that king Phillip was there behind a cloth, and not ſeen, and that he ſhewed himſelf a very friend in that matter, &c.

Thus her grace departing, went to her lodging again, and that day ſeven-night was releaſed of Sir Henry Benifield her gaoler (as ſhe termed him) and his ſoldiers; and ſo her grace being ſet at liberty from impriſonment went into the country, and had appointed to go with her Sir Thomas Pope, one of queen Mary's counſellors, and one of her gentlemen-uſhers, Mr. Gage, and thus ſtrictly was ſhe looked to all queen Mary's time. And this is the diſcourſe of her highneſs's impriſonment.

Then there came to Lambeyre, Mr. Jerningham, and Mr. Norris gentleman-uſher, queen Mary's men, who took away from her grace, Mrs. Aſhly to the Fleet, and three other of her gentlewomen to the Tower; which thing was no little trouble to her grace, ſaying, that ſhe thought they would fetch all away at the end. But God be praiſed, ſhortly after was fetched away Gardiner through the merciful providence of the Lord's goodneſs, by occaſion of whoſe opportune deceaſe (as is partly touched in this ſtory before) the life of this excellent princeſs, the wealth of all England, was preſerved. For this is credibly to be ſuppoſed, that the ſaid wicked Gardiner of Wincheſter had long laboured his wits, and to this only moſt principal mark bent all his devices, to take this our happy and dear ſovereign out of the way; as both by his words and doings before notified, may ſufficiently appear.

But ſuch was the gracious and favourable providence of the Lord, to the preſervation not only of her royal majeſty, but alſo of the miſerable and woful ſtate of this whole iſland, and poor ſubjects of the ſame, whereby the proud platforms and peeviſh practices of this wicked Achitophel prevailed not: but contrariwiſe, both he, and all the ſnares and traps of his pernicious counſel laid againſt another, were turned to a net to catch himſelf, according to the proverb, Malum conſilium conſultori peſſimum.

After the death of this Gardiner, followed the death alſo and drooping away of other her enemies, where by little and little her jeopardy decreaſed, fear diminiſhed, hope of comfort began to appear as out of a dark cloud: and albeit as yet her grace had no full aſſurance of perfect ſafety, yet more gentle entertainment daily did grow unto her, till at length in the month of November, and ſeventeenth day of the ſame, three years after the death of Stephen Gardiner, followed the death of queen Mary.

Although this hiſtory following be not directly appertaining to the former matter, yet the ſame may here not unaptly be inſerted, for that it doth diſcover and ſhew forth the malicious hearts of the papiſts to the lady Elizabeth in the time of queen Mary her ſiſter, which is reported, by ſundry honeſt perſons of unqueſtionable credit. The matter whereof is this,

Soon after the ſtir of Wyat, and the troubles that happened to the lady Elizabeth for that cauſe, it happened that one Robert Farrer a haberdaſher of London, dwelling near Newgate-market, in a certain morning to be at the Roſe tavern, where chanced to meet him one Laurence Shiriff, grocer, dwelling alſo not far from thence, they drinking together as good friends (as they had been for a long time before) Farrer being a little elevated, and not conſidering who were preſent, began to talk at large againſt the lady Elizabeth, and ſaid; That jilt hath been one of the chief doers in this rebellion of Wyat, and before all be done, ſhe and all the heretics ſhall well underſtand it. Some of them hope that ſhe ſhall have the crown, but ſhe and they (I truſt) that ſo hope, ſhall hop headleſs, or be fry'd with faggots before ſhe come to it.

Laurence the grocer being ſworn ſervant to the lady Elizabeth, could no longer bear theſe ſcandalous expreſſions of his old acquaintance concerning his miſtreſs, but ſaid to him, Farrer, I have loved thee as a neighbour, and have had a good opinion of thee, but in this I defy thee; and I tell thee I am her grace's ſworn ſervant, and ſhe is a princeſs, and the daughter of a noble king, and it doth not become thee to call her a jilt; and for thy ſaying, I ſay thou art a knave, and I will complain of thee. Do thy worſt, ſaid Farrer, for what I ſaid I will ſay again? and ſo Shiriff went out of his company.

Shortly after the ſaid Shiriff, taking an honeſt neighbour with him, went before the commiſſioners to complain, who ſat then at biſhop Bonner's houſe near St. Pauls, Bonner being then chief commiſſioner, the lord Mordant, Sir John Baker, Dr. Darbiſhire chancellor to the biſhop, Dr. Story, Dr. Harpsfield, and others, being preſent.

Mr. Shiriff coming before them, declared the manner of Farrer's talk againſt the lady Elizabeth. Bonner anſwered, Peradventure you took him worſe than he meant.

Yea, my lord, ſaid Dr. Story, if you knew the man as I do, you would ſay there is not a better catholic, nor an honeſter man in the city of London.

Well, ſaid Mr. Shiriff, my lord, ſhe is my gracious lady and miſtreſs, and it is not to be ſuffered that ſuch a varlet as he ſhould call ſo honourable a princeſs by the name of jilt: and I ſaw yeſterday at court that my lord cardinal Pool, meeting her in the chamber of preſence, kneeled down on his knees and kiſſ'd her hand; and I ſaw alſo that king Phillip meeting her, made her ſuch obeiſance, that his knee touched the ground; and then me-thinketh it were too much to ſuffer ſuch a varlet as this is, to call her jilt, and to wiſh them to hop headleſs that ſhall wiſh her grace to enjoy the poſſeſſion of the crown, when God ſhall ſend it unto her, as in the right of her inheritance.

Yea? ſtay there, quoth Bonner. When God ſendeth it unto her, let her enjoy it. But truly (ſaid he) the man that ſpake the words that you have reported, meant nothing againſt the lady Elizabeth your miſtreſs, and no more do we: but he like an honeſt and zealous man feared the alteration of religion, which every good man ought to fear: and therefore (ſaid Bonner) good man go your way home, and report well of us to your miſtreſs, and we will ſend for Farrer and rebuke him for his raſh and undiſcreet words, and we truſt he will not do the like again. And thus Shiriff came away, and Farrer had a ſlap with a fox tail.

Queen Mary being long ſick before, upon the 17th day of November, in the year aboveſaid, about three or four o'clock in the morning, yielded her life to nature, and her kingdom to queen Elizabeth her ſiſter. Concerning whoſe death, ſome ſay that ſhe died of a tympany, ſome (by her much ſighing before her death) ſuppoſed ſhe died of thought and ſorrow. Whereupon her council ſeeing her ſighing, and deſirous of knowing the cauſe, to the end they might the more ready miniſter conſolation to her, feared, as they ſaid, that ſhe took that thought for the king her huſband, who was gone from her. To whom ſhe anſwering, ſaid, Indeed that may be one cauſe, but that is not the greateſt wound that pierceth my oppreſſed mind: but what that was ſhe would not expreſs to them.

Albeit afterward ſhe opened the matter more plainly to Mr. Rice and Mrs. Clarencius (if it be true that they told me, who heard it of Mr. Rice himſelf,) who then being moſt familiar with her, told her, that they feared ſhe took thought for king Phillip's departing from her. Not that only, ſaid ſhe, but when I am dead and opened, you ſhall find Calice lying in my heart, &c. And here an end of queen Mary and of her perſecution.

Of which queen this truly may be affirmed, and left in ſtory for a perpetual memorial or epitaph for all kings and queens that ſhall ſucceed her, to be noted, That before her never was read in ſtory of any king or queen of England ſince the time of king Lucius, under whom in time of peace, by hanging, heading, burning, and impriſoning, ſo much chriſtian blood, ſo many Engliſhmen's lives were ſpilled within this realm, as under the ſaid queen Mary for the ſpace of four years was to be ſeen, and I beſeech the Lord never may be ſeen hereafter.

A brief Declaration, ſhewing the unproſperous Succeſs of Queen Mary in proſecuting God's People, and how mightily God wrought againſt her in all her Affairs.

AS queen Mary during all her reign was ſuch a vehement adverſary againſt the ſincere profeſſors of Chriſt and his goſpel; for which there be many who do highly magnify and approve her doings therein: to the intent therefore that all men may underſtand, how the bleſſing of God did not only not proceed with her proceedings, but contrariwiſe rather, how his manifeſt diſpleaſure ever wrought againſt her, in plaguing both her and her realm, and in ſubverting all her counſels and attempts, whatſoever ſhe took in hand, we will beſtow a little time therein, to ſurvey the whole courſe of her actions, and conſider what ſucceſs ſhe had in the ſame. Which being well conſidered, we ſhall never find any reign of any prince in this land, or any other, which did ever ſhew in it (for the proportion of time) ſo many arguments of God's wrath and diſpleaſure, as was to be ſeen in the reign of this queen, whether we behold the ſhortneſs of her time, or the unfortunate event of all her purpoſes, who ſeemed never to purpoſe any thing that came luckily to paſs, neither did any thing frame to her purpoſe, whatſoever thing ſhe took in hand touching her own private affairs.

Of good kings we read in ſcripture, in ſhewing mercy and pity, in ſeeking God's will in his word, and ſubverting the monuments of idolatry, how God bleſſed their ways, increaſed their honours, and mightily proſpered all their proceedings, as we ſee in king David, Solomon, Joſias, Joſaphat, Ezechias, with ſuch others; Manaſſes made the ſtreets of Jeruſalem to ſwim with the blood of his ſubjects, but what came of it, the text doth teſtify.

Of queen Elizabeth, who now reigneth among us, this we muſt needs ſay which we ſee, that ſhe in ſparing the blood, not only of God's ſervants, but alſo of God's enemies, hath doubled now the reign of queen Mary her ſiſter, with ſuch abundance of peace and proſperity, that it is hard to ſay, whether the realm of England felt more of God's wrath in queen Mary's time, or of God's favour and mercy in theſe bleſſed days of queen Elizabeth.

Gamaliel ſpeaking his mind in the council of the Phariſees concerning Chriſt's religion, gave this reaſon, that if it were not of God, it could not ſtand. So may it be ſaid of queen Mary and her Romiſh religion, that if it were ſo perfect and catholic as they pretend, and the contrary faith of the goſpellers were ſo deteſtable and heretical as they make it; how cometh it then, that this ſo catholic a queen, ſuch a neceſſary pillar of his ſpouſe the church, continued no longer, till ſhe had utterly rooted out of the land this heretical generation? yea how chanced it rather, that almighty God to ſpare theſe poor heretics, rooted out queen Mary ſo ſoon from her throne, after ſhe had reigned but only five years and five months?

Further, how God bleſſed her ways and endeavours in the mean time, while ſhe thus perſecuted the true ſervants of God, remaineth to be diſcuſſed. Where this is firſt to be noted, that when ſhe firſt began to ſtand for the title of the crown, and yet had wrought no reſiſtance againſt Chriſt and his goſpel, but had promiſed her faith to the Suffolk men, to maintain the religion left by king Edward her brother, ſo long God went with her, advanced her, and by the means of the goſpellers brought her to the poſſeſſion of the realm. But after that ſhe breaking her promiſe with God and man, began to take part with Stephen Gardiner, and had given over her ſupremacy to the pope, by-and-by God's bleſſing left her, neither did any thing well thrive with her afterward during the time of her government.

For firſt, the fineſt and greateſt ſhip ſhe had, called Great Harry, was burnt; ſuch a veſſel as was not to be matched in theſe parts of Europe.

Then would ſhe needs bring in K. Phillip, and by her ſtrange marriage with him, to make the whole realm of England ſubject to a ſtranger. And all that notwithſtanding, that ſhe either did, or was able to do, ſhe could not bring to paſs to ſet the crown of England on his head. With king Phillip came in the pope and his popiſh maſs; with whom alſo her purpoſe was to reſtore again the monks and nuns to their places, neither lacked there any attempts to the utmoſt of her power; and yet therein God ſtopt her of her will, that it came not forward. After this, what a famine happened in her time here in her land? the like whereof hath not been in England, inſomuch that in ſundry places her poor ſubjects were forced to live upon acorns for want of corn.

Furthermore where other kings are wont to be renowned by ſome worthy victory and valour by them atchieved, let us now ſee what valiant victory was gotten in this queen Mary's day. King Edward the ſixth her bleſſed brother, how many rebellions did he ſuppreſs in Devonſhire, in Norfolk, in Oxfordſhire, and elſewhere?

elſewhere? what a famous victory was got in his time in Scotland, by the ſingular working (no doubt) of God's bleſſed hand, rather than by any expectation of man? King Edward the third (which was the eleventh king from the conqueſt) by princely puiſſance purchaſed Calice unto England, which hath been kept Engliſh ever ſince, till at length came queen Mary, the eleventh likewiſe from the ſaid king Edward, who loſt Calice from England again: ſo that the winnings of this queen were very ſmall, what the loſſes were let other men judge.

Hitherto the affairs of queen Mary have had no great ſucceſs, as you have heard: but never worſe ſucceſs had any woman than ſhe had in her childbirth. For ſeeing one of theſe two muſt needs be granted, that either ſhe was with child or not with child: if ſhe were with child, why was it not ſeen? if ſhe were not, how was all the realm deluded? and in the mean while, where were all the prayers, the ſolemn proceſſions, the devout maſſes of the catholic clergy? why did they not prevail with God, if their religion were ſo godly as they pretend? if their maſſes Ex opere operato be able to fetch Chriſt from heaven, and to reach down to purgatory: how chanced then they could not reach to the queen's chamber, to help her in her travail, if ſhe had been with child indeed? if not, how then came it to paſs, that all the catholic church of England did ſo err, and was ſo deeply deceived? Queen Mary after theſe manifold plagues and corrections, which might ſufficiently admoniſh her of God's diſfavour provoked againſt her, would not yet ceaſe her perſecution, but ſtill continued more and more to revenge her catholic zeal upon the Lord's faithful people, ſetting fire to their poor bodies by dozens and half dozens. Whereupon God's wrathful indignation, increaſing more and more againſt her, ceaſed not to touch her more near with private misfortunes and calamities. For after that he had taken from her the fruit of children (which chiefly and above all things ſhe deſired) then he bereft her of that, which of all earthly things ſhould have been her chief ſtay of honour, and ſtaff of comfort, that is, withdrew from her the affection and company even of her own huſband, by whoſe marriage ſhe had promiſed before to herſelf whole heaps of ſuch joy and felicity: but the omnipotent governor of all things ſo turned the wheel of her own ſpinning againſt her, that her high buildings of ſuch joys and felicities came all to nothing; her hopes being confounded, her purpoſes diſappointed, and ſhe alſo brought to deſolation; who ſeemed neither to have the favour of God, nor the heart of her ſubjects, nor even the love of her huſband; who neither had fruit by him while ſhe had him, neither could enjoy him whom ſhe married, nor yet at liberty to marry any other whom ſhe might. Now obſerve the woful adverſity of this queen, and learn hencè what the Lord can do when man's wilfulneſs will needs reſiſt him, and will not be ruled.

At laſt, when all theſe fair admonitions would take no place with the queen, nor move her to revoke her bloody laws, nor to ſtay the tyranny of her prieſts, nor yet to ſpare her own ſubjects, but that the ſervants of God were drawn daily by heaps moſt pitifully as ſheep to the ſlaughter, it ſo pleaſed the heavenly Majeſty of Almighty God, when no other remedy would ſerve, ſeaſonably to cut her off by death, who in her life ſo little regarded the life of others, giving her throne, which ſhe abuſed to the deſtruction of Chriſt's church and people, to another who more temperately and quietly could guide the ſame, after ſhe had reigned here the ſpace of five years and five months. The ſhortneſs of whoſe reign, ſcarce we find in any other ſtory of king or queen ſince the conqueſt or before (being come to their own government) ſave only in king Richard III.

And thus much here, as in the cloſing up of this ſtory, I thought to inſinuate, touching the unlucky and deplorable reign of queen Mary: not for any detraction to her place and ſtate-royal, whereunto ſhe was called of the Lord, but to this only intent and effect, that foraſmuch as ſhe would needs ſet herſelf ſo confidently to work and ſtrive againſt the Lord and his proceedings, all readers and rulers may not only ſee how the Lord did work againſt her therefore, but alſo by her may be advertiſed and learn what a dangerous thing it is for men and women in authority, upon blind zeal and opinion, to ſtir up perſecution in the chriſtian church, to the effuſion of chriſtian blood, leſt it prove in the end with them (as it did here) that while they think to perſecute heretics, they ſtumble at the ſame ſtone as did the Jews in perſecuting Chriſt and his true members to death, to their own confuſion and deſtruction.

A lamentable Hiſtory of John Whitman, ſhoemaker, who ſuffered moſt cruel Torments at Oſtend in Flanders, Anno 1572.

JOHN Whitman, ſhoemaker, about the age of forty-nine years, born in Tinen, a town in Brabant, after his coming over into England, dwelt in Rye, in the county of Suſſex, being married twenty-three years; always a profeſſor of the goſpel, as well in the time of freedom, as in time of perſecution. About Candlemas in the year 1572, unknown to his friends in Rye, underſtanding of ſhipping in Rye, which was ready bound for Oſtend in Flanders, he went aboard the Saturday morning, and arrived at Oſtend that night, where he lodged with one of his kinſmen dwelling there. The next day being Sunday, in the morning, he, accompanied with his ſaid kinſman, took his journey, as it were to have paſſed higher into the country.

When they were about three miles on their way out of the town, Whitman immediately returned back again to Oſtend, whither ſo ſoon as he was come, he immediately went to church, and at the time of the heave-offering ſtept to the ſacrificer, and took from his head his idol, ſaying theſe words in the Dutch tongue, Is this your God? And ſo breaking it, caſt it under his feet. The people laid hold on him, and he was carried to priſon. The next day the judges and other counſellors being aſſembled, he was brought forth into the common hall, and examined of his fact, the intent, the counſel, and abettors thereof, and alſo of his faith; where he very conſtantly in defence of his chriſtian faith, and great deteſtation of idolatry, demeaned himſelf in ſuch a manner, that he wrung tears from the eyes of divers, both of the chief, and others preſent. So was he committed again to priſon. The next day being Tueſday, he was brought out again before the judges into the ſame place, and being examined as before, he no whit abated, but increaſed in his conſtancy. Whereupon ſentence was given upon him to have his hand cut off, and his body ſcorched to death, and after to be hanged up. So the day following, being Wedneſday, he was brought out of priſon to the town-hall, ſtanding in the market-place, all things belonging to execution being made ready there. The hangman went into the hall, and with a cord tied his hands, and came out leading him thereby. So ſoon as Whittle was out of the houſe, he made ſuch haſte, and as it were ran ſo to the place of execution, that he drew the hangman after him. There was a poſt ſet up with ſparrs from the top thereof, aſlope, down to the ground, in manner of a tent, to the intent that he ſhould be only ſcorched to death, and not burned. When he was come to the place, the hangman commanded him to lay down his right hand upon a block, which he immediately with a hatchet ſmote off: the good man ſtill continuing conſtant, the hangman ſtept behind him, and bid him put out his tongue, through which he thruſt a a long inſtrument like a pack-needle, and ſo let it ſtick. Then the judges, ſtanding by in the common hall, read again his fact and ſentence. Whereunto he could make no anſwer, his tongue hanging out of his head: then he

was

was ſtripped out of his waiſtcoat, and put within his tent, and made faſt with two chains, and fire was put round about, which broiled and ſcorched his body moſt miſerably, all black, he not being ſeen, but heard to make a noiſe within the tent. When he was dead, he was carried out to be hanged upon a gibbet near the town.

The Conference or Diſceptation had and begun at Weſtminſter the laſt of March, upon certain Queſtions or Articles of Religion propoſed, and alſo of the breaking up of the ſame, by the Papiſts default, at the firſt beginning of Queen Elizabeth.

SO it pleaſed the queen's moſt excellent majeſty, having heard of the diverſity of opinions in certain matters of religion amongſt ſundry of her loving ſubjects, and being very deſirous to have the ſame reduced to ſome godly and chriſtian concord (by the advice of the lords and others of the privy council, as well for the ſatisfaction of perſons doubtful, as alſo for the knowledge of the very truth in certain matters of difference) to have a convenient choſen number of the beſt learned of either part, and to confer together their opinions and reaſons, and thereby to come to ſome good and charitable agreement. And hereupon by her majeſty's commandment, certain of her privy council declared this purpoſe to the archbiſhop of York (being alſo one of the ſame privy council) and required him that he would impart the ſame to ſome of the biſhops, and to make choice of eight, nine, or ten of them, and that there ſhould be the like number named of the other part. And further alſo they declared to him (as then was ſuppoſed) what the matter ſhould be. And as for the time, it was thought meet to be as ſoon as poſſible might be agreed upon. And then after certain days paſt, it was ſignified by the ſaid archbiſhop, that there were appointed, by ſuch of the biſhops to whom he had imparted this matter, nine perſons, that is to ſay, five biſhops and four doctors. The names of whom here follow under written.

The Papiſts.

The biſhop of Wincheſter. The biſhop of Litchfield. The biſhop of Cheſter. The biſhop of Carliſle. The biſhop of Lincoln. Dr. Cole. Dr. Harpsfield. Dr. Langdale. Dr. Chedſey.

The Proteſtants.

Dr. Scory biſhop of Chicheſter. Dr. Coxe. Mr. Whitehead. Mr. Grindall. Mr. Horne. Mr. Sands. Mr. Geſt. Mr. Aelmer. Mr. Juell.

Who were content at the queen's command, to ſhew their opinions, and, as the ſaid archbiſhop termed it, render account of their faith in thoſe matters which were mentioned, and that eſpecially in writing, altho' he ſaid, he thought the ſame ſo determined, as there was no cauſe to diſpute upon them. The matter they were to talk upon, was comprehended in theſe three propoſitions hereunder ſpecified.

1. It is againſt the word of God, and the cuſtom of the ancient church, to uſe a tongue unknown to the people, in common prayer, and the adminiſtration of the ſacraments.
2. Every church hath authority to appoint, take away, and change ceremonies and eccleſiaſtical rites, ſo the ſame be to edification.
3. It cannot be proved by the word of God, that there is in the maſs offered up a ſacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead.

It was hereupon fully reſolved by the queen's majeſty, with the advice aforeſaid, that according to their deſire, it ſhould be in writing on both parts, for avoiding of much altercation in words; and that the ſaid biſhops would, becauſe they were in authority of degree ſuperior, firſt declare their opinions in the matter, with their reaſons in writing. And the other number, being alſo nine men of good degree in ſchools, and ſome having been in dignity in the church of England, if they had any thing to ſay to the contrary, ſhould the ſame day declare their opinions in like manner, and ſo each of them ſhould deliver their writings to the other, to be conſidered what were to be improved therein, and the ſame to declare again in writing at ſome other convenient day, and the like order to be kept in all the reſt of the matters. All this was fully agreed upon with the archbiſhop of York, and ſo alſo ſignified to both parties.

And immediately hereupon divers of the nobility and ſtates of the realm underſtanding that ſuch a meeting and conference was intended, concerning ſuch matters, as were to be confirmed by parliament according to the deciſion of theſe learned doctors; they petitioned her majeſty that the parties of this conference might be put to read their aſſertions in the Engliſh tongue, and that in the preſence of them of the nobility and others of her parliament houſe, for the better ſatisfaction and enabling of their own judgments, to treat and conclude of ſuch laws as might depend hereupon.

This alſo, being thought very reaſonable, was ſignified to both parties, and ſo fully agreed upon, and the day appointed for the firſt meeting to be on Friday in the forenoon, being the laſt day of March, at Weſtminſter church. Where were preſent by the queen's command, the lords and others of the privy council, and a great part of the nobility, both to honour and ſee good order in the conference. And notwithſtanding this former order appointed, and conſented unto by both parties, yet the biſhop of Wincheſter and his colleagues alledged they had miſtaken that their aſſertions and reaſons ſhould be written, and ſo only recited out of the book, ſaying, their book was not then ready written, but they were ready to argue and diſpute, and therefore they would for that time repeat in ſpeech, that which they had to ſay to the firſt probation.

This variation from the former order, and eſpecially from that which themſelves had by the ſaid archbiſhop in writing before required, adding thereto the reaſon of the apoſtle, that to contend with words is profitable to nothing, but to the ſubverſion of the hearer, ſeemed to the queen's council ſomewhat ſtrange, and yet was it permitted without any great reprehenſion, becauſe they excuſed themſelves with miſtaking the order, and agreed that they would not fail but put it in writing, and, according to the former order, delivered it to the other part; and ſo the ſaid biſhop of Wincheſter and his colleagues, appointed Dr. Cole dean of Paul's, to be the utterer of their minds; who partly by ſpeech only, and partly by reading of authorities written, and at certain times being informed of his colleagues what to ſay, made a declaration of their meanings and their reaſons to their firſt propoſition: which being ended, they were aſked by the privy council if any of them had any more to be ſaid, and they ſaid, no. So as the other part was licenſed to ſhew their minds, which they did according to the firſt order, exhibiting all that which they meant to be propounded, in a book written, which, after a prayer and invocation, made moſt humbly to Almighty God for the enduing of them with his Holy Spirit, and a proteſtation alſo to ſtand to the doctrine of the catholic church built upon the ſcriptures, and the doctrine of the prophets and the apoſtles, was diſtinctly read by one Robert Horne, batchelor in divinity, late dean of Durham, and after biſhop of Wincheſter. The copy of which their proteſtation here followeth according as it was by him penned and exhibited, with there preface alſo before the ſame.

Foraſmuch

FOraſmuch as it is thought good unto the queen's moſt excellent majeſty (unto whom in the Lord all obedience is due) that we ſhould declare our judgment in writing upon certain propoſitions; we, as becometh us to do therein, moſt gladly obey.

Seeing that Chriſt is our only Maſter, whom the Father hath commanded us to hear; and ſeeing alſo his word is the truth, from which it is not lawful for us to depart, no not one hair's breadth, and againſt ſuch (as the apoſtle ſaith) we can do nothing; we do in all things ſubmit ourſelves unto this truth, and do proteſt that we will affirm nothing againſt the ſame.

And foraſmuch as we have for our mother the true and catholic church of Chriſt, which is grounded upon the doctrine of the apoſtles and prophets, and is of Chriſt, the head in all things, governed; we do reverence her judgment, we obey her authority as becometh children: and we do devoutly profeſs, and in all points follow the faith which is contained in the three creeds; that is to ſay, of the apoſtles, of the council of Nice, and of Athanaſius.

And ſeeing that we never departed, neither from the doctrine of God, which is contained in the holy canonical ſcriptures, nor yet from the faith of the true and catholic church of Chriſt; but have preached truly the word of God, and have ſincerely miniſtered the ſacraments according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, unto which our doctrine and faith the moſt part alſo of our adverſaries did ſubſcribe not many years paſt (although now as unnatural they are revolted from the ſame) we deſire that they render account of their backſliding, and ſhew ſome cauſe wherefore they do not only reſiſt that doctrine which they have before profeſſed, but alſo perſecute the ſame by all means they can. We do not doubt, but through the equity of the queen's moſt excellent majeſty, we ſhall in theſe diſputations be treated more gently than in years late paſt, when we were handled moſt unjuſtly and ſcantly after the common manner of men. As for the judgment of the whole controverſy, we refer unto the moſt holy ſcriptures, and the catholic church of Chriſt (whoſe judgment unto us ought to be moſt ſacred:) notwithſtanding by the catholic church we underſtand not the Romiſh church, whereunto our adverſaries attribute ſuch reverence, but that which Saint Auguſtine and other fathers affirm, ought to be ſought in the holy ſcriptures, and which is governed and led by the Spirit of Chriſt.

It is againſt the word of God, and the cuſtom of the primitive church, to uſe a tongue unknown to the people in common prayers, and adminiſtration of the ſacraments.

By theſe words (the word of God) we mean only the written word of God, or canonical ſcriptures.

And by the cuſtom of the primitive church we mean the order moſt generally uſed in the church for the ſpace of five hundred years after Chriſt, in which times lived the moſt notable fathers, as Juſtine, Ireneus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Baſil, Chryſoſtom, Hierom, Ambroſe, Auguſtine, &c.

This aſſertion above written hath two parts, Firſt, That the uſe of the tongne not underſtood of the people, in common prayers of the church, or in the adminiſtrations of the ſacraments, is againſt God's word.

The ſecond, That the ſame is againſt the uſe of the primitive church.

The firſt part is moſt manifeſtly proved by the fourteenth chapter of the Epiſtle to the Corinthians, almoſt throughout the whole chapter. In the which chapter St. Paul intreateth of this matter, Ex profeſſo, purpoſely. And although ſome do cavil that St. Paul ſpeaketh notin that chapter of praying, but of preaching, yet it is moſt evident to any indifferent reader of underſtanding, and appeareth alſo by the expoſition of the beſt writers, that he plainly there ſpeaketh not only of preaching and propheſying, but alſo of prayer and thankſgiving, and generally of all other public actions, which require any ſpeech in the church or congregation. For of praying he ſaith; I will pray with my ſpirit, and I will pray with my mind. And of thankſgiving, which is a kind of prayer, Thou giveſt thanks well, but the other is not edified. And how ſhall he which occupieth the room of the unlearned ſay, Amen, to thy giving of thanks, when he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt? And in the end, deſcending from particulars to a general propoſition, concludeth, that all things ought to be done to edification. Thus much is clear by the very words of St. Paul, and the ancient doctors Ambroſe, Auguſtine, Hierom, and others, do ſo underſtand this chapter, as it ſhall appear by their teſtimonies, which ſhall follow afterward.

Upon this chapter of St. Paul we gather theſe reaſons following.

1. All things done in the church or congregation, ought ſo to be done as they may edify the ſame.

But the uſe of an unknown tongue, in public prayer or adminiſtration of ſacraments, doth not edify the congregation.

Therefore the uſe of an unknown tongue, in public prayer or adminiſtration of the ſacraments, is not to be had in the church.

The firſt part of this reaſon is grounded upon Saint Paul's words, commanding all things to be done to edification.

The ſecond part is alſo proved by St. Paul's plain words. Firſt by this ſimilitude. If the trumpet give an uncertain ſound, who ſhall be prepared to battle? even ſo likewiſe when ye ſpeak with tongues, except ye ſpeak words that have ſignification, how ſhall it be underſtood what is ſpoken? for ye ſhall but ſpeak in the air, that is to ſay, in vain, and conſequently without edifying.

And afterward in the ſame chapter he ſaith, How can he that occupieth the place of the unlearned ſay, Amen, at thy giving of thanks, ſeeing he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt? for thou verily giveſt thanks well, but the other is not edified.

Theſe be St. Paul's words, plainly proving, that a tongue not underſtood doth not edify. And therefore both the parts of the reaſon thus proved by Saint Paul, the concluſion followeth neceſſarily.

2. Secondly, nothing is to be ſpoken in the congregation in an unknown tongue, except it be interpreted to the people, that it may be underſtood. For ſaith St. Paul, If there be no interpreter to him that ſpeaketh in an unknown tongue, Taceat in eccleſia, let him hold his peace in the church. And therefore the common prayers and adminiſtration of ſacraments, neither done in a known tongue, neither interpreted, are againſt the commandment of Paul, and not to be uſed.

The miniſter in prayer or adminiſtration of ſacraments uſing language not underſtood of the hearers, is to them barbarous, and alien, which of St. Paul is accounted a great abſurdity.

It is not to be counted a chriſtian common prayer, where the people preſent declare not their aſſent unto it, by ſaying, Amen, wherein is implied all other words of aſſent.

But St. Paul affirmeth, that the people cannot declare their aſſent in ſaying Amen, except they underſtand what is ſaid, as afore.

Therefore it is no chriſtian common prayer where the people underſtand not what is ſaid.

Paul would not ſuffer in his time a ſtrange tongue to be heard in the common prayer of the church, notwithſtanding that ſuch a kind of ſpeech was then a miracle, and a ſingular gift of the Holy Ghoſt, whereby infidels might be perſuaded and brought to the faith; much leſs is it to be ſuffered now amongſt chriſtian and faith-

ful men, eſpecially being no miracle nor eſpecial gift of the Holy Ghoſt.

Some will peradventure anſwer, that to uſe any kind of tongue, in common prayer or adminiſtration of ſacraments, is a thing indifferent.

But St. Paul is to the contrary. For he commandeth all things to be done to edification, he commandeth to keep ſilence if there be no interpreter, and in the end of the chapter he concludeth thus; If any man be ſpiritual, or a prophet, let him know that the things which I write, are the commandments of the Lord. And ſo ſhortly to conclude, the uſe of a ſtrange tongue, in prayer and adminiſtration, is againſt the word and commandment of God.

To theſe reaſons, grounded upon Saint Paul's words, which are the moſt firm foundation of this aſſertion, divers other reaſons may be joined, gathered out of the ſcriptures, and otherwiſe.

In the Old Teſtament, all things pertaining to the public prayer, benedictions, thankſgivings, or ſacrifices, were always in their vulgar and natural tongue. In the ſecond book of Paralipom. chap. 29. it is written, that Ezechias commanded the Levites to praiſe God with the Pſalms of David, and Aſaph the prophet, which doubtleſs were written in Hebrew, their vulgar tongue. If they did ſo in the ſhadows of the law, much more ought we to do the like, who (as Chriſt ſaith) muſt pray, in ſpirit and truth.

The final end of our prayer (as David ſaith) is, "That the people aſſembled together may declare the name of the Lord in Sion, and his praiſe in Jeruſalem."

But the name and praiſes of God cannot be ſet forth to the people, unleſs it be done in ſuch a tongue as they may underſtand, therefore common prayer muſt be had in the vulgar tougue.

The definition of public prayer out of the words of St. Paul is, That common prayer is to lift up our common deſires to God with our minds, and to teſtify the ſame outwardly with our tongues, which definition is approved by St. Auguſtine, De magiſtro, cap. 1.

The miniſtration of the Lord's ſupper and baptiſm are as it were ſermons of the death and reſurrection of Chriſt.

But ſermons to the people muſt be had in ſuch language as the people may perceive, otherwiſe they ſhould be had in vain.

It is not lawful for a chriſtian man to abuſe the gifts of God: but he that prayeth in the church in a ſtrange tongue, abuſeth the gifts of God. For the tongue ſerveth only to expreſs the mind of the ſpeaker to the hearer. And Auguſtine ſaith, De doctrina chriſtiana, lib. 4. cap. 10. There is no cauſe why we ſhould ſpeak, if they for whoſe cauſe we ſpeak, underſtand not our ſpeaking.

The heathen and barbarous nations of all countries and ſorts of men, were they never ſo wild, evermore made their prayers and ſacrifices to their gods in their own mother tongue. Which is a manifeſt declaration that it is the very light and voice of nature.

Thus much upon the ground of Saint Paul, and other reaſons out of the ſcriptures, joining therewith the common uſage of all nations, as a teſtimony of the law of nature.

Now for the ſecond part of the aſſertion, which is, that the uſe of a ſtrange tongue in public prayer and adminiſtration of ſacraments, is againſt the cuſtom of the primitive church; it is a matter ſo clear, that the denial of it muſt needs proceed either of great ignorance, or elſe of wilful malice.

For firſt of all, Juſtine Martyr deſcribing the order of the communion in his time, ſaith thus. Upon the Sunday aſſemblies are made both of the citizens and countrymen, whereat the writings of the apoſtles and of the prophets are read, as much as may be. Afterwards when the reader doth ceaſe, the bead miniſter maketh an exhortation, exhorting them to follow ſo honeſt things. After this we riſe all together, and offer prayers, which being ended (as we have ſaid) bread and water are brought forth. Then the head miniſter offereth prayers and thankſgiving, as much as he can, and the people anſwer Amen.

Theſe words of Juſtine, who lived about 160 years after Chriſt, conſidered with their circumſtance, declare plainly, that not only the ſcriptures were read, but alſo that the prayers and adminiſtration of the Lord's ſupper were done in a tongue underſtood.

The liturgies both of Baſil and Chryſoſtom declare, that in the celebration of the communion the people were appointed to anſwer to the prayer of the miniſter, ſometimes, Amen, ſometimes, Lord have mercy upon us, ſometimes, And with thy Spirit, and, We have our hearts lifted up unto the Lord, &c. Which anſwers they could not have made in due time, if the prayer had not been made in a tongue underſtood.

And for further proof, let us hear what Baſil writeth in this matter to the clerks of Neocæſarea. As touching that is laid to our charge in pſalmodies and ſongs, wherewith our ſlanderers do fray the ſimple, I have thus to ſay, that our cuſtoms and uſages in all churches be uniform and agreeable.

For in the night the people with us riſeth, goeth to the houſe of prayer, and in travail, tribulation, and continual tears, they confeſs themſelves to God, and at the laſt riſing again, go to their ſongs or pſalmody, where being divided into two parts, they ſing by courſe together, both deeply weighing and confirming the matter of the heavenly ſayings, and alſo ſtirring up their attention and devotion of heart, which by other means be alienated and plucked away. Then appointing one to begin the ſong, the reſt follow, and ſo with divers ſongs and prayers paſſing the night, at the dawning of the day, all together, even as it were with one mouth and one heart, they ſing unto the Lord a ſong of confeſſion, every man framing to himſelf meet words of repentance.

If you will fly us from henceforth for theſe things, ye muſt fly alſo the Egyptians, and both Libians, ye muſt eſchew the Thebanes, Paleſtines, Arabians, the Phænices, the Syrians, and all thoſe with whom watchings, prayers, and common ſinging of pſalms, are had in honour.

Teſtimonies of St. Ambroſe, written upon the fourteenth Chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians.

THIS is it that he ſaith; Becauſe he that ſpeaketh in an unknown tongue, ſpeaketh to God. For he knoweth all things, but men know not, and therefore there is no profit of this thing.

The ſame author afterwards upon theſe words, If thou bleſs or give thanks with the ſpirit, how ſhall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned ſay Amen, at thy giving of thanks, ſeeing he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt? That is (ſaith Ambroſe) if thou ſpeak the praiſe of God in a tongue unknown to the hearers. For the unlearned, hearing that which he underſtandeth not, knoweth not the end of the prayer, and he anſwereth not Amen. That is as much as to ſay (true) that the bleſſing or thankſgiving may be confirmed. For the confirmation of the prayer is fulfilled by them which do anſwer Amen. That all things ſpoken might be confirmed in the minds of the hearers, through the teſtimony of the truth.

Afterward in the ſame place upon theſe words, If any infidel or unlearned come in.

For when he underſtandeth, and is underſtood, hearing God to be praiſed, and Chriſt to be worſhipped, he ſeeth perfectly that the religion is true, and to be reverenced, wherein he ſeeth nothing to be done colourably, nothing

nothing in darkneſs, as among the heathen, whoſe eyes are covered, that they ſeeing not the things which they call holy, might perceive themſelves to be deluded with divers vanities. For all falſhood ſeeketh darkneſs, and ſheweth falſe things for true. Therefore with us nothing is done privily, nothing covertly, but one God is ſimply praiſed, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jeſus, by whom are all things. For if there be none which can underſtand, or of whom he may be tried, he may ſay, there is ſome deceit and vanity, which is therefore ſung in tongues (not underſtood, he meaneth) becauſe it is ſhame to open it.

Upon this place, Let all things be done to edify.

This is the concluſion; that nothing ſhould be done in the church in vain; and that this thing ought chiefly to be laboured for, that the unlearned alſo might profit, leſt any part of the body ſhould be dark through ignorance.

Again, If there be no interpreter, let him keep ſilence in the church.

That is, let him pray ſecretly, or ſpeak to God within himſelf, who heareth all dumb things; for in the church he ought to ſpeak which may profit all men.

Teſtimonies out of Saint Hierom, upon the aforeſaid Place of Saint Paul.

IT is the layman, ſaith he, whom Paul here underſtandeth to be in the place of the ignorant man, which hath no eccleſiaſtical office. How ſhall he anſwer Amen to the prayer that he underſtandeth not?

And a little after upon theſe words, For if I pray in an unknown tongue, &c.

This is Paul's meaning; ſaith Hierom, if any man ſpeaketh in ſtrange and unknown tongues, his mind is not to himſelf without fruit and profit, but he is not profited that heareth him.

And in the end of his commentary upon the epiſtle to the Galatians, he ſaith thus:

That (Amen) ſignifieth the conſent of the hearer, and is the ſealing of the truth, Paul in the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians teacheth, ſaying, But if thou ſhalt bleſs in ſpirit, who ſupplieth the place of the ignorant? how ſhall he at thy prayer anſwer (Amen) ſeeing he knoweth not what thou ſayeſt? whereby he declareth, that the unlearned man cannot anſwer, that that which is ſpoken is true, unleſs he underſtand what is ſaid.

The ſaid Hierom ſaith in the preface of Saint Paul's epiſtle to the Galatians, that the noiſe of (Amen) ſoundeth in the Roman church like an heavenly thunder.

As Hierom compareth this ſound of common prayer to thunder, ſo compareth Baſil it to the ſound of the ſea, in theſe words, If the ſea be fair, how is not the aſſembly of the congregation much fairer? in the which a joined ſound of men, women, and children, as it were of the waves beating on the ſhore, is ſent forth in our prayers unto our God.

When the people once hear theſe words [World without end] they will all forthwith anſwer, Amen.

And the ſame writer upon the ſame chapter, upon theſe words, How ſhall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned ſay Amen? Behold again, he applieth the ſtone upon the ſquare (as the proverb is) requiring the edifying of the congregation in all places. The unlearned he calleth the common people, and ſheweth that it is no ſmall diſcommodity, if they cannot ſay, Amen.

And again the ſame Chryſoſtom ſaith, Yea in prayers you may ſee the people offer largely, both for the poſſeſſed and the penitents. For the prieſts and the people pray all together commonly, and all one prayer, a prayer full of mercy and pity. And excluding out of the prieſts limits all ſuch as cannot be partakers of the holy table, another prayer muſt be made, and all in one manner lie down upon the earth, and all again after one manner riſe up together. Now when the peace is giving, we all in like manner ſalute one another, and the prieſt in the reverend myſteries wiſhes well to the people, and the people unto him: for [And with thy ſpirit] is nothing elſe but this. All things that belong to the ſacrament of thankſgiving are common to all. But he giveth not thanks alone, but all the people with him.

Hereby it may appear, that not the prieſt alone communicated nor prayed alone, nor had any peculiar prayer, but ſuch as was common to them all, ſuch as they all underſtood, and all were able to ſay with the prieſt, which could not have been, if he had uſed a ſtrange tongue in the miniſtration of the ſacraments.

Dionyſius deſcribing the manner of the miniſtration of the Lord's ſupper, ſaith, That hymns were ſaid of the whole multitude of the people.

Cyprian ſaith, The prieſt doth prepare the minds of the brethren, with a preface before the prayer, ſaying [Lift up your hearts:] that whiles the people doth anſwer, [We have our hearts lifted up to the Lord,] they may be admoniſhed that they ought to think of none other thing than of the Lord.

St. Auguſtine: What this ſhould be we ought to underſtand, that we may ſing with reaſon of man, not with chatting of birds, for Owſels and Popinjaies, and Ravens, and Pies, and other ſuch like birds are taught by men to prate they know not what. But to ſing with underſtanding, is given by God's holy will to the nature of man.

The ſame Auguſtine: There needeth no ſpeech, when we pray, ſaving perhaps as the prieſts do, to declare their meaning; not that God, but that men may hear them, and ſo, being put in remembrance, by conſenting with the prieſts, may hang upon God.

To theſe teſtimonies of the ancient writers, we will join one conſtitution of Juſtinian the emperor, who lived 527 years after Chriſt, which ſaith, We command that all biſhops and prieſts do celebrate the holy oblation, and the prayers uſed in holy baptiſm, not ſpeaking low, but with a clear and loud voice, which may be heard of the people, that thereby the minds of the hearers may be ſtirred up with greater devotion, in uttering the praiſes of the Lord God. For ſo the holy apoſtle teacheth in his firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, ſaying, Truly, if thou only bleſs, or give thanks in ſpirit, how doth he which occupieth the place or the unlearned ſay, Amen, at the giving of thanks unto God? for he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt. Thou verily giveſt thanks well, but another is not edified. And again, in the epiſtle to the Romans he ſaith, With the heart a man believeth unto righteouſneſs, and with the mouth confeſſion is made unto ſalvation.

Therefore for theſe cauſes it is convenient, that amongſt other prayers thoſe things alſo which are ſpoken in the holy oblation, be uttered and ſpoken of the moſt religious biſhops and prieſts unto our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, our God with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, with a loud voice. And let the moſt religious prieſts know this, that if they neglect any of theſe things, neither the dreadful judgment of the great God and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, neither will we, when we know it, reſt, and leave it unrevenged.

Out of this conſtitution of Juſtinian the emperor three things are worthy to be noted.

Firſt, That the common prayer and miniſtration done with a loud voice, ſo as may be heard and underſtood of the people, is a means to ſtir up devotion in the people, contrary to the common aſſertion of Eckius, and other adverſaries, who affirm, that ignorance maketh a great admiration and devotion.

Secondly, That Juſtinian maketh this matter of not ordering common miniſtration and prayers, ſo as it may be underſtood of the people, not a matter of indifferency, but ſuch a thing as muſt be anſwered for at the day of judgment.

Thirdly, That this emperor, being a chriſtian emperor, doth not only make conſtitution of eccleſiaſtical matters, but alſo threateneth revenge and ſharp puniſhment to the violaters of the ſame.

Theſe are ſufficient to prove, that it is againſt God's word, and the uſe of the primitive church, to uſe a language not underſtood of the people, in common prayer and miniſtration of the ſacraments. Wherefore it is to be marvelled at, not only how ſuch an untruth and abuſe crept at the firſt into the church, but alſo how it is maintained ſo ſtifly at this day, and upon what ground theſe, that will be thought guides and paſtors of Chriſt's church, are ſo loth to return to the firſt original of Saint Paul's doctrine, and the practice of the primitive catholic church of Chriſt.

The God of patience and conſolation, give us grace to be like minded one towards another in Chriſt Jeſus, that we all agreeing together, may with one mouth praiſe God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Amen.

John Scory.	John Jewell.
Richard Coxe.	Robert Horne.
David Whitehead.	John Aelmer.
Edmund Grindall.	Edmund Geſt.

And the ſame being ended with ſome likelihood, as it ſeemed, that the ſame was much allowable to the audience; certain of the biſhops began to ſay contrary to their former anſwer, that they had not much more to ſay to this matter, wherein although they might have been well reprehended for ſuch manner of cavillation; yet for avoiding of any more miſtaking of orders in this colloquy or conference, and for that they ſhould utter all that which they had to ſay, it was ordered and openly agreed upon of both parts in the full audience, that upon the Monday following, the biſhops ſhould bring their minds and reaſons in writing to the ſecond aſſertion, and the laſt alſo, if they could, and firſt read the ſame: and that done, the other part ſhould bring likewiſe theirs to the ſame. And being read, each of them ſhould deliver to other the ſame writings. And in the mean time, the biſhops ſhould put in writing, not only all that which doctor Cole had that day uttered, but all ſuch other matters as they any otherwiſe could think of for the ſame: and as ſoon as they might poſſible, to ſend the ſame book touching the firſt aſſertion to the other part, and they ſhould receive of them that writing which Mr. Horne had there read that day, and upon Monday it ſhall be agreed what day they ſhould exhibit their anſwers touching the firſt propoſition. Thus both parts aſſented thereto, and the aſſembly was quietly diſmiſſed.

The Order of the ſecond Day's Talk.

The Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, the Archbiſhop of York, the Duke of Norfolk, and all the Council being ſet, the Biſhops on the one Side, and the Proteſtants, that is, the late baniſhed Preachers on the other Side, thus began the Lord Keeper.

MY lords and maſters, I am ſure you remember well, what order of talk and writing was appointed to be had this day in this aſſembly, at our laſt meeting, which I will not refuſe now to repeat again for the ſhortneſs of it, which was, that ye appointed, that on both ſides ye ſhould bring in Engliſh writing, what ye had to ſay in the ſecond queſtion, and in this place appointed to read the ſame. Therefore, begin, my lords.

Wincheſter. I am determined for my part, that there ſhall be now read, that which we have to ſay for the firſt queſtion.

Lord Keeper. Will ye not then proceed in the order appointed?

Wincheſter. I am, as I ſaid, provided for the firſt queſtion or propoſition: and we ſhould ſuffer prejudice if ye permit us not to intreat of that firſt, and ſo we would come to the ſecond queſtion, and that is the order we would uſe. I judge all my brethren are ſo minded.

Biſhops. We are ſo determined.

Lord Keeper. I know not what you would do for your determined order: but ye ought to look what order is appointed you to keep, which ye by this means do break and little regard.

Wincheſter. Since our adverſaries part, if it pleaſe your grace and honours, have ſo confirmed their aſſertion and purpoſe, we ſuffer a prejudice or damage, if ye permit us not the like. Hereat Dr. Watſon, biſhop of Lincoln, being at this talk very deſirous to have ſpoken, ſaid now to the biſhop of Wincheſter, I pray you let me ſpeak; which was permitted him: we are not uſed indifferently, ſince that you allow us not to open in preſent writing what we have to ſay for the declaration of the firſt queſtion, inſomuch, as that which ye take for the information of the ſame, was meant nothing to that purpoſe, for that which Mr. Cole ſpake in this laſt aſſembly, was not prepared to ſtrengthen our cauſe, but he made his oration of himſelf, and ex tempore, that is, with no fore-ſtudied talk.

At ſuch the biſhop's words the nobility and other of the audience much frowned and grudged, ſince that they all well knew, that Mr. Cole ſpake out of a writing which he held in his hand, and often read out of the ſame; and in that the ſame places which the biſhops informed him, and appointed him unto with their fingers; all which things do well declare the matter to be premeditate, and not done ex tempore, for that Mr. Cole was appointed by them to be their ſpeaker. Whereupon this of the biſhop of Lincoln was the worſe taken, notwithſtanding he went onward complaining, and ſaid; We are alſo evil ordered as touching the time, our adverſaries part having warning long before, and we were warned only two days before the laſt aſſembly in this place. What with this buſineſs, and other trouble we have been driven to, have been occupied the whole laſt night. For we may in no wiſe betray the cauſe of God, nor will do, but ſuſtain it to the utmoſt of our power, as we ought ſo to endeavour by all manner of means. But now we have no impartial hearing.

Lord Keeper. Take ye heed that ye deceive not yourſelves when it ſhall come to juſt trial of the matter, and that then it be not proved againſt you, that ye complain without cauſe, when the order and your manner towards it ſhall be duly weighed. I am willing and ready to hear you after the order taken and appointed for you to reaſon therein, and further or contrary to that I cannot deal with you.

Lichfield and Coventry. Let us ſuffer no miſorder or injury herein, but be heard impartially, that is convenient and meet we ſhould have here.

Lord Keeper. I pray you, Sirs, hear me, and mark it you well. It was concluded on by my lords of the council, who you well know of, that their writing, which ye are now ſo willing to have heard, ſhould have been read the firſt day, and then we underſtood that Mr. Cole had ſaid what you would have him, and as much as you willed him to ſay. I judge you were aſked in the end of Mr. Cole's rehearſal, whether that which he ſpake, was what ye would have him ſay, and ye granted it. Then whether ye would that he ſhould ſay any more in the matter, ye anſwered no; whereupon the other part was heard, which you hearing, then indeed without all good indifferency or plain dealing, ye pretended that ye had no more to ſay. So mark you with how ſmall equity you uſed yourſelves.

The Biſhop. We have indeed more to ſay, if we might have been indifferently heard.

Lord Keeper. Give me leave, I ſay, and look what gains you ſhould have if your preſent requeſt ſhould be granted you, that call ſo much of indifferent uſing, how you ſhould uſe thoſe other men? for many who are here preſent, were then away, ſo would you have your writing now read to them, which heard not this. Mark ye whether it had not been more fit that ye had provided it againſt the firſt day, when they orderly read theirs; ſince to my knowledge, and as far as I have to do in the matter, you were of both ſides (I am ſure) warned at one time. Howbeit to ſatisfy your importunity and earneſtneſs of this crying out to have your firſt writing heard, I might well allow if it ſo pleaſed the reſt of the queen's moſt honourable council, that you diſpatch the work of the ſecond queſtion, appointed for this day, and give us up your writing for the firſt, ſo that when the day cometh that each of you ſhall anſwer the other in confirmation of the firſt queſtion, then the ſame day ye ſhall have time to read this your firſt writing, which ye now would ſo fain read. To this order all the council willingly condeſcended.

Lichfield and Coventry. Nay my lords, they reading one, and we two books in one day, we ſhould not have time enough to read them both. It would occupy too much time.

Lord Keeper. For my part I might well ſtay at the hearing of them both, and ſo I judge would the reſt of the council, and likewiſe the whole audience. At which words there was a general ſhout, ſaying, Yea, yea, we would hear it gladly.

Lincoln. We cannot read them both at one time: for their writing (I am ſure) would require an hour and a half, if ſo be it be ſo long as their laſt was, and then our anſwer would require no leſs time after the firſt queſtion.

Lord Keeper. I have ſhewed ye we could be well contented to tarry out the time when it cometh thereunto. Therefore ye need not to be therein ſo curious, and we granting you thus much, and yet ye will obey no orders; I cannot tell what I ſhall ſay unto you.

Lincoln. We have been wonderfully troubled in the order of this diſputation. For firſt it was appointed us by my lord the archbiſhop, that we ſhould diſpute in Latin, and then we were commanded to bring a Latin writing, and now at laſt we are ordered to bring our writing in Engliſh.

At theſe words the lord keeper of the great ſeal, the archbiſhop, with all the council, much muſed, and many murmured at ſuch a baſe and falſe report of the order well taken. Whereupon with an admiration the lord keeper anſwered, I marvel much at the uſing of yourſelf in this point, ſince I am aſſured the order was never otherwiſe taken, and that you ſhould bring forth in Engliſh writing what you had to ſay for your purpoſe.

Hereupon the biſhops of Lichfield and Chicheſter, to excuſe my lord of Lincoln, ſaid, We ſo underſtood the order, my lords.

Lord Keeper. How likely is that, ſince it was ſo plainly told you? But to end theſe delays, I pray you follow the order appointed, and begin to treat of the ſecond queſtion,

Lichfield and Coventry. We are appointed this day by your honours to bring in what we had to ſay in the firſt queſtion.

At which words the audience murmured, who heard the former talk, contrary to ſuch his report.

Lord Keeper. The order was taken, for that your writings were not ready the laſt time that ye ſhould yield the ſame to theſe men (meaning the proteſtants) as ſoon as ye might, and upon the receipt of your writings, you ſhall have theirs; and this day you ſhall treat of the ſecond queſtion, and of the third, if that you had leiſure enough. This was the order, my lords, except my memory much fail me. The ſame all the council affirmed.

Lincoln. We are willed then to bring in this day our writings for the firſt queſtion alſo.

Lord Keeper. Ah Sirs, if ye be ſo hard to be ſatisfied, and to incline to the truth, let my lords here ſay what was then determined.

Biſhop of York. Ye are to blame to ſtand in this iſſue, for there was a plain decreed order taken for you to treat of the ſecond queſtion. Wherefore leave you your contention herein, and ſhew what ye have to ſay in the ſecond queſtion.

Lord Keeper. Go to now, begin, my lords.

Lichfield and Coventry. It is contrary to the order in diſputations, that we ſhould begin.

Cheſter. We have the negative, they the affirmative, therefore they muſt begin.

Lichfield and Coventry. They muſt firſt ſpeak what they can bring in againſt us, ſince we are the defending party.

Cheſter. So is the ſchool manner, and likewiſe the manner in Weſtminſter-hall is, that the plaintiff's part ſhould ſpeak firſt, and then the accuſed party to anſwer.

Lichfield and Coventry. I pray you let the propoſition be read, and then let us ſee who hath the negative part; and ſo let the other begin.

Lord Keeper. The order was taken that ye ſhould begin.

Lichfield and Coventry. But then we ſhould do againſt the ſchool order.

Lord Keeper. My maſters, ye inforce much the ſchool orders. I wonder much at it, ſince divers of thoſe orders are oftentimes taken for the exerciſe of youth, and ought to maintain a faſhion, and many preſcriptions, which we need not here to recite, much leſs obſerve. We are come hither to keep the order of God, and to ſet forth his truth, and hereunto we have taken as good order as we could, which lieth not in my power to change.

Carliſle. We are of the catholic church, and abide therein, and ſtand in the poſſeſſion of the truth; and therefore they muſt ſay what they have to alledge againſt us, and ſo we maintain and defend our cauſe.

Lichfield and Coventry. Yea, even ſo muſt the matter be ordered.

Cheſter. When they bring any thing againſt us, it is ſufficient for us to deny it: Therefore they muſt begin.

Lichfield and Coventry. And when they affirm any thing, and we ſay nay, the proof belongeth to them, and ſo it behoveth them to ſhew firſt what they affirm, and for what cauſe or purpoſe.

Lord Keeper. Here reſteth our purpoſe and whole matter, whether you will begin, if they do not, ſince it was determined ye ſhould begin.

Lichfield and Coventry. We heard of no ſuch order.

Lord Keeper. No? Yes, and in the firſt queſtion ye began willingly. How cometh it to paſs that ye will not do ſo now?

Cheſter. Then had we the affirmation, which ſince that our adverſaries have none, they ſhould now begin.

This the proteſtants denied, ſaying, that they in the firſt day had the negative, wherein they did not yet refuſe to begin.

Lord Keeper. If you have any thing to ſay, my lords, to the purpoſe, ſay on.

Lichfield. A particular ſort of men can never break an univerſal church, which we now maintain: and as for theſe men, our adverſary part, I never thought that they would have done ſo much as have named themſelves to be of the catholic church, challenging the name as well as we.

Proteſtants. We do ſo, and we are of the true catholic church, and maintain the verity thereof.

Lincoln. Yet would ye overthrow all catholic order.

Horne. I wonder that ye ſo much ſtand who ſhould begin.

Lincoln. You count it requiſite that we ſhould follow your orders, as we have taken the queſtions at your hands, in that manner as you have aſſigned them.

Lichfield and Coventry. Yea, even ſo we were driven to do now.

Lord Keeper. Nay, I judge if ye mark the matter well, the queſtions are neither of their propounding them to you, nor of your device to them, but equally offered to you both.

Horne. Indeed, my lords of the queen's moſt honourable privy council, theſe queſtions or propoſitions were propoſed unto us by your honours, and they then having the pre-eminency, choſe to themſelves the negative, and yet freely began firſt; now again why do they not the like?

Lichfield being very angry that he ſhould ſo ſpeak againſt them, went from the matter, ſaying, My lord keeper of the great ſeal, and you the reſt of the queen's moſt honourable council, I hope that you all, and the queen's majeſty herſelf, are inclined to favour the verity in all things, and the truth of the catholic church, which we muſt and will do to the utmoſt of our power, and to this purpoſe let us now well weigh, who are of the true catholic church, they, or we.

Lord Keeper. Tarry, now you go from the matter, and make queſtions of your own.

Lichfield going on with his digreſſion, ſaid thus. We muſt needs go to work, and try that firſt, what church they be of; for there are many churches in Germany. Maſter Horne, maſter Horne, I pray you which of theſe churches are you of?

Horne. I am of Chriſt's catholic church.

Lord Keeper. Ye ought not thus to run into voluntary talk of your own inventing, nor to deviſe new queſtions of your own appointment, and thereby enter into that talk; ye ought not ſo to do. But ſay on, if you have any thing to ſay in this matter.

Lichfield and Coventry. Nay, we muſt firſt thus go to work with them, as I have ſaid, if that we will ſearch a truth: howbeit of the truth we have no doubt, for that we aſſuredly ſtand in it. Theſe men come in, and they pretended to be doubtful. Therefore they ſhould begin what they have to impugn or withſtand us withal.

Wincheſter. Let them begin; ſo will we go onward with our matter.

Cheſter. Otherwiſe, my lords, if they ſhould not begin, but end the talk, then would the verity on our ſides be not ſo well marked; for they would depart, ſpeaking laſt, with the rejoicing triumph of the people.

Wincheſter. Therefore I am reſolved that they ſhall begin ere that we ſay any thing.

Cheſter. I am ſorry, my lords, that we ſhould ſo long ſtand in the matter with your honours, and make ſo many words, and ſo much ado with you, whom we ought to obey: howbeit there is no indifferency if they begin not; and ſurely we think it meet, that they ſhould, for their parts, give us place.

Lichfield. Yea, that they ſhould, and ought to do, where any indifferency is uſed.

Aelmer. We give you the place, do we not? and deprive you not of the pre-eminence, becauſe you are biſhops; therefore I pray you begin.

The Biſhop. A goodly giving of place, I aſſure you: yea marry, ye gave place: ſuch words they uſed, with more ſcoffs.

Lord Keeper. If ye make this aſſembly gathered in vain, and will not go to the matter, let us riſe and depart.

Wincheſter. Contented, let us be gone; for we will not in this point give over.

I pray you my lords, require not at our hands that we ſhould be any cauſe of hinderance to our religion, or give any ſuch evil example to our poſterity, which we ſhould do if we gave over to them, which in no wiſe we may, or will do.

Lord Keeper. Let us then break up, if you be thus minded. With theſe words the biſhops were riſing. But then ſaid the lord keeper, let us ſee whether every one of you be thus minded. How ſay you my lord of Wincheſter, will you not begin to read your writing?

Wincheſter. No ſurely, I am fully determined, and fully at a point therein, howſoever my brethren do.

Then the lord keeper aſked the biſhop of Exeter his mind herein: Who anſwered that he was none of them. Then the lord keeper aſked the others in order; and firſt Lincoln, who ſaid he was of the ſame mind that Wincheſter was of: and likewiſe anſwered Lichfield and Coventry, Dr. Cole, and Dr. Chedſey. Then Cheſter, being aſked his mind, ſaid, My lords, I ſay not that I will not read it, if ye command us; but we ought not to do it; yet I deſire your honours not ſo to take it, as though I would not have read it. I mean not ſo.

Lord Keeper. How ſay you to it, my lord of Carliſle?

Carliſle. If they ſhould not read theirs this day, ſo that our writing may be laſt read, ſo am I contented that ours ſhall be firſt read.

Lord Keeper. So would ye make orders yourſelves, and appoint that we ſhould ſpend one day in hearing you.

Abbot. Then the abbot of Weſtminſter was aſked his mind, who ſaid, If it pleaſe your honours, I judge that my lords here ſtay moſt on this point, that they fear when they ſhall begin firſt, and the other anſwer thereupon, there ſhall be no time given them to ſpeak, which my lord miſliketh.

Lord Keeper. How can it otherwiſe be in talk appointed in ſuch aſſembly and audience: think you that there can be continually anſwering one another? when ſhould it after that ſort have an end?

Lichfield, Coventry. It muſt be ſo in diſputation to ſeek out the truth.

Lord Keeper. But how ſay you my lord Abbot, are you of the mind it ſhall be read?

Abbot. Yea forſooth, my lord, I am very well pleaſed withal. Harpsfield being inquired his mind, thought as the other did.

Lord Keeper. My lords, ſince that ye are not willing, but refuſe to read your writing after the order taken, we will break up and depart: and for that ye will not that we ſhould hear you, you may perhaps ſhortly hear of us.

Thus have we declared the order and manner of this conference at Weſtminſter, between theſe two parties, wherein if any law or order were broken, judge (good reader) where the fault was, and conſider withal what theſe papiſts be, from whom if ye take away their ſword and authority, you ſee all their cunning, how ſoon it lieth in the duſt, or elſe why ſhould they not abide the trial of writing? why would they, or durſt they not ſtand to the order agreed upon? whether ſhould we ſay ignorance or ſtubbornneſs to be in them more, or both together? who firſt being gently (as is ſaid) and favourably required to keep the order appointed, they would not. Then being ſecondly (as appeared by the lord keeper's words) preſſed more earneſtly, they neither regarding the authority, &c. of that place, nor their own reputation, nor the credit of the cauſe, utterly refuſed that to do. And finally, being again particularly every of them apart diſtinctly by name required to underſtand their opinions therein, they all except one (which was the abbot of Weſtminſter, having ſome more conſideration of order and his duty of obedience than the reſt) utterly and plainly denied to have their book read, ſome of them as more earneſtly than others, ſo alſo ſome others more undiſcreetly and more unreverently than others. Whereupon giving ſuch example of diſorder, ſtubbornneſs, and ſelf-will, as hath not been ſeen and ſuffered in ſuch an honourable aſſembly, being of the two eſtates of this

this realm, the nobility and commons, beſides the preſence of the queen's majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, the ſame aſſembly was diſmiſſed, and the godly and moſt chriſtian purpoſe of the queen's majeſty made fruſtrate. And afterward, for the contempt ſo notoriouſly made, the biſhops of Wincheſter and Lincoln, having obſtinately both diſobeyed common authority, and varied manifeſtly from their own order, and eſpecially Lincoln, who ſhewed more folly than the others, were condignly committed to the Tower of London, and the reſt (ſaving the abbot of Weſtminſter) ſtood bound to make their perſonal appearance daily before the council, and not to depart the city of London and Weſtminſter, until further order were taken with them for their diſobedience and contempt.

Beſides the former proteſtation or libel written and exhibited by the proteſtants concerning the firſt queſtion, there was alſo another writing of the proteſtants made of the ſecond queſtion, but not publiſhed.

As theſe biſhops above named were committed to the Tower, ſo Bonner biſhop of London about the ſame time was committed to the Marſhalſea, where he both in his blind bloody hereſy, and alſo in his deſerved captivity, long remained, even till his death.

About this time, at the beginning of the flouriſhing reign of queen Elizabeth, was a parliament ſummoned and held at Weſtminſter, wherein was much debating about matters of religion, and great ſtudy on both parts employed, the one to remain ſtill, the other to impugn the doctrine and faction which in queen Mary's time had been eſtabliſhed Yet notwithſtanding the great induſtry of the papiſts, by the providence of God their deſigns were fruſtrated, and the true catholic religion reſtored. Many of the pope's champions having been cut off by death, their power was much diminiſhed; Dr. Story was one of the chief that was left to ſtand up for his maſter's cauſe, as may be ſeen by his impudent expreſſions (I can term them no better) in the parliament houſe.

The ſum of which ſhameleſs talk was to this effect: Firſt, beginning with himſelf, he declared, that whereas he was noted commonly abroad, and much complained of, to have been a great doer, and a ſetter forth of ſuch religion, orders, and proceedings, as of his late ſovereign that dead is, queen Mary, were ſet forth in this realm, he denied nothing the ſame, proteſting moreover that he therein had done nothing, but that both his conſcience did lead him to, and alſo his commiſſion did as well then command him, as now alſo doth diſcharge him for the ſame, being no leſs ready alſo to do the like, and more, in caſe he by this queen were authoriſed likewiſe, and commanded thereunto. Wherefore, as I ſee (ſaith he) nothing to be aſhamed of, ſo leſs I ſee to be ſorry for, but rather ſaid that he was ſorry for this, becauſe he had done no more than he did, and that in executing thoſe laws they had not been more vehement and ſevere. Wherein he ſaid there was no default in him, but in them, whom he both oft and earneſtly had exhorted to the ſame, being therefore not a little grieved with them, for that they laboured only about the young and little ſprigs and twigs, while they ſhould have ſtricken at the root, and clean have rooted it out, &c. And concerning his perſecuting and burning them, he denied not, but that he was once at the burning of an earwig (for ſo he termed a proteſtant) at Uxbridge, where he toſt a faggot at his face as he was ſinging pſalms, and ſet a wineburſh of thorns under his feet, a little to prick him, with many other words of like effect. In which words he named moreover Sir Philip Hobby, and another knight of Kent, with ſuch other of the richer and higher degree, whom his counſel was to pluck at, and to bring them under coram, wherein, ſaid he, if they had followed my advice, then had they done well and wiſely. This, or much like was the effect of the ſhameleſs and tyrannical excuſe of himſelf, more meet to ſpeak with the voice of a beaſt, than a man.

Although in this parliament ſome diverſity there was of judgment and opinion between parties, yet notwithſtanding, through the merciful goodneſs of God, the true cauſe of the goſpel had the upper hand, the papiſts hope was fruſtrate, and their rage abated, the order and proceedings of king Edward's time concerning religion was revived again, the ſupremacy of the pope aboliſhed, the articles and bloody ſtatutes of queen Mary repealed; briefly, the furious fire-brands of cruel perſecution, which had conſumed ſo many poor men's bodies, were now extinct and quenched.

Finally, the old biſhops were depoſed, for that they refuſed the oath in renouncing the pope, and not ſubſcribing to the queen's juſt and lawful title. In whoſe rooms and places, firſt for cardinal Poole ſucceeded Dr. Matthew Parker, archbiſhop of Canterbury; in the place of Heath ſucceeded Dr. Young; inſtead of Bonner, Edmund Grindall was biſhop of London; for Hopton, Thurlby, Tonſtall, Pates, Chriſtopherſon, Peto, Coates, Morgan, Feaſie, White, Oglethorpe, &c. were placed Dr. John Parkhurſt in Norwich, Dr. Coxe in Ely, Jewell in Saliſbury, Pilkenton in Durham, Dr. Sands in Worceſter, Mr. Downam in Weſtcheſter, Bentam in Coventry and Litchfield, David in St. Davids, Ally in Exeter, Horne in Wincheſter, Scory in Hereford, Beſt in Carliſle, Bullingham in Lincoln, Scamler in Peterborough, Bartlet in Bath, Geſt in Rocheſter, Barlow in Chicheſter, &c.

The ſevere Puniſhment of God upon the Perſecutors of his People and Enemies to his Word, with ſuch alſo as have been Blaſphemers, Contemners, and Mockers of his Religion.

QUEEN Mary being dead and gone, we will now leave her, and treat of thoſe under her who were the chief inſtruments in this perſecution, the biſhops and clergy, to whom ſhe, as a true catholic, gave all the execution of her power, as did queen Alexandra to the Phariſees after the time of the Machabees; of whom Joſephus thus writeth, She only retained to herſelf the name and title of the kingdom, but all her power ſhe gave to the Phariſees to poſſeſs, &c. Touching which prelates and prieſts here is to be noted in like manner the wonderful and miraculous providence of Almighty God, which as he ſhortened the reign of their queen, ſo he ſuffered them not to eſcape unviſited: firſt beginning with Stephen Gardiner the arch-perſecutor of Chriſt's church, whom he took away about the midſt of the queen's reign; of whoſe poiſoned life and ſtinking end, forſomuch as ſufficient hath been touched before, I need not here make rehearſal thereof.

After him dropped others away alſo, ſome before the death of queen Mary and ſome after, as Morgan biſhop of St. Davids, who ſitting upon the condemnation of biſhop Farrar, and unjuſtly uſurping his room, not long after was ſtruck by God's hand in ſuch a ſtrange manner, that his meat would not go down, but riſe and pick up again, ſometimes at his mouth, ſometimes blown out at his noſe, moſt nauſeous to behold, and ſo he continued till his death.

Where note moreover that when Mr. Leyſon, being then ſheriff at biſhop Farrar's burning, had brought away the cattle of the ſaid biſhop from his ſervant's houſe named Matthew Harbottle, into his own cuſtody, the cattle coming into the ſheriff's ground, divers of them would never eat meat, but lay bellowing and roaring, and ſo died.

What a ſtroke of God's hand was brought upon the cruel perſecutor of the holy ſaints of God, biſhop Thornton, ſuffragan of Dover, who after he had exerciſed his cruel

cruel tyranny upon ſo many pious men at Canterbury, at length coming upon a Saturday from the chapter-houſe at Canterbury to Borne, and there upon Sunday following looking upon his men playing at bows, fell ſuddenly in a palſy, and ſo had to-bed, was willed to remember God: Yea ſo I do, ſaid he, and my lord cardinal too, &c.

After him ſucceeded another biſhop or ſuffragan, ordained by the aforeſaid cardinal. It is reported that he had been ſuffragan before to Bonner, who not long after being made biſhop or ſuffragan of Dover, brake his neck falling down a pair of ſtairs in the cardinal's chamber at Greenwich, as he had received the cardinal's bleſſing.

John Cooper, of the age of forty-four years, dwelling at Watſam in the county of Suffolk, a carpenter by trade, a man of a very honeſt report and a good houſekeeper, a harbourer of ſtrangers that travelled for conſcience, and one that favoured religion, and thoſe that were religious.

This man being at home, there came unto him one William Fenning, a ſerving-man, dwelling in the ſaid town of Watſam, and underſtanding that the ſaid Cooper had a couple of fair bullocks, did deſire to buy them of him; Cooper told him that he was loth to ſell them, becauſe he had brought them up for his own uſe, and if he ſhould ſell them, he then muſt be compelled to buy others, and that he would not do.

When Fenning ſaw he could not get them (for he had often tried) he ſaid, he would ſit as much in his light, and ſo departed, and went and accuſed him of high-treaſon. The words he was charged with were theſe, How he ſhould pray, if God would not take away queen Mary, that then the devil would take her away. Of theſe words did this Fenning charge him before Sir Henry Doel knight (unto whom he was carried by Mr. Timperley of Hincleſam in Suffolk, and one Grimwood of Lowſhaw, conſtable) which words Cooper flatly denied; and ſaid he never ſpake them; but that did not avail.

Notwithſtanding that, he was arraigned at Bury before Sir Clement Higham, at a Lent aſſize, and there this Fenning brought two vile men that witneſſed to the ſpeaking of the foreſaid words, whoſe names were Richard White of Watſam, and Grimwood of Hitcham, in the ſaid county of Suffolk. Whoſe teſtimonies were received as truth, although this good man John Cooper had ſaid what he could to declare himſelf innocent therein, but to no purpoſe, God knows. For his life was determined, as in the end appeared by Sir Clement Higham's words, who ſaid he ſhould not eſcape, for an example to all heretics, as indeed he thoroughly performed: for immediately he was ſentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, which was accordingly performed ſoon after, to the great grief of many a good heart. Here good Cooper is bereft of his life, and leaves behind him a wife and nine children, with goods and cattle to the value of 300 marks, all which ſubſtance was taken away by the ſaid Sir Henry Doiel ſheriff, but his wife and poor children were left to the wide world in their cloaths, and ſuffered not to enjoy one penny of that they had ſore laboured for, unleſs they made friends to buy it with money of the ſaid ſheriff. So cruel and greedy was he and his officers upon ſuch things as were there left.

Now, this innocent man being dead, his goods ſpoiled, his wife and children left deſolate and comfortleſs, and all things huſhed, nothing feared of any part: yet the Lord, who ſurely doth revenge the guiltleſs blood, would not ſtill ſo ſuffer it, but at length began to puniſh it himſelf. For in the harveſt following, as the ſaid Grimwood of Hitcham, one of the witneſſes before mentioned, was in his labour ſtaking up a goff of corn, being in health, and fearing no danger, ſuddenly his bowels fell out of his body, and thus moſt miſerably he died: ſuch was the terrible judgment of God, to ſhew his diſpleaſure againſt his bloody act, and to warn the reſt by theſe his judgments to repentance. The Lord grant us to honour the ſame, for his mercies ſake. Amen.

Before in the ſtory of Mr. Bradford, mention was made of Mr. Woodroffe, who being the ſheriff, uſed much to rejoice at the death of the poor ſaints in Chriſt: and ſo hard was he in his office, that when Mr Rogers was in the cart, going towards Smithfield, and in the way his children were brought unto him, the people making a lane for them to come; Mr. Woodroffe had the carman's head broken, becauſe of his ſtopping his cart. But what happened? He was not come out of his office the ſpace of a week, but he was ſtricken ſuddenly by the hand of God, the one half of his body in ſuch ſort, that he lay benumbed and bed-rid, not able to move himſelf, but as he was lifted by others, and ſo he continued in that infirmity the ſpace of ſeven or eight years, till his dying day.

Likewiſe touching Ralph Larding, the betrayer of George Eagles, it is thought of ſome, that the ſaid Ralph was afterward attached himſelf, arraigned, and hanged.

Who being at the bar, before the judges, and a great number of people, ſpake theſe words, This is moſt juſtly fallen upon me, for that I have betrayed the innocent blood of a good and juſt man George Eagles, who was here condemned in the time of queen Mary's reign, through my procurement, who ſold his blood for a little money.

Among other perſecutors, there came alſo to our hands the cruelty of one Mr. Swingfield, an alderman's deputy about Thames-ſtreet, who hearing one Angel's wife, a midwife, that kept herſelf from their popiſh church, to be at the labour of one Mrs. Walter at Crooked-lane end, took with him three more, and beſet the houſe about, and took her and carried her to Bonner's office, big with child, twenty-eight weeks gone, who laid her in Lollards Tower: where, the ſame day ſhe came in, through fear and a fall at her taking, ſhe was delivered of a man child, and could have no women to aſſiſt her that needful time. Lying there five weeks, ſhe was delivered under ſureties by friendſhip; and Dr. Story hearing thereof charged her with felony, and ſo ſent her to Newgate. The cauſe was, for that ſhe had a women at her houſe that died in labour, and the child alſo, and ſo charged her with their deaths.

But when Sir Roger Cholmley heard her tell her tale, he delivered her; and not much more than ten weeks after, if it were ſo long, died the ſaid Mr. Swingfield, and the other three that came to take her.

Becauſe ſome there be, and not a few, who have ſuch great devotion in ſetting up the popiſh maſs, I would deſire them to mark well the following ſtory. There was a certain bailiff of Crowland in Lincolnſhire, named Burton, who pretending an earneſt friendſhip to the goſpel in king Edward's days, at leaſt in outward ſhew (although inwardly he was a papiſt or atheiſt, and well known to be a man of a wicked and adulterous life) ſet forth the king's proceedings luſtily, till the time that king Edward was dead, and queen Mary placed quietly in her eſtate.

Then perceiving by the firſt proclamation concerning religion, how the world was like to turn, the bailiff turned his religion likewiſe; and ſo he moved the pariſh to ſhew themſelves the queen's friends, and to ſet up the maſs ſpeedily. Nevertheleſs the moſt ſubſtantial of the pariſh marvelling much at the bailiff's inconſtancy, conſidering alſo his abominable life, and having no great devotion unto his requeſt, knowing moreover that their duty and friendſhip to the queen ſtood not in ſetting up the maſs, ſpared to provide for it, as long as they might: but the bailiff called on them ſtill in the queen's name.

At laſt, when he ſaw his words were not regarded, and purpoſing to win his ſpurs by playing the man in the maſs's behalf and the queen's, he got him to church upon

upon a Sunday morning, and when the curate was beginning the Engliſh ſervice, according to the ſtatute ſet forth by king Edward the ſixth, the bailiff cometh in a great rage to the curate, and ſaith, Sirrah, will you not ſay maſs? buckle yourſelf to maſs you knave, or by God's blood I ſhall ſheath my dagger in your ſhoulder. The poor curate for fear ſettled himſelf to the maſs.

Not long after this, the bailiff rode from home upon certain buſineſs, accompanied with one of his neighbours, and as they came riding together upon the Fennebank homeward again, a crow ſitting in a willow-tree took her flight over his head, ſinging after her wonted note, knave, knave, and withal let fall upon his face, ſo that her excrements ran from the top of his noſe down to his beard.

The poiſoned ſcent and ſavour whereof ſo annoyed his ſtomach, that he never ceaſed vomiting until he came home, wherewith his heart was ſo ſore and his body ſo diſtempered, that for extreme ſickneſs he got him to bed, and ſo lying, he was not able for the ſtink in his ſtomach and painful vomiting to receive any relief of meat or drink, but cried out ſorrowfully complaining of that ſtink, and with no ſmall oaths curſed the crow that poiſoned him. To make ſhort, he continued but a few days, but with extreme pain of vomiting and crying, he deſperately died, without any token of repentance of his former life.

Reported and teſtified for a certainty by divers of his neighbours, both honeſt and credible perſons.

As James Abbes was led by the ſheriff toward his martyrdom, divers poor people ſtood in the way, and aſked their alms. He then having no money to give them, and deſirous yet to diſtribute ſomething amongſt them, did pull off his apparel ſaving his ſhirt, and gave the ſame unto them, to ſome one thing, to ſome another; in the giving whereof he exhorted them to be ſtrong in the Lord, and as faithful followers of Chriſt, to ſtand ſtedfaſt unto the truth of the goſpel, which he (thro' God's help) would then in their ſight ſeal and confirm with his blood. While he was thus charitably occupied, and zealouſly inſtructing the people, a ſervant of the ſheriff's going by and hearing him, cried out aloud unto them, and blaſphemouſly ſaid, Believe him not, good people, he is an heretic, and a mad-man, out of his wits, believe him not, for it is hereſy that he ſaith. And as the other continued in his godly admonitions, ſo did this wicked wretch ſtill blow forth his blaſphemous exclamations, until they came unto the ſtake where he ſhould ſuffer. Unto which this conſtant martyr was tied, and in the end cruelly burned, as in his ſtory more fully is already declared.

But immediately after the fire was put unto him (ſuch was the fearful ſtroke of God's juſtice upon this blaſphemous railer) that he was there preſently, in the ſight of all the people, ſtricken with a frenzy, wherewith he had before moſt railingly charged that good martyr of God, who in this furious rage and madneſs caſting off his ſhoes with all the reſt of his cloaths, cried out unto the people, and ſaid, Thus did James Abbes the true ſervant of God, who is ſaved, but I am damned. And thus ran he round about the town of Bury, ſtill crying out, that James Abbes was a good man and ſaved, but he was damned.

The ſheriff then being amazed, cauſed him to be taken and tied in a dark houſe, and by force compelled him again to put on his cloaths, thinking thereby within a while to bring him to ſome quietneſs. But he (all that notwithſtanding) as ſoon as they were gone, continued his former raging, and caſting off his cloaths, cried as he did before, James Abbes is the ſervant of God and is ſaved, but I am damned.

No. 57.

At length he was tied at a cart, and brought home unto his maſter's houſe, and within half a year, or thereabouts, he being at the point of death, the prieſt of the pariſh was ſent for; who coming unto him, brought with him the crucifix, and their houſeling hoſt of the alter. Which gear, when the poor wretch ſaw, he cried out of the prieſt, and defied all this baggage, ſaying, that the prieſt, with ſuch others as he was, was the cauſe of his damnation, and that James Abbes was a good man and ſaved. And ſo ſhortly after he died.

Clarke, an open enemy to the goſpel and all godly preachers, in king Edward's days hanged himſelf in the tower of London.

The great and notable papiſt, called Troling Smith, of late fell down ſuddenly in the ſtreet, and died.

Dale the promoter was eaten into his body with lice, and ſo died, as it is well known of many, and confeſſed alſo by his fellow John Anales, before credible witneſs.

Alexander the keeper of Newgate, a cruel enemy to thoſe that lay there for religion, died very meſerably, being ſo ſwollen, that he was more like a monſter than a man, and ſo rotten within, that no man could abide the ſmell of him. This cruel wretch, to haſten the poor lambs to the ſlaughter, would go to Bonner, Story, Cholmley, and others, crying out, Rid my priſon, Rid my priſon; I am too much peſtered with theſe heretics.

The ſon of the ſaid Alexander called James, having left unto him by his father great ſubſtance, within three years waſted all to nought: and when ſome marvelled how he ſpent theſe goods ſo faſt: O, ſaid he, evil gotten, evil ſpent; and ſhortly after as he went in Newgate-market, he fell down ſuddenly, and there wretchedly died.

John Peter, ſun-in-law to this Alexander, and an horrible blaſphemer of God, and no leſs cruel to the ſaid priſoners, rotted away, and ſo moſt miſerably died. Who commonly when he would affirm any thing, were it true or falſe, uſed to ſay, If it be not true, I pray God I rot ere I die. Witneſs the printer hereof, with divers others.

And what a notable ſpectacle of God's revenging judgment have we to conſider in Sir Ralph Ellerker, who as he was deſirous to ſee the heart taken out of Adam Damlip, whom they moſt wrongfully put to death: ſo ſhortly after the ſaid Sir Ralph Ellerker being ſlain of the Frenchmen, they fell to mangling him, and after they had cut off his privy members, would not ſo leave him, before they might ſee his heart cut out of his body.

Stephen Gardiner, hearing of the pitiful end of Judge Hales after he had drowned himſelf, taking occaſion thereby, called the profeſſion of the goſpel a doctrine of deſperation. But as judge Hales never fell into that inconvenience before he had conſented to papiſtry: ſo whoſo well conſidereth the end of doctor Pendleton (which at his death full ſore repented that ever he had yielded to the doctrine of the papiſts, as he did) and likewiſe the miſerable end of the moſt part of the papiſts beſides, and eſpecially of Stephen Gardiner himſelf (who after ſo long profeſſing the doctrine of papiſtry, when there came a biſhop to him on his death bed, and put him in remembrance of Peter denying his maſter: he anſwering again, ſaid, that he had denied with Peter, but never repented with Peter, and ſo both ſtinkingly and unrepentedly died) will ſay, as Stephen Gardiner alſo himſelf gave an evident example of the ſame to all men, to underſtand that popery rather is a doctrine of deſperation, procuring the vengeance of Almighty God to them that wilfully do cleave unto it.

And thus much concerning thoſe perſecutors.

The perſecuting clergy who died in the time of perſecution, we ſhall take no notice of, but thoſe who remained

mained after the death of queen Mary were deprived, and committed to ſeveral priſons.

In the Tower.

Nicholas Heath, archbiſhop of York, and lord chancellor. Thomas Thirlby biſhop of Ely.
Thomas Watſon biſhop of Lincoln.
Gilbert Bourne biſhop of Bath and Wells.
Richard Pates biſhop of Worceſter. Troublefield biſhop of Exeter. John Fecknam abbot of Weſtminſter.
John Borall dean of Windſor and Peterborough.

Of David Pool biſhop of Peterborough, it is not known whether he was in the Tower, or in ſome other priſon.

Goldwel biſhop of St. Aſaph, and Maurice elect of Bangor, ran away.
Edmund Bonner biſhop of London, in the Marſhalſea.
Thomas Wood biſhop elect, in the Marſhalſea.
Cuthbert Scot biſhop of Cheſter, was in the Fleet, from whence he eſcaped to Lovane, and there died.

In the Fleet.

Henry Cole dean of Paul's. John Harpsfield archdeacon of London, and dean of Norwich. Nicholas Harpsfield archdeacon of Canterbury. Anthony Draycot archdeacon of Huntington. William Chedſey archdeacon of Middleſex.

Concerning which doctor Chedſey here is to be noted, that in the beginning of king Edward's reign he recanted, and ſubſcribed to thirty-four articles, wherein he then fully conſented and agreed with his own handwriting to the whole form of doctrine approved and allowed then in the church, as well concerning juſtification by faith only, as alſo the doctrine of the two ſacraments then received, denying as well the pope's ſupremacy, tranſubſtantiation, purgatory, invocation of ſaints, elevation and adoration of the ſacrament, the ſacrifice, and veneration of the maſs, as alſo all other like excrements of popiſh ſuperſtition, according to the king's book then ſet forth.

Wherefore the more marvel it is, that he, being counted ſuch a famous and learned clerk, would ſhew himſelf ſo fickle and unſtable in his aſſertions, ſo double in his doings, to alter his religion according to time, and to maintain for truth, not what he thought beſt, but what he might moſt ſafely defend. So long as the ſtate of the lord protector and of his brother ſtood upright, what was then the conformity of this doctor Chedſey, his own articles in Latin, written and ſubſcribed with his own hand, do declare, which I have to ſhew, if he will deny them. But after the decay of the king's uncles, the fortune of them turned not ſo faſt, but his religion turned withal, and he took upon him to diſpute againſt Peter Martyr, in upholding tranſubſtantiation at Oxford, which a little before with his own hand-writing he had overthrown.

After this enſued the time of queen Mary, wherein doctor Chedſey, to ſhew his double diligence, was ſo eagar in his commiſſion to ſit in judgment, and to bring poor men to their death, that in the laſt year of queen Mary, when the lord chancellor, Sir Thomas Cornwallis, lord Clinton, and divers others of the council had ſent for him by a ſpecial letter to repair to London out of Eſſex, he writing again to the biſhop of London, ſought means not to come at the council's deſire, but to continue ſtill in his perſecuting progreſs. The copy of whoſe letter I have alſo in my hands (if needs were) to bring forth.

It happened in the firſt year of queen Elizabeth, that one William Mauldon was bound ſervant to one Mr. Hugh Aparry then a wheat-taker for the queen, dwelling at Greenwich. Who being newly come to him, and having no book there to look upon, being deſirous to occupy himſelf virtuouſly, looked about the houſe, and found a primmer in Engliſh, wherein he read in a winter's evening. While he was reading, there ſate one John Apowel that had been a ſerving-man, about thirty years of age, born toward Wales, whom the ſaid Mr. Hugh gave meat and drink unto, till ſuch time as he could get a ſervice. And as William Mauldon read in the book, the ſaid John Apowel mocked him after every word, with contrary gauds and flouting words unreverently, inſomuch that he could no longer abide him for grief of heart, but turned to him and ſaid, John, take heed what thou doſt; thou doſt not mock me, but thou mockeſt God: For in mocking of his word, thou mockeſt him; and this is the word of God though I be ſimple that read it; and therefore beware what thou doſt.

Then Mauldon fell to reading again, and ſtill he proceeded on in his mocking; and when Mauldon had read certain Engliſh prayers, in the end he read, Lord have mercy us, Chriſt have mercy upon us, &c.

And as Mauldon was reciting theſe words, the other with a ſtart ſuddenly ſaid, Lord have mercy upon me.

With that Mauldon anſwered and ſaid, What aileſt thou John?

He ſaid, I was afraid.

Whereof waſt thou afraid, ſaid Mauldon?

Nothing now, ſaid the other: and ſo he would not tell him. After this, when Mauldon and he went to-bed, Mauldon aſked him what he was afraid of.

He ſaid, when you read, Lord have mercy upon us, &c. methought the hair of my head ſtood upright, with a great fear which came upon me.

Then ſaid Mauldon, John, thou may'ſt ſee, the evil ſpirit could not abide that Chriſt ſhould have mercy upon us. Well John, ſaid Mauldon, repent and amend thy life, for God will not be mocked. If we mock and jeſt at his word, he will puniſh us.

Alſo you uſe ribaldry words, and ſwearing very much: therefore for God's ſake, John, amend thy life. So I will, ſaid he, by the grace of God; I pray God I may. Amen, ſaid the other, with other words, and ſo went to-bed.

On the morrow, about eight of the clock in the morning, John came running down out of his chamber in his ſhirt into the hall, and wreſtled with his miſtreſs as if he would have thrown her down. Whereat ſhe ſhrieked out, and her ſervants holp her, and took him by ſtrength and carried him up into his bed, and there bound him; for they perceived plainly that he was out of his right mind.

After that, as he lay, almoſt a day and a night his tongue never ceaſed, but he cried out of the devil of hell, and his words were ever ſtill, O the devil of hell; now the devil of hell; I would ſee the devil of hell; there he is, there he goeth, &c.

Thus he lay without amendment about ſix days, that his maſter and all the family being weary of the noiſe, agreed with the keepers of Bedlam, and gave a piece of money, and ſent him thither.

This is a terrible example to you that be mockers of God: therefore repent and amend, leſt the vengeance of God fall upon you in like manner. Witneſs hereof William Mauldon of Newington.

The ſame William Mauldon chanced afterwards to dwell at a town ſix miles from London called Walthamſtow, where his wife taught young children to read, which was about the year of our Lord 1563, and the fourth year of queen Elizabeth's reign. Unto this ſchool, amongſt other children, came one Benfield's daughter, named Dennis, about the age of twelve years.

As theſe children were talking together, there happened among other talk (as the nature of children is to be buſy with many things) to fall into communication of God, and to reaſon among themſelves, after their childiſh diſcretion, what he ſhould be. Some anſwered one thing

thing, ſome another. Among whom, when one of the children had ſaid, He was a good old Father; but Dennis Benfield ſaid, He is an old doting fool.

What wretched and blaſphemous words were theſe ye hear! Now mark what followed.

When Mauldon heard of theſe abominable words of the girl, he deſired his wife to correct her for the ſame; which was appointed to be done the next day; but when the morrow came, her mother would needs ſend her to the market to London; the girl greatly intreated her mother that ſhe might not go. However through her mother's compulſion ſhe was forced to go. And what happened? Her buſineſs being done at London, ſhe was returning again homeward, and being a little paſt Hackney, ſuddenly ſhe was ſtruck, that all the one ſide of her was black, and ſhe ſpeechleſs. Whereupon ſhe was carried back to Hackney, and there the ſame night died. Witneſs of the ſame ſtory William Mauldon and his wife, alſo Benfield her father, and mother, and yet be all alive.

A terrible example, no doubt, both to old and young, what it is for children to blaſpheme the Lord their God, and what it is for parents to ſuffer their young ones to grow up in ſuch blaſphemous blindneſs, and not to nurture them betimes in the rudiments of the chriſtian catechiſm, to know firſt their creation, and then their redemption in Chriſt our Saviour, to fear the name of God, and to reverence his Majeſty. For elſe what do they deſerve but to be taken away by death, who contemptuouſly deſpiſe him, of whom they take the benefit of life?

And therefore let all young maids, boys, and young men, take example by this wretched creature, not only not to blaſpheme the ſacred Majeſty of the omnipotent God, their Creator, but alſo not once to take his name in vain, according as they are taught in his commandments.

Secondly, let all fathers, godfathers, and godmothers, take this for a warning, to ſee to the inſtruction and catechiſing of their children, for whom they have bound themſelves in promiſe both to God and to his church. Which if the father and godfather, the mother and godmothers had done to this young girl, verily it may be thought this deſtruction had not fallen upon her.

Thirdly, let all blind atheiſts, epicures, mammoniſts, belly-gods of this world, and ſons of Belial, hypocrites, infidels, and mockers of religion, who ſay in their hearts, there is no God, learn alſo hereby not only what God is, and what he is able to do, but alſo in this miſerable creature here puniſhed in this world, behold what ſhall likewiſe fall on them in the world to come, unleſs they will be warned betimes by ſuch examples as the Lord God doth give them.

Fourthly and laſtly, Here may alſo be a ſpectacle for all them who be blaſphemers and abominable ſwearers, or rather tearers of God, abuſing his glorious name in ſuch a contemptuous and deſpiteful manner as they uſed to do: whom if neither the command of God, nor the calling of the preacher, nor remorſe of conſcience, nor rule of reaſon, nor their withering age, nor hoary hairs will admoniſh, yet let theſe terrible examples of God's ſtrict judgment ſomewhat move them to take heed to themſelves. For if this young maiden, who was not full twelve years old, for her unreverent ſpeaking of God (and that but at one time) did not eſcape the ſtroke of God's terrible hand, what then have they to look for, who being men grown in years, and often warned by the preacher, yet ceaſe not continually with their blaſphemous oaths, not only to abuſe his name, but alſo moſt contumiouſly to tear him, as it were, and all his parts to pieces?

Did not Thomas Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury, give ſentence againſt the lord Cobham, and died himſelf before him, being ſo mortified in his tongue, that he could neither ſwallow nor ſpeak for ſome time before his death?

William Swallow, the cruel tormentor of George Eagles, was ſhortly after ſo plagued of God, that all the hair of his head, and nails of his fingers and toes, went off, his eyes almoſt cloſed up, that he could ſcarce ſee.

Albeit, I truſt, the goſpel of Chriſt, being now received in the queen's court amongſt the courtiers and ſervants of her guard, hath framed their lives and manners ſo to live in the due fear of God, and temperance of life, with all ſobriety, and merciful compaſſion toward their own chriſtians, that they need not greatly any other inſtructions to be given them in this ſtory: yet forſomuch as examples many times do work more effectually in the minds and memories of men; and alſo partly conſidering with myſelf, how theſe, above all other ſorts of men in the whole realm, in time paſt ever had moſt need of ſuch wholeſome leſſons and admonitions, to leave their inordinate riot of drunkenneſs, and their heatheniſh prophanity of life; I thought here to ſet before their eyes a terrible example, not of a ſtrange and foreign perſon, but of one of their own coat, a yeoman of the guard, not feigned by me, but brought to me by God's providence, for a warning to all courtiers, and of very truth, no longer ago than in the year of our Lord 1568. And as the ſtory is true, ſo is the name of the party not unknown, being called Chriſtopher Landeſdale, dwelling in Hackney, in Middleſex. The order of whoſe life, and manner of his death, being worthy to be noted, is this, as in ſtory here under followeth.

This Landeſdale being married to an ancient woman, yet living, having by her both goods and lands, notwithſtanding lived long in filthy whoredom with a younger woman, by whom he had two children, a ſon and a daughter, and kept them in his houſe unto the day of his death. Alſo when he ſhould have been in ſerving of God on the ſabbath-day, he uſed to walk or ride about his fields, and ſeldom he or any of his houſe came to church after the Engliſh ſervice was again received. Beſides this, he was a great ſwearer, and a great drunkard, and had great delight alſo in making other men drunk, and would have them whom he had made drunkards, to call him father, and he would call them his ſons; and of theſe ſons, by report, he had above forty. And if he had ſeen one that would drink freely, he would mark him, and ſpend his money with liberally in ale or wine, but moſt in wine, to make him the ſooner drunk. Theſe bleſſed ſons of his ſhould have great cheer oftentimes, both at his own houſe, and at taverns: and not long before his death he was ſo beaſtly drunk in a tavern over-againſt his door, that he fell down in the tavern yard, and could not riſe alone, but lay groveling, till he was holpen up, and ſo carried home.

This father of drunkards, as he was a great feaſter of the rich and wealthy of Hackney, and others, ſo his poor neighbours and poor tenants fared little the better for him, except it were with ſome broken meat which after his feaſts his wife would carry and ſend unto them, or ſome alms given at his door.

Beſides all this, he did much injury to his poor neighbours, in oppreſſing the commons near about him, which was a ſpecial relief unto them, ſo that his cattle did eat up all without pity or mercy.

There chanced after this, about two years before he died, a poor man being ſick of the bloody flux, for weakneſs to lie down in a ditch of the ſaid Landeſdale's not a ſtone's caſt from his houſe, where he had a little ſtraw brought him. Notwithſtanding the ſaid Landeſdale had back houſes and barns enow to have laid him in; but he would not ſhew him ſo much pity. And thus poor Lazarus there lay night and day, about ſix weeks ere he died.

Certain good neighbours hearing of this, procured things neceſſary for his relief, but he was ſo far ſpent,

that

that he could not be recovered; who lay broiling in the hot ſun, with a horrible ſmell, moſt pitiful to behold.

This poor man, a little before he died, deſired to be moved to another ditch more ſhady. Whereupon one of the neighbours coming to Landeſdale's wife for a bundle of ſtraw for him to ſit upon, ſhe required to have him removed to Newington ſide, becauſe, ſhe ſaid, if he ſhould die, it would be very far to carry him to the church.

Beſides this, there was a marriage in this Landeſdale's houſe, and the gueſts that came to the marriage, gave the poor man money as they came and went by him, but Landeſdale diſdained to contribute any relief unto him, notwithſtanding that he had promiſed to Mr. Searles, one of the queen's guard (who had more pity of him) to miniſter to him things neceſſary.

To be ſhort, the next day poor Lazarus departed this life, and was buried in Hackney church-yard; upon whom Landeſdale did not ſo much as beſtow a winding-ſheet towards his burial. And thus much concerning the end of poor Lazarus. Now let us hear what became of the rich glutton.

About two years after, the ſaid Landeſdale being full of drink, as his cuſtom was, came riding in great haſte from London on St. Andrew's day, anno 1568, and as is reported by thoſe that ſaw him, reeling to and fro like a drunkard with his hat in his hand, and coming by a ditch, tumbled headlong into it. Some ſay, that the horſe fell upon him, but that is not like. This is true, the horſe, more ſober than the maſter, came home, leaving his maſter behind him. Whether he brake his neck with the fall, or was drowned (for the water was ſcarce a foot deep) it is uncertain; but certain it is, that he was there found dead. Thus he being found dead in the ditch, the coroner, as the manner is, ſate upon him: and how the matter was handled for ſaving his goods, the Lord knoweth; but in the end ſo it fell out, that the goods were ſaved, and the poor horſe indicted for his maſter's death.

The neighbours hearing of the death of this man, and conſidering the manner thereof, ſaid it was juſtly fallen upon him, that as he ſuffered the poor man to lie and die in the ditch near unto him, ſo his end was to die in a ditch likewiſe. And thus haſt thou in this ſtory (chriſtian brother and reader) the true image of a rich glutton and poor Lazarus ſet out before thine eyes: whereby we have all to learn, what happeneth in the end to ſuch voluptuous epicures and atheiſts, who being void of all ſenſe of religion, and fear of God, yield themſelves over to all prophanity of life, neither regarding any honeſty at home, nor ſhewing any mercy to their needy neighbours abroad.

Chriſt our Saviour ſaith, Matt. 5. Bleſſed be the merciful, for they ſhall obtain mercy: but judgment without mercy ſhall be executed on them which have ſhewed no mercy, &c. and Saint John ſaith, 1 John 4. He that ſeeth his brother have need. and ſhutteth up his compaſſion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him, &c. Again, Eſay againſt ſuch profane drunkards and quaffers, thus crieth out, Woe be unto them that riſe up early to follow drunkenneſs, and to them that ſo continue until night, till they be ſet on fire with wine. In thoſe companies are harps and lutes, tabrets and pipes, and wine: but they regard not the works of the Lord, and conſider not the operations of his hands, &c. Woe be unto them that are ſtrong to ſpue out wine, and expert to ſet up drunkenneſs.

The puniſhments of them that be dead be wholeſome documents to them that be alive. And therefore as the ſtory above exemplified may ſerve to warn all courtiers and yeomen of the guard; ſo by this that followeth, I would wiſh all gentlemen to take good heed and admonition betime, to leave their outrageous ſwearing and blaſpheming of the Lord their God.

In the time and reign of king Edward, there was in Cornwall a certain luſty young gentleman, who rode in company with other gentlemen, together with their ſervants, being about the number of twenty horſemen. Among whom this luſty yonker entering into talk, began to ſwear moſt horribly, blaſpheming the name of God, with other ribaldry words beſides. Upon whom one of the company, who is yet alive, and witneſs hereof, not able to abide the hearing of ſuch blaſphemous abomination, in gentle words ſpeaking to him, ſaid, he ſhould give anſwer and account for every idle word.

The gentleman offended thereat, ſaid, Why takeſt thou thought for me? take thought for thy winding-ſheet. Well, quoth the other, amend, for death giveth no warning: for as ſoon cometh a lamb's ſkin to the market, as an old ſheep's. God's wounds, ſaith he, care not thou for me; raging ſtill after this manner worſe and worſe in words, till at length paſſing on their journey, they came riding over a great bridge, ſtanding over a piece of an arm of the ſea. Upon which bridge this gentleman ſwearer ſpurred his horſe in ſuch ſort, as he ſprang clean over with the man on his back. Who as he was going, cried ſaying, Horſe and man, and all to the devil. This terrible ſtory happening in a town in Cornwall, I would have been afraid amongſt theſe ſtories here to recite, were it not that he, who was then both reprehender of his ſwearing, and witneſs of his death, is yet alive, and now a miniſter, named Heynes. Beſides this, biſhop Ridley, then biſhop of London, preached and uttered even the ſame fact and example at Paul's Croſs. The name of the gentleman I could by no means obtain of the party and witneſs aforeſaid, for dread of thoſe, as he ſaid, which yet remain of his kindred in the ſaid country.

Having now ſufficiently admoniſhed, firſt the courtiers, then the gentlemen; now thirdly for a brief admonition to the lawyers we will here inſert the ſtrange end and death of one Henry Smith, ſtudent of the law.

Henry Smith having a godly gentleman to his father, and an ancient proteſtant, dwelling in Camden in Glouceſterſhire, was by him virtuouſly brought up in the knowledge of God's word, and ſincere religion; wherein he ſhewed himſelf in the beginning ſuch an earneſt profeſſor, that he was called by the papiſts prattling Smith. After theſe good beginnings it followed, that he coming to be a ſtudent of the law in the Middle Temple at London, there by ill company began to be perverted to popery, and afterwards going to Lovane, was more deeply grounded in the ſame. Inſomuch, that returning from thence, he brought with him pardons, a crucifix, with an Agnus Dei, which he uſed commonly to wear about his neck, and had in his chamber images, before which he was wont to pray; beſides divers other popiſh traſh, which he brought with him from Lovane. Now what end followed this I ſhould be loth to declare, but that the fact ſo lately done remaineth yet freſh in memory, to the amazement of almoſt all the city of London. The end was this.

Not long after, this Henry Smith became a foul jeerer, and a ſcornful ſcoffer of that religion which before he profeſſed; in his chamber where he lay in St. Clement's pariſh, without Temple-bar, in the evening he was going to bed, and his cloaths put off (for he was found naked) he had tied his ſhirt (which he had torn for that purpoſe) about his privy places, and ſo with his own girdle or garter, faſtened to the bed poſt, there ſtrangled himſelf: having his Agnus Dei on a ſilver table, with his other idolatrous traſh in a window by him. And thus being dead, and not thought worthy to be interred in the church-yard, he was buried in a lane, called Foſkew-lane.

The Story and End of the French King Henry II.

THE prince was ſo outrageous againſt the proteſtants, that he threatened Anne du Bourg, one of the high court of parliament in Paris, that he would ſee him burn with his own eyes. But how he came ſhort of his purpoſe, the ſequel of the ſtory will make appear, in the following manner.

King Henry being in the parliament houſe which was kept at the Friar Auguſtines at Paris, becauſe the palace was in preparing againſt the marriage of his daughter, and his ſiſter, and having heard the opinion in religion of Anne du Bourg counſellor in the law, a man eloquent and learned, he cauſed the ſaid Anne du Bourg, and Loys du Faux, counſellors, to be taken priſoners by the conſtable of France, who apprehended them, and delivered them into the hands of count Montgommery, who carried them to priſon. Againſt whom the king being wrathful and angry, among other talk, ſaid to the ſaid Anne du Bourg, Theſe eyes of mine ſhall ſee thee burnt: and ſo on the 19th of June, commiſſion was given to judges to make his proceſs.

In the mean while, great feaſts and banquets were preparing at court, for joy and gladneſs of the marriage that ſhould be of the king's daughter and ſiſter, againſt the laſt day of June ſave one. When the time was come, the king employed all the morning in examining the preſidents and counſellors of the ſaid parliament againſt theſe priſoners, and other their companions that were charged with the ſame doctrine; which being done, they went to dinner.

The king, after he had dined, for that he was one of the defendants at the tourney, which was ſolemnly made in St. Anthony's-ſtreet, near to the priſon where the foreſaid priſoners were committed, entered into the liſts; and therein juſting, as the manner is, had broken many ſtaves very valiantly, running as well againſt the count of Montgommery, as divers others. Whereupon he was highly commended by the ſpectators. And becauſe he was thought to have done enough, they deſired him to leave off with praiſe: but he being the more inflamed with the hearing of his praiſe, would needs run another courſe with Montgommery: who then refuſing to run againſt the king, and kneeling on his knees for pardon not to run; the king being eagerly ſet, commanded him upon his allegiance to run, and, as ſome affirm, he alſo put the ſtaff in his hand, unto whoſe hand he had committed the foreſaid priſoners a little before. Montgommery thus being enforced whether he would or no, to run againſt the king, addreſſed himſelf after the beſt manner to obey the king's commandment. Whereupon he and the king met together ſo ſtoutly, that in breaking their ſpears the king was ſtruck with the counter-blow, ſo right in one of his eyes, by reaſon that the vizor of his helmet ſuddenly fell down at the ſame inſtant, that the ſhivers entered into his head; ſo that the brains were periſhed, and thereupon ſo feſtered, that no remedy could be found, although phyſicians and ſurgeons were ſent from all places in the realm, as alſo from Brabant from king Philip, but nothing availed, ſo that the 11th day after, that is, the 10th of July, 1559, he miſerably ended his life, having reigned twelve years, three months, and ten days.

This was laid upon a Deſk in Queen Mary's Cloſet, againſt her coming to Prayers.

O Lovely Roſe moſt redolent,
Of fading flowers moſt freſh:
In England pleaſant is thy ſcent,
For now thou art peerleſs.
This Roſe which beareth ſuch a ſmell,
Doth repreſent our queen:
O liſten, that I may you tell
Her Colours freſh and green.
The love of God within her heart
Shall beautify her grace:
The fear of God on th' other part,
Shall ſtabliſh her in place.
This love and fear her colours are,
Whereby if ſhe be known;
She may compare both nigh and far,
And ne'er be overthrown.
The love of God it will her cauſe,
Unfeigned if it be,
To have reſpect unto his laws,
And hate idolatry.
If that ſhe have the fear of God,
And be thereto right bent,
She will do that which be her bode,
And not her own intent.
O noble qeeen, take heed, take heed,
Beware of your intent;
Look ere you leap, then ſhall you ſpeed;
Haſte maketh many ſhent.
Remember Saul that noble king,
What ſhame did him befal,
Becauſe unto the Lord's bidding
He had no luſt at all.
The Lord commands you ſhall love him,
And other gods defy:
Alas, take heed, do not begin
To place idolatry.
What greater diſobedience
Againſt God may be wrought,
Than this; to move men's conſcience
To worſhip things of nought?
What greater folly can you invent,
Than ſuch men to obey?
How can you ſerve your own intent,
Not knowing your decay?
And whereas firſt ye ſhould maintain
Your realm in unity;
To rent the people's hearts in twain
Through falſe idolatry.
Is this the way to get you fame?
Is this to get you love?
Is this to purchaſe you a name,
To fight with God above?
Is this your care to ſet up maſs,
Your ſubjects ſouls to 'ſtroy?
Is this your ſtudy no more to paſs,
God's people to annoy?
Is this to reign, to ſerve your will,
Good men in bonds to keep;
And to exalt ſuch as be ill,
And for your grace unmeet?
Such as made that fond divorce,
Your mother to deface,
Are higheſt you in power and force,
And bound moſt to your grace.
Well, yet take heed of had-I-wiſt,
Let God's word bear the bell:
If you will reign, learn to know Chriſt,
As David doth you tell.
What great preſumption doth appear,
Thus in a week or twain,
To work more ſhame than in ſeven years
Can be redreſt again?
And all is done without a law,
For will doth work in place:
And thus all men may ſee and know
The weakneſs of your caſe.
That miſerable maſking maſs,
Which all good men do hate;
Is now by you brought up again,
The root of all debate.

Your miniſters that love God's word,
They feel this bitter rod;
Who are robbed from houſe and goods,
As though there were no God.
And yet you would ſeem merciful
In midſt of tyranny;
And holy, whereas you maintain
Moſt vile idolatry.
For fear that you ſhould hear the truth,
True preachers may not ſpeak;
But on good prophets you make ruth,
And them unkindly treat.
Him have you made lord chancellor,
Who did your blood moſt ſtain;
That he may ſuck the righteous blood,
As he was wont, again.
Thoſe whom our late good king did love,
You do them moſt diſdain:
Theſe things do manifeſtly prove
Your colours be but vain.
God's word you cannot now abide.
But as your prophets tell.
In this you may be well compar'd
To wicked Jeſabel:
Who had four hundred prophets falſe;
And fifty on a rout;
Through whoſe falſe preaching poor Ely
Was chaſed in and out.
God's prophets you do ill intreat,
Baal's prieſts defend your grace:
Thus did the Jews put Chriſt to death,
And let go Barrabas.
Hath God thus high exalted you,
And ſet you on a throne,
That you ſhould 'priſon and deface
His flock that maketh moan?
The Lord who doth his flock defend,
As th' apple of an eye,
Of this full ſoon will make an end,
And baniſh cruelty.
Therefore my counſel pray you take,
And think thereof no ſcorn:
You ſhall find it the beſt counſel,
Ye had ſince you were born.
Put away blind affection,
Let God's word be umpire,
To try our true religion,
From this ill favour'd gear.

The Inſtruction of King Edward the Sixth, given to Sir Anthony Seyntleger, Knight of his Privy Chamber, being of a corrupt Judgment of the Euchariſt.

IN Euchariſt then there is bread,
Whereto I do conſent:
Then with bread are our bodies fed,
And further what is meant?
I ſay that Chriſt in fleſh and blood
Is there continually,
Unto our ſoul a ſpecial food,
Taking it ſpiritually.
And this tranſubſtantiation I
Believe as I have read;
That Chriſt is ſacramentally
There in the form of bread.
St. Auſtin ſaith, the word doth come
Unto the element;
And there is made, he ſaith, in ſum,
A perfect ſacrament.
The element doth then remain,
Or elſe muſt needs enſue,
St. Auſtin's words be nothing plain,
Nor cannot be found true.
For if the word, as he doth ſay,
Come to the element,
Then's not the element away,
But bides there verament.
Yet whoſo eats that lively food,
And hath a perfect faith,
Receiveth Chriſt his fleſh and blood,
For Chriſt himſelf ſo ſaith.
Not with our teeth his fleſh to tear,
Nor take blood for our drink;
Too great abſurdity it were,
So groſly for to think.
For we muſt eat him ſpiritually,
If we be ſpiritual;
And whoſo eats him carnally,
Thereby ſhall have a fall.
For he is now a ſpiritual meat,
And ſpiritually we muſt
That ſpiritual meat ſpiritually eat,
And leave our carnal luſt.
Thus by the Spirit, I ſpiritually
Believe, ſay what men liſt,
None other tranſubſtantiation I
Believe of the euchariſt.
But there is both bread and wine,
Which we ſee with our eye:
Yet Chriſt is there by power divine
To thoſe that ſpiritually
Do eat that bread and drink that cup,
Eſteeming it but light;
As Judas did, which eat that ſop,
Not judging it aright.
For I was taught not long agone,
I ſhould lean to the Spirit:
And let the carnal fleſh alone,
For it doth not profit.
God ſave him that teaching me taught
For I thereby did win,
To put from me that carnal thought
That I before was in.
For I believe Chriſt corporally
In heav'n doth keep his place:
And yet Chriſt ſacramentally
Is here with us by grace.
So that in this high myſtery
We muſt eat ſpiritual meat,
To keep his death in memory,
Leſt we ſhould it forget.
This do I ſay, this have I ſaid,
This ſaying ſay will I:
This ſaying though I once deny'd,
I will no more to die.

This young prince became a perfect ſchool-maſter unto old erroneous men, ſo as no divine could amend him, and therefore this piece is worthy of perpetual memory to his immortal fame and glory.

A true report of the Martyrdom of one Richard Atkins, an Engliſhman, at Rome.

ABOUT the month of July, Anno 1581, one Richard Atkins born in Hertfordſhire, an Engliſhman, came to Rome, and having found the Engliſh college, knocked at the door, to whom divers of the ſtudents there came out, to welcome him, underſtanding that he was an Engliſhman. They willed him to go to the hoſpital, and there to receive his meat and lodging, according as the order was appointed: whereunto he anſwered, I come not (my countrymen) to any ſuch intent, as you judge, but I come lovingly to rebuke the great miſorder of your lives, which I grieve to hear, and pity to behold: I come likewiſe to let your proud Antichriſt underſtand

derſtand, that he doth offend the heavenly Majeſty, rob God of his honour, and poiſoneth the whole world with his abominable blaſphemies, making them do homage to ſtocks and ſtones and that filthy ſacrament, which is nothing elſe but a fooliſh idol. When they heard theſe words, one Hugh Griffin, a Welchman, and ſtudent in the college, cauſed him to be put in the inquiſition; where, how they examined him, and how he anſwered them I know not, but after certain days he was ſet at liberty again, and one day going in the ſtreet, he met a prieſt carrying the ſacrament; which offending his conſcience, to ſee the people ſo crouch and bow down to it, he caught at it to have thrown it down, but miſſing of his purpoſe, and it being judged by the people, that he did catch at the holineſs that (they ſay) cometh from the ſacrament, upon mere devotion, he was let paſs, and nothing ſaid to him: few days after he came to St. Peter's church, where divers gentlemen and others were hearing maſs, and the prieſt at the elevation; he uſing no reverence, ſtepped among the people to the altar, and threw down the chalice with the wine, ſtriving likewiſe to have pulled the cake out of the prieſt's hands; for which divers roſe up and beat him with their fiſts, and one drew his rapier, and would have ſlain him: ſo that in brief he was carried to priſon, where he was examined, wherefore he had committed ſuch an heinous offence; whereupon he anſwered, that he came purpoſely for that intent, to rebuke the pope's wickedneſs, and their idolatry. Upon this he was condemned to be burned; which ſentence, he ſaid, he was right willing to ſuffer, and the rather, becauſe the ſum of his offence pertained to the glory of God. During the time he remained in priſon, ſundry Engliſhmen came unto him, willing him to be ſorry for what he had done, and to recant from his damnable opinion; but all the means they uſed were in vain, he confuted their dealings by divers places of ſcripture, and willed them to be ſorry for their wickedneſs while God did permit them time, elſe they were in danger of everlaſting damnation; theſe words made the Engliſhmen depart; for they could not abide to hear them. Within a little while after, he was ſet upon an aſs, without a ſaddle, he being from the middle upward naked, having ſome Engliſh prieſts with him to talk with, but he regarded them not, but ſpake to the people in as good language as he could, and told them they were in a wrong way, and willed them for Chriſt's ſake, to have regard to their own ſouls. All the way as he went, there were four that did nothing elſe but thruſt at his body with burning torches, whereat he never moved, nor ſhrunk one jot, but with a chearful countenance laboured to perſuade the people, often bending his body to meet the torches, as they were thruſt at him, and would take them in his own hand, and hold them burning ſtill upon his body, whereat the people not a little wondered. Thus he continued almoſt the ſpace of half a mile, till he came before St. Peter's, where the place of execution was. When he was come to the place of execution, there they had made a device, not to make the fire about him, but to burn his legs firſt, which they did, he not diſmaying any whit, but ſuffered all marvellous chearfully; which moved the people to ſuch a quandary as was not in Rome many a-day. Then they offered him a croſs, and willed him to embrace it, in token that he died a chriſtian; but he put it away with his hand, telling them that they were evil men to trouble him with ſuch paltry, when he was preparing himſelf to God, whom he beheld in majeſty and mercy, ready to receive him into eternal reſt. They ſeeing him in this mind, departed, ſaying, let us go and leave him to the devil, whom he ſerves. Thus ended this faithful ſoldier and martyr of Chriſt, who is, no doubt, in glory with his maſter: whereunto God grant us all to come, Amen.

This is faithfully avouched by John Young, who was at that time, and a good while after in Rome, in ſervice with maſter doctor Morton; who ſeeing the martrydom of this man, when he came home to his houſe, in preſence of Mr. Smith his ſon, Mr. Creed, and the ſaid John Young, ſpake as followeth: Surely this fellow was marvellous obſtinate, he nothing regarded the good council which was uſed to him, nor ſhrunk all the way when the torches were thruſt at his naked body. Beſide, in the place of execution he did not faint nor cry one jot in the fire, albeit they tormented him very cruelly, and burned him by degrees, as his legs firſt, to put him to the greater pain; yet all this he did but ſmile at. Doubtleſs, but that the word of God cannot be but true, elſe we might judge this fellow to be of God; for who could have ſuffered ſo much pain as he did? but truly I believe the devil was in him.

The Life and Death of Dr. Story, a Perſecutor of Chriſt in his Members.

THIS Dr. Story being an Engliſhman by birth, and from his infancy not only nuſtled in papiſtry, but alſo even as it were by nature earneſtly affected to the ſame, and growing ſomewhat to riper years, in the days of queen Mary became a bloody tyrant, and cruel perſecutor of Chriſt in his members (as all the ſtories in this book almoſt do declare). Thus he raged all the reign of the aforeſaid queen Mary againſt the infallible truth of Chriſt's goſpel, and the true profeſſors thereof, never ceaſing till he had conſumed to aſhes two or three hundred bleſſed martyrs, who willingly gave their lives for the teſtimony of his truth; and thinking their puniſhment in the fire not cruel enough, he went about to invent new torments for the holy martyrs of Chriſt, ſuch was his hatred to the truth of Chriſt's goſpel: but in the end the Lord God looking upon the affliction and cruel blood-ſhedding of his ſervants, took away queen Mary, the greet pillar of papiſtry. After whom ſucceeded lady Elizabeth, now queen of England, who ſtaying the bloody ſword of perſecution from raging any further, cauſed the ſame Dr. Story to be apprehended, and committed to ward, with many other his accomplices, ſworn enemies to Chriſt's glorious goſpel. The ſaid Story having been a while detained in priſon, at laſt, by what means I know not, got out, and conveyed himſelf over the ſeas, where he continued a moſt bloody perſecutor, ſtill raging againſt God's ſaints with fire and ſword. Inſomuch as he growing to be familiar and right dear to duke d'Alva in Antwerp, received ſpecial commiſſion from him to ſearch the ſhips for goods forfeited, and for Engliſh books, and ſuch like.

And in this favour and authority he continued there for a ſpace, by which means he did much hurt, and brought many a good man and woman to trouble and extreme peril of life through his blood-thirſty cruelty: but at laſt the Lord (when the meaſure of his iniquity was full) proceeded in judgment againſt him, and cut him off from the face of the earth, according to the prayers of many a good man; which came to paſs in order as followeth: it being certainly known (for the report thereof was gone forth into all lands) that he not only intended the ſubverſion and overthrow of his native country of England, by bringing in foreign hoſtility, if by any means he might compaſs it; but alſo daily and hourly murdered God's people, there was this platform laid (by God's providence no doubt) that one Mr. Parker a merchant ſhould ſail unto Antwerp, and by ſome means convey Story into England.

This Parker arriving at Antwerp, ſuborned certain to repair to Dr. Story, and to ſignify unto him, that there was an Engliſh ſhip came, fraught with merchandize, and that if he would make ſearch thereof himſelf, he ſhould find ſtore of Engliſh books, and other things for his purpoſe. Story hearing this, and ſuſpecting nothing, made haſte towards the ſhip, thinking to make the ſame his

his prey; and coming on board, ſearched for Engliſh heretical books, as he called them, and going down under the hatches, becauſe he would be ſure to have their blood, if he could, they clapped down the hatches, hoiſted up their ſails, having (as God would) a good gale, and ſailed away into England. Where they arriving, preſented this bloody butcher, and traiterous rebel Story, to the no little rejoicing of many an Engliſh heart. He being now committed to priſon, continued there a good ſpace: during all which time he was laboured and ſolicited daily by wiſe and learned fathers to recant his deviliſh and erroneous opinions, to conform himſelf to the truth, and to acknowledge the queen's ſepremacy. All which he utterly denied to his death, ſaying, that he was ſworn ſubject to the king of Spain, and was no ſubject to the queen of England, nor ſhe his ſoverign queen: and therefore, as he well deſerved, he was condemned, as a traitor to God, the queen's majeſty, and the realm, to be drawn, hanged, and quartered: which was performed accordingly, he being laid upon a hurdle, and drawn from the Tower along the ſtreets to Tyburn, where he being hanged till he was half dead, was cut down, and ſtripped; and which is not to be forgot, when the executioner had cut off his privy members, he ruſhing up on a ſudden, gave him a blow upon the ear, to the great wonder of all that ſtood by: and thus ended this bloody Nimrod his wretched life, whoſe judgment I leave to the Lord.

A brief Relation of the horrible Maſſacre in France, Anno 1572.

AND firſt for brevity ſake, to overpaſs the bloody butchery of the Roman catholics in Orange againſt the proteſtants, moſt fiercely and unawares breaking into their houſes, and there, without mercy, killing man, woman, and child; of whom ſome being ſpoiled and naked, they threw out of their lofts into the ſtreets, ſome they ſmothered in their houſes with ſmoak, with ſword and weapon ſparing none; the carcaſes of ſome they threw to the dogs, which was in the year 1570, in the reign of Charles IX. Likewiſe to paſs over the cruel ſlaughter at Roan, where the proteſtants being at a ſermon without the city walls, upon the king's edict, the papiſts in fury ran upon them coming home, and ſlew of them above forty at leaſt; many more they wounded. This example at Roan, ſtirred up the papiſts in Diepe, to practiſe the like rage alſo againſt the chriſtians there returning from the ſermon; whoſe ſlaughter had been the greater, had they not more wiſely before been provided of weapons for their own defence at need. All which happened about the ſame year aforeſaid, anno 1570. But theſe with ſuch like I briefly overſlip, to enter now into the matter above promiſed, that is, briefly to entreat of the horrible and moſt barbarous maſſacre wrought in Paris, ſuch as I ſuppoſe was never heard of before in any civil diſſenſion amongſt the very heathen. In few words to touch the ſubſtance of the matter.

After long troubles in France, the papiſts foreſeeing no good to be done againſt the proteſtants by open force, began to deviſe how by crafty means to entrap them, and that by two manner of ways: the one by pretending a power to be ſent into the lower country, whereof the admiral to be the captain; not that the king ſo meant indeed, but only to underſtand thereby what power and force the admiral had under him, who they were, and what were their names. The ſecond was by a certain marriage ſuborned between the prince of Navarre and the king's ſiſter. To this pretended marriage it was deviſed, that all the chief proteſtants of France ſhould be invited, and meet in Paris. Among whom firſt they began with the queen of Navarre, mother to the prince, that was to marry the king's ſiſter, attempting by all means poſſible to obtain her conſent thereunto. She being then at Rochel, and allured by many fair words to repair unto the king, conſented at length to come, and was received at Paris; where ſhe, after much ado, at length being won to the king's mind, and providing for the marriage, ſhortly upon the ſame fell ſick, and within five days departed, not without ſuſpicion, as ſome ſaid, of poiſon. But her body being opened, no ſign of poiſon could there be found, ſave only that a certain apothecary made his brag, that he had killed the queen by certain venomous odours and ſmells by him confected.

After this notwithſtanding the marriage ſtill going forward, the admiral, prince of Navarre, Conde, with divers other chief ſtates of the proteſtants, induced by the king's letters and many fair promiſes, at laſt were brought to Paris; where with great ſolemnity they were received, but eſpecially the admiral. To make the matter ſhort, the day of the marriage came, which was the 18th day of Auguſt, anno 1572. Which marriage being ſolemnized by the cardinal of Borbonne, upon an high ſtage ſet up of purpoſe without the church walls, the prince of Navarre and Conde came down, waiting for the king's ſiſter, being then at maſs. This done, they reſorted all together to the biſhop's palace to dinner. At evening they were had to a palace in the middle of Paris to ſupper. Not long after this, being the two and twentieth of Auguſt, the admiral coming from the council table, by the way was ſtruck with a piſtolet, charged with three pellets, in both his arms. He being thus wounded, and yet ſtill remaining in Paris, although the Vidam gave him counſel to flee away, it ſo fell out, that certain ſoldiers were appointed in divers places of the city to be ready at a watch-word at the command of the prince, upon which watch-word given, they burſt out to the ſlaughter of the proteſtants, firſt beginning with the admiral himſelf, who being wounded with ſo many ſore wounds, was caſt out of the window into the ſtreet, where his head being firſt ſtruck off, and embalmed with ſpices to be ſent to the pope, the ſavage people raging againſt him, cut off his arms and privy members, and ſo drawing him three days through the ſtreets of Paris, they dragged him unto the place of execution out of the city, and there hanged him up by his heels, to the greater ſhew and ſcorn of him.

After the martyrdom of this good man, the armed ſoldiers with rage and violence ran upon all the others of the ſame profeſſion, ſlaying and killing all the proteſtants they knew or could find within the city gates incloſed. This bloody ſlaughter continued the ſpace of many days, but eſpecially the greateſt ſlaughter was in the three firſt days, in which were numbered to be ſlain, as the ſtory writeth, above 10,000 men, women, old and young, of all ſorts and conditions. The bodies of the dead were carried in carts to be thrown in the river: ſo that not only the river was ſtained therewith, but alſo whole ſtreams in certain places of the city did run down gore blood of the ſlain bodies. So great was the outrage of that helliſh perſecution, that not only the proteſtants, but alſo certain, whom they thought indifferent papiſts, they put to the ſword inſtead of the proteſtants. In the number of them that were ſlain of the more learned ſort, was Petrus Ramus; alſo Lambinus, another notorious learned man; Plateanus, Lomenius, Chapeſius, with others.

And not only within the walls of Paris this uproar was contained, but it extended further into other cities and quarters of the realm, eſpecially Lyons, Orleans, Tholouſe, and Roan. In which cities it is almoſt incredible, nor ſcarce ever heard of in any nation, what cruelty was ſhewed, what numbers of good men were deſtroyed: inſomuch that within the ſpace of one month, thirty thouſand at leaſt of religious proteſtants are numbered

bered to be ſlain, as is credibly reported in the commentaries of them which teſtify purpoſely of the matter.

Furthermore here is to be noted, that when the pope firſt heard of this bloody ſtir, he with his cardinals made ſuch joy at Rome, with their proceſſion, with their gunſhot, and ſinging of Te Deum, that in honour of that feſtival act, a jubilee was commanded by the pope with great indulgence, and much ſolemnity. Whereby thou haſt here to diſcern and judge, with what ſpirit and charity theſe papiſts are moved to maintain their religion, which otherwiſe would fall to the ground without hope of recovery. Likewiſe in France no leſs rejoicing there was upon the 28th day of the month, the king commanding public proceſſions through the whole city to be made, with bonfires, ringing, and ſinging; where the king himſelf, with the queen his mother, and his whole court reſorting together to the church, gave thanks and praiſe to God, for that ſo worthy a victory atchieved upon St. Bartholomew's day againſt the proteſtants, whom they thought to be utterly overthrown and vanquiſhed in all the realm for ever.

And indeed to man's thinking it might appear no leſs after ſuch a great deſtruction of the proteſtants, having loſt ſo many worthy and noble captains as then were cut off, whereupon many, for fear of revoking their religion, returned to the pope, divers fled out of the realm, ſuch as would not turn, keeping themſelves ſecret, durſt not be known nor ſeen, ſo that it was paſt all hope of man, that the goſpel ſhould ever have any more place in France: but ſuch is the admirable working of God, where man's help and hope moſt faileth, there he moſt ſheweth his ſtrength and helpeth, as here is to be ſeen. For whereas the very ſmall remnant of the goſpel ſide, being now brought to utter deſperation, were now ready to give over unto the king, and many were gone already againſt conſcience, yielding to time, yet the Lord of his goodneſs ſo wrought, that many were ſtaid and reclaimed again through the occaſion firſt of them in Rochel: who hearing of the cruel maſſacre in Paris, and ſlaughter at Tholouſe, moſt conſtantly with valiant hearts (the Lord ſo working) thought to ſtand to their defence againſt the king's power, by whoſe example certain other cities hearing thereof, took no little courage to do the like; as, namely, Montalbane, the city called Nemanſium, Sanſer in Occitamia, Millialdum, Mirebellum, Fuduzia, with other towns and cities more: who being confederate together, exhorted one another to be circumſpect, and take good heed of the falſe diſſembling practiſes not to be truſted of the mercileſs papiſts, intending nothing but blood and deſtruction.

Theſe things paſſing at Rochel, the king hearing hereof, giveth in commandment to captain Strozzius and Guardius to ſee to Rochel. After this he ſendeth a nobleman, one Bironius, requiring of the Rochel men to receive him for their governor under the king. Of this great conſultation being had, at length the Rochel men began to condeſcend upon certain conditions; which being not eaſily granted unto, and eſpecially they hearing in the mean time what was done to others of their fellows, who had ſubmitted themſelves, thought it ſo better to ſtand to the defence of their lives and conſciences, and to adventure the worſt. Whereupon began great ſiege and battery to be laid againſt Rochel both by land and ſea, which was anno 1572, about the fourth day of December. It would require another volume to deſcribe all things during the time of this ſiege, that paſſed on either ſide, between the king's part and the town of Rochel, briefly to run over ſome parts of the matter: in the beginning of the next year following, which was anno 1573, in the month of January, commandment was given out by the king to all and ſundry nobles and peers of France, upon great puniſhment, to addreſs themſelves in a moſt forcible manner to the aſſaulting of Rochel. Whereupon a great concourſe of all the nobility, with the whole power of France, was there aſſembled, amongſt whom was alſo the prince of Anjou, the king's brother (who there not long after was proclaimed king of Poland) accompanied with his other brother duke Alanſon, Navarre, Conde, and a great number of ſtates beſides. Thus the whole power of France being gathered againſt one poor town, had not the mighty hand of God ſtood on their ſide, it had been impoſſible for them to eſcape. During the time of this ſiege, which laſted ſeven months, what ſkirmiſhes and conflicts were on both ſides, it would require a long tractation. To make ſhort, ſeven principal aſſaults were given to the poor town of Rochel, with all the power that France could make. In all which aſſaults ever the pope's catholic ſide had the worſt. Concerning the firſt aſſault thus I find written, that within the ſpace of 26 days were charged againſt the walls and houſes of Rochel to the number of thirty thouſand ſhot of iron bullets and globes, whereby a great breach was made for the adverſary to invade the city: but ſuch was the courage of them within, not men only, but alſo of women, matrons, and maidens, with ſpits, fire, and ſuch other weapons as came to hand, that the adverſary was driven back, with no ſmall ſlaughter of their ſoldiers: only of the townſmen were ſlain and wounded to the number of ſixty perſons. Likewiſe in the ſecond aſſault 2000 great field pieces were laid againſt the town; whereupon the adverſary attempted the next day to invade the town, but through the induſtry of the ſoldiers and citizens, and alſo of the women and maids, the invaders were forced at length to fly away faſter than they came. No better ſucceſs had all the aſſaults that followed: whereby conſider, gentle reader, with thyſelf, in what great diſtreſs theſe good men were, not of Rochel only, but of other cities alſo, during theſe ſeven months above mentioned, had not the mighty hand of the Lord Almighty ſuſtained them. Concerning whoſe wonderous operation for his ſervants in theſe hard diſtreſſes, three memorable things I find in hiſtory to be noted.

The one concerning the ſiege of Sanſer; which city being terribly battered and razed with gunſhot of great cannons and field-pieces, having at one ſiege no leſs then three thouſand bullets and gunſtones flying upon them, wherewith the creſts of their helmets were pierced, their ſleeves, their hoſe, their hats, pierced, their weapons in their hands broken, their walls ſhaken, their houſes rent down; yet not one perſon ſlain nor wounded with all this, ſave only at the firſt a certain maiden, with the blaſt of the ſhot flying by her, was ſtruck down, and died.

The ſecond thing to be noted is this, that in the ſame city, during all the time of the ſiege, which laſted ſeven months and a half, for all the ordnance and battering-pieces diſcharged againſt them, which are numbered to ſix thouſand, not ſo much as twenty-five perſons in all were ſlain.

The third example, no leſs memorable, was at Rochel: whereas the poorer ſort began to lack corn and victuals, there was ſent to them every day in the river (by the hand of the Lord no doubt) a great multitude of fiſh, called Surdones, which the poorer people did uſe inſtead of bread. Which fiſh, the ſame day as the ſiege brake up, departed, and came no more. Teſtified by them which were preſent there in Rochel all the time.

What number was loſt on both ſides during all this ſeven months war, it is not certainly known. Of the king's camp what number was ſlain, by this it may be conjectured, that 132 of their captains were killed and ſlain, of whom the chief was duke Damoule.

To cloſe up this tragical ſtory, concerning the breaking up of this ſeven months ſiege: thus it fell out, that ſhortly after the ſeventh aſſault given againſt Rochel, which was anno 1573, about the month of June, word came to the camp, that duke Anjou, the king's brother, was proclaimed king of Poland; whereat great joy was in the camp. By occaſion whereof the new king, more willing

to have peace, entered talk with them of Rochel: who, as he ſhewed himſelf to them not ungentle, ſo found he them again to him not uncomformable. Whereupon a certain agreement pacificatory was concluded between them upon conditions. Which agreement the new king of Poland ſoon preferred to the French king, his brother, not without ſome ſuit and interceſſion to have it ratified. The king alſo himſelf, partly being weary of theſe chargeable wars, was the more willing to aſſent thereunto. And thus at length, through the Lord's great work, the king's royal conſent under form of an edict was ſet down in writing, and confirmed by the king, containing 25 articles. In which alſo were included certain other cities of the proteſtants, granting to them benefit of peace, and liberty of religion. This edict or mandate ſent down from the king by his herald at arms, Bironius in the king's name cauſed to be ſolemnly proclaimed at Rochel, anno 1573, the tenth day of June.

The year next following, 1574, for two things ſeemeth fatal and famous; for the death firſt of Charles the ninth, the French king, alſo moſt of all, for the death of Charles, cardinal of Loraine, brother to Guiſe. Of the manner of the cardinal's death, I find little mention in ſtories. Touching the king's death, although Ric. Dinothus ſaith nothing, for fear belike, becauſe being a Frenchman, his name is expreſſed and known: but another ſtory, whom the ſaid Dinothus doth follow, bearing no name, ſaith thus: that he died the 25th day of May, upon Whitſun-eve, being of the age of twenty-five years: and addeth more, certain it is, that his ſickneſs came of bleeding. And ſaith further: The conſtant report ſo goeth, that the blood guſhing out by divers parts of his body, he toſſing in his bed, and caſting out many horrible blaſphemies, laid upon pillows with his heels upward, and head downward, voided ſo much blood at his mouth, that in few hours he died. Which ſtory, if it be true, as is recorded, and teſtified, may be a ſpectacle and example to all perſecuting kings and princes, polluted with the blood of chriſtian martyrs. And thus much briefly touching the late terrible perſecution in France.

Edward Bulkley to the Chriſtian Reader.

"WHereas that excellent man, both for learning and godlineſs, Mr. John Fox, of bleſſed memory, ended this worthy work with this ſhort declaration of that horrible maſſacre and murder of God's ſaints and ſervants in France; I have thought good to ſet down the ſame more particularly and largely, and afterward to add thereunto a declaration of other outrageous cruelties, committed in France by the favourers and followers of the church of Rome, upon faithful chriſtians, both before and after the ſaid maſſacre: and faithfully collected and taken out of the hiſtory of that honourable man, James Auguſt Thuanus, preſident of the parliament of Paris, and counſellor of ſtate to the late French king Henry the fourth. And thus I have done, that we may thereby be the more moved to hate and abhor that bloody Babylon of Rome, and to take the better heed, that by our ſins and contempt of God's holy word, by his great mercy committed unto us, we do not again fall into the cruel claws thereof, and into the bloody hands of their followers; as moſt certainly we had done, if God in great mercy had not prevented that ſavage, barbarous, and moſt monſtrous Powder-treaſon: of which great and merciful deliverance God make us mindful and truly thankful in glorifying his name, and ſerving him in true holineſs and righteouſneſs all the days of our life, Amen."

WHEN the admiral was wounded in both his arms, he immediately thereupon ſaid to Maure, preacher to the queen of Navarre, deceaſed; O my brother, I do now perceive that I am beloved of my God, ſeeing that for his moſt holy name's ſake I do ſuffer theſe wounds. Then he whiſpered in the ear of one of them that bare up his arm, that he ſhould deliver an hundred crowns to Marlin his preacher, to be given to the poor of the church of Paris.

The admiral was ſlain by Bemjus, of whom Alienus (one of them that came to kill him) did afterwards report, that he never ſaw man in ſo preſent peril, ſo conſtantly and confidently ſuffer death.

Many honourable men and great perſonages were then murdered; as count Rochfulcaud, Telinius, the admiral's ſon-in-law, Antonius Claromontus, marquis of Ravely, Lewes Buſſius, Bandineus, Pluvialius, Bernius, &c.

Francis Nompar Caumontius, being in bed with his two ſons, was ſlain with one of them; the other was ſtrangely preſerved, who after came to great honour and dignity.

Stephen Cavalerie Prime, chief treaſurer to the king in Poictiers, a very good man, and careful of the commonwealth, after he had paid for his life a good ſum of money, was cruelly murdered by ſome cut-throats, whom Stephen Fargon Patandery, that gaped for his office, had ſent for that purpoſe.

Magdalen Briſſonet, an excellent woman and learned, the widow of Ivermus, maſter of requeſts to the king, flying out of the city in poor apparel, was taken, cruelly murdered, and caſt into the river.

Two thouſand were murdered in one day; and the ſame liberty of killing and ſpoiling continued certain days after.

Peter Plaice was ſtabbed with daggers, and killed.

At Meldith two hundred were caſt into priſon, and being brought out as ſheep to the ſlaughter, were cruelly murdered. There alſo 25 women were ſlain.

At Orleance a thouſand of men, women, and children were murdered.

The citizens of Auguſtobona, when they heard of the maſſacre at Paris, ſhut the gates of their own town that no proteſtant might eſcape, and caſt all that they ſuſpected into priſon, which afterwards were brought forth, and murdered.

At Avaricum in like manner the ſuſpected for religion were caſt into priſon, and afterwards murdered.

At the town of Charite, a troop of Lewes Gonzaga's horſemen killed 18 perſons.

At Lyons there were eight hundred moſt miſerably and cruelly murdered; the children hanging at their fathers neck, and the fathers embracing their children, &c. Three hundred were ſlain in the archbiſhop's houſe. The monks would not ſuffer their bodies to be buried.

At Romanium ſeven were killed.

At Tholoſſa 200 were murdered.

At Roan 500 were put to death. At laſt Thuanus writeth thus; This example paſſed unto other cities, and from cities to towns and villages, ſo that it is by many publiſhed, that in all the kingdom above 30,000 were in theſe tumults divers ways deſtroyed; although I think the number was ſomewhat leſs.

A little before this maſſacre, a man, nurſe, and infant carried to be baptized, were all three murdered.

There was wonderful great joy in Rome for this maſſacre, and the pope with his cardinals went in ſolemn proceſſion to the church of St. Mark, to give thanks to God for this great benefit beſtowed upon the ſee of Rome and the chriſtian world. And the Monday following there was ſolemn ſervice in the church of Minerva,

Minerva, at which the pope and the cardinals were preſent. A jubilee alſo was publiſhed, and in the evening the great ordnance was ſhot off in the caſtle of St. Angelo. The cardinal of Loraine gave a thouſand crowns to him that brought news of it.

Bricamotius an old man of ſeventy years, and Cavagnius, were laid upon hurdles and drawn to execution: and being in the way reviled, and defiled with dirt caſt upon them, they were hanged. Bricamotius might have been pardoned, if he would publickly confeſs, that the admiral had conſpired againſt the king; which he refuſed to do.

Caſter a city in the county of the Albingens, held by the proteſtants, being upon the king's great promiſes of their ſafety, delivered up into the hands of Crucete a nobleman, was notwithſtanding with murders and ſpoil cruelly waſted.

At Bourdeaux, by the inſtigation of a monk, called Enimund Angerius, were 264 cruelly murdered, of whom ſome were Senators. This monk continually provoked them in his ſermons to this ſlaughter.

At Agendicum in Main, a cruel ſlaughter of the proteſtants was committed by the inſtigation of Æmarus, inquiſitor of criminal cauſes. A rumour being ſpread abroad, that the proteſtants had taken ſecret council to invade and ſpoil the churches, above an hundred of every eſtate and ſex were by the enraged people killed or drowned in the river Igonna, which runneth by the city, the houſes of many were ſpoiled; the church without the city where the proteſtants aſſembled, was pulled down and made equal to the ground, and their vines pulled up by the roots.

The duke of Guiſe entered into Bloeſe; which altho' he got without any fight, yet all furious liberty was permitted to the ſoldiers, houſes were ſpoiled, many proteſtants which had remained were ſlain, or drowned in the river; neither were women ſpared, of whom ſome were defiled, and more murdered. Among whom one matron of good birth, having eſcaped drowning in water, could not eſcape from the hands of the murderers. From thence he went to Mere, a town two leagues from Bloeſe, where proteſtants had frequent aſſembly at ſermons; which for many days together was ſpoiled, and many killed, and Caſſebonius the paſtor was drowned in the next river.

At Anjou, Albiacus the paſtor was murdered, certain women ſlain, and ſome defiled; amongſt which, two ſiſters were abuſed in the ſight of their father, who was bound to a well to behold that ſight.

John Burgeolus, preſident of Turin, an old man, being ſuſpected to be a proteſtant, having bought with a great ſum of money his life and ſafety, was notwithſtanding taken and beaten cruelly with clubs and ſtaves, and being ſtripped of his cloaths, was brought to the bank of the river Liger, and was hanged his feet upward, and head downward in the water up to his breaſt; then (he yet alive) they opened his belly, plucked out his guts, and threw them into the river, and taking his heart, put it upon a ſpear, carrying it with contumelious words about the city.

The town of Barre being taken by the papiſts, all kinds of cruelty was there uſed, children were cut up, and the guts and hearts of ſome of them pulled out, which in rage they gnawed with their teeth. They that were in the caſtle, when they had yielded themſelves to the will of the conqueror, were almoſt all hanged. One Ralet ſpared not his own ſon, but ſuffered him in that tumult to be hanged.

When the city of Matiſcon was taken by corrupting the keeper of the keys, whom yet they killed, great cruelty was ſhewed, ſo that they counted it a ſport to cut off mens legs and arms.

Sanpontius inviting gentlewomen to ſupper, would walk with them, and having his ſoldiers about him, uſed to caſt ſome of his priſoners (of which he had many) from the bridge into the river, and with that ſpectacle did ſatisfy the eyes of his gueſts; of whom he would often aſk, whether they did ever ſee men leap better.

At Albia of Cahors upon the Lord's day the 16th of December, the papiſts at the ringing of a bell broke open the doors, where the proteſtants were aſſembled, and killed without difference, ſome in the place, ſome as they were getting away were here and there ſlain, among whom was one Guacerius a rich merchant; who being drawn into his houſe, was with his wife and children murdered, and his houſe ſpoiled. About 45 were in that tumult murdered, and their bodies contumeliouſly uſed.

In a town called Penna, 300 (notwithſtanding the ſafety of their lives was promiſed them) were cruelly murdered by Spaniards, which were newly come to ſerve the French king; who alſo killed certain women there: ſcoffingly ſaying that they were Lutheran men, diſſembling their ſex by their apparel.

The town of Nonne being yielded to the papiſts, upon condition, that the foreign ſoldiers ſhould depart ſafe with horſe and armour, leaving their enſigns, and that the enemies' ſoldiers that were foot-men ſhould not enter into the town, and that no harm ſhould be done to the townſmen; but that they might, if they would, go into the caſtle: after the yielding of it, the gates were ſet open, and ſtraight they came to murdering and ſpoiling without any regard of the foreſaid conditions. Men and women without difference were killed; the ſtreets ſounded with miſerable mourning, blood flowing in the ways, and the laſcivious ſoldiers ſwords ſhining in the flames of fire, which they had caſt upon the houſes. Many were cruelly killed, being thrown down headlong from on high. Among others, this example of inordinate filthineſs and cruelty is reported; A certain woman being drawn out of a private place, into which to avoid the rage of the ſoldiers ſhe had fled with her huſband, was in his ſight ſhamefully defiled: and then being commanded to draw a ſword, not knowing to what end, was forced by others, who ordered her hand, to give her huſband a deadly wound, whereof he died; the ſoldiers not being content to defile her body, but alſo to make her to defile her hands with the ſlaughter of her huſband.

At Samarobridge in Picardy, in the time of peace, above an hundred proteſtants were murdered: and at Antiſſiodore, which the proteſtants having held in the laſt war, had now yielded up, 150 were cruelly killed, and their dead bodies were drawn, and caſt partly into jakes, and partly into the river.

Bordius a captain under the prince of Conde at Mirabellum, was contrary to promiſe cruelly killed, and his naked body caſt into the ſtreet, that being unburied the dogs might eat it.

The prince of Conde being taken priſoner, and his life promiſed him, was ſhot in the neck by Montiſquius, captain of the duke of Anjou's guard, of whom Thuanus writeth thus; This was the end of Lewis Bourbon prince of Conde, of the king's blood, a man above the honour of his birth moſt honourable in courage and virtue; who in valour, conſtancy, wit, wiſdom, experience, courteſy, eloquence, and liberality, all which virtues excelled in him, had few his equals, and none, even by the confeſſion of his enemies, ſuperior to him.

Robert Stuart, a valiant Scotiſh gentleman, being taken priſoner, was notwithſtanding ſtabbed with daggers, and killed.

At Orleance an hundred men and women being committed to priſon, were by the furious people that ruſhed in moſt cruelly murdered.

Hitherto out of the hiſtory of Jacobus Auguſtus Thuanus (who is reported to be a catholic) which endeth

eth in the year 1578, wherein I have for ſhortneſs ſake omitted ſundry particular outrages and murders committed by that bloody Babylonical generation; from whoſe bloody hands God in mercy defend and preſerve us.

The Hiſtory of Robert Oguier and his Wife, Baudicon and Martin their two Sons, who were burnt at Liſle in Flanders.

UPON Saturday March 6, 1556, between nine and ten of the clock in the night, the provoſt of the city with his ſerjeants armed themſelves to make ſearch, if they could find any met together in houſes; but as then there was no aſſembly. Therefore they came to the houſe of Robert Oguier, which was a little church, for all both great and ſmall, men-ſervants and maids were familiarly inſtructed there in the knowledge of God.

Being entered into the ſaid houſe, and ſeeking here and there for their prey, they found certain books which they carried away. But to whom they principally aimed at was not then in the houſe; namely, Baudicon, the ſon of the ſaid Robert Oguier, who at that time was gone abroad to commune and talk of the word of God with ſome of the brethren, as he oft uſed to do. Returning home, he knocked at the door; Martin his younger brother, watching his coming, bade him be gone: but Baudicon, thinking his brother miſtook him for ſome other, ſaid, It is I, open the door: with that the ſerjeants opened the ſame, and let him in, ſaying, Ah, Sir, you are well met: to whom he anſwered, I thank you, my friends, you alſo are welcome hither. Then ſaid the provoſt, I arreſt you all in the emperor's name; and with that commanded each of them to be bound, to wit, the huſband and his wife with their two ſons, leaving their two daughters to look to the houſe, and confined them in ſeveral priſons. Within a few days after, the priſoners were preſented before the magiſtrates of the city, and examined concerning their courſe of life, who directed their ſpeech firſt to Robert Oguier in theſe words: It is told us that you never come to maſs, yea, and alſo diſſuade others from coming thereto; we are further informed that you maintain conventicles in your houſe, cauſing erroneous doctrines to be preached there contrary to the ordinance of our holy mother the church, whereby you have tranſgreſſed the laws of his imperial majeſty.

Robert Oguier anſwered, Whereas firſt of all you lay to my charge that I go not to maſs; I refuſe ſo to do, indeed, becauſe the death and precious blood of the Son of God, and his ſacrifice, is utterly aboliſhed there, and trodden under foot; "For Chriſt by one ſacrifice hath perfected for ever them that are ſanctified." The apoſtle ſaith, by one offering. For do we read in all the ſcriptures, that either the prophets, Chriſt, or any of his apoſtles ever ſaid maſs? for they knew not what it meant. Chriſt indeed inſtituted the holy ſupper, in which all chriſtian people do communicate together, but they ſacrificed not. If you pleaſe to read the Bible over, you ſhall never find the maſs once mentioned therein; and therefore it is the mere invention of men. You know then what Chriſt ſaith, "In vain do they worſhip me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." If either myſelf, or any of mine had been at maſs which is ordained by the commandment of men, Chriſt would have told us, "We had worſhipped him in vain."

As for the ſecond accuſation, I cannot nor will deny, but there have met together in my houſe honeſt people fearing God; I aſſure you not with an intent to wrong or harm any, but rather for the advancement of God's glory, and the good of many. I knew indeed that the emperor had forbidden it, but what then? I knew alſo that Chriſt in his goſpel had commanded it; "Where two or three, ſaith he, are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midſt of them." Thus you ſee I could not well obey the emperor, but I muſt diſobey Chriſt. In this caſe then, I choſe rather to obey my God, than man.

One of the magiſtrates demanded what they did when they met together. To which Baudicon the eldeſt ſon anſwered; If it pleaſe you my maſters to give me leave, I will open the buſineſs at large unto you.

The ſheriffs ſeeing his promptneſs, looking one upon another ſaid, Well, let us hear it then. Baudicon, lifting up his eyes to heaven, began thus: When we meet together in the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt to hear the word of God, we firſt of all proſtrate upon our knees before God, and in the humility of our ſpirits do make confeſſion of our ſins before his divine majeſty. Then we pray that the word of God may be rightly divided, and purely preached: we alſo pray for our ſovereign lord the emperor, and for all his honourable counſellors, that the common-wealth may be peaceably governed to the glory of God; yea we forgot not you whom we acknowledge our ſuperiors; intreating our God for you, and for this whole city, that you may maintain it in all tranquillity. Thus I have ſummarily related unto you what we do; think you now, whether we have offended ſo highly in this matter of our aſſemblies?

Whilſt they were thus examined, each of them made an open confeſſion of the faith which they held. After this, being returned again to priſon, they not long after were put to the torture, to make them confeſs who they were that frequented their houſe, but they would diſcover none, unleſs ſuch as were well known to the judges, or elſe were at that time abſent. About four or five days after, they were convented again before their judges, namely, the father and his two ſons; and after many words paſſed, they aſked them whether they would ſubmit themſelves to the will of the magiſtrates. Robert Oguier and Baudicon his ſon, with ſome deliberation, ſaid, Yea, we will.

Then demanding the ſame of Martin the younger brother, he anſwered, that he would not ſubmit himſelf thereto, but would accompany his mother; ſo he was ſent back again to priſon, whilſt the father and the ſon were burnt alive to aſhes. Now as they went to receive the ſentence, one of the judges ſitting in his place, after ſentence pronounced, ſaid, To-day you ſhall go to dwell with all the devils in hell fire; (which he ſpake as one tranſported with fury in beholding the great patience of theſe two ſervants of Chriſt) having received the ſentence of death, they were returned to the priſon whence they came, being joyful that the Lord did them that honour to be enrolled in the number of his martyrs. No ſooner entered they the priſon, but a band of friars came in thither: one amongſt the reſt told them, the hour was come in which they muſt finiſh their days. Robert Oguier and his ſon anſwered, We know it well; but bleſſed be the Lord our God, who now delivering our bodies out of this vile priſon, will receive our ſouls into his glorious and heavenly kingdom.

One of the friars whoſe name was Lazard, endeavoured to turn them from their faith, ſaying, Father Robert, thou art an old man, let me intreat thee in this thy laſt hour to think of ſaving thine own ſoul; and if thou wilt give ear unto me, I warrant thee thou ſhalt do well.

The old man anſwered, Poor man, how dareſt thou attribute that to thyſelf which belongs to the eternal God, and ſo rob him of his honour? for it ſeems by thy ſpeech, that if I will hearken to thee, thou wilt become my Saviour. No, no, I have only one Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, who by and by will deliver me from this miſerable world. I have one doctor, whom the heavenly

venly Father hath commanded me to hear, and I purpose to hearken to none other.

A friar, called the father of Saint Clare, exhorting him to take pity of his soul which Christ hath redeemed: Thou willest me, said Robert, to pity mine own soul, dost thou not see what pity I have on it, when for the name of Christ I willingly abandon this body of mine to the fire, hoping to-day to be with him in paradise? I have put all my confidence in God, and my hope wholly is fixed upon the merits of Christ, his death and passion, he will direct me the right way to his kingdom. I believe whatsoever the holy prophets and apostles have written, and in that faith will I live and die.

The friar hearing this, said, Out dog, thou art not worthy the name of a christian; thou and thy son with thee are both resolved to damn your bodies and souls with all the devils in the bottom of hell.

As they were about to sever Baudicon from his father, he said, Let my father alone, and trouble him not thus, he is an old man, and hath an infirm body, hinder him not I pray you from receiving the crown of martyrdom.

Baudicon was then conveyed into a chamber apart, and there being stripped of his clothes was fitted to be sacrificed; now as one brought him gunpowder to put to his breast, an old fellow standing by said, Wert thou my brother, I would sell all that I am worth to buy faggots to burn thee; thou findest but too much favour. The young man answered, Well Sir, the Lord shew you more mercy. Some that were present, saying, Good God, is it not a pitiful sight to behold these poor men? a doctor being by answered, And what pity would you have shewed towards them? I would instead of allowing them this powder, have them fried on gridirons, as St. Laurence was.

Whilst they spake thus to Baudicon, some of the friars closed in with the old man, persuading him at least to take a crucifix into his hands, lest the people, said they, should murmur against you? adding further, that he might for all that lift up his heart to God, because you know, said they, it is but a piece of wood.

Thus they fastened it between his hands, but as soon as Baudicon was come down, and espied what they had done to his father; he said, Alas father, what do you now, will you play the idolater even at our last hour. And then pulling the idol out of his hands which they had fastened therein, he threw it away, saying, What cause hath the people to be offended at us, for not receiving a Jesus Christ, of wood? we bear upon our hearts the cross of Christ the Son of the ever living God, feeling his holy word written therein in letters of gold.

As they were led to execution, a band of soldiers were attendant upon them, no less than if a prince had been conducted into his kingdom. Being come to the place where they were to suffer, they ascended up the scaffold which was there prepared for them. Then Baudican asked leave of the sheriffs to make a confession of his faith before the people. Answer was made, that he was to look upon his ghostly father and confessor; Confess yourself, said they, to him. He was then haled rudely to the stake, where he began to sing the sixteenth psalm. The friar cried out, Do you not hear my master, what wicked errors these heretics sing, to beguile the people withal. Baudicon hearing what he said, replied thus; Now simple idiot, callest thou the psalms of the prophet David, errors? but no marvel, for thus you are wont to blaspheme against the Spirit of God.

Then turning his eyes towards his father, who was about to be chained to the stake, he said, Be of good courage father, the worst will be past by and by. As the executioner was fastening him to the post, he chanced to hit him with his hammer on the foot, to make him stand nearer to the same. The old man being sensible of the blow, said, Friend, thou hurtest my foot, why dost thou abuse me thus? the friar hearing this, said, Ah these heretics! they would be counted martyrs forsooth; but if they be but touched a little, they cry out as if they were killed. To which Baudicon thus replied: Think you then we fear the tormentors? no such matter; for had we feared the same, we had never exposed our bodies to this so shameful and painful a kind of death.

Then he often recited these short breathings, O God, Father everlasting, accept the sacrifice of our bodies, for thy well beloved Son Jesus Christ's sake. One of the friars cry'd, Heretic, heretic, thou lyest, he is none of thy Father, the devil is thy father. And thus, during these conflicts, he bent his eyes to heaven, and speaking to his Father, said, Behold! for I see the heavens open, and millions of angels ready prest to receive us, rejoicing to see us thus witnessing the truth in the view of the world. Father, let us be glad and rejoice, for the joys of heaven are set open to us.

Then said one of the friars, I see hell open, and millions of devils present to carry you thither. But the Lord, who never forsakes any that put their trust in him, stirred up the heart and opened the mouth of a poor man who stood among the multitude, beholding this spectacle, who being moved with compassion, cried aloud, Be of good comfort, Baudicon, stand thou to it, thou fightest in a good quarrel, I am on thy side; after which words he departed thence; and a way being made for him, saved himself from danger.

Fire was forthwith put to the straw and wood which burnt beneath, whilst they (not shrinking from the pains) spake one to another; Baudicon often repeating this in his father's ears, faint not Father, nor be afraid, "Yet a very little while and we shall enter into the heavenly mansions."

In the end, the fire growing hot upon them, the last words they were heard to pronounce, were, Jesus Christ, thou Son of God, into thy hands we commend our spirits. And thus these two slept sweetly in the Lord.

In eight days after, Jane the mother, and Martin her son, were executed in the same city.

But before we come to describe their happy ends, we will, as briefly as may be, note by the way the great conflicts of spirit which both of them sustained.

There were sent unto them many of the popish rabble, to turn them from their faith. Now that this their devilish enterprise might the rather be effected, they sundered one of them from the other, so as by the politic device of a monk the poor woman began to waver, and let go her first faith. At this their enemies rejoiced not a little, whilst the poor little flock of Christ, hearing such sad news, were in continual perplexity, but the Lord left them not in their mournful condition.

For on a day one of the monks resorted to her in the prison, counselling her to win her son Martin, and to draw him from his errors: which she promise to do. But when he was come to his mother, and perceived that she was not only fallen, but also quite turned out of the right way, he began with tears to bewail her miserable estate.

O mother, said he, what have you done? have you denied him who hath redeemed you? alas, what evil hath he done you, that you should requite him with this so great an injury and dishonour? Now I am plunged into that woe, which I have most feared. Ah, good God! that I should live to see this, which pierceth me to the very heart.

His mother hearing these his pitiful complaints, and seeing the tears which her son shed for her, began again to renew her strength in the Lord, and with tears cried out, O Father of mercies, be merciful unto me miserable sinner, and cover my transgression under the righteousness of thy blessed Son: Lord enable me with strength from above, to stand to my first confession, and make me to abide stedfast therein even unto my last breath.

It was not long after this her change, but the ſame inſtruments of Satan, who had ſeduced her, came in, ſuppoſing to find her in the ſame mind wherein they left her: whom ſhe no ſooner eſpied, but with deteſtation ſaid, Avoid Satan, get thee behind me: for henceforth thou haſt neither part nor portion in me. I will by the help of God ſtand to my firſt confeſſion; and if I may not ſign it with ink, I will ſeal it with my blood. And ſo from that time this frail veſſel, who for a while relented, after her recovery grew ſtronger and ſtronger.

The judges ſeeing their conſtancy, delayed not to diſpatch them out of the way, condemning them to be burned alive, and their bodies being reduced to aſhes, the ſame to be ſcattered and diſperſed in the air. The mother and the ſon having heard their ſentence read, in the way as they were going back again to priſon, ſaid, Now bleſſed be our God, who cauſeth us thus to triumph over our enemies: This is the wiſhed hour, our gladſome day is come; let us not then, ſaid Martin, forget to be thankful for the honour he doth us, in thus conforming us unto the image of his Son. Let us remember thoſe who have traced this path before us: for this is the high-way to the kingdom of heaven. Let us then, good mother, go on boldly out of the camp with the Son of God, bearing his reproach, with all his holy martyrs; for ſo we ſhall find paſſage into the glorious kingdom of the ever-living God.

Some of the company hearing, but not being able to brook theſe words, ſaid, We ſee now, thou heretic, that thou art wholly poſſeſſed, body and ſoul, with a devil, as was thy father and thy brother, who are both in hell. Martin ſaid, Sir, as for your railings and curſings, our God will this day turn them into bleſſings in the ſight of himſelf, and of all his angels.

A certain temporizer ſaid to Martin, Thou ſilly youth, thou ſayeſt thou knoweſt not what; thou art too well conceited of thyſelf and of thy cauſe. Seeſt thou not all this people here about thee? what thinkeſt thou of them? they believe not as thou doſt, and yet I doubt not but they ſhall be ſaved. But you imagine to do that which will never come to paſs, though you pretend never ſo much that you are in the faith, and have the ſcriptures for you.

The good woman hearing this, anſwered, Sir, Chriſt Jeſus our Lord ſaith, that it is the wide gate and broad way which leads to deſtruction, and therefore many go in thereat: but the gate, ſaith he, is narrow that leads to life, and few there be that find it. Do ye then doubt whether we are in the ſtraight way or no, when ye behold our ſufferings? would you have a better ſign than this, to know whether we are in the right way or no, compare our doctrine with that of your prieſts and monks: we for our parts are determined to have but one Chriſt and him crucified, we only embrace the ſcriptures of the old and new Teſtament. Are we deceived in believing that which the holy prophets and apoſtles have taught?

Soon after Martin and his mother were bound and brought to the place of their martyrdom, his mother having aſcended the ſcaffold, cry'd to Martin, come up, come up my ſon. And as he was ſpeaking to the people, ſhe ſaid, ſpeak out Martin, that it may appear to all that we die not heretics. Martin would have made a confeſſion of his faith, but could not be ſuffered. His mother being bound to the ſtake, ſpake in the hearing of the ſpectators, We are chriſtians, and that which we now ſuffer is not for murder nor theft, but becauſe we will believe no more than that which the word of God teacheth us. Both rejoicing that they were counted worthy to ſuffer for the ſame.

The fire being kindled, the vehemency thereof did nothing cool or abate the fervency of their zeal, but they continued conſtant in the faith, and with lifting up their hands to heaven, in an holy accord, ſaid, Lord Jeſus, into thy hands we commend our ſpirits. And thus they bleſſedly ſlept in the Lord.

A brief Relation of the Maſſacre at Vaſſy in the Country of Champaigne in France.

THE duke of Guiſe being arrived at Joinville, aſked ſome that he was familiar withal, whether thoſe of Vaſſy uſed to have ſermons preached conſtantly by their miniſter. It was anſwered they had, and that they increaſed daily more and more. At the hearing of which report, falling into a grievous paſſion, upon Saturday the laſt of February, 1562, that he might the more covertly execute his conceived wrath againſt the religious ſort in Vaſſy, he departed from Joinville, accompanied with the cardinal of Guiſe his brother, and thoſe of their train, and lodged in the village of Dammartin the free, which is diſtant from Joinville about two French miles and a half.

The next day, being Sunday, after he had heard maſs very early in the morning, being attended with about two hundred men armed with harquebuſſes, piſtols and coutelaxes, he left Dammartin, paſſing along to Vaſſy. As he went by the village of Bronzeval, which is diſtant from Vaſſy a ſmall quarter of a mile, the bell, after the uſual manner, rang to the ſermon. The duke hearing it, aſked thoſe he met, Why the bell rang ſo loud at Vaſſy; they told him, It was to give the people warning of the ſermon which was to be made there. Then one called La Montague ſaid, It is for the aſſembling of the Hugonots: adding moreover, that there were many in the ſaid Bronzeval, who frequented the ſermons preached at Vaſſy; and therefore that the duke ſhould do well to begin there, and offer them violence. But the duke anſwered, March on, march on, we ſhall take them among the reſt of the aſſembly. Many who followed the duke, namely, pages and footmen, rejoiced not a little concerning this bloody enterprize, not ſticking to ſay, that the booty and pillage would fall to their ſhares; ſwearing by blood and wounds, that there would be good ſtore of Hugonots there.

Now there were certain ſoldiers and archers accompanying the duke, who compaſſed about Vaſſy; for having been muſtered at Monthierender, inſtead of returning home, as they were wont to do after the muſter was ended, they took their way thence to Vaſſy, moſt of them being lodged in the houſes of papiſts. The Saturday before the ſlaughter, they were ſeen to make ready their weapons, harquebuſſes and piſtols; but the faithful not dreaming of ſuch a conſpiracy, thought the duke would offer them no hard meaſure, being the king's ſubjects; alſo, that not above two months before the duke and his brethren paſſing by nigh unto the ſaid Vaſſy, gave no ſign of their diſpleaſure.

The duke of Guiſe being arrived at Vaſſy with all his troops, a young man, a ſhoemaker, ſtepped out of his houſe not far from the door where the aſſembly was, Montague pointing to him with his finger, ſaid he was one of the miniſters. Whereupon the duke called this ſhoemaker to him, and aſked of him, whether he was a miniſter, and of what univerſity he was. He anſwered, that he was not of that calling, neither was he a ſcholar. Notwithſtanding he hardly eſcaped from this troop, which had invironed him round about: only one of the company told him, That if he had been a miniſter, he had taken upon him a very baſe calling.

From thence the duke La Broſſe and La Montague paſſed on in the ſaid city with their ſoldiers, as if they minded to take their way towards the village of Eſclairon, where it was given out he meant to dine. But paſſing by the market-houſe of Vaſſy, which is near the monaſtery, in the way leading to Eſclairon, he turned and went directly toward the common-hall, or market-houſe,

houſe, and then entered into the monaſtery; where having called to him one Deſſales, the prior of Vaſſy, and another whoſe name was Claud le Sain, being provoſt of the ſaid Vaſſy, he talked a while with them, and iſſuing hoſtily out of the monaſtery, was attended by many of his followers. Then command was given to ſuch as were papiſts, to retire into the monaſtery, and not to be ſeen in the ſtreets, unleſs they would venture the loſs of their lives. The duke perceiving others of his retinue to be walking to and fro under the town-hall, and about the church-yard, commanded them to march on towards the place where the ſermon was, being in a barn, about an hundred paces diſtant from the monaſtery, quite oppoſite to that way which the duke ſhould take to Eſclairon. This command was by and by put in execution by ſuch of the company as went on foot, going directly thither. He that marched foremoſt of this rabble, was La Broſſe, and on the one ſide of theſe marched the horſemen, after whom followed the duke with another company, as of his own followers, ſo likewiſe of the cardinal of Guiſe his brother.

By this time Mr. Leonard Morel the miniſter, after the firſt prayer ended, and having begun his ſermon before his auditors, which might amount to about 1200 perſons, conſiſting of men, women, and children: the horſemen firſt approaching to the barn within about twenty-five paces, ſhot off two harquebuſſes right upon thoſe who were placed in the galleries joining to the windows. The people within perceiving that, endeavoured to ſhut the door, but were prevented by the ruffians ruſhing in upon them, who drawing their ſwords, furiouſly cried out, Death of God, kill, kill theſe Hugonots.

The firſt they ſeized on was a poor crier of wine, that ſtood next the door, aſking him, if he were not a Hugonot, and in whom he believed? Having anſwered, that he believed in Jeſus Chriſt, they ſmote him twice with a ſword, which felled him to the ground. Being got up again, thinking to recover himſelf, they ſtruck him the third time, whereby being overcharged with wounds, he fell down, and died inſtantly. Two other men at the ſame time were ſlain at the entry of the ſaid door, as they were preſſing out to eſcape.

Then did the duke of Guiſe with his company, violently enter in among them, ſtriking the poor people down with their ſwords, daggers and coutelaxes, not ſparing any age or ſex. Beſides, they within were ſo aſtoniſhed that they knew not which way to turn them, but running hither and thither fell one upon another, flying as poor ſheep before a company of ravening wolves entering in among the flock.

Some of the murderers ſhot off their pieces againſt them that were in the galleries; others cut in pieces ſuch as they lighted upon; others had their heads cleft in twain, their arms and hands cut off, and did what they could to hew them all to pieces; ſo as many of them gave up the ghoſt even in the place. The walls and galleries of the ſaid barn were dyed with the blood of thoſe who were every where murdered: yea ſo great was the fury of the murderers, that part of the people within were forced to break open the roof of the houſe, if peradventure that way they might ſave themſelves upon the top thereof.

Being got thither, and then fearing to fall again into the hands of the cruel tygers, ſome of them leaped over the walls of the city, which were very high, flying into the woods and amongſt the vines, which with moſt expedition they could ſooneſt attain unto: ſome hurt in their arms, others in their heads and other parts of their bodies. The duke preſented himſelf in the houſe with his ſword drawn in his hand, charging his men to kill, eſpecially the young men. Only in the end women with child were ſpared. But purſuing thoſe who preſſed to get upon the houſe-top, they cried, Come down ye dogs, come down, uſing many cruel threatening ſpeeches unto them.

The cauſe why women with child eſcaped, was, as the report went, for the ducheſs' ſake his wife, who paſſing along by the walls of the city, hearing ſo hideous outcries which were made amongſt theſe poor creatures, with the noiſe of the pieces and piſtols continually diſcharged, ſent in all haſte to the duke her huſband with much intreaties to ceaſe this perſecution, for frighting women with child.

During this ſlaughter the cardinal of Guiſe remained before the church of the ſaid city of Vaſſy, leaning upon the walls of the church-yard, looking towards the place where his followers were buſied in killing and ſlaying whom they could. Many of this aſſembly being thus hotly purſued, did in the firſt brunt ſave themſelves upon the roof of the houſe, not being diſcerned by thoſe who ſtood without: but at length ſome of this bloody crew eſpying where they lay hid, ſhot at them with long pieces, wherewith many of them were hurt and ſlain. The houſhold ſervants of Deſſalles Prior of Vaſſy ſhooting at the people on the roof, cauſed them to fall down like pigeons; one of that wretched company was not aſhamed to boaſt after the maſſacre was ended, that he for his part had cauſed ſix at the leaſt to tumble down in that pitiful plight, ſaying, that if others had done the like, not many of them could poſſibly have eſcaped.

The miniſter in the beginning of the maſſacre ceaſed not to preach, till one diſcharged his piece againſt the pulpit where he ſtood, after which falling down upon his knees, he intreated the Lord not only to have mercy upon himſelf, but alſo upon his poor perſecuted flock. Having ended his prayer, he left his gown behind him, thinking thereby to keep himſelf, as unknown: but whilſt he approached towards the door, in his fear he ſtumbled upon a dead body, where he received a blow with a ſword upon his right ſhoulder. Getting up again, and then thinking to get forth, he was immediately laid hold on, and grievouſly hurt on the head with a ſword, whereupon being felled to the ground, and feeling himſelf mortally wounded, he cried, Lord, into thy hand I commend my ſpirit, for thou haſt redeemed me, thou God of truth.

While he thus prayed, one of his bloody crew ran upon him to have ham-ſtringed him, but it pleaſed God his ſword brake in the hilt. Now to let you underſtand by what means he was delivered from ſo imminent a death, two gentlemen taking knowledge of him, as the reſt were about to kill him, ſaid, It is the miniſter, let him be conveyed to my lord duke. Theſe leading him away by both the arms, brought him before the gate of the monaſtery, from whence the duke and the cardinal his brother, coming forth, ſaid, come hither; and aſked him, ſaying, Art thou the miniſter of this place? who made thee ſo bold to ſeduce this people thus? Sir, ſaid the miniſter, I am no ſeducer, I have preached to them the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. The duke perceiving, that this ſhort and pithy anſwer condemned his cruel fact, began to curſe and ſwear, ſaying, Death of God, doth the goſpel preach ſedition? Provoſt, go, and let a gibbet be ſet up, and hang this bougrer.

At which words the miniſter was delivered into the hands of two pages, who miſuſed him vilely. The women of the city, being ignorant papiſts, caught up dirt to throw in his face, and with extended outcries ſaid, Kill him, kill this varlet, who hath been the cauſe of the ſlaughter of ſo many. Much ado there was to hold off the women from being revenged upon the poor miniſter.

While the pages had him thus in their handling, the duke went into the barn, to whom they preſented a great bible, which they uſed for the ſervice of God. The duke taking it into his hands, calling his brother cardinal, ſaid, Lo here the title of the Hugonot books. The cardinal viewing

viewing it, ſaid, There is nothing but good in this book, for it is the bible, to wit, the holy ſcriptures. The duke being offended, for that his anſwer ſuited not to his humour, grew into a greater rage than before, ſaying, Blood of God, how now? what? the holy ſcripture. It is 1500 years ago ſince Jeſus Chriſt ſuffered his death and paſſion, and it is but a year ſince theſe books were imprinted, how then ſay you that this is the goſpel? By the death of God you ſay you know not what. This unbridled fury of the duke diſpleaſed the cardinal, ſo as he was heard ſecretly to mutter, An unworthy brother.

This maſſacre continued a full hour, the duke's trumpeters ſounding the while two ſeveral times. When any of theſe deſired to have mercy ſhewed them for the love of Jeſus Chriſt, the murderers in ſcorn would ſay unto them, You uſe the name of Chriſt, but where is your Chriſt now become? And when they ſaid, Lord God, they blaſphemingly would ſay, Lord devil.

There died in this maſſacre within a few days fifty or threeſcore perſons; beſides theſe, there were about 250, as well men as women, that were wounded and ſpoiled, whereof ſome died, one loſing a leg, another an arm, another his fingers. The poor's box, which was faſtened to the door of the church with two iron hooks, was wreſted thence, with twelve pounds therein, and never reſtored again. Nothing was to be ſeen in the ſtreets but women with their hair hanging about their ears, faces beſmeared with blood, being wounded in many places with ſwords and daggers, with weeping and lamentations. Barbers and ſurgeons were ſet on work, that he that had leaſt had threeſcore under his hand to be dreſſed, and many periſhed for want thereof.

The miniſter was kept cloſe priſoner, ſo as that for twenty-four hours none were permitted to ſupply him with any neceſſaries at all, nor any ſuffered to ſee him, or ſpeak with him, and was oft threatened by his keepers to be ſowed up in a ſack, and drowned Fain would they have drawn him to have kept his Eaſter after the popiſh guiſe, under fair promiſes of his enlargement; but he would by no means conſent thereto. Thus continued he priſoner until the 8th day of May 1563, at which time he was ſet free by the ſuit of the moſt illuſtrious prince of Portien.

Whilſt the duke was at Eſclairon, the lackeys and others of their ſort put to ſale, unto ſuch as would give moſt, cloaks, hats, girdles, coifs, kerchiefs, with other things which they had ſpoiled the maſſacred of: crying them with a loud voice, as if a common crier had cried houſhold-ſtuff to be ſold.

An Account of Monſieur Pierre de la Place.

MOnſieur Pierre de la Place, preſident of the court of requeſts, whoſe ſtory we will relate ſomewhat at large, becauſe his ſingular piety requires the ſame. On Sunday morning, about ſix of the clock, one captain Michael, harquebuſier of the king, came into his lodging, into which he had the more eaſy acceſs for divers private reſpects.

The captain being armed, preſenting himſelf before the ſaid de la Place; the firſt words he ſpake were, that the duke of Guiſe had ſlain the admiral by the king's appointment, with many Hugonots beſides: and becauſe the reſt of them of what quality ſoever were deſtinated to death, he came to his lodging to exempt him from the common deſtruction: only he deſired to have a ſight of that gold and ſilver which was in the houſe. The lord de la Place, ſomewhat amazed at the audacious malepertneſs of the man, who in the midſt of ten or twelve perſons which were in the room, durſt preſume to utter ſuch language, aſked him if he knew where he was, or whether he thought there was a king or no?

To this the captain blaſpheming, anſwered, That he willed him to go with him to know the king's pleaſure The lord de la Place hearing this, fearing alſo ſome danger towards himſelf by ſedition in the city, ſlipped forth at a back door behind his lodging, purpoſing to get into a neighbour's houſe. In the mean while moſt of his ſervants vaniſhed out of ſight) and this captain having ſtored himſelf with a thouſand crowns, was intreated by the lady Marets, daughter to the ſaid lord, to convey her father with the lord Marets her huſband into the houſe of ſome Roman catholic, which he conſented to do, and alſo performed it.

After this, de la Place, being refuſed at three ſeveral houſes, was conſtrained to retire back again into his own, where he found his wife very penſive and grieved beyond meaſure, fearing leſt this captain in the end would caſt her ſon-in-law and daughter into the river, as alſo for the imminent danger wherein her dear huſband and all his family were.

But the lord de la Place, being ſtrengthened by the Spirit of God with incredible conſtancy, ſharply rebuked her; and afterward mildly remonſtrated unto her, that we muſt receive theſe and the like afflictions from the hand of God; and ſo having diſcourſed awhile upon the promiſes of God, comforted her.

Then he commanded all his ſervants that were in the houſe to be called together; who being come into his chamber, according to his cuſtom on the Lord's day, he made a form of exhortation to his family: then went to prayer, and began to read a chapter out of the book of Job, with the expoſition or ſermon of Mr. John Calvin upon it. So having ſpoken ſomewhat of God's mercy and juſtice, which as a good and wiſe father uſeth to exerciſe his elect with ſundry chaſtiſements, leſt they ſhould be intangled here below with the things of this world, he ſhewed how needful afflictions were for chriſtians, and that it was beyond the power of ſatan or men to hurt or wrong them, unleſs the Lord of his good pleaſure gave them leave. What need have we then, ſaid he, to dread their authority, which at the moſt can but prevail over our bodies: then he went to prayer again, preparing himſelf and his whole family rather to endure all ſorts of torments, yea death itſelf, than to ſpeak or do any thing that might tend to the diſhonour of God.

Having finiſhed his prayer, word was brought him, that Seneca, the provoſt marſhal, with many archers were at the door of his lodging, commanding the ſame to be opened in the king's name, ſaying, that he came to ſecure the perſon of the lord de la Place, and to preſerve his houſe from being pillaged by the common rabble. The lord de la Place having intelligence of this ſpeech, commanded the door to be opened to him, who entering in, declared the great ſlaughter that was made upon the Hugonots every where in the city by the king's command; adding this withal in Latin, that he would not ſuffer one to live, Qui mingat ad parietem. Yet have I expreſs charge from his majeſty, ſaith he, to ſee that you ſhall ſuſtain no wrong, but only conduct you to the Louvre, becauſe the king is deſirous to be informed touching many things about the affairs of thoſe of the religion, which he hath now in hand, and therefore willed him to make himſelf ready to go to his majeſty. The lord de la Place anſwered, that he always thought himſelf happy before he left this life, to gain any opportunity by which he might render an account to his majeſty of his behaviour and actions.

But in regard ſuch horrible maſſacres were every where committed, it was impoſſible for him to paſs to the Louvre, without the certain danger of his perſon; praying him to aſſure his majeſty of his willingneſs to come, the while leaving in his lodging as many archers as he thought fitting, until the fury of the people was ſomewhat pacified. The provoſt agreed to his requeſt, and left with him

him one of his lieutenants called Toute Voye, with four of his archers.

Not long after came into his lodging preſident Charron, then provoſt of the merchants, with whom conferring a little in ſecret, going his way, he left with the four archers which were there before, four more of the city archers. The whole night following was ſpent in ſtopping up and fortifying all paſſages from entering the houſe; with logs and flint ſtone ſtopping up the windows, as it ſeemed by this ſo exact and diligent a defence the archers were left in the houſe, to free the ſaid de la Place and all the family from the common calamity; till Seneca returning, the next day after, at two of the clock in the afternoon, declared that he had expreſs charge from the king to bring him to his majeſty without delay. He replied as before, that it was dangerous as yet to paſs through the city, in regard there was an houſe pillaged next to his.

Seneca on the contrary inſiſted, ſaying, it was the common ſpeech of theſe Hugonots to proteſt, that they were the king's moſt loyal and obedient ſubjects and ſervants; but when they were to manifeſt their obedience to his commands, then they come off but ſlowly, ſeeming rather much to abhor and deteſt it. And whereas he pretended danger, Seneca anſwered, that he ſhould have a captain of Paris, who was well known to the people, to accompany him. As Seneca continued his ſpeech, the captain of Paris, ſirnamed Pazon, a principal actor in this ſedition, entered the chamber of the ſaid lord of Place, offering his ſervice to him through the city to the king; which de la Place would by no means yield to, telling Seneca, that he was one of the moſt cruel and bloody minded men in all the city; and therefore ſeeing he muſt needs go to the king, he intreated, that the ſaid Seneca would be his guard. To whom Seneca anſwered, that having now other affairs to look unto, he could not conduct him above fifty paces.

Then his wife (though otherwiſe a very gracious and good lady) out of that entire love which ſhe bare to her huſband, proſtrated herſelf at the feet of the ſaid Seneca, beſeeching and intreating him to accompany her huſband to the king; but the ſaid de la Place, who never ſhewed any ſign of a dejected ſpirit, came to his wife, took her up from the ground, rebuked her, and told her, that it is not the arm of fleſh that we muſt ſtoop unto, but unto God only. Then turning himſelf about, he perceived in his ſon's hat a white croſs, which thro' infirmity he had placed there, thinking thereby to ſave himſelf, for which his father ſharply chid him, commanding him to pluck that mark of ſedition thence; telling him, that we muſt now ſubmit ourſelves to bear the true croſs of Chriſt, namely, thoſe afflictions and tribulations which it ſhall pleaſe our good God to lay upon us, as ſure pledges of that eternal happineſs which he hath treaſured up for all his elect ſervants. Thus ſeeing himſelf preſſed by the ſaid Seneca to go with him to the king, reſolved upon death, which he ſaw he could not avoid, he took his cloak, embracing his wife, earneſtly wiſhing her above all things to have the fear of God, and his honour, in precious eſteem, and then boldly went on his way. Coming into the ſtreet where the glaſs-houſe is, certain murderers, who attended for his coming, with their daggers in readineſs, killed him about three of the clock in the afternoon, as an innocent lamb, in the midſt of 10 or 12 of Seneca's archers, who led him into that butchery; and then pillaged and imbezzeled away what they found in his lodging, for the ſpace of five or ſix days together. His body (whoſe ſoul was now received into heaven) being carried into a ſtable, and covered his face over with dung, the next day they threw him into the river.

Peter Ramus, the king's profeſſor in logic, a man renowned among the learned, was not forgotten. He had many enemies, particularly James Carpenter, who ſent the murderers to the college of prieſts, where the ſaid Ramus was hidden, but being diſcovered, he offered a good ſum of money to ſave his life; yet he was maſſacred, and caſt down out of an high chamber window to the ground, ſo that his bowels iſſuing out on the ſtones, were afterwards trailed through the ſtreets; the carcaſe was whipped by certain ſcholars, being ſet on by their tutors, to the diſgrace of good literature, of which Ramus was an eminent profeſſor.

A young man, who preferred his mother's ſafety in theſe broils before his own, about the age of thirty-two years, a ſincere chriſtian, of excellent learning; going abroad early on this dreadful Sunday morning upon ſome extraordinary occaſion, and hearing the rumour about the death of the admiral throughout the city of Paris, he, out of his ſingular affection for his mother, haſtened home with all poſſible ſpeed, informing her what had happened, and without delay, not regarding his own ſafety, ſecured her in a place fit for the purpoſe. After which he went to prayers in his ſtudy, as his cuſtom was, where being found, the furious maſſacrers aſked him, if he would obey the king? he anſwered, Yes, but I muſt alſo obey God. Then immediately they began with battle-axes and ſtaves to load him with blows on the head, that he received his own blood into his hands; and then making an end of him, they threw him into the river.

Note, It could not be found that above two miniſters were ſlain in this bloody maſſacre.

Philip le Doux, a great jeweller, at his return home from Guybry fair, being gone to bed, his wife at that time had the midwife attending upon her, being ready to be delivered: ſhe hearing theſe furies below bouncing at the door, commanding it to be opened to them in the king's name; and ill as ſhe was, ſhe adventured down, and opened the door to theſe tygers, who preſently ſtabbed her huſband in his bed. The midwife ſeeing them bent to murder the woman alſo, now ready to be delivered, inſtantly intreated them to ſtay, at leaſt ſo long till the infant (which would be the 20th child that God had given her) was born. Having conteſted ſome time with them, they took this poor woman, half dead with fear, and thruſt her into the fundament with a dagger to the very hilt. She finding herſelf mortally wounded, and yet deſirous to bring forth her fruit, ran into a corn-loft, whither they purſued her, giving her another ſtab into the belly with a dagger, and then threw her out of a window into the ſtreet: upon which fall the child came from her head foremoſt, gaping and yawning, to the great aſtoniſhment and confuſion of the papiſts, who were conſtrained often with deteſtation to acknowledge and confeſs the cruelties of their butchers.

One of the maſſacrers having ſnatched up a little child in his arms, the poor innocent babe began to play with his beard, and to ſmile upon him; but inſtead of being moved to compaſſion therewith, this barbarous wretch wounded it with his dagger, and then threw it all in gore blood into the river.

At the maſſacre of Meaux in Brie one Quintin Croyer, an elder of the reformed church, ſeeing many of his companions maſſacred before his eyes, kneeled down, praying God to pardon theſe murderers; at which prayer they fell a laughing, and not being able with their daggers to pierce a jerkin of double buff which he wore, and which they were loth to ſpoil (for it was a good booty) they cut aſunder the points, and then gave him five or ſix ſtabs with a dagger into his body: and ſo this good man wounded to death, calling upon God, rendered up his ſpirit into the hands of him that gave it.

Faron Haren, at the ſame time, a man zealouſly affected to religion, who had been ſheriff of the city in the firſt troubles, having by his endeavours chaſed the maſs out of Meax, for a time was mortally hated by theſe ſeditious papiſts; and therefore they were not contented ſimply to kill him, but firſt cut off his noſe, ears, and ſecret parts, then giving him many ſmall thruſts into di-

vers parts of the body, they conſtrained him to and fro among them, as if he had gone thorough the pikes. But being weakened, and not able any longer to hold out, in regard of the blood that iſſued from all the parts of his body, he fell with his face to the ground, and inſtantly calling upon the name of the Lord, received infinite gaſhes and wounds after he was dead.

Perſecution of the faithful at Troys in Campaign.

NEWS coming to Troys of the maſſacre executed at Paris, the greater part of the judges and officers of the king were ſent to the bailiff of Troys, with commandment diligently to make ſearch for all thoſe of the religion, from houſe to houſe, and to impriſon as many as they could meet withal.

In this city there was a merchant called Peter Belin, a man of a turbulent nature. This Belin was at the maſſacre in Paris, on Saint Bartholomew's day; from whence he was ſent with letters from the king, dated the eight and twentieth of Auguſt, to the mayor and ſheriffs of Troys, to cauſe all theſe perſecutions to ceaſe, and the priſoners to be ſet at liberty. On the third of September he came to Troys, with theſe two letters (which had been firſt publiſhed in Paris) with commandment to deliver them to the foreſaid magiſtrates, to be proclaimed there alſo.

But at the firſt entrance into the city, he began to enquire, that all might hear him, whether they had not executed the Hugonots there as they had done at Paris; which was his language thorough the ſtreets till he came home. But even ſome of the papiſts, who were not ſo cruelly minded, demanded of Belin the contents of the king's letters, whereof they had ſome inkling before. But he, like a bedlam ſwelling with choler, ſware that whoſoever ſaid they contained any thing tending to pacification, lyed. Haſtening therefore to the bailiff's houſe at Troys, after he had delivered him the packet, and buzzed ſomewhat in his ear, he put him on to ſee this execution done. Now that the ſame might paſs the better for current, the help of the executioner of Troys was requeſted, whoſe name was Charles.

Yet he ſhewing himſelf more juſt and humane than the reſt, peremptorily refuſed to have his hand in an act tending to ſo great cruelty; anſwering, that it was contrary to his office to execute any man before ſentence of death had firſt been pronounced by the magiſtrates. If they had ſuch ſentence to ſhew againſt any of the priſoners, he was ready to do juſtice; otherwiſe he would not preſume, without a warrant, to bereave any man of his life: and ſo with theſe words he returned home to his houſe.

Now albeit this anſwer, proceeded from ſuch a kind of perſon, whoſe office and cuſtom it was to ſhed blood, might ſomewhat have aſſuaged and taken off the edge of the moſt barbarous tyger in the world; yet the bailiff ſlighting it, was the further enraged. Upon this he ſent for one of the goalers of the priſon who kept thoſe of the religion; but he being ſick of a tertian ague, Martin de Bures was ſent to know his pleaſure.

The bailiff telling him at large what Belin had ſignified to him in private; as alſo, that on a ſudden all the priſoners of the religion muſt be put to death, that ſo the place might be purged of them: this, he ſaid, you muſt not fail to do.

But this de Bures made no haſte to perform his charge, acquainting no man with ought that had paſſed between the bailiff and him; no, not Perennet the keeper, who then lay ſick in his bed.

The next day the bailiff came into the priſon about ſeven of the clock, and calling for Perennet aſked of him with a ſmile, Perennet, is it done? Perennet, knowing nothing more or leſs, aſked him, What? then ſaith the bailiff, Why, are not the priſoners diſpatched? and thereupon was ready with his dagger to have ſtabbed him. But coming a little better to himſelf, he told Perennet what his purpoſe was, and how he was to behave himſelf concerning the execution thereof. At which words this Perennet ſtanding amazed, tho' otherwiſe he was a fellow forward enough of himſelf to commit any outrages againſt the proteſtants, certified the bailiff, that ſuch an inhuman act could not be committed over to him, fearing leſt in time to come juſtice might be followed againſt him by the parents or allies of the priſoners. No, no, ſaid the bailiff, fear not, I will ſtand between you and all harms. Others of the juſtices have conſented thereto beſides myſelf, and would you have better ſecurity than that?

Within a while after, the goaler coming into the court of the priſon, where the priſoners were abroad recreating themſelves, cauſed every one to reſort to his cabbin, becauſe, ſaid he, the bailiff will come by and by, to ſee whether the keepers have done as he commanded them: which they did. Then began theſe poor ſheep to fear they were deſtinated to the ſlaughter, and therefore went preſently to prayers. Perennet inſtantly called his companions about him, reporting to them what the bailiff had given him in charge. Then they all took an oath, to execute the ſame; but approaching nigh to the priſoners, they were ſo ſurpriſed with fear, and their hearts ſo failed them, that they ſtood gazing one upon another, having no courage to act ſuch a barbarous cruelty, and ſo returned to the goaler's lodge, whence they came, without doing any thing.

But inſtead of laying this to heart, as a warning-piece ſent them from above; as if of ſet purpoſe they meant to reſiſt againſt the checks of their own conſciences, they ſent to the tavern for ſixteen pints of the beſt wine, and intoxicating their brains they drew a liſt of all the priſoners; which they delivered to one who was to call them forth in order; and as they came they maſſacred them.

One Meurs was no ſooner in their ſight, but one of them let drive at him with the point of his halbert, redoubling the ſame oft to have killed him, yet could not. The poor man took hold on the point of the halbert, and himſelf pointing it to the ſeat of the heart, cried to the murderer with ſtedfaſt voice, Here, ſoldier, here, right at the heart, right at the heart, and ſo finiſhed this life.

The maſſacre (ſaith my author) being ended, the murderers made a great pit on the back ſide of the chapel of the priſon, whereinto they caſt the bodies one upon another, ſome of them yet breathing. So as one called Maufere lying in the midſt of them, was eſpied to raiſe up himſelf above his fellow martyrs in this pit, upon whom they forthwith throwing earth, as was reported, ſtifled him, being but half dead. The blood ran in ſuch abundance out at the priſon door, and thence through a channel into a river, that it was turned into the colour of blood.

The next day after, this worſhipful bailiff of Troys, that he might apply the plaiſter when the parties were dead, cauſes the king's letters, which he had received before, to be publiſhed in all the corners of the city with ſound of trumpet. The bailiff was preſent in perſon at the publication, and as the notary read the contents thereof to him, he pronounced the ſame jeeringly, and not with a full and audible voice, as matters of ſuch conſequence ought to be read.

One Dechampeaux lord of Bonilli, a worthy counſellor in the city of Orleance was murdered in the following manner: One called Texier came with a ſmall troop to his houſe, bidding himſelf and his company to ſupper with him. Dechampeaux bid them all kindly welcome, making them good cheer, being ignorant of that which had happened at Paris. But ſupper being ended, Texier bade him deliver his purſe. Dechampeaux

peaux laughing thereat, thinking that he had been but in jeſt, this cruel and unthankful gueſt with blaſphemous oaths told him in few words what had happened in the city of Paris, and what preparations there was among the Roman catholics of Orleance, to cut off and root out the proteſtants there. Dechampeaux ſeeing there was no time now to conteſt with him, gave money to this thief: who, to requite the courteſy and good entertainment he had had, embrued his hands in the blood of his honeſt neighbour, a man of as good and upright a carriage as was in all the city, and afterwards himſelf with his troop pillaged the whole houſe.

The 26th day of Auguſt following the maſſacrers began the execution about the ramparts in a violent manner; in theſe quarters there inhabited many of the religion. All the night long was heard nothing but ſhooting off of guns and piſtols, forcing open of doors and windows, fearful outcries of the maſſacred, both of men, women, and little children, trampling of horſes, and rumbling of carts, hurrying of dead bodies to and fro; the ſtreet ſwarming with unwonted exclamations of thoſe of the common ſort, with horrible blaſphemies of the murderers, laughing their fill at their furious exploits: ſome crying, Kill them all, and then take the ſpoil; others, Spoil not, but kill all.

On Wedneſday the maſſacre began more fiercely, and ſo continued to the end of the week, not ſparing to break theſe and the like jeſts upon the poor maſſacred: Where is now your God? What is become of all your prayers, and pſalms now? Let your God, whom you called upon, ſave you if he can. Yea, ſome of them, who in times paſt had been profeſſors of the ſame religion, whilſt they were maſſacring the poor innocents, durſt ſing unto them in ſcorn the beginning of the three and fortieth pſalm, which runs, Judge me, O Lord, and plead my cauſe. Others ſtriking them, ſaid, ſing now, Have mercy on me, O God: which language they uſed to this poor people in Paris, and elſewhere. But theſe execrable outrages no way daunted the courage of the faithful from dying ſtedfaſt in the faith.

Touching the multitude of the ſlain, the murderers did not ſtick to vaunt, that in this city they cauſed 18,000 men to periſh: alſo an hundred and fifty women, with a great number of children of nine years old and upward. The manner of their death was, firſt to ſhoot them with piſtols, then to ſtrip them of their cloaths, and either drowning, or elſe burying the dead bodies in pits.

On Tueſday at night certain of this bloody crew came and knocked at the door of one that was a doctor of the civil law, called Taillebous; who opening a caſement, and underſtanding that they had ſomewhat to ſay to him, came down immediately, and opened the door unto them. At the firſt greeting they told him he muſt die. Whereupon he fell to prayer, and that with ſuch conſtancy and affection, that the maſſacrers being aſtoniſhed, and by a ſecret celeſtial power reſtrained, contented themſelves only with taking his purſe, in which there were fifteen crowns, and ſo left him, offering him no more violence.

The day following certain ſcholars reſorting to his lodging, requeſted of him that they might ſee his library, into which having brought them, one aſked this book of him, and another another, which he gave them. At length they told him they were not as yet ſatisfied, their purpoſe being to kill him. He proſtrating himſelf upon the ground, and having ended his prayer, willed them to kill him there, but they forced him out of his own houſe from one place to another, and at length knocked him down.

A rich burgeſs of the city, called Nicholas Bougars Sieur de Nove, a man of ſingular worth, and highly eſteemed of all, was at that time deadly ſick. Some of the murderers came into his chamber with a purpoſe to kill him: but ſeeing him in that caſe ſpared him: yet finding there Noel Chaperon, apothecary, who brought him phyſic, they cut off one of his arms, then drew him into the open market-place, where they made an end of him.

The next day there came one to the lodging of him that was ſick, who was wont heretofore to viſit him. Now as he was entering in, the mother of the ſick party at the door going unto maſs, and coming up into the chamber, he ſtabbed the ſaid ſick man with a dagger in many places, and ſo killed a dying man. Then with all ſilence, as if he had done no ſuch act, wiping his dagger, he went down the ſtairs again, and meeting one at the door who came to viſit him that was ſick, this fellow ſaluting him, paſſed along by him, without any change either in his behaviour or countenance.

Francis Stample, a rich merchant, was threatened to have his throat cut preſently, if he gave not the murderers money: but having none about him, he wrote a letter to his wife, to ſend him his ranſom; he had no ſooner ſealed the letter, but the murderers deprived him thereof, and his life together, laughing at what they had done. And though they got from his window a round ſum of money, yet could ſhe not obtain at their hands the body of her dead huſband. And theſe are the fruits of popery.

Among thoſe that confeſſed the name of Jeſus Chriſt, Francis le Boſſu, a merchant, with his two ſons, well deſerve our notice: for whilſt he trampled in the blood of his brethren, being beſmeared therewith, and ſpirting as it were in his face, he encouraged his children to take their death willingly and patiently, uſing this ſpeech, "Children, we are not to learn now that it hath always been the portion of believers, to be hated, cruelly uſed, and devoured by unbelievers: as Chriſt's ſilly ſheep of ravening wolves: if we ſuffer with Chriſt, we ſhall alſo reign with him. Let not theſe drawn ſwords terrify us, they will be but as a bridge whereby we ſhall paſs over out of a miſerable life, into immortal bleſſedneſs. We have breathed and lived long enough among the wicked, let us now go, and live with our God; let us joyfully march after this company, which is here gone before us, and let us make way for them which ſhall follow after.

When he ſaw the murderers come, he claſped his arms about his two ſons, and they likewiſe embraced their father; as if the father meant to be a buckler to his children, and the children, as if by the bond of nature (which binds them to defend his life from whence they received it) they meant to ward off the blows which were coming towards their father, tho' with the loſs of their own lives, who, when the maſſacre was ended, were all three found dead, thus embracing one another.

Now after this furious aſſault, theſe impudent creatures went up and down the city, ſhewing their white doublets all beſprinked with blood; boaſting, that ſome had killed an hundred, ſome more, ſome leſs.

As the multitude were dragging the dead bodies to the river, an apothecary came and informed them, that money might be made of the greaſe that was taken out of their bodies. Then were the moſt corpulent bodies preſently ſought for, which when they had ripped up, a great quantity of that commodity being gotten thence, was ſold by theſe merchants for three ſhillings the pound.

Thoſe of Dauphine, of Languedoc, and Provence, were amazed to ſee ſo many bodies floating upon the water, ſome diſmembered, others faſtened together with long poles, others lying on the ſhore, ſome having their eyes put out, others their noſes, ears and hands cut off, ſtabbed with daggers in every part of their body, ſo as ſome among them had no human ſhape remaining. Yea, ſo great a number of theſe mangled corpſes preſented themſelves on the port of Tournon, that the men and women of the place began to make an outcry, as if the enemies had been at their gates.

Not many months after, when all theſe bloody tragedies were ended, the pope ſent cardinal Urſin as legate to the king, who was received with great ſolemnity at Lyons. Now having heard maſs at Saint John's church, and returning by the ſame door which he went in at, the greateſt number of the maſſacrers attended his coming there, and all kneeled down for his abſolution. But the legate not knowing the reaſon of it, one of the principal agents told him, that they were thoſe who had been the actors in the maſſacre. When the legate perceived that, he abſolved them all with making the ſign of the croſs.

As ſoon as the maſſacre was begun at Paris, a gentleman of Paris, called Monſoreau, obtained a paſſport with letters to maſſacre thoſe of the religion at Angiers. Who, being diſappointed of his prey in one place, came to the lodging of a reverend and learned miniſter, called Mr. John Maſon, ſirnamed de Launay, ſieur of Riviere. Meeting his wife at his entrance into the houſe, he ſaluted her, and kiſſed her, as it is the manner in France, eſpecially among the courtiers, and aſked her where her huſband was? ſhe anſwered him, that he was walking in his garden; and then directed him the way unto him.

Monſorea having lovingly embraced la Riviere, ſaid unto him, Do you know wherefore I am come? the king hath commanded me to kill you forthwith, and hath given me expreſs charge to do it, as you ſhall ſee by his letters. After which words he ſhewed him a piſtol ready charged. Riviere replied, That he knew not wherein he had offended the king; but ſeeing, ſaith he, you ſeek my life, give me a little leave to cry to God for mercy, and to recommend my ſpirit into his hands.

Having made a ſhort prayer, he willingly preſented his body to the murderer, who ſhot him with his piſtol, and he immediately died.

And the miniſter's wife was ſoon after drowned with nine others.

Six thouſand were murdered at Roan in much the ſame manner.

Now touching the prince of Conde, the king propounded to him three things; either to go to maſs, to die, or elſe perpetual priſon; and therefore to bethink himſelf well which of the three he liked beſt. The prince anſwered, as it is reported, that by God's grace he would never chuſe the firſt; as for the two latter, he referred himſelf to the king's pleaſure.

About three hundred were barbarouſly murdered at Tholouſe, and after taking all their goods, they ſtripped them naked, and expoſed them to public view for two days, and then they threw them in heaps into great pits. There were certain counſellors, who after they were maſſacred, were hung up in their long gowns upon a great elm which was in the court of the palace.

The maſſacre at Bourdeaux was begun and carried on much in the ſame manner of thoſe before mentioned. But their miniſters found means to eſcape, hiding themſelves in the rocks and marſhes, till they had an opportunity to take ſhipping for England.

One thing here may be noted: The houſe of a counſellor in parliament was forced open, pillaged and ſpoiled, and himſelf cruelly murdered. His clerk ſeeing his maſter about to be maſſacred, embraced him, and comforted him: and being aſked, whether he were of the religion, he anſwered yea, and would die with his maſter for the ſame. And they were ſlain in one another's arms.

A deacon of the reformed church named du Tour, an old man, who in the days of his ignorance had been a prieſt in the popiſh church, being ſick in his bed, was haled forth into the open ſtreet; of whom it being demanded, whether he would go to maſs, and thereby ſave his life; he freely anſwered, no, eſpecially now drawing ſo near his end, both in regard of his years, and grievous ſickneſs: I hope, ſaid he, I ſhall not ſo far forget the eternal ſalvation of my ſoul, as for fear of death to prolong this life for a few days; for ſo I ſhould buy a ſhort term of life at too dear a rate They hearing him ſay ſo, murdered him inſtantly.

It was lamentable to ſee the poor proteſtants wandering up and down, not knowing where to ſave their lives: ſome were rejected of their own parents and kinsfolks, who ſhut their doors againſt them, pretending as if they knew them not; others were betrayed and delivered up by thoſe to whoſe truſt they had committed themſelves: many were ſaved even by prieſts and others, from whom a man would have expected no ſuch ſecurity. Some were ſaved by their very enemies, whoſe hearts abhorred ſuch deteſtable outrages.

All the city was full of terrors and horrible threats againſt thoſe of this religion, ſaying, that the king's commandment was, that he would not have ſo much as one of them left in his kingdom. And if any refuſed to go to maſs, that an hole ſhould be digged for him in the earth, in which he ſhould be buried without any more ado.

The judgment of God fell not long after upon one of theſe maſſacrers called Vincent; he fell dangerouſly ſick, but in the end recovering again, and as he thought being in good health, told ſome of his friends that he felt his arms ſtrong enough to handle his coutlax as well as ever he had done. But within a while after he was overtaken by the hand of God, with ſuch a flux of bleeding at his noſe, as could not be reſtrained nor diverted by any of the remedies that were then uſed. It was an hideous ſight to ſee him ſtill bowing his head over a baſon full of blood, which without ceaſing iſſued out of his noſe and mouth, even until his laſt gaſp.

Another was taken with ſuch a ſwelling in all the parts of his body, that there was ſcarcely to be diſcerned in him the form of a man, and ſo continued ſwelling till at the length he burſt in ſunder.

Thus we have taken a view of the extreme afflictions of the reformed churches in many parts of France, wherein within a few weeks nigh thirty thouſand were put to death.

In the year 1573, the place whither the faithful fled for refuge, was aſſailed by open war; namely, Sancerre, the hiſtory whereof you have here in a ſhort view.

Sancerre being compaſſed about with irreconcileable enemies, from about the beginning of April; the want of victuals having cauſed them to gather together all the aſſes and mules they had in the city, they were eaten up in leſs than a month.

Then they came to horſes, cats, rats, moles, mice and dogs. After theſe were ſpent, they fell to eat ox and cow-hides, ſheep-ſkins, parchment, old ſhoes, bullocks and horſe-hoofs, horns, and lanthorns, ropes, and horſe-harneſs, leather girdles, &c.

In the end of June the third part of the beſieged had not bread to eat. Such as could get hemp-ſeed, ground it, or ſtamped it in mortars, and made bread of it, the like they did with all ſorts of herbs mingling the ſame with bran if they had it. There they eat meal of chaff, nut-ſhells, and of ſlate, excrements of horſes, and men, yea, the offal which lay in the ſtreets was not ſpared.

The nine and twentieth of July, a poor man and his wife were executed for having eaten the head, brains, and entrails of a young child about three years old which died of hunger; having made ready the other parts to eat at another meal. An old woman who lodged in their houſe, eating a part of this mourful diet, died in priſon, within a few hours after her impriſonment.

They were found guilty of other offences; but this aggravated the ſame the more. All children under twelve years of age died. It was lamentable to hear the pitiful voices uttered by poor parents, for the miſery wherein

wherein their eyes beheld their languiſhing and dying in-infants.

To which purpoſe you may take notice here of a memorable accident. A boy of ten years old, being ready to yield up the ghoſt, ſeeing his father and mother weeping over him (whoſe arms and legs when they handled, felt as if they had been dried ſticks) ſaid unto them, Wherefore weep ye thus, in ſeeing me famiſhed to death? Mother, ſaith he, I aſk you no bread, I know you have none: but ſeeing it is God's will I muſt die this death, let us be thankful for it. Did not the holy man Lazarus die of famine? have I not read it in my bible? In uttering theſe with the like ſpeeches he yielded up the ghoſt the thirtieth day of July.

That all the people died not of famine in the end of this month, it was by reaſon of certain horſes which were reſerved for ſervice if need ſhould be, and ſix kine which were left to give milk for the ſuſtenance of young infants. Theſe beaſts were killed, and their fleſh ſold for the relief of ſuch as were living, with a little corn, which by ſtealth ſome brought into the city; ſo that a pound of wheat was ſold for half a crown.

There died by ſight in Sancerre but eighty-four perſons, but of the famine more than five hundred. Many ſoldiers getting forth as they could out of the city, flying from the famine, chooſe rather to die by the ſword of the enemy; whereof ſome were ſlain, others impriſoned, and the reſt put to death by the executioner.

But when all help of man failed, the king having ſworn that he would make them eat up one another, the King of kings delivered them by his wonderful providence. For at this inſtant the ambaſſadors from Poland came into France to accept the duke of Anjou for their king, at whoſe intreaty (which could not well be denied) poor Sancerre, more than half famiſhed, was now ſet at liberty by raiſing the ſiege, who otherwiſe were determined to leave their bones there, rather than to yield themſelves into their enemies hands, in regard they had often threatened them with a general maſſacre. Whereas now by the king's appointment they were permitted to paſs out of the city armed; if any would tarry, that they ſhould not be moleſted: having liberty granted them to diſpoſe of their affairs, as they pleaſed, with promiſe of conſerving the honour and chaſtities as well of virgins, as women, &c.

There alſo died in the ſiege of Rochel, October 20, 1628, ſixteen thouſand perſons, the reſt enduring a world of miſeries; moſt of their food being hides, leather, and old gloves: other proviſions being very ſcarce, were at an exceſſive rate, viz.

A buſhel of wheat, twenty pound; a pound of bread, twenty ſhillings; a quarter of mutton, ſix pound odd money; a pound of butter, thirty ſhillings; an egg, eight ſhillings; an ounce of ſugar, half a crown; a dry fiſh, twenty ſhillings; a pint of wine, twenty ſhillings; a pound of grapes, three ſhillings; a pint of milk, thirty ſhillings.

Alſo it is reported, that through the famine, young maids of fourteen or ſixteen years of age did look like women of an hundred years old. The famine was ſuch, that the poor people would cut off the buttocks of the dead as they lay in the church-yard unburied. All the Engliſh that came out looked like anatomies. They lived two months with nothing but cow-hides and goat-ſkins boiled; the dogs, cats, mice and frogs being all ſpent.

A brief Diſcourſe of the great Preparations of the Spaniards in order to invade England, in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

THE duke of Parma in Flanders, by command of the Spaniards, built ſhips, and a great company of ſmall broad veſſels, each one able to tranſport thirty horſe, with bridges fitted for them ſeverally; and hired mariners from the eaſt part of Germany, and provided long pieces of wood, ſharpened at the end, and covered with iron, with hooks on the one ſide, and twenty thouſand veſſels, with an huge number of faggots, and placed an army ready in Flanders, of one hundred and three companies of foot, and four thouſand horſemen. Among theſe ſeven hundred Engliſh vagabonds, who were had of all others in moſt contempt. Neither was Stanly reſpected or heard, who was ſet over the Engliſh, nor Weſtmoreland, nor any other who offered their help: but for their unfaithfulneſs to their own country were ſhut out from all conſultations, and as men unanimouſly rejected with deteſtation. And becauſe pope Sixtus the fifth in ſuch a caſe would not be wanting, he ſent cardinal Alan into Flanders, and renewed the bulls declaratory of pope Pius the fifth, and Gregory the thirteenth. He excommunicateth and depoſeth queen Elizabeth, abſolveth her ſubjects from all allegiance, and, as if it had been againſt the Turks and infidels, he ſet forth in print a conceit, wherein he beſtowed plenary indulgences, out of the treaſure of the church, beſides a million of gold, or ten hundred thouſand ducats, to be diſtributed (the one half in hand, the reſt when either England, or ſome famous haven therein ſhould be won), upon all them that would join their help againſt England. By which means the marquiſs of Burgaw, of the houſe of Auſtria, the duke of Paſtrana, Armady duke of Savoy, Veſpaſian, Gonzaga, John Medicis, and divers other noblemen were drawn into theſe wars.

Queen Elizabeth, that ſhe might not be ſurpriſed unawares, prepared as great a navy as ſhe could, and with ſingular care and providence made all things ready neceſſary for war. And ſhe herſelf, who was ever moſt judicious in diſcerning of men's wits and aptneſs, and moſt happy in making choice, when ſhe made it out of her own judgment, and not at the direction of others, deſigned the beſt and moſt ſerviceable to each ſeveral employment. Over the whole navy ſhe appointed the lord admiral Charles Howard, in whom ſhe repoſed much truſt; and ſent him to the weſt part of England, where captain Drake, whom ſhe made vice-admiral, joined with him. She commanded Henry Seimor, the ſecond ſon to the duke of Somerſet, to watch upon the Belgick ſhore with forty Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, that the duke of Parma might not come out with his forces. Albeit ſome were of opinion, that the enemy was to be expected and ſet upon by land forces, according as it was upon deliberation reſolved, in the time of Henry the eighth, when the French brought a great navy on the Engliſh ſhore.

For the land fight, there were placed on the ſouth ſhores twenty thouſand: and two armies beſides were muſtered of the choiceſt men for war. The one of theſe, which conſiſted of one thouſand horſe, twenty-two thouſand foot, was the earl of Leiceſter ſet over, and camped at Tilbury on the ſide of the Thames: for the enemy was reſolved firſt to ſet upon London. The other army was governed by the lord Hunſdon, conſiſting of thirty-four thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, to guard the queen.

The lord Grey, Sir Frances Knolles, Sir John Norris, Sir Richard Bingham, Sir Roger Williams, men famouſly known for military experience, were choſen to confer of the land fight. Theſe thought fit that all thoſe places ſhould be fortified, with men and munition, which were commodious to land in, either out of Spain or out of Flanders, as Milford haven, Falmouth, Plymouth, Portland, the Iſle of Wight, Portſmouth, the open ſide of Kent called the Downs, the Thames mouth, Harwich, Yarmouth, Hull, &c. That trained ſoldiers through all the maritime provinces ſhould meet upon warning given, to defend theſe places, that they ſhould, by their beſt means, hinder the enemy to take land; and if they did happen to take land, then they were to de-

ſtroy the fruits of the country all about, and ſpoil every thing that might be of any uſe to the enemy, that ſo he might find no more victuals than what he brought upon his ſoldiers with him. And that by continual alarms the enemy ſhould find no reſt day or night. But they ſhould not try any battle, until divers captains were met together with their companies. That one captain might be named in every ſhire which might command.

Two years before, the duke of Parma conſidering how hard a matter it was to end the Belgick war, ſo long as it was continually nouriſhed and ſupported with aid from the queen, he moved for a treaty of peace, by the means of Sir James Croft one of the privy council, a man deſirous of peace, and Andrew Loe a Dutchman, and profeſſed that the Spaniard had delegated authority to him for this purpoſe. But the queen fearing that the friendſhip between her and the confederate princes, might be diſſolved, and that ſo they might ſecretly be drawn to the Spaniard; ſhe deferred that treaty for ſome time. But now, that the wars on both ſides prepared might be turned away, ſhe was content to treat of peace; but ſo, as ſtill holding the weapons in her hand.

For this purpoſe in February delegates were ſent into Flanders, the earl of Darby, the lord Cobham, Sir James Croft, doctor Dale, and doctor Rogers. Theſe were received with all humanity on the duke's behalf, and they preſently ſent Dr. Dale to him, that a place might be appointed for their treating, and that they might ſee the authority delegated to him by the Spaniſh king. He appointed the place near to Oſtend, not in Oſtend, which then was holden of Engliſh againſt the king. His authority delegated he promiſed then to ſhew, when they were once met together. He wiſhed them to make good ſpeed in the buſineſs, leſt ſomewhat might fall out in the mean time which might trouble the motions of peace. Richardotus ſpake ſomewhat more plainly, That he knew not what in this interim ſhould be done againſt England.

Not long after, Dr. Rogers was ſent to the prince, by an expreſs commandment from the queen, to know the truth, whether the Spaniard had reſolved to invade England, which he and Richardotus ſeemed to ſignify. He affirmed, that he did not ſo much as think of the invaſion of England, when he wiſhed that the buſineſs might proceed with ſpeed: and was in a manner offended with Richardotus, who denied that ſuch words fell from him.

The twelfth of April the count Aremberg, Champigny, Richardotus, Dr. Maeſius, and Garnier, delegated from the prince of Parma, met with the Engliſh, and yielded to them the honour both in walking and ſitting. And when they affirmed that the duke had full authority to treat of peace, the Engliſh moved, that firſt a truce might be made; which they denied; alledging that that thing muſt needs be hurtful to the Spaniard, who had for ſix months maintained a great army, which might not be diſmiſſed upon a truce, but upon an abſolute peace. The Engliſh urged, that a truce was promiſed before they came into Flanders. The Spaniard againſt that held, That ſix months ſince a truce was promiſed; which they granted, but was not admitted. Neither was it in the queen's power to undertake a truce for Holland and Zealand, who daily attempted hoſtility. The Engliſh moved inſtantly, that the truce might be general for all the queen's territories, and for the kingdom of Scotland: but they would have it but for four Dutch towns which were in the queen's hands; that is, Oſtend, Fluſhing, Bergen-up-Zoom, and the Briel; and theſe only during the treating, and twenty days after; and that in the mean time it might be lawful for the queen to invade Spain, or for the Spaniard to invade England, either from Spain or Flanders. At laſt, when the Engliſh could not obtain an abſtinence from arms, and could by no means ſee the charter by which the duke of Parma was authoriſed to treat of peace; they propoſed theſe things, that the ancient leagues between the kings of England and the dukes of Burgundy might be renewed and confirmed; that all the Dutch might fully enjoy their own privileges; that with freedom of conſcience they might ſerve God; that the Spaniſh and foreign ſoldiers might be put out of Dutchland, that neither the Dutch nor their neighbouring nations might fear them. If theſe things might be granted, the queen would come to equal conditions concerning the towns which now ſhe held (that all might know, that ſhe took up arms not for her own gain, but for the neceſſary defence both of herſelf and of the Dutch), ſo that the money which is owning therefore be repaid. To which they anſwered, That for renewing the old leagues there ſhould be no difficulty, when they might have a friendly conference of that thing. That concerning the privileges of the Dutch, there was no cauſe why foreign princes ſhould take care, which privileges were moſt favourably granted not only to provinces and towns reconciled, but even to ſuch as by force of arms are brought into ſubjection. That foreign ſoldiers were held upon urgent neceſſity, when as Holland, England, and France were all in arms.

Touching thoſe towns taken from the king of Spain, and the repaying of the money, they anſwered, That the Spaniard might demand as many myriads of crowns to be from the queen repaid him, as the Belgick war hath coſt him ſince the time that ſhe hath favoured and protected the Dutch againſt him.

At this time Dr. Dale by the queen's command, going to the duke of Parma, gently expoſtulated with him touching a book printed there, ſet out lately by cardinal Allen, wherein he exhorts the nobles and people of England and Ireland to join themſelves to the king of Spain's forces, under the conduct of the prince of Parma, for the execution of the ſentence of pope Sixtus V. againſt the queen, declared by his bull; in which ſhe is declared an heretic, illegitimate, cruel againſt Mary queen of Scots, and her ſubjects were commanded to help Parma againſt her: for at that time a great number of thoſe bulls and books were printed at Antwerp to be diſperſed through England. The duke denied that he had ſeen ſuch a bull or book, neither would he do any thing by the pope's authority; as for his own king, him he muſt obey. Yet he ſaid, he ſo obſerved the queen for her princely virtues, that after the king of Spain, he offered all ſervice to her. That he had perſuaded the king of Spain to yield to this treaty of peace, which is more profitable for Engliſh than Spaniſh: for if they ſhould be overcome they would eaſily repair their loſs, but if you be overcome, the kingdom is loſt.

To whom Dale replied, That our queen was ſufficiently furniſhed with forces to defend the kingdom. That a kingdom will not eaſily be gotten by the fortune of one battle, ſeeing the king of Spain, in ſo long a war is not yet able to recover his ancient patrimony in the Netherlands.

Well, quoth the duke, be it ſo, theſe things are in God's hands.

After this the delegates contended among themſelves by mutual replications, weaving and unweaving the ſame web. The Engliſh were earneſt in this, That freedom of religion might be granted at leaſt for two years to the confederate princes. They anſwered, That as the king of Spain had not intreated that for Engliſh catholics; ſo they hoped the queen in her wiſdom would not intreat any thing of the king of Spain which might ſtand againſt his honour, his oath, and his conſcience.

Then they demanded the money due from the ſtates of Brabant; it was anſwered, That the money was lent without the king's knowledge: but let the account be taken, how much the money was, and how much the king hath ſpent in theſe wars, and then it may appear who ſhould look for repayment.

Thus the Engliſh of ſet purpoſe were from time to time driven off, until the Spaniſh fleet was come near the

Engliſh

Engliſh ſhore, and the noiſe of guns were heard from ſea. Then had they leave to depart, and were by the delegates honourably brought to the borders near to Calais. The duke of Parma had in the mean time brought all his forces to the ſea ſhore.

Thus this conference came to nothing; undertaken by the queen, as the wiſer then thought to avert the Spaniſh fleet; continued by the Spaniards that he might oppreſs the queen, being as he ſuppoſed unprovided, and not expecting the danger. So both of them tried to uſe time to their beſt advantages.

In ſhort, the Spaniſh fleet, well furniſhed with men, munition, engines, and all warlike preparations, the beſt indeed that was ever ſeen upon the ocean, called by that arrogant title, The Invincible Armada, conſiſting of one hundred and thirty ſhips, wherein there were in all nineteen thouſand two hundred and ninety: mariners eight thouſand three hundred and fifty; chained rowers eleven thouſand and eighty; great ordnance eleven thouſand ſix hundred and thirty. The chief commander was Perezius Guſmannus, duke of Medina Sidonia; and under him Joannes Martinus Ricaldus, a man of great experience in ſea affairs.

The 30th of May they looſed out of the river Tagus, and purpoſing to hold their courſe to the Groin, in Gallicia, they were beaten and ſcattered by a tempeſt: three gallies, by the help of David Gwin, an Engliſh ſervant, and by the perfidiouſneſs of Turks which rowed, were carried away into France. The fleet with much ado after ſome days came to the groin and ſome harbours near adjoining. The report was, that the fleet was ſo ſhaken with this tempeſt, that the queen was perſuaded, that ſhe was not to expect that fleet this year. And Sir Francis Walſingham, ſecretary, wrote to the lord admiral, that he might ſend back four of the greateſt ſhips, as if the war had been ended. But the lord admiral did not eaſiy give credit to that report; yet with a gentle anſwer entreated him to believe nothing haſtily in ſo important a matter: as alſo that he might be permitted to keep thoſe ſhips with him which he had, though it were upon his own charges. And finding a favourable wind, turned ſails towards Spain, to ſurpriſe the enemies ſhaken ſhips in their harbours. When he was not far from the ſhore of Spain, the wind turning, and he being charged to defend the Engliſh ſhore, fearing that the enemies unſeen might by the ſame wind be driven to England, he returned unto Plymouth.

Now with the ſame wind, the twelfth of July the duke of Medina with his fleet departed from the Groin. And after a few days he ſent Rodericus Telius into Flanders, to advertiſe the duke of Parma, giving him warning that the fleet was approaching, and therefore he was to make himſelf ready. For Medina his commiſſion was to join himſelf with the ſhips and ſoldiers of Parma; and under the protection of his fleet, to bring them into England, and to land his land forces upon the Thames ſide.

The ſixteenth day (ſaith the relator) there was a great calm, and a thick cloud was upon the ſea till noon: then the north wind blowing roughly, and again the weſt wind till midnight, and after that the eaſt, the Spaniſh navy was ſcattered, and hardly gathered together until they came within the ſight of England the nineteenth day of July. Upon which day the lord admiral was certified by Flemming (who had been a pyrate) that the Spaniſh fleet had entered into the Engliſh ſea, which the mariners call the channel, and was deſcried near to the Lizard. The lord admiral brought forth the Engliſh fleet into the ſea, but not without great difficulty, by the ſkill, labour, and alacrity of the ſoldiers and mariners, every one labouring; yea the lord admiral himſelf put his hand to this work.

The next day the Engliſh fleet viewed the Spaniſh fleet coming along with towers like caſtles in heighth, her front crooked like the faſhion of the moon, the horns of the front were extended one from the other about ſeven miles, or as ſome ſay, eight miles aſunder, ſailing with the labour of the winds, the ocean, as it were, groaning under it; their ſail was but ſlow, and yet at full ſail before the wind. The Engliſh were willing to let them hold on their courſe, and when they were paſſed by, got behind them, and ſo got the help of the wind.

Upon the one and twentieth of July, the lord admiral of England ſent a pinnace before, called the Defiance, to denounce the battle by ſhooting off pieces. And being himſelf in the Arch-Royal (the Engliſh pretorian ſhip or admiral) he ſet upon a ſhip which he took to be the Spaniſh admiral, but it was the ſhip of Alfonſus Leva. Upon that he beſtowed much ſhot. Preſently Drake, Hawkins, and Forbiſher came in upon the Spaniſh hindmoſt ſhips, which Ricaldus governed. Upon theſe they thundered. Ricaldus laboured as much as in him lay to ſtay his men, who fled away in their navy, until his ſhip, beaten and much battered with many ſhot, hardly recovered the fleet. Then the duke Medina gathered together his diſſipated fleet, and ſetting up more ſail, held on their courſe. Indeed they could do no other, for the Engliſh had gotten the advantage of the wind, and their ſhips were much more nimble, and ready with incredible celerity to come upon the enemy with a full courſe, and then to turn and return, and be on every ſide at their pleaſure. After a long fight, and that each of them had taken ſome trial, as of their own courage, ſo of the Spaniards alſo, the lord admiral thought good not to continue the ſame any longer, in regard that forty ſhips were then abſent, which at that inſtant was ſcarce drawn out of Plymouth haven.

The night following, Saint Katherine, a Spaniſh ſhip, being ſadly torn in the battle, was received into the midſt of the navy to be mended. Here a great Cantabrian ſhip of Oquenda, wherein was the treaſurer of the camp, by force of gunpowder took fire, yet it was quenched in time by the ſhips that came to help her. Of theſe that came to help the fired ſhip, one was a galeon, in which was Petrus Waldez; the fore-maſt of the galeon was caught in the tackling of another ſhip, and broken. This was taken by Drake, who ſent Waldez to Darmouth, and a great ſum of money, viz. fifty-five thouſand ducats, which he diſtributed amongſt the ſoldiers. This Waldez coming into Drake's preſence, kiſſed his hand, and told him they had all reſolved to die, if they had not been ſo happy as to have fallen into his hands, whom he knew to be noble. That night he was appointed to ſet forth light, but neglected it; and ſome German merchant ſhips coming by that night, he thinking them to be enemies, followed them ſo far, that the Engliſh navy reſted all night, when they could ſee no light ſet forth. Neither did he nor the reſt of the navy find the admiral until the next day at even. The admiral all the night proceeding with the Bear and the Mary Roſe carefully followed the Spaniards with watchfulneſs. The duke was buſied in ordering his navy. Alfonſus Leva was commanded to join the firſt and laſt companies. Every ſhip had his ſtation aſſigned according to that preſcribed form which was appointed in Spain; it was preſent death to forſake his ſtation. This done, he ſent Gliclius an Anceani to Parma, which might declare to him in what caſe they were, and left that Cantabrian ſhip of Oquenda to the wind and ſea, having taken out the money and mariners, and put them in other ſhips. Yet it ſeemeth he had not care of all: for that ſhip the ſame day with fifty mariners and ſoldiers lamed, and half burnt, fell into the hands of the Engliſh, and was carried to Weymouth.

The three and twentieth of the ſame month, the Spaniards, having a favourable north wind, turned ſails upon the Engliſh; the Engliſh being much readier in the uſe of their ſhips, ſet about a compaſs for the wind,

having gotten advantage of the wind, they came to the fight on both ſides. They fought awhile confuſedly with variable ſucceſs: whilſt on the one ſide the Engliſh with great courage delivered the London ſhips which were incloſed about by the Spaniards: on the other ſide the Spaniards by valour freed Ricaldus from the extreme danger he was in: great were the effulminations which by beating of ordnances were heard this day. But the loſs (by the good providence of God) fell upon the Spaniſh ſide, their ſhips being ſo high that the ſhot went over our Engliſh ſhips; and the Engliſh having ſuch a fair mark at their taller ſhips, never ſhot in vain. Amidſt which encounters, Cock an Engliſhman, being caught indeed in the midſt of the Spaniſh ſhips, could not be recovered, but periſhed, howbeit with great honour he revenged himſelf. Thus a long time the Engliſh ſhips with great agility were ſometimes upon the Spaniards giving them the one ſide, and then the other, and preſently were off again, and ſtill took the ſea, to make themſelves ready to come in again. Whereas the Spaniſh ſhips being of great burthen were troubled and hindered, and ſtood to be marks for the Engliſh bullets. For all that, the admiral would not admit the Engliſh to come to board their ſhips, becauſe they had a full army in their ſhips, which he had not; their ſhips were many in number, and greater, and higher, that if they had come to grapple, as ſome would have had it, the Engliſh, being much lower than the Spaniſh ſhips, muſt needs have had the worſt of them that fought from the higher ſhips. And if the Engliſh had been overcome, the loſs would have been greater than the victory could have been: for ours being overcome, would have put the kingdom in hazard.

The 24th day of July they gave over fighting on both ſides. The admiral ſent ſome ſmall barks to the Engliſh ſhore, to ſupply the proviſion; and divided all his navy into four ſquadrons; the firſt whereof was under his own government; the next Drake governed; the third Hawkins; the laſt Forbiſher. And he appointed out of every ſquadron certain little ſhips, which on divers ſides might ſet upon the Spaniards in the night; but a ſudden calm took them, and ſo that advice was without effect.

The 25th day, Saint Anne, the galeon of Portugal, not being able to hold courſe with the reſt, was ſet upon by ſome ſmall Engliſh ſhips. To whoſe aid came in Leva, and Didacus Telles Enriques, with three galeaſſes: which the admiral and lord Thomas Howard eſpying, made in againſt the galeaſſes (the calm was ſo great that they were drawn in by boats with cords) and did ſo beat upon the galeaſſes with great ſhot, that with much ado, and with great loſs, they hardly recovered the galeon. The Spaniards reported, that the admiral of Spain was that day in the hindmoſt company, and being come nearer the Engliſh ſhips than before, was ſore beaten with the Engliſh great ordnance, many men ſlain in her, her great maſt overthrown. And after that the admiral of Spain, accompanied with Ricaldus and others, did ſet upon the Engliſh admiral, who by the benefit of the wind ſuddenly turning, eſcaped. The Spaniards hold on their courſe again, and ſend to the duke of Parma, that with all ſpeed he ſhould join his ſhips with the king's fleet. Theſe things the Engliſh knew not, who write, that they had ſtricken the lanthorn from one of the Spaniſh ſhips, the ſtem from another, and had ſore beaten the third, doing much harm to her. That the Non-Parigly, and the Mary Roſe fought awhile with the Spaniards; and the Triumph being in danger, other ſhips came in good time to help her.

The next day the lord admiral knighted the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Sheffield, Roger Townſend, John Hawkins, and Martin Forbiſher, for their valour well employed in the laſt fight. After this they reſolved not to ſet upon the enemy until they came in the ſtraight of Calais, where Henry Seimor, and William Winter ſtaid for their coming. Thus with the fair gale the Spaniſh fleet went forward, and the Engliſh followed. This great Spaniſh Armada was ſo far from being eſteemed invincible in the opinion of the Engliſh, that many young men and gentlemen, in hope to be partakers of a famous victory over the Spaniards, provided ſhips of their own charges, and joined themſelves to the Engliſh fleet; among whom were the earls of Eſſex, of Northumberland, of Cumberland, Thomas and Robert Cecil, Henry Brooks, William Hatton, Robert Cary, Ambroſe Willoughby, Thomas Gerard, Arthur Gorge, and other gentlemen of good note and quality.

The 27th day, at even, the Spaniards caſt anchor near to Calais, being admoniſhed by their ſkilful ſeamen, that if they went any further, they might be endangered by force of that tide to be driven into the north ocean. Near to them ſtood the Engliſh admiral with his fleet within a great gun's ſhot. To the admiral Seimor and Winter now join their ſhips; ſo that now there were an hundred and forty ſhips in the Engliſh fleet, able and well furniſhed for fight, for ſail, and to turn which way was needful: and yet there were but fifteen of theſe which bore the burden of the battle, and repulſed the enemy. The Spaniard, as often he had done before, ſo now with great earneſtneſs ſent to the duke of Parma to ſend forty flie boats, without which they could not fight with the Engliſh, becauſe of the greatneſs and ſlowneſs of their own ſhips, and the agility of the Engliſh ſhips: and intreating him by all means now to come to ſea with his army, which army was now to be protected as it were under the wings of the Spaniſh Armada until they took land in England.

But the duke was unprovided, and could not come out at an inſtant. The broad ſhips with flat bottoms being then full of chinks muſt be mended. Victuals wanted muſt be provided. The mariners being long kept againſt their wills, began to ſhrink away. The ports of Dunkirk and Newport, by which he muſt bring his army to the ſea, were now ſo beſet with the ſtrong ſhips of Holland and Zealand, which were furniſhed with great and ſmall munition, that he was not able to come to ſea, unleſs he would come upon his own apparent deſtruction, and caſt himſelf and his men wilfully into a headlong danger. Yet he omitted nothing that might be done, being a man eager and induſtrious, and inflamed with a deſire of overcoming England.

But queen Elizabeth's providence and care prevented both the diligence of this man, and the credulous hope of the Spaniard: for by her command the next day the admiral took eight of their worſt ſhips, charging the ordnance therein up to the mouth with ſmall ſhot, nails, and ſtones, and dreſſed them with wild-fire, pitch, and roſin, and filled them full of brimſtone, and ſome other matter fit for fire, and theſe being ſet on fire by the management of Young and Prowſe, were ſecretly in the night, by the help of the wind, ſet full upon the Spaniſh fleet, which on Sunday the 7th of Auguſt they ſet in among them as they lay at anchor.

When the Spaniards ſaw them come near, the flame giving light all over the ſea, they ſuppoſing thoſe ſhips, beſides the danger of fire, to have been alſo furniſhed with deadly engines, to make horrible deſtruction among them; lifting up a moſt hideous cry, ſome pull up anchors, ſome for haſte cut their cables; they ſet up their ſails, they apply their oars, and ſtricken with a pannic terror, in great haſte they fled moſt confuſedly. Among them the Pretorian galleaſs floating upon the ſeas, her rudder being broken, in great danger and fear drew towards Calais, and ſticking in the ſand, was taken by Amias Preſton, Thomas Gerard, and Harvey; Hugh Moncada, the governor, was ſlain, the ſoldiers and mariners were either killed or drowned: in her there

was found great ſtore of gold, which fell to be the prey of the Engliſh. The ſhip and ordnance went to the governor of Calais.

The Spaniards report, that the duke, when he ſaw the fiery ſhips coming, commanded all the fleet to pull up their anchors, but ſo as the danger being paſt, every ſhip might return again to his ſtation: and he himſelf returned, giving a ſign to the reſt, by ſhooting off a gun, which was heard but by a few; for they were far off ſcattered, ſome into the open ocean, ſome through fear were driven upon the ſhallows of the coaſt of Flanders.

Over againſt Graveling the Spaniſh fleet began to gather themſelves together; but upon them came Drake and Fenner, and battered them with great ordnance: to theſe Fenton, Southwell, Beeſton, Croſs, Riman, and preſently after the lord admiral, Thomas Howard, and Sheffield, came in and all joined together. The duke Medina, Leva, Oquenda, Ricaldus, and others, with much ado, getting themſelves out of the ſhallows, ſuſtained the Engliſh force as well as they might, until moſt of their ſhips were pierced and torn; the galeon Saint Matthew, governed by Diego Pimentellus, coming to aid Francis Toleton, being in the Saint Philip, was pierced and ſhaken with the reiterated ſhots of Seimor and Winter, and driven to Oſtend, and was at laſt taken by the Fluſhingers. The Saint Philip came to the like end; ſo did the galeon of Biſcay, and divers others.

The laſt day of this month, the Spaniſh fleet ſtriving to recover the ſtraights again, were driven toward Zealand. The Engliſh left off purſuing them, as the Spaniards thought, becauſe they ſaw them in a manner caſt away: for they could not avoid the ſhallows of Zealand. But the wind turning, they got them out of the ſhallows, and then began to conſult what were beſt for them to do. By common conſent they reſolved to return into Spain by the northern ſeas, for they wanted many neceſſaries, eſpecially ſhot, their ſhips were torn, and they had no hope that the duke of Parma could bring forth his forces. And ſo they took the ſea, and followed the courſe toward the north. The Engliſh navy followed, and ſometimes the Spaniards turned upon the Engliſh, inſomuch that it was thought by many that they would turn back again.

Queen Elizabeth cauſed an army to encamp at Tilbury, a place by the ſea ſide, upon the river of Thames. After the army was come thither, her majeſty, to ſhew her own courage, and for the comfort of her people, went in perſon to viſit the camp, which then lay between the city of London and the ſea, under the charge of the earl of Leiceſter; where placing herſelf between the enemy and her city, ſhe viewed the army, paſſing thro' it divers times, and lodging in the borders of it, returned again, and dined in the army. Firſt viewing from place to place the people as they were by their countries lodged and quartered by their ſeveral camps. Afterwards, when they were reduced into battle, prepared as it were for fight, ſhe rode round about with a leader's ſtaff in her hand, only accompanied with the general, and three or four others attending upon her: but yet to ſhew her ſtate (I well marked it) ſhe had the ſword carried before her by the earl of Ormond. There ſhe was ſaluted with ſhouts, with all tokens of love, obedience, and readineſs to fight for her, as the like had ſeldom been ſeen in any army. All which tended to ſhew a marvellous concord, and mutual love between a queen and her ſubjects, which ſhe requited with very princely thanks.——I could enlarge the deſcription hereof with many more particulars of mine own obſervation (ſays the author) for I wandered, as many others did, from place to place all the day, and never heard a word ſpoke of her, but in praiſing her for her ſtately perſon and princely behaviour, in praying for her long life, and earneſtly deſiring to venture their lives for her ſafety. In her preſence they ſung pſalms of praiſe to Almighty God, for which ſhe greatly commended them, and devoutly praiſed God with them. This that I write, you may be ſure I do not with any comfort, but to give you theſe manifeſt arguments, that neither this queen doth diſcontent her people, nor her people do ſhew any diſcontent in any thing they be commanded to do for her ſervice, as heretofore hath been imagined.

This account was related by a Popiſh ſpy, in a letter written here in England to Mendea. The copy of which letter was found upon Richard Leigh a ſeminary prieſt, in French and Engliſh: which prieſt was executed for high treaſon whilſt the Spaniſh Armada was on the ſea.

The ſame day wherein the laſt fight was, the duke of Parma, after his vows offered to the lady of Halla, came ſomewhat late to Dunkirk, and was received with opprobrious words by the Spaniards, as if in favour of queen Elizabeth he had ſlipped the faireſt opportunity that could be to do the ſervice. He, to make ſome ſatisfaction, puniſhed the purveyors that had not made proviſion of beer, bread, &c. which was not yet ready nor imbarked, ſecretly ſmiling at the inſolence of the Spaniards, when he heard them glorying, that what way ſoever they came upon England, they would have undoubted victory; that the Engliſh were not able to endure the ſight of them. Bernardinus Mendoza did indeed by books in France ſing a fooliſh and triumphant ſong before the victory. The Engliſh admiral appointed Seimor and the Hollanders to watch upon the coaſt of Flanders, that the duke of Parma ſhould not come out: himſelf followed the Spaniards upon their backs, until they were paſt Edinborough Frith.

The Spaniards ſeeing all hopes fail, fled amain; and ſo this great navy, being three years preparing, with great coſt, was within a month overthrown, and after many were killed, being chaſed away, was driven about all Britain by Scotland, Orcades, Ireland, toſſed and ſhaken with tempeſts, and much leſſened, and went home without glory. There were not an hundren men of the Engliſh loſt, and but one ſhip. Whereupon money was coined with a navy fleeting away at full ſail, and this inſcription, Venit, Vidit, Fugit. Others were coined with the ſhips fired, the navy confounded, in honour of the queen, inſcribed, Dux Fœmina Facti. As they fled, it is certain that many of their ſhips were caſt away upon the ſhores of Scotland and Ireland. Above ſeven hundred ſoldiers and mariners were caſt upon the Scotiſh ſhore, who at the duke of Parma's interceſſion with the Scots king, the queen of England conſenting, were after a year ſent into Flanders. But they that were caſt upon the Iriſh ſhore came to more miſerable fortunes; for ſome were killed by the wild Iriſh, and others were deſtroyed for fear they ſhould join themſelves with the wild Iriſh (which cruelty queen Elizabeth much condemned) and the reſt being afraid, ſick and hungery, with their torn ſhips, committed themſelves to the ſea, and many were drowned.

The queen came to public thankſgiving in St. Paul's church, accompanied with a glorious train of nobility through the ſtreets of London, which were hung with blue cloth: the companies ſtanding on both ſides in their liveries: the banners that were taken from the enemies were ſpread: ſhe heard the ſermon, and public thanks was rendered unto God with great joy. This public joy was augmented when Sir Robert Sidney, returning out of Scotland, brought from the king aſſurance of his noble mind and affection to the queen, and to religion; which as in ſincerity he had eſtabliſhed, ſo he purpoſed to maintain with all his power. Sir Robert Sidney was ſent to him when the Spaniſh fleet was coming, to congratulate and to give him thanks for his propenſe affection towards the maintenance of the common cauſe; and to declare how ready ſhe would be to help him if the Spaniard ſhould land in Scotland; and that

he might recal to memory with what ſtrange ambition the Spaniard had gaped for all Britain, urging the pope to excommunicate him, to the end that he might be thruſt from the kingdom of Scotland, and from the ſucceſſion in England: and to give him notice of the threatening of Mendoza, and the pope's nuncio, who threatened his ruin if they could work it; and therefore warned him to take ſpecial heed to the Scotiſh papiſts.

The king pleaſantly anſwered, That he looked for no other benefit from the Spaniard, than that which Polyphemus promiſed to Ulyſſes, to devour him laſt after his fellows were devoured.

A Relation of the Diſcovery of the Gunpowder Treaſon, in the Year 1605, in the Reign of King James I.

WHILST every thing ſeemed to procure king James a quiet and peaceable reign, the devil envying the happineſs of the Engliſh, inſpired ſome of his agents with one of the moſt horrible plots that ever was heard of. I mean the gun-powder treaſon plot, which has made ſo much noiſe in the world, and of which I ſhall relate the particulars without any aggravation.

The chief perſons concerned in this helliſh contrivance were, Robert Cateſby, a gentleman of Northamptonſhire; Thomas Percy, the earl of Northumberland's couſin, John Grant, Ambroſe Rookwood, John and Chriſtopher Wright, Francis Treſham, Guy Fawkes, Sir Everard Digby, Robert and Thomas Winter, Thomas Bates, and Robert Keyes: ſome of theſe conſulting together how they might reſtore the popiſh religion in England, Percy one of the moſt zealous, purpoſed to kill the king, and offered to perform it himſelf. To which Cateſby anſwered, That if the king was taken off, there were ſtill two young princes and the princeſs, with the greateſt part of the nobility and gentry, devoted to the proteſtant religion; and unleſs theſe were involved in the ſame fate with the king, they ſhould render their condition rather worſe than better, by attempting his majeſty's life only: He propoſed therefore the blowing up the king, queen, and prince, with both the houſes of lords and commons, at the next aſſembly of the parliament, when the king ſhould come to the houſe, and make his ſpeech there, at the opening of it; which being approved by the reſt as a moſt glorious undertaking, it was reſolved to put it in execution; only ſome, ſcrupling the lawfulneſs of committing ſo terrible a ſlaughter on a religious account, they agreed, before they proceeded in it, to demand the opinion of their confeſſors; whereupon Henry Garnet, the ſuperior, with Oſwald Teſmond and John Gerard, two other prieſts of the Jeſuits order, were conſulted; who did not only declare the enterpriſe lawful, but applauded the deſign as juſt, and even pious; ſince it was to be executed upon excommunicated heretics.

Then an oath of ſecrecy was taken by the conſpirators; and maſs being celebrated by Gerard, they alſo took the ſacrament to be true to each other, and promote the plot with all their powers: After which, Percy took a houſe adjoining to the houſe of lords, from whence they propoſed to dig a mine under it, which would contain a ſufficient quantity of gun-powder to blow up the whole building; and they began to work on their mine about Chriſtmas 1604. But the parliament being prorogued firſt to February, then to October, and again to the fifth of November 1605, they had time enough, or rather too much, to effect their deſign, though they were obliged to dig through the foundation of a very thick wall. When the conſpirators had almoſt conquered this difficulty, they were ſurpriſed to hear a noiſe and the talking of people near the place where they were at work, and began to conclude they were diſcovered; but ſending out Guy Fawkes for intelligence, he brought them word, that the voices he had heard were in an adjoining cellar, where coals were expoſed to ſale: that it was exactly under the houſe of lords, and now offered to be let: Whereupon Percy went immediately and hired it, putting thirty-ſix barrels of gun-powder into it, which he imported from Holland, and covered them with coals and faggots.

Having made this proviſion for their grand deſign, it was conſidered, that though the king and prince might be taken off by this means, yet the duke of York and the princeſs Elizabeth would be out of their power; and conſequently the ſucceſs of their enterprize muſt ſtill be very doubtful: But Percy, being one of the band of penſioners, and well acquainted with the palace, undertook to ſecure the duke of York; and it was looked upon as no difficult matter to ſurprize the princeſs, who reſided at the lord Harrington's in Warwickſhire, under a pretence of a hunting-match. It was next conſidered what money and horſes they could raiſe towards effecting their purpoſe: Whereupon Digby promiſed fifteen hundred pounds, Treſham two hundred, Percy the rents of Northumberland, which he was empowered to receive, and computed they would amount to four thouſand pound. He alſo ingaged to provide ten horſes from the ſame quarter; and the reſt of the conſpirators promiſed to raiſe what money and troops they could, that they might be able to make a ſtand, and encourage their friends to take arms in defence of their religion, when the great blow was given. It was debated alſo, whether they ſhould require the aſſiſtance of any princes of their communion; but it was thought proper to defer this till after the fact was committed, leſt the plot ſhould be diſcovered by being communicated to too many. And it was reſolved to proclaim the princeſs Elizabeth queen, when they had aſſembled their troops, a proclamation being drawn up with this view, in which they made no mention of the intended alteration of religion: this being agreed to be deferred till their forces ſhould be joined by ſome of the catholic powers. In the mean time, they reſolved to charge the Puritans with the deſtruction that was intended: And it is ſuppoſed, they deſigned to aſſaſſinate the duke of York, by their promiſing to proclaim the prineeſs Elizabeth.

Thus had the conſpirators formed their ſcheme, and proceeded ſo far in the execution of it, that there remained little more for them to do, than to ſet fire to the train they had laid for blowing up the king, the queen, the prince, the nobility, and the repreſentatives of a great and flouriſhing people. When, on a ſudden, an unaccountable fit of tenderneſs ſeized one of theſe mercileſs wretches, who, by his endeavouring to reſcue a friend from this unparalled deſtruction, diſcovered the deep laid deſign, which Lucifer only could be the contriver of. This diſcovery was made by the following letter, ſent to the lord Monteagle by one of the conſpirators, about ten days before the meeting of the parliament, viz.

" My Lord,

OUT of the love I bear to ſome of your friends, I have regard to your preſervation; therefore would adviſe you, as you tender your life, to invent ſome excuſe to ſhift off your attendance at this parliament; for God and man have concurred to puniſh the wickedneſs of this time. Think not ſlightingly of this advertiſement, but retire yourſelf into the country, where you may expect the event in ſafety; for though there be no appearance of any ſtir, yet, I ſay, they ſhall receive a terrible blow in this parliament, and ſhall not ſee who hurt them. This council is not to be contemned, becauſe it may do you good, and can do you no harm, for the danger is paſt, as ſoon as you have burnt the letter: and I hope God will give you the grace to make good uſe of it: to whoſe holy protection I commit you."

This

This lord carried the letter, the ſame evening he received it, to ſecretary Cecil; who communicated it to ſome other members of the council: but they did not think it of that conſequence, to make any enquiries about the matter, till the king ſhould return from Royſton, whither he was gone to hunt, and did not return till the laſt day of October. The next day this letter was ſhewn to his majeſty; who, upon peruſing it, ſaid, He did not think it was to be contemned. To which Cecil anſwered, He was of opinion, that it was written either by a fool or a madman, by that expreſſion in it, "The danger is paſt, as ſoon as you have burnt the letter." For he obſerved, the warning given by it could be of no uſe, if the burning the letter would remove the danger. But the king interpreted it, That the danger would be over in as little time as he could burn the letter; having great regard to that paſſage, "They ſhould receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet ſhould not ſee who hurt them." Which ſudden blow, he apprehended, would be the effect of gunpowder; and therefore ordered the cellars, and all other places near the parliament-houſe, to be ſearched. The earl of Suffolk, who was then lord-chamberlain, and whoſe proper buſineſs it was to ſee all places prepared for the king's reception, put off the ſearch till the day before the parliament was to meet; and then, taking the lord Monteagle with him, viewed all the rooms about the parliament-houſe, and particularly the cellar under the houſe of lords; which he found full of wood and coals. And having aſked, who it belonged to? was anſwered, to Mr. Percy; who being a ſervant of his majeſty, and one who made ſome figure at court, the earl returned, and acquainted the king in what ſtate he found things, without ſearching further. But the king's ſuſpicion being rather increaſed than diminiſhed by this report, he ordered all the wood and coals in the cellar, already mentioned, to be removed forthwith; and Sir Thomas Knevet, a juſtice of peace of Weſtminſter, and gentleman of the privy-chamber, was ordered to ſee it done, though it was then late at night. This gentleman was ſo fortunate, as to diſcover the thirty-ſix barrels of powder hidden under the coals; he found alſo a man ſtanding near the place, booted and ſpurred, with his cloak on, whom he ſearched, and found upon him a dark-lanthorn and three matches. This perſon proved to be Guy Fawkes, one of the conſpirators, who paſſed for Percy's man; who ſeeing their hopeful plot diſappointed, ſwore, when he was apprehended, that had he been found within the cellar, he would have blown up himſelf, and all of them. This diſcovery being made, the ſecretary and the lord-chamberlain immediately acquainted the king with it, who was then in bed; and the priſoner, being examined before the council, was ſo far from being in any conſternation, that he acknowledged the villainous deſign, took it all upon himſelf, ſaid his religion and conſcience prompted him to it, and would name none of his accomplices; only obſerved, That the devil had betrayed a very good deſign, and that there was no crime in deſtroying an heretical king. However, being carried to the Tower the next day, and threatened with the rack, he confeſſed the conſpiracy, and named his accomplices; who having ſome intimation of the diſcovery, fled into Warwickſhire; where ſome of his friends were preparing to riſe in arms, and ſurpriſe the princeſs Elizabeth, according to the ſcheme they had laid; and they actually had broke open a ſtable of one Benock, and ſeized ſeven or eight managed horſes for their purpoſe: but underſtanding by their friends who fled from London, that the enterprize was entirely defeated, they aſſembled about an hundred horſe, and endeavoured to perſuade their brethren the papiſts, to take arms in the defence of their religion: but no-body joining them they fled, and were purſued by Sir Foulk Grevill, deputy-lieutenant of Warwickſhire, and the ſheriffs of that and the neighbouring counties, till the rebels took ſhelter at a houſe called Holbach, in Staffordſhire. Here they endeavoured to defend themſelves, when a ſpark of fire falling into a parcel of gun-powder, which they were drying by the fire, blew up part of the houſe; whereupon they endeavoured to ſally out of the gate, and make their way with their ſwords in their hands, but were repulſed; Cateſby, Percy and Winter, ſetting themſelves back to back, reſolved to die fighting. The two firſt had their deſire, but Winter was wounded and taken: Digby, Rookwood, Grant and Boter ſurrendered, and Treſham, Robert Winter, and Littleton, were apprehended at their lodgings at London, and all of them committed to the Tower.

Thomas Winter, upon his examination, confeſſed the whole conſpiracy, and acknowledged their crimes too great to be forgiven; while Digby, on the other hand, ſaid, they were provoked to this deſperate attempt by the ſevere uſage they met with from the government, after hopes had been given them of a toleration; and Treſham, in his examination, accuſed Garnet the Jeſuit as privy to the conſpiracy, though he afterwards retracted it, and pretended he had not ſeen Garnet in ſixteen years.

And thus theſe reſolute and high aſpiring papiſts, who dreamed of no leſs than the deſtruction of king and kingdoms, promiſed to themſelves no lower eſtate than the government of great and ancient monarchies, were miſerably defeated, and quite overthrown in an inſtant; falling in the pit which they had prepared for others, and ſo fulfilling that ſentence which his majeſty did in a manner propheſy of them in his oration to the parliament; ſome immediately ſlain, others wounded, and ſtripped of their cloaths, left lying miſerably naked, and ſo died rather by cold than by their wounds; and the reſt, that either were whole, or but ſlightly wounded, were taken and led by the ſheriff, the ordinary miniſter of juſtice, to the goal, the ordinary place even of the baſeſt malefactors, where they remained till they were ſent up to London, being met by an huge confluence of all ſorts of people, deſirous to ſee them as the rareſt ſort of monſters; fools to laugh at them, women and children to wonder, all the common people to gaze, the wiſer ſort to ſatisfy their curioſity in ſeeing the outward caſes of ſo unparalleled a villany, and generally all ſorts of people to gratify their eyes with the ſight of thoſe whom in their hearts they deteſted: ſerving ſo for a fearful and public ſpectacle of God's fierce wrath and juſt indignation.

The Troubles and Perſecution of Bartholomew Copin, Martyr of Chriſt.

IN the year 1601, Bartholomew Copin of the valley of Luſerne, reſorted unto a place called Aſt in Piedmont, with certain merchandiſe, purpoſing to vend the ſame at a fair there, which was to be kept the day following. It ſo fell out, that ſitting at ſupper in the evening with ſundry other merchants, one amongſt the reſt began to uſe ſome ſpeech about the diverſities of religions, and therewithal ſpake ſomething tending to the diſgrace of thoſe of the vallies of Angrougne and the neighbouring villages.

Copin hearing ſuch ſpeeches caſt forth againſt his brethren, as he little expected from men of that ſort, and alſo againſt their religion, all which tended to the diſhonour of God; he feared leſt it ſhould be offenſively taken, if he ſhould not make ſome reply unto thoſe blaſphemies which he heard with his ears, and ſo anſwer him who held ſuch a diſcourſe againſt the religion which himſelf profeſſed. He who reproved Copin, aſked, Are you one of Vaudois? He anſwered, Yes, I am. And what

what, ſaid the other, believe you not that God is in the hoſt? No, ſaid Copin. Oh, ſaid the other, ſee how falſe your religion is? My religion, ſaid Copin, is no leſs true than God is God, and as certain as I am ſure to die.

The next day Copin was called before the biſhop of Aſt, who told him that report had been made to him of ſome offenſive ſpeeches which he had uſed the night paſt in his lodging: and therefore it behoved him now to acknowledge his fault, if he meant to obtain pardon for the ſame, otherwiſe he muſt look to be chaſtiſed according to his demerits.

Copin anſwered, he had uttered nothing but that which he was firſt provided to ſpeak; nor had he ſaid ought but what he was reſolved to maintain to the hazard of his life. He affirmed that God had beſtowed upon him ſome worldly goods, as alſo a wife and children, but that he was not ſo glued in his affection to any of them, but he could be content to forego them all rather than the peace of a good conſcience.

As touching his carriage and behaviour, if it pleaſed him, he ſaid, to make enquiry thereof among the merchants of Aſt, they could all reſolve him as touching his honeſt dealing: who alſo he knew would witneſs with him, that he had wronged none in all that he had converſed among them. And inaſmuch as he was a merchant trafficking in and about his lawful calling, he ought to be diſmiſſed, and to be no further moleſted. For if it were lawful for Jews and Turks to trade in fairs and markets, and to uſe commerce throughout Piedmont; that favour ought much more to be permitted him who was a chriſtian. And as touching the matter of religion, whereabout he was accuſed, he meddled not at all therewith for his own particular, but had queſtions propounded to him concerning the ſame by others: in which regard leave was granted to him to anſwer, and to yield a reaſon of his faith in any place, to any whomſoever they were that ſhould aſk what he thought of the ſame: yea a liberty was granted even by his excellency to thoſe of the valleys of Vaudois to anſwer any man to a queſtion demanded, provided that he proceeded not to teach and inſtruct others.

The biſhop regarded none of theſe allegations, but commanded he ſhould be put into priſon. The next day the biſhop's ſecretary came to viſit Copin, teſtifying how much good will he bore him; adviſing him as a friend, that if he acknowledged not his fault, he was in great danger of his life.

Copin anſwered, that his life was in the hands of God, and that he would never ſeek to ſave it to the prejudice of God's glory: alſo that he had not above two or three turns to fetch here in this world before he arrived in heaven; and therefore prayed God ſo to aſſiſt him by his grace, that he might never leave the ſtrait way which leadeth thereto.

A few days after he was examined by a monk, who was an inquiſitor, in the preſence of the biſhop, who vexed him a long while with his ſugared diſcourſe, and by fair words endeavoured to draw him to abjure his religion. But Copin reſiſted him ſtill by the holy ſcriptures, ſhewing that if he ſhould now be aſhamed of Chriſt, and deny him, Chriſt might juſtly be aſhamed of him, and utterly deny him before his heavenly Father.

The monk finiſhed his diſpute with this dogged farewel, "Away, thou curſed Lutheran, thou ſhalt go to all the devils in hell; and when thou comeſt to be tormented among thoſe unclean ſpirits, then wilt thou remember theſe holy admonitions which we have tendered unto thee for the ſaving of thy ſoul, but thou hadſt rather go to hell, than to reconcile thyſelf to thy holy mother the church." To which Copin anſwered, It is not long ſince I was reconciled to the true church.

After many violent aſſaults, they gave leave for his wife to come unto him, and with her one of his ſons, promiſing them to ſet him at liberty to go home with them, if he would make amends for his fault, by acknowledging the ſame. His wife and ſon ſtaid to ſupper with him in priſon: during which time he uſed many exhortations tending to patience; albeit the wife ſhould depart to her houſe without an huſband, or the child without his father: For be you well aſſured, ſaid he, that God will be a better huſband and father unto you than ever I was or can be. For his own part, he ſaid, he was not bound to love wife or children more than Chriſt: beſides, they had cauſe to rejoice, and to think him happy, that God would honour him ſo far as to bear witneſs of his truth with the loſs of his life, and hoped, he ſaid, that God would be ſo favourable to him, as to ſupport him under any torments he was to endure for his glory's ſake.

In concluſion, he committed his ſon and daughter to his wife's care, which God had given them in holy wedlock, charging her again and again, to ſee them brought up virtuouſly and in the fear of God. He charged his ſon to obey his mother, ſo ſhould he be made partaker of the promiſed bleſſing. He intreated them both to pray for him, that God would fortify him againſt all temptations. And thus having bleſſed his ſon, and taken leave of his wife, they were conducted out of the priſon, and he ſhut up as he was before.

The woman and her ſon were diſſolved into tears, ſighing and crying out, that it would have moved the ſtonieſt heart to compaſſion: but this holy man not contenting himſelf with what he had ſaid to them by word of mouth, writ unto his wife this following letter, the original whereof ſhe hath exhibited to us, written and ſigned with the hand of the ſaid Copin, the inſcription thus:

To my well-beloved Wife, Suſanna Copin, from the Tower of Luſerna.

DEAR yoke-fellow, I received much conſolation by your coming to this place, and by ſo much the more as it were beyond my expectation; and I ſuppoſe you alſo were not a little comforted that you had ſuch an opportunity offered you, as to ſup with me the laſt night, being Saturday the 15th of September 1601. I know not well what they aimed at in permitting you ſo to do. But God ordereth all theſe things. But as far as I can gueſs, it ſhall be the laſt time that ever we ſhall ſup together in this life: and therefore pray to God that he will not ceaſe to be a comfort unto you. Truſt you ſtill in him, for he hath promiſed never to leave nor forſake them that put their truſt in him. God hath endued you with wiſdom, govern your own family in ſuch manner, that our children Samuel and Martha may be obedient unto you: whom in the name and authority of God I command that they obey you, for ſo the bleſſing of Almighty God ſhall light upon them.

Dear wife, be not over penſive for me; for if God hath ordained me now to attain unto the end of my race, and that I muſt render into the hands of the Almighty my ſoul, which ſo long time he hath lent me, my hope is, that of his holy and divine mercy he will receive it into his kingdom, for his own beloved Son's ſake Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, through whom I believe that my ſins are forgiven, for the only merit of his holy death and paſſion. Alſo my prayer is, that he will aſſiſt me by the power of his Holy Spirit unto my laſt breath.

Be fervent in prayer, and in all other parts of God's worſhip and ſervice, for this is the way to true bleſſedneſs. Take no care about ſending any thing unto me for theſe three weeks, and then I pray you ſend me ſome money, if you think good, to give the goaler, and ſomewhat more for mine own neceſſaries, if pleaſe God I live ſo long. Alſo I pray you call to mind what I have often told you, namely, how God prolonged Hezekiah's life

for fifteen years. But he hath preſerved my life much longer; for it is many years ago ſince you ſaw me at the point of death, and through God's goodneſs I am alive; and I hope, yea I am aſſured, that he will ſo long preſerve me as ſhall be for his glory and my good, thro' his eternal goodneſs.

From the priſon of Aſt, Sept. 16, 1601.

The biſhop of Aſt was ſomewhat troubled about this priſoner; for if he had let him go, he feared it would breed ſome ſcandal, and many might thereby be emboldened to open their mouths wide againſt the Roman religion. Beſides, there was a clauſe in the contract made between his excellency and the people of Vaudois, which exempted thoſe of the religion from offence, in theſe words: and if it ſhall fall out that they be aſked or queſtioned withal in Piedmont, about the cauſe of religion, by any of his excellency's ſubjects, it ſhall be lawful for thoſe of the ſaid religion to anſwer without ſuffering any penal or perſonal puniſhment for the ſame.

Now Copin had a queſtion put to him, in which reſpect he ought to have been cleared. But the biſhop would by no means hear that he had unjuſtly impriſoned him; and therefore that his death ſhould not be laid to his charge, nor yet that he ſhould be ſent away abſolved, he ſent the cauſe of his indictment to pope Clement the eighth, to know what ſhould be done with him. We cannot learn what anſwer the pope returned to the biſhop; but not long after this good man was found dead in priſon, not without ſome apparent ſuſpicion of his being ſtrangled there; leſt if they had executed him in public, the people ſhould have been edified by his conſtancy.

Being dead, he was condemned to be burned, and therefore having cauſed him to be brought out of priſon, they read his ſentence openly, and the body was caſt into the fire.

The Death of Henry III. King of France.

A Friar of the order of Saint Dominick, pretended he had matters of great conſequence to impart to the king; who being admitted into his preſence, upon his knees preſented a letter to him, which he drew out of one ſleeve; which whilſt the king attentively read, the friar pulled forth a poiſoned knife out of his other ſleeve, wherewith he ſtabbed the king into the lower part of his belly. The king finding himſelf wounded, ſnatched out the knife, and ſtruck it into the friar's eye, who haſtening to get away, the king cry'd out. His lords and gentlemen perceiving what the friar had done, ſlew him immediately with rapiers and ſwords.

A Narration of a Bloody Maſſacre in the Valtoline, in the Year 1620.

THE beginning of the murders were at Tyrane. The ringleaders of this cruel maſſacre gave orders, that all the ways and paſſages ſhould be well guarded, that their bloody deſigns might not be ſo readily diſcovered, and they leſs troubled in the execution. Then about ſix of the clock in the night, they entered the country like ſo many foaming wild boars, and cauſed four muſkets to be diſcharged before the palace of the Seignior Podeſta, the principal magiſtrate of the place, and rung the great bell of Tyrane; upon which ſignal all the inhabitants of that vicinity took the alarm, and made head towards the ſaid houſe. They gave orders to break the bridges which lay towards Bruce, and on the place they planted a ſtrong guard, and this was done before day. Upon the dawning of the day the bells began to ring another peal at Matello, and then theſe traitors began to range themſelves together. The proteſtants, who without fear or ſuſpicion came out of their houſes to ſee what the matter was, were ſuddenly ſhot in the place. Others by force entered into the houſes of proteſtants, drew them out of their beds, and without any compaſſion ſlew all they could meet with.

One poor gentleman hid himſelf in a garret, but the villains finding him, threw him out of the window; and when they found him yet alive, they diſpatched him with a piece of timber.

Antonio de Salva, a chancellor in that valley, being appointed judge upon criminal cauſes, a man of the greateſt authority in the place, being deſirous to ſave himſelf, together with his deputy, was drawn out of the houſe, and ſhot.

Another gentleman of great worth, very ſingularly learned, and ſkilful in many languages, being at that time governor of Teglio, being by chance in this hurly burly at Tyrane, was alſo with his ſervant ſtrangled to death in the chamber where he was found.

The reverend paſtor of the church of Tyrane, a man of great ſanctity and wiſdom, and a lover of the peace of the country, hearing the noiſe of theſe uproars, he and the paſtor of Mello withdrew themſelves into a hall, where having commended their ſouls to God, were there murdered.

The furious wretches cut off Baſſo's head, and carry'd it into the church, and fixed it upon a pole in the pulpit where he was wont to preach, ſcornfully ſaying, Come down, Baſſo, thou haſt preached long enough already.

In like manner at the ſame time the palace of the chequer of Tyrane was beſieged by thoſe hell-hounds; wherein dwelt Seignior John de Cappaul, being at that time governor. To which place Michael Lazarone, a man of good account, and chancellor of that office, had retired himſelf early in the morning to ſave his life. But becauſe he was extremely hated by the papiſts, for his ſingular piety and ſincerity, he was eſpecially purſued by them: inſomuch as thoſe rebels followed him even to the palace, threatening to ſet fire to the ſame, if he were not delivered into their hands. Lazarone ſeeing that, was forced that evening to leave the houſe, and hide himſelf about the banks of the river Adda, wherein he covered himſelf, and lay cloſe three whole hours, all naked, poor gentleman, to ſave himſelf. But his enemies followed him hotly, and at laſt found him, and dragged him out of the water; and though with tears in his eyes he begged for his life, in conſideration of his dear ſmall children; but they anſwered, That this was no time for pity and favour: but if he would ſwear by the pope's bull, and abjure his faith, they would grant him his life. But he, with a courageous reſolution, anſwered, God forbid that I for love of this temporal life ſhould deny my Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who with his precious blood on the wood of the croſs did at ſo dear a rate redeem me, and after I have ſo long time, through his grace, freely and publicly confeſſed him, ſhould now hazard the loſs of eternal life; I ſay, God forbid. Upon this they immediately murdered him.

The very ſame evening the gate of the palace was burnt to the ground by thoſe rebels, who the next morning entered into the ſame, raging with fury, and took the governor priſoner with his young ſon, ſpoiling and ranſacking wives and maidens, and carrying away all they could lay hands on. The governor of the place was carry'd away priſoner, and after he had been a long time tugged to and fro, he was ſhot.

John Antonio Mazano, endeavouring to make reſiſtance againſt thoſe rebels, and his wife defending him, was with herſelf and two young children miſerably killed.

Another, called John Antonio Schloſſer, a Gardoneſe, having made long reſiſtance, and killed one of the rebels, was at the laſt taken, and tyed to a tree, and ſo ſhot to death.

To be ſhort, theſe villains had no regard to any perſon, neither young, nor old, nor weak, nor ſtrong, but all of all ſorts were either ſhot unto death, or cut in pieces, or in one manner or other deſtroyed; and the number of thoſe perſons in eſtimation, who in Tyrane received the crown of martyrdom for the profeſſion of the goſpel, was about ſixty.

The ladies who were not ſlain were conſtrained to change their religion, and at this day go to maſs, ſaving the wife of the ſaid Lazarone and her daughters, and her niece, being the wife of one Egido, who by the aſſiſtance of Almighty God continued in ſafety. And there alſo the 8th of Auguſt, the ſaid ladies were releaſed, who retired themſelves into Retia, viz. the wife of this Lazarone, and her two daughters, leaving behind them in the Valtoline one daughter and two young ſons, who cannot obtain leave to depart the country.

At the maſſacre of Teglio were murdered about ſixty perſons. Theſe wicked wretches, apparelled in red caſſocks, and well mounted on horſeback, marched in the morning to Tellat the hour when the ſermon was, and ran like ravening wolves to the Volta church; the proteſtants who were in the church, obſerving the evil intention of thoſe villains, aroſe ſuddenly from their ſeats, and endeavoured to ſhut the church door, and to barricado the place with the benches. They without laboured with all their power to enter the church: but not being able ſo ſpeedily to do it, ſome of them climbed up unto the windows, and diſcharged their muſkets among the people, without reſpect of any perſon, and killed many of them. At laſt they forced the door, entered, and ſlew all they found, ſaving a few, who promiſed to go to maſs. Some of the men and ladies with their children fled into the belfrey to ſave themſelves: but they ſet fire to the place, and burnt all that were within.

At the maſſacre at Sondres in the mountain of Sondrium and Malenk, were left dead above 140 perſons. But the chancellor Giovan Andrea Migardino, with his brother Gregory, and others of the church of Sondres, withdrew themſelves to the number of eighteen together, with certain ladies and their young children into their own houſe, which joined to the palace, and there they fortify'd themſelves with reſolution to defend themſelves even to the death, ſeeing that in the ſtreet wherein they dwelt none durſt come out of the doors, nor enter into the church which ſtood over-againſt them. Nevertheleſs, the enemy reſolved to ſet upon the houſe with a thouſand armed men, threatening alſo to kill the magiſtrate, in caſe any of them ſhould take any harm by thoſe who were in the houſe. Whereupon the magiſtrate commanded thoſe in the houſe to depart; who being well armed, immediately took their way by Sandres towards the bridge, where for a time they fortify'd themſelves; then returning again, they drew unto them certain others, and marched towards the church of the mountain of Sondres. In which place being gathered together with the paſtor, they made their prayers to God, and afterwards, to the number of threeſcore and thirteen perſons in all, they paſſed the valley of Malenco, which was beſet by the enemy on two ſides: but thoſe that kept thoſe places were by the providence of God ſo aſtoniſhed, that they fled away, and the proteſtants, though they were purſued to the tops of the hills, did miraculouſly eſcape with ſafety.

Annaidi Lita, wife of Anthoni Grotti, of Chio, in the territory of Vicentine, of an honourable and ancient houſe, was come out of Italy but a few years before for the liberty of her conſcience. She was firſt by them exhorted with fair words to change her religion; but ſhe conſtantly perſevering therein, was admoniſhed that ſhe would at leaſt have a care of her young infant which ſhe held in her arms, being about two months old; otherwiſe ſhe would make reckoning, that in the twinkling of an eye both ſhe and her babe ſhould die: but ſhe with a bold and undaunted courage anſwered, That ſhe had not departed out of Italy her native country, neither had ſhe forſaken all the eſtate ſhe had, to renounce at laſt that faith which had been inſpired into her by the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; yea, that ſhe would rather ſuffer, if it were poſſible, a thouſand deaths. And how, ſaid ſhe, ſhould I have regard in this cauſe of my infant, ſince God our heavenly Father ſpared not his only Son, my Lord Jeſus, but delivered him up to death for the love of me and of all ſinners? Then giving them the child, ſhe ſaid, Behold the child; the Lord God, who hath care of the birds of the air, will much more be able to ſave this poor creature, although by you it were abandoned, and left in thoſe wild mountains. So unlacing her gown, ſhe opened her breaſt, and ſaid, Here is the body which you have power to kill; but my ſoul, on which you have no power to lay hand, that I commend to my God; and immediately ſhe was cut in pieces, being 35 years old. The infant, becauſe it was a lovely and a ſweet babe to look on, was ſuffered to live, and was delivered to a popiſh woman to nurſe. The huſband of this gentlewoman was murdered for the faith before.

Some women were by force taken up to the tops of high and craggy mountains, and threatened to be thrown down headlong with their children, unleſs they would go to maſs. And although ſome being moved and terrified with the horror of death, had conſented to change their religion, yet were they murdered for all that without any pity at all.

The ſame befel a gentleman of Soglio, in the Pregaglia; for though his life was promiſed him, he was brought into the market-place pinioned with a cord, and miſerably ſlain by two muſketeers, being 72 years of age, after he had been robbed of his gold and ſilver, whereof great ſtore was found in his houſe, according to the common and too much practiſed rule of the Roman catholics.

An aged man of 67 years, was ſet upon an aſs, his face turned to the tail, which he held in his hand, inſtead of a bridle, and in his other hand a book, whom in this manner they carried through Sondres, with great joy and triumph. Then they cut off his ears, noſe, and cheeks, boring holes into divers parts of his body, with a ſtrange and unparalleled barbarity, until they had quite killed him; but he for the love of Chriſt his Saviour with great and incredible courage endured all thoſe varieties of torments.

An aged man of 75 years, being ſet upon by thoſe inhuman wretches, leaped out of a window, and paſſed the river Maleto, and having got to his houſe, and ſhifted his cloaths, he was aſſailed again, taken priſoner, and carried to the palace, put often to the ſtrapado, and at laſt was ſo hewn and ſliced with a ſword, that he had nothing left him but the arms which were faſtened to the cord.

Paulo Beretta, of Chio, in the county of Vicence, a virgin of the age of 75 years, of an honourable, noble, and ancient family, who came 27 years before to Sondres to embrace the goſpel, was by theſe villains carried thro' Sondres, with all diſgrace, ſhame, and ſcorn, having a mitre of paper put upon her head, her face beſmeared with dirt, and many buffets given in her cheeks, and in many other faſhions abuſed. Being required to call upon the holy virgin Mary and the ſaints, and to place her truſt in them; ſhe ſmiling readily anſwered them, My truſt and my ſalvation is in my only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and in him only will I reſt. And it is alſo true, that I acknowledge the

the virgin Mary for the moſt holy virgin above all others which ever was, or ever will be; who was a virgin before the birth, a virgin in the birth, and after birth, and ſo ſhall remain. Who though ſhe be favoured and beloved of God, above all women in the world, to be made the mother of my Lord Jeſus, the Saviour of the world; nevertheleſs, becauſe ſhe is not able to know our neceſſities, as not being omnipotent (for otherwiſe ſhe would be God himſelf) and beſides hath had need of the merits of her Son, it was not lawful for her to call upon any other than the eternal God, who knoweth all things, and upon no creature of any quality whatſoever, &c. In this manner ſhe endured the ſcorns and outrages with an incredible conſtancy and cheerfulneſs, ſaying continually, I do willingly endure as becometh me to do, deſiring no better uſage, ſince the very ſame hath been done to my Lord and Saviour Jeſus, and to his apoſtles, and to thouſands of the holy martyrs. At laſt ſhe was carried away to be ſent to Milan. On the 28th of July an elderly woman was found murdered in the highway in the plain of St. Gregory in the Valtoline, which ſome conjectured to be the body of this gentlewoman, who it was thought was murdered by the aſſaſſins in that place.

Many hid themſelves in holes and caves, and woods, out of which they durſt not come but by night only to get ſome food, and that with great fear and terror of the watching enemy; others for want of convenient food to eat, and others that fed only upon roots, leaves, and graſs, made an end of their lives; and many were murdered in divers places, who had no burial; ſo as many carcaſes were to be ſeen in groves and woods, in the mountains, and in waters in many places.

At the maſſacre of Berbenno were ſlain about eleven perſons. And likewiſe

At Caſpano and Trahorn about the ſame number; one of them was by his trade a taylor, who being diſcovered by his countrymen and kindred, was taken and carried to Morbegnio, and being ſolicited to forſake the true religion, and to embrace the Roman, and ſtanding with great manfulneſs thereto, was condemned to the fire, and was placed between two heaps of wood, to make him recant; but all was in vain; for being aſked if he were a catholic, he anſwered, that he was. Then, if he were a Roman catholic; he likewiſe affirmed, he was ſo. But being demanded if he held the Roman faith as it is at this day, he anſwered, No. It is true, ſaid he, that I hold the ancient catholic Roman faith, which was preached by St. Paul, That a man is ſaved by grace by the means of faith, and not by works, leſt any man ſhould boaſt. Being demanded, if he believed the pope to be the head of the church, he anſwered, No; becauſe Chriſt only is the head of the church, according to the promiſe, "I will be with you unto the end of the world." And tho' the fire was kindled, and put out again, on purpoſe to draw him to a recantation, nevertheleſs he perſevered, and endured that cruel death with admirable conſtancy, the 15th of Auguſt, being ſixty years old.

Giovan Pietro Malacrida, altho' he were little of ſtature, yet was he great and mighty in the confeſſion of the truth, inſomuch that for the love of his Saviour, he ſuffered death with ſingular cheerfulneſs, being forty years of age. His example was devoutly and conſtantly imitated by Elizabeth his wife, who was killed in the 38th year of her age; and moreover theſe Herodian murderers not therewith content, but joining one barbarous inhumanity to another, obſerving a daughter of hers, being an infant of three years old, to lie in the cradle, although it was a child of ſweet countenance, and theſe wretches ſeeing that the babe looked lovingly and pleaſantly upon them, which would have been enough to have moved any admantine heart to compaſſion, yet notwithſtanding they took this pretty innocent babe by the feet, and daſhed her brains againſt the wall.

Upon the moſt ſerious conſideration it every way appeareth, that the foreſaid perſons underwent thoſe ſufferings for no other cauſe, but only for the truth of the goſpel! even as by the eternal decree of God the holy prophets, St. John the Baptiſt, the holy apoſtles, yea even our Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, and after him thoſe many millions of the martyrs in all ages have done before, and eſpecially in theſe miſerable laſt times, in Germany, France, England, Scotland, Low-Countries, Bohemia, Italy, Spain, Portugal, &c.

Which martyrdom they endured willingly, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to ſuffer blame for the name of Jeſus, remembering the promiſe of our Lord, Bleſſed are they who are perſecuted for righteouſneſs ſake, becauſe the kingdom of heaven is theirs. Bleſſed are you when others ſhall revile and perſecute you, and ſhall falſely ſpeak all evil of you for my ſake: Rejoice and triumph, for your reward is great in heaven, for ſo have they perſecuted the prophets who were before you. Read to this purpoſe, 1 Pet. 4. verſes 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. which words of all good chriſtians are to be well pondered and weighed: for firſt by ſuch trial we periſh not. Secondly, we are thereby made conformable to Chriſt our head. Thirdly, ſuch ſufferings cauſe unto us greater joy than ſorrow. Fourthly, they are infallible marks that the Spirit of God reſts upon us. Fifthly, they manifeſt to all our unfeigned love to Chriſt and his goſpel. Sixthly, hereby we have good proof that the Lord doth correct us, not as a ſevere judge, but as a moſt loving and tender-hearted Father: to whom therefore with his Bleſſed Son, and Holy Spirit, be all glory and honour aſcribed in all the churches of the ſaints, world without end, Amen.

FINIS.

BRITISH MUSEUM
7 SE75

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